Black Puritan, Black Republican: The Life and Thought of Lemuel Haynes, 1753–1833

JOHN SAILLANT

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BLACK PURITAN, BLACK REPUBLICAN

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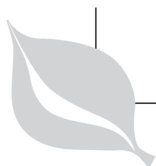

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Dedicated to my wife, Marie-Louise,
my children Céline, Clémence, and Théophile,
and the memory of my daughters
Delphine and Seraphine (1992–1992),
mortes à Providence

Acknowledgments

All work in early African American religion rests upon the efforts of the recoverers of the documents, many never published in their authors' lifetimes, of the eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century black Atlantic. These texts come to us through the deft hands of Arthur Schomberg, Dorothy Porter, Paul Edwards, Richard Newman, Ruth Bogin, Vincent Carretta, Graham Russell Hodges, Moira Ferguson, and others. I hope this book pays a small measure of the debt that so many owe them.

Happily, modern scholarly editions lead us to older works and unpublished manuscripts, which in turn urge us farther back in history. This book could hardly have been written without the resources of the following institutions: the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, the Connecticut Historical Society, Harvard University, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the John Hay Library of Brown University, Western Michigan University, and the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

I studied Lemuel Haynes's writings and context while I was a postdoctoral fellow and occasional instructor at Brown University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University. I finished the manuscript as a new professor at Western Michigan University. Financial support came in the form of two fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities in the 1990s. The Boston Athenæum provided a stipend for a brief period but a desk, which I still consider the best in the world, for a year. Five experts in early American studies, above all others, offered various professional engagements: Douglas Arnold, Ronald Hoffman, Pauline Maier, the late William G. McLoughlin, and Gordon S. Wood. Patrick Manning deserves special mention as the director of a instructional-materials project on which I worked

at Northeastern University under a grant from the Annenberg Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The highs and lows of researching and treating a subject one takes to heart should never remain entirely private. Theodore Calderara, Cynthia Read, and Harry Stout shared in my pleasure at the prospect of my work appearing in the Oxford University Press series on American religion. Too many friends to mention shared their own works in progress, of all kinds, with me while I tried to communicate my excitement about the way Haynes and his black abolitionist peers envisioned a postslavery America. I ask the forgiveness of many because I cannot forbear from mentioning one: Kevin E. Griffin.

Contents

Chronology of Lemuel Haynes's Life, xi

Introduction, 3

1: A Further Liberty in 1776, 9

2: Republicanism Black and White, 47

3: The Divine Providence of Slavery and Freedom, 83

4: Making and Breaking the Revolutionary Covenant, 117

5: American Genesis, American Captivity, 152

Notes, 189

Index, 229

Chronology of Lemuel Haynes's Life

1753: Birth and separation from parents; West Hartford, Connecticut.

1753: Placement at five months of age with the Rose family; Granville, Massachusetts.

1774: Training as minuteman.

1775: Enlistment in the Continental Army.

1776: March to Fort Ticonderoga.

Mid-1770s: Composition of first known writings.

1779: Commencement of study of ancient languages.

1780: Certification to preach and first public sermon; Wintonbury, Connecticut.

1783: Marriage, to Elizabeth Babbit, born 1763.

1785: Ordination; Granville, Connecticut.

1785: Preaching tour of Vermont and composition of only known journal.

1785–87: Pastorship; Torrington, Connecticut.

1785–1803: Births of nine children.

1788–1818: Pastorship; Rutland, Vermont.

1792–1821: Publication of essays, sermons, and poetry.

1804: Honorary master's degree, Middlebury College.

1814: Delivery of sermon at Yale College.

1818: Dismissal from Rutland church.

1823: Death of daughter Olive, born 1798.

1833: Death; Granville, Massachusetts.

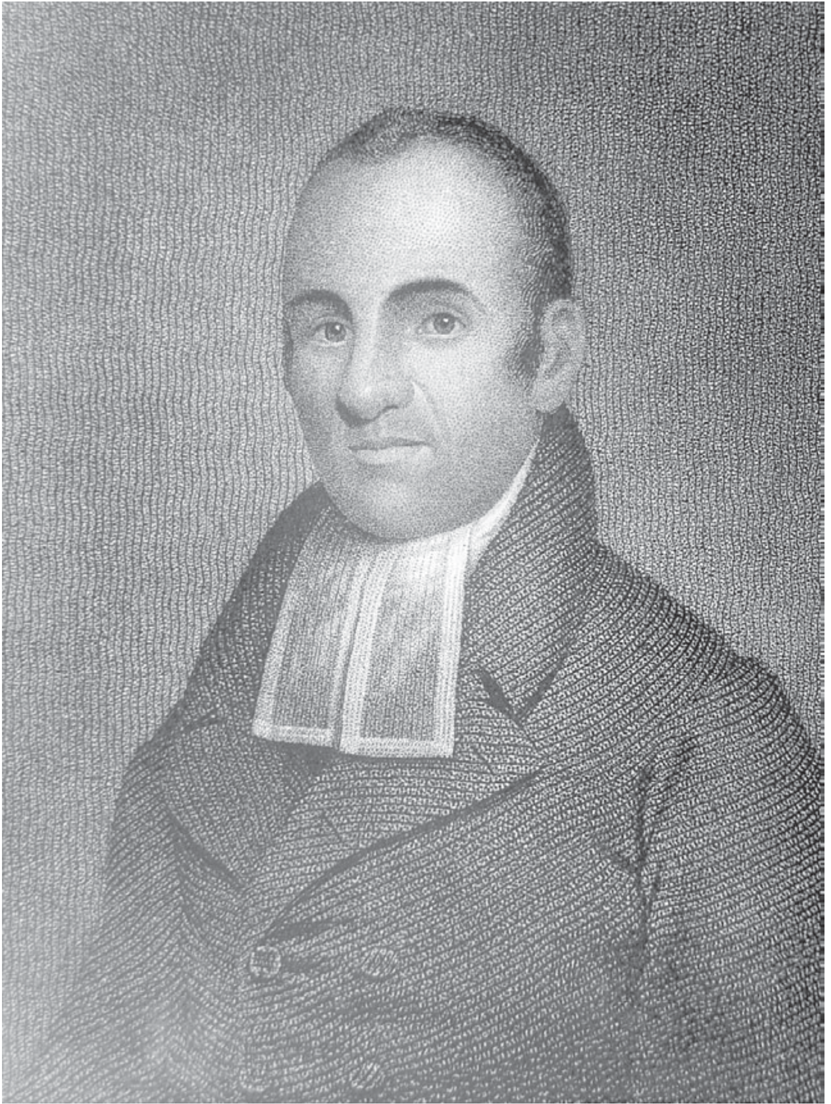
1836: Death of Elizabeth Babbit Haynes.

1837: Publication of only biography, with previously unpublished letters, sermons, and notes.

1837: Reviews of biography, including one in The Colored American.

Since 1837: Discovery of manuscripts, some of which, beginning in 1980, have been published in modern editions.

BLACK PURITAN, BLACK REPUBLICAN



Lemuel Haynes

Introduction

Lemuel Haynes's religious faith and social views are better documented than those of any African American born before the luminaries of the mid-nineteenth century. Born in 1753, Haynes began producing mature compositions in the mid-1770s, years in which he served as a minuteman, member of a militia, and soldier in the War of Independence. Most of his early works were published only posthumously. From 1792 to 1820, he published a number of essays and sermons, along with occasional poems and hymns dating from the mid-1770s to 1821. He died in 1833. His biographer printed several of Haynes's previously unpublished sermons in 1837, and modern editions of still other previously unknown works have appeared since 1980. This study treats some autograph manuscripts that have never been published (modern transcriptions of Haynes's works, including the ones given in this study, aim for verisimilitude and alter his spelling and punctuation only rarely).

In early African American studies, in which black-authored texts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are rare, Haynes's writings are invaluable. Unfortunately, Haynes's life is less well documented than his mind and heart. Inheriting a name from neither mother nor father, he was separated from parental care soon after his birth in West Hartford, Connecticut. He matured as an indentured servant in Granville, Massachusetts, served several brief stints during the American Revolution, and became a minister. He was assigned in 1788 to a Congregational church in Rutland, Vermont, a town in a frontier region beset by chronic problems in attracting qualified ministers. He proved to be more than qualified, leading revivals and becoming a leading controversialist. Most of his publications were initially delivered as sermons or speeches in Rutland. Virtually everything that can be known about his life derives from the writings of white Americans who were intent, after his death, on portraying him as an early saint of antebellum abolitionism. Using

Haynes's writings, this study analyzes his opposition to the slave trade and slavery but also argues that his hagiographers misrepresented him. Rooted in the eighteenth century, his abolitionism differed radically from the antebellum critiques of slavery.

Like a number of other eighteenth-century black authors—Jupiter Hammon, James Albert Ukasaw Gronniosaw, Phillis Wheatley, John Marrant, Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, and Olaudah Equiano—Haynes accepted a Calvinist form of Christianity. Indeed, Calvinism seems to have corroborated the deepest structuring elements of the experience of such men and women as they matured from children living in slavery or servitude into adults desiring freedom, literacy, and membership in a fair society. From Calvinism, this generation of black authors drew a vision of God at work providentially in the lives of black people, directing their sufferings yet promising the faithful among them a restoration to his favor and his presence. Not until around 1815 would African American authors, such as John Jea, explicitly declare themselves against Calvinism and for free-will religion. By the standards of many in the twenty-first century, this Calvinist vision may seem tainted, since it presented God's hand in evil as well as in good. Moreover, this black Calvinism scorned Islam, which eighteenth-century abolitionists, black and white, believed was the religion of West African slave-traders. This study argues that, notwithstanding the inevitable differences between eighteenth-century and twenty-first-century perspectives, early black Calvinism was vigorously antislavery. Acknowledging the divine providence both of evil and of good, these black Calvinists insisted upon the human obligation to shun sin (which was displayed in the slave trade and slavery) and to further God's benevolent design (which was exemplified in a free and harmonious society). More than any of his peers, black or white, Haynes found in Calvinism a tradition of exegesis that could be leveled against the slave trade and slavery.

Calvinism helped to convince Haynes and his generation of black authors that liberty must be accompanied by virtue and social harmony. Eighteenth-century revivals, led by Calvinist ministers like George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards, allowed believers to understand the conflicts and stresses of colonial life as God's chastisement, due to sinners because of the very assertiveness and independence required for survival on the peripheries of the British sphere. Yet the revivals were themselves acts of God's forgiveness to the faithful, his restoration of his children to his favor and his presence. Africans were, of course, among the ultimate victims of British colonialism. Since the language of revivalism relied on familial metaphors, it makes sense that those whose families were among the most disrupted of the eighteenth century would be attracted to the restoration of parental relations that evangelical Calvinism promised. The truly Christian society was to be one formed by converted men and women, living affectionately, benevolently, and virtuously under the covenant that God the father had offered to his children. So many sins and dismembered families and so little affection and benevolence were evident in the slave trade and in slavery that it was all but inevitable that blacks schooled in Calvinist theology would apply it to the black life and black history of the Atlantic world. Evan-

gelical Calvinism sacralized the liberty Englishmen exercised in the colonial periphery, and it also reformed their lives. In black hands, evangelical Calvinism sacralized the freedom slaves desired and propounded reforms in both individual and society.

Haynes came of age in the mid-1770s. One of his first acts after his indenture ended was mustering as a minuteman. His service as a soldier in the Continental Army was brief, but he absorbed from the American Revolution a mix of republican ideology and New Divinity theology that inspired his antislavery and problack writings. Republicanism and the New Divinity were powerful agents of revolution and antislavery, although both the political ideology and the theology held antiblack seeds within and, indeed, evolved into agents of racism in the early republic. Haynes's genius was to grasp the abolitionist elements within republicanism and the New Divinity and to argue that terminating slavery and welcoming blacks into commonwealth and congregation were essential to the politics and religion of the American Revolution. He lived this genius, too, in that he was known all his adult life as a former minuteman and soldier and as an effective revivalist. This study argues that Haynes made profound contributions to republican thought and to Calvinist theology and that his writings can help us understand more fully that some of the white leaders of the time, most notably perhaps Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Hopkins, were deeply divided in their opinions and feelings about black people. Both republicanism and the New Divinity offered an ideal of interracial accord, even love. The Revolution helped reveal this ideal, but, lamentably, most white people turned away from it in the post-Revolutionary years.

It is easy to see the antiblack animus in the Atlantic slave trade and American slavery, but this study emphasizes colonization—the effort to expatriate free blacks to Africa or the West Indies—as a tool used against African Americans and as a way of undoing eighteenth-century abolitionism. Proposals to remove free African Americans began appearing in the 1770s, and the American Colonization Society was founded in 1817. Many of the Revolutionary generation, including a number of New Divinity ministers, were vociferous colonizationists. Republicanism and the New Divinity, both rooted in eighteenth-century sentimentalism, set as the most important question for abolitionists how blacks and whites would relate in postslavery society. Sentimentalism led to the view that harmony should prevail among members of a society and, if not, accord should be created by the subjugation or removal of the dissenters—a view confirmed by the republican philosopher Montesquieu. Haynes argued that sentiment must unite the races if republicanism and Calvinism were to exist coherently, while leading whites argued that blacks must be expatriated so that the new nation would be free of black-and-white conflict. Colonizationists could not remove the black population, of course, but they helped to remodel American race relations and transcend eighteenth-century ways of understanding them.

Expatriation failed, but internal colonization succeeded. No one of Haynes's generation, black or white, envisioned that slaves would be freed

but would then be in many ways separated from whites and alienated from the public sphere. Indeed, virtually all eighteenth-century commentary on abolition, from both the defenders and the critics of slavery, assumed future interactions of all sorts (commercial, political, religious, sexual) between blacks and whites were they to live in one society. Alarm at that prospect spurred colonization. Ultimately, the lives of free African Americans in the nineteenth century fit the colonizationist model of race relations far more than any republican or Calvinist standards. Colonization did not cause the transformation in race relations that followed the American Revolution—the movement was only a part of larger changes in economy, religion, and social thought and relations—but the visage of the colonizationist was prominent among the new faces of racism that blacks had to countenance.

Haynes felt the ground shifting under him. His political affiliations were to the Federalist Party, not the Democratic-Republicans. A similar politics was evident in his Afro-British peers, Cugoano and Equiano. Haynes saw among New England patricians concern for the security of black freedom, while in Jeffersonianism he perceived an untrammeled freedom for whites that was neither antislavery nor problack. Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight represent New England patricianism in this study; both were intensely aware of racial matters, although only Dwight showed more than a glancing awareness of Haynes's existence. Around 1805, Haynes began attacking the forces that were dividing American Christianity (his immediate foe was the Universalist Hosea Ballou). He also began fortifying a problack notion of the biblical covenant. God offered Abraham a covenant, Haynes noted, mandating the acceptance of foreigners, servants, and slaves into the body of the faithful—that acceptance was the very test of faith. Salvation for individuals was promised, Haynes continued, under that covenant, none other. The indwelling spirit of the New Testament could save no one, Haynes argued, without conformance to the Abrahamic covenant. Abraham's rejection of Ishmael, his son with the handmaiden Hagar, was, according to Haynes, the act by which the covenant was broken and the type of white Americans' hostility to the blacks among them. The restoration of the covenant was, he believed, possible in post-Revolutionary America. Haynes promoted unity—in politics, in society, and in the covenant, and in faith, theology, and hermeneutics—as the cure for slavery and as the essence of a postslavery society in a time when Americans, including African Americans, were readjusting the forces of unity and the forces of difference in their nation. Nineteenth-century visions of postslavery society came to be radically different from those of Haynes's generation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Americans, including African Americans, came to understand that they constituted one Christian, commercial, and expanding nation that no longer needed the cohesive ideals of republicanism and Calvinism. Christianity was divided into many denominations, and various, even contradictory, interpretations of the Bible were possible. By 1830, a new abolitionist exegesis was undoing the ideal of in-

terracial unity that Haynes and his peers had seen in the Bible. For some nineteenth-century Americans, truth itself was democratic, articulated not in any one person's or group's views but rather arising from the populace at large, with all its clashes and diversity. For African Americans, the first half of the nineteenth century was a momentous period encompassing the birth of organized abolitionism, the expansion of free black communities in a number of cities, the advent of a new generation of black leaders, and the rise to prominence of independent black churches and black denominations. Yet the successes of this period formed a two-edged sword for African Americans. Abolitionism and black churches and black denominations, however embattled, made their way in antebellum America, but they authorized something that Haynes and his black peers had feared: the division along racial lines of society, religion, and even interpretations of the Bible. Slavery was, of course, a form of division; freedom modified the divisions but did not abolish them. Antebellum African Americans also suffered the virtual disappearance of their eighteenth-century forebears in religion and abolitionism, who remained all but unknown in American and British life until the expansion of black studies in the second half of the twentieth century. Much of American history since the Calvinist-inspired revivals, the Revolution, and the first abolitionism has involved dealing with that division, if not healing it then making it less parlous.

Once again, Haynes felt the ground shifting under him. He had always resisted claims that competing interpretations of the Bible were legitimate, but they became inevitable in a land of many denominations. The assumption that there was but one correct tradition of exegesis available to the enemies of oppression was shattered in the early nineteenth century. The demise of the Federalist Party led to his dismissal from his Rutland parish in 1818. He itinerated but never settled in another parish. His last publications, around 1820, exhibited a partial turning away from the public sphere, which had long engaged his attention, and a return to the Puritan origins of the New England colonies. It was a search for a tradition antecedent to the Revolution in which blacks could claim their freedom and citizenship. He found in the captive experience, especially in Mary Rowlandson's widely remembered captivity, a twin symbol of slavery to sin and black slavery to white masters. Liberation from captivity created great joy not only in those who walked free but in all members of their society, including, as he told it, those who had been their captors. A renewed godly society was formed by the release of captives and slaves, who were welcomed into the company of the faithful, not cast upon distant shores. Insofar as it was a unified society following the Puritan model, it was an ideal at odds with nineteenth-century America. Haynes seems to have understood that Revolutionary republicanism and Calvinism, along with his conviction that they opposed slavery and defined postslavery society, departed from the political thought and religion of most of his contemporaries. He turned away from them and regarded the past, before the Revolution and before the new America in which he died.

Author's Note on the Use of Scripture

Lemuel Haynes was familiar with the King James Version of the Bible. He usually quoted it accurately and used the present tense to refer to events recounted in the Bible. Since his abolitionist arguments were rooted in Scripture and, particularly, in Edwardsean interpretations of the Old and New Testaments, I trace his references back to the Bible. In dealing with Haynes's exegesis, I assume his habit of using the present tense to refer to ancient events; but in discussing these events in my own voice, noting the import they had for antislavery or proslavery views, I prefer the past tense. I hope readers will forgive the inevitable shifting. Islam also appeared in Haynes's writings. Some of his contemporaries among the Edwardseans almost certainly read the Qur'an, but nothing proves that Haynes read it himself. It seems likely that he learned about Islam from the writings of men like Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, and Job Swift, as well as from writings on history, travel, and the Atlantic slave trade. The image of Islam presented by eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century abolitionists was uncomplimentary. I hope readers will temper their feelings about the Edwardseans' lack of appreciation of a great religious tradition with an awareness that their criticism of Islam was a step toward their condemnation of the slave trade and slavery.

1

A Further Liberty in 1776

The first moments of Lemuel Haynes's life are worth reconstructing with the modest tools we have in hand for the task. The information available is slight but evocative. In 1753, in West Hartford, Connecticut, a white woman, reputed in Haynes's lifetime to be of "respectable" New England ancestry, gave birth, not in her own home or that of her father or husband but in the house of a man named Haynes, possibly an acquaintance who had agreed to shelter her during the birth of a spurious child. The newborn boy so resembled his father, reputed in Haynes's lifetime to be of "unmingled African extraction," that the woman decided to leave her infant in the care of others. Her recognition of the father even in the newborn's skin and face was accurate, for the boy would come to think of himself, as would others, as African, black, mulatto, and Negro. Later in life, he would also hear racial slurs aimed at him. Haynes's acquaintances reported that he learned the identity of his mother and met her, only to be spurned; he himself left no explicit comment on his parentage. Haynes was thought by contemporaries to have felt that "the tincture of his skin" was "an obstacle to his being identified in interest and in life with those among whom he dwelt."[1]

Haynes's father seems to have melted into the past by the time of the parturition, yet it is possible that he was known to parties present at the birth but was removed by his contemporaries from his son's life. If he conceived the child in New England, as seems likely, he was probably one of the free black men or slaves living in Connecticut, Massachusetts, or Rhode Island in the mid-eighteenth century or a traveling servant or a mariner, possibly African or West Indian by birth, who sojourned long enough in a New England city or town to impregnate a woman. A New England woman could have encountered a black man of any of those descriptions about 1750, and quite easily at that in the circuit of cities and towns like Boston, Massachusetts; Newport

and Providence, Rhode Island; and Hartford, New Haven, and New London, Connecticut, all places where blacks constituted approximately a fifth to a third of the population in the mid-eighteenth century.[2]

In the delicate words of his times, Haynes's origins were "obscure" and "unfavorable."[3] While a woman who leaves her newborn child to others seems less than admirable, she probably did guess accurately that he would receive some care because he would be indentured shortly after birth. Indentures, which had been long used in the American colonies to secure a labor force, were still common around 1750, though they would become rarer among the white laboring class in the second half of the eighteenth century. Haynes's mother abandoned him not to starve but to serve. At the age of five months, Haynes was bound over to a pious family in Granville, Massachusetts, a farming town. Except for brief stints of military service in the War of Independence, Haynes lived with the family, the Roses, until he was ready to strike out on his own in his twenties.[4]

Still, Haynes's name, at least his surname, was reported to have come from his mother, although not as a matrilineal or patrilineal inheritance. It was, according to Haynes's acquaintances, a curse his mother inflicted upon the man who had sheltered her as she gave birth. She cursed her white patron by naming a black boy after him. Perhaps he criticized her or welcomed her less than wholeheartedly, or perhaps she cursed the very house in which a black boy emerged from her body. The given name Lemuel was, perhaps, the ironic reply of the man upon whose head the curse fell. Lemuel is a scriptural name, significant in a colony in which children were named after the "great prophets, poets, and heroes" of the Bible.[5]

Lemuel appears only once in Scripture, in Proverbs 31, a king articulating prophecies taught him by his mother. The biblical mother instructs her son well: "What, my son? and what, the son of my womb? and what, the son of my vows? Give not thy strength unto women" (Prov. 31:2–3). Such a riposte to the troubled mother of 1753, whose son was not of her vows, could hardly have been clearer, while only slightly less obvious was the retroactive warning to the absent black father and the prospective one to the black boy in arms. Create not such offspring, the patron seems to have said. Possibly, too, here was a hint that the new mother was married to a man other than Haynes's father, for Proverbs 31 also notes, "Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her. . . . Strength and honour are her clothing. . . . Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her" (Prov. 31:10–28). If she was the wife of a white man and someone else named her dark son Lemuel, it is unlikely that she misunderstood the allusion or the irony.

Recollections by acquaintances and our own speculation allow us to imagine those first moments or days of Haynes's life, in which his parent rejected him because of his color and his name was perhaps given as a curse. We can also see in retrospect that the name Lemuel was prophetic in its reliance upon Scripture to grapple with the existence of an illegitimate mixed-race newborn in Connecticut in 1753. The name means "belonging to God," and the Bible

would be central to Haynes's antislavery views and social philosophy. If we understand the Lemuel of Proverbs as rising from a lost ancient text to appear briefly in the canonical Bible, we may well appreciate the American Lemuel as rallying the deeper resources of Scripture in opposition to slavery in his time. Haynes the American accomplished what Lemuel the Old Testament king foretold. The king proscribed forgetfulness of the law and perversion of one's judgment; he championed "the poor and needy" and "all such as are appointed to destruction" (Prov. 31:5–9). Haynes's abolitionist and theological writings fulfilled this prophecy.

Indenture in western Massachusetts provided Haynes with a passage to maturity, literacy, and a ministerial career. Our evidence comprises only his recollections and those of a few acquaintances, but we can read in it some of the characteristic passages of young black men and indentured servants in New England in the second half of the eighteenth century. Haynes and his acquaintances emphasized that he was fortunate as a boy to avoid "low" society, to live in a matrix of family and friends, and to be educated, even if he only irregularly entered the classroom.[6] Here were emphasized more than platitudes about boys. Probably Haynes and his contemporaries knew that most mixed-race boys without parental care in eighteenth-century New England fared worse than Haynes did.

Had the young Haynes been adopted into a New England free black or slave family, or placed into one by the white people who witnessed his first days, he would probably have been absorbed into what William D. Piersen describes as "a school of miseducation creating a caste system that belied the region's proud democratic traditions."[7] Although New England free blacks and slaves included many skilled laborers and some literate men and women, rarely did white society offer them opportunities that would have helped them move beyond domestic service and common labor.[8] Even those who received public respect, like the music teacher Newport Gardner and the poet Phillis Wheatley, lived precarious lives. Both the singer and the poet died in misery because of the racial inequities of post-Revolutionary New England. Gardner was expatriated to Liberia, where he succumbed to disease; Wheatley was manumitted but immiserated and, with all her children, perished at a young age.[9] Had Haynes been adopted into an abusive or unkind white family that was interested in his labor to the exclusion of the development of his piety, his literary and oratorical skills, and his sense of responsibility, he would almost certainly have lived a miserable life as a boy and suffered from the handicaps of a near-slave as a man. Eighteenth-century black New Englanders included, as Lorenzo Johnston Greene makes clear, not only agricultural and industrial laborers who lived in black families, whether slave or free, but also laborers and servants who lived with their masters and mistresses from a young age and who probably often suffered from deracination and isolation in addition to the ordinary tribulations of childhood.[10]

Instead, the young Haynes fit into a New England sentimental tradition of the informal adoption of black boys and girls, sometimes slaves, sometimes indentured servants, into white families as surrogate children, even, occasion-

ally, as the most favored child. Phillis Wheatley, in her youth and teenage years, was one such adopted daughter. For another example, Jacob, a two-year-old son of a freedman, Newport, and his wife, Violet, was taken in until age twenty-four by his father's former owner, Ezra Stiles. A minister in Newport, Rhode Island, later president of Yale College, Stiles had counted the young Newport as among his own children and had him "admitted into full Communion in the Church" in 1775, inoculated against smallpox in 1778, and ultimately freed later that year. When Newport and Violet experienced financial difficulties in the early 1780s, Stiles hired them both and assumed responsibility for Jacob. In 1784, he confirmed his involvement in the black family by marking as important the birth and baptism of another son, Abraham, to Newport and Violet.[11] The young Haynes was a surrogate child, even the most favored one. "Deacon David Rose," Haynes wrote, "was a man of singular piety. I was taught the principles of religion. His wife, my mistress, had peculiar attachment to me: she treated me as though I was her own child. I remember it was a saying among the neighbours, that she loved Lemuel more than her own children."[12]

A 1766 funeral sermon for Sarah Gold, preached by Daniel Farrand, alluded to this tradition. A leader of the mid-eighteenth-century revivals and a minister in Canaan, Connecticut, Farrand tutored Haynes in the late 1770s in Latin and theology and, with several others, certified him as qualified for ordination in 1780. In the 1766 funeral sermon, Farrand addressed the husband of the deceased, *"Dear Brother,* We (as in Duty bound) are come to this Day (I trust) in sympathetic Love, to condole your heavy Loss, and mourn with you, under the sore Correction of the heavy Hand of a righteous God upon you, who hath broken you with Breach upon Breach, and sent Death after Death into your family. It pleased the Most High, but a few Weeks before the Death of his Wife, to take away his Negro Wench and her Child, and then his own Child by Death."[13] Since in the New England theological tradition, the family was the fundamental unit of human society and the model of all human relations, Farrand did not speak lightly when he counted a black woman and her child as family members of a white congregant, whether or not the child was the owner's offspring.[14]

White families' reliance on the labor of black servants or slaves and the sentimental absorption of a few young blacks into white families as surrogate children were, argues Joanne Pope Melish, notable in eighteenth-century New England.[15] Indentures and less formal arrangements made the labor of young blacks available to white families, yet familial roles in white households allowed some blacks to challenge the idea of dependence. The combination of exploitation and sentiment not only gave some black New Englanders a chance to rise through white patronage but also offered a familial and religious language of affection, benevolence, sentiment, and virtue that African Americans used as leverage for respect and security in a white society. Phillis Wheatley, for instance, in articulating this familial and religious language in her poems, deployed what Phillip M. Richards describes as "the most central aspects" of "eighteenth-century Anglo-American culture" even as she

explored and articulated her African origins.[16] Indeed, much of black New Englanders' thought in the Revolutionary era and the early republic was an attempt to gain this leverage and to use it in the antislavery cause.

The love and care of the Rose family were prominent in Haynes's recollections, but he also recalled the labor he performed as an indentured servant and the fear he felt one day when left alone in the family's home. His comments suggest a youth more complicated than a simple adoption into a loving family. Beginning in his youth, Haynes served as an agricultural laborer, tending animals and clearing land for planting. He gained a reputation as a trustworthy servant who conducted business for his master. "If a horse was to be purchased," Cooley reported, "Lemuel was the purchaser." Moreover, his master hired out his labor to neighboring farmers.[17] His work was occasionally dangerous, as when he was entrusted with the transportation of his master's ox only to find the animal turning on him. The animal's horns cut his face and head, but a passerby lured it away as it was trying to gore Haynes, who had scrambled behind a tree trunk.[18] His good head for his master's business was matched by a desire to attend school. That his indenture included the proviso that he be educated in "a district-school" and that he was placed in a pious family probably indicate that his first white patron made an effort to ensure a decent future for him.[19] His workdays were so long, he recalled, that he rarely attended a full day of classes, but visited the schoolhouse at the end of the day to procure lessons that he completed at home in the evenings. He was proud of his self-education and was renowned locally as an autodidact. In his early twenties, he described himself in one of his first compositions as "Lemuel a young <Mollatto Man> Mollato who obtained what little knowledge he possesses, by his own Application to Letters."[20] His sermonizing and literary talents were recognized early. His boyhood friends reported that he memorized sermons as well as stretches of the Bible, and his master relied on him not only to read the sermons of preachers like George Whitefield but also to analyze them for the edification of the family.[21]

Unfortunately, these and other recollections hardly provide the narrative of his early life, yet they do convey some of what Haynes found crucial in his boyhood and youth. One remembrance was the fear of being without helpmeets and companions. He recalled the terror he felt during a thunderstorm when the Roses had left him alone in the house. For years, he recounted that he found himself alone and before God at that moment. He also recalled a profound terror he felt when he was sinking to the bottom of a swimming pond, unable to avoid drowning. A neighbor rescued him, and Haynes told and retold the story all his life.[22] Another remembrance was the temptation of skepticism and freethinking. Several local men with freethinking tendencies and books—one presumes they were volumes favorable to Deism or natural theology—sought to recruit the youthful Haynes into their ranks. Perhaps they, like many of his contemporaries, recognized his talents and intelligence, but he reported that he made only a few steps in the liberal direction, then quickly retreated to orthodox ground.[23] Once, after reading the words of a skeptic, he sought out his master to pray with him. Haynes's biog-

rapher, Timothy Mather Cooley, who admired the black man for his orthodoxy, wrote thankfully that he had survived "the dangerous season of life," "the perilous period of life," the teenage years, "when the unformed mind is specially exposed to the influence of skepticism."[24]

Before he turned twenty years old, Haynes encountered the New Divinity, the post-Edwardsean New England Calvinist theology. Mr. Rose and Mrs. Rose began attending different churches when the husband decided to leave the Granville church for a new "Separate" church that was committing itself to the New Divinity being promulgated by theologians like Joseph Bellamy, Nathaniel Emmons, and Samuel Hopkins. Haynes noted, with humor, that it became his job to accompany his mistress to services conducted by a more moderate Calvinist minister, yet he also noted that he himself became one of Hopkins's followers.[25]

A crisis conversion at about age twenty years completes our account of the youthful Haynes. Again a New England tradition infused itself into his life, since the natural world first induced in him his sense of compunction and then provided the setting in which he came to feel his election. He found himself alarmed one night by "the *Aurora Borealis,* or *Northern Lights,"* seen in his community as a "presage of the day of judgment." "Greatly alarmed" at the thought of dying unconverted, he remained terrified until one day, "under an apple-tree," he found "the Saviour."[26] His work ethic, his good head, his orthodoxy, and his fear of friendlessness and death all converged in the wake of his conversion. Continuing as an agricultural laborer, he set himself sometime in the mid-1770s to writing and preparing for the ministry, studying Latin and Greek, hermeneutics, and Calvinist theology. He joined the body of New Divinity ministers who promoted his career, ordained him, and preserved his manuscripts. He adopted one of them, Job Swift, as a surrogate father. When Swift died unexpectedly years later, Haynes took the sermons of his "spiritual father," written only in "short minutes" and notes, and transformed them into a volume of sermons as a monument to the departed minister.[27] Haynes became, indeed, among the strictest of the orthodox, for even as a young man he supported the restriction of church membership to the converted and he became a scourge to his worldly peers. The "half-way covenant," or Stoddardean position, according to which signs of election were not required for full church membership for the children of full members, was a development of late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century New England churches that Haynes, like other Edwardseans, resisted.[28]

The role he would play with his peers was typified in an incident that seems to have occurred shortly after his conversion. Haynes and two other young men were assigned to sit with the corpse of a townsman who had just died. To the young black man's horror, the two others began to jest at mortality, even anointing the corpse's mouth with some liquor, which, as they put it, the dead man had loved in life. Mortified, Haynes reproved the two reprobates. The justice of his comments came when one of the two underwent a crisis conversion, citing Haynes's remarks as the trigger of his compunction.[29]

Like many young New Englanders in the 1770s and, more particularly, like many young men touched by the New Divinity, Haynes was swept up in the American War of Independence. God seemed to be commanding resistance to England. In 1774, as one of his first acts as a free man, Haynes joined the minutemen and began drilling regularly. In 1775, he marched with other Granville men to Roxbury in the wake of the Boston Massacre. In 1776, he marched to Ticonderoga to secure the New York fort popularly known as the "Gibraltar of America," seized in mid-1775 from the British by forces led by Ethan Allen.[30] (Under the command of Arthur St. Clair, the fort fell to British forces led by Burgoyne a year later.) After the northern campaign, Haynes returned to the Rose homestead and farmwork, although his indenture had expired in 1774. He also began to write—responding to the engagement at Lexington between the patriots and the redcoats and to the Declaration of Independence; criticizing the slave trade, slavery, and oppression; preparing sermons for family prayers; and commenting on the vicissitudes of life, such as the sudden death of a neighbor.

In the mid-1770s, Haynes composed an essay he titled "Liberty Further Extended: Or free thoughts on the illegality of Slave-keeping."[31] The essay remained unpublished in his lifetime, but it should not be considered private. His manuscripts were preserved by white people with whom he studied, to whom he preached, and from whom came information about his life when Cooley composed his biography shortly after his death. It seems likely that some of these contemporaries and their successors read his essays, poems, and sermons. When some of his sermons and notes were collected, they were placed in collections among the manuscripts of luminaries of American Calvinism like Jonathan Edwards and Stephen West.[32]

In "Liberty Further Extended," Haynes criticized the Atlantic slave trade and American slavery with language and standards he drew from the Bible, abolitionist publications, and the republican thought of the Revolutionary years. Haynes's republicanism announced itself in his choice of one of the most famous sentences of the Declaration of Independence for an epigraph. Perhaps the minor misspellings indicate that Haynes memorized the phrases, after hearing the Declaration promulgated in public or encountering it in a newspaper, and then quoted them: "We hold these truths to be self-Evident, that all men are created Equal, that they are Endowed By their Creator with Ceartain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happyness. *Congress.*"[33] These words were an overture to his public career, since for more than fifty years after setting them at the head of "Liberty Further Extended" Haynes continued to write about liberty, faith in God, and the governance of a fair society.

Scripture, abolitionism, and republicanism all colored Haynes's essay, which was at heart a protest against the fact that the slave trade and slavery denied blacks their natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Haynes began with the asseveration of a natural right to liberty, awarded by God to humankind and essential to the human condition. "Liberty, & freedom," Haynes wrote, "is an innate principle, which is unmoveably placed in the human Species." As a gift from God, "liberty is a jewel," Haynes contin-

ued, "handed down to man from the cabinet of heaven, and is Coeval with his Existance." As an element of the human condition, liberty was, Haynes added, so vital that men and women necessarily resisted its unjust curtailment. All those who "infring upon a mans Liberty may reasonably Expect to meet with oposision, seeing the Defendant cannot Comply to Non-resistance, unless he Counter-acts the very Laws of nature," he wrote.[34]

Using a homely analogy that conveyed his feelings about slavery as well as, certainly, those of many of his contemporaries both black and white, Haynes wrote that it would have been as likely that a slave would have passively accepted enslavement "as it would be to stop a man's Breath, and yet have it caus no convulsion in nature." Perhaps he recalled his brush with death by drowning when he wrote about the natural convulsions of a man without air; perhaps he felt that enslavement was like the water that had enclosed him as he drifted downward. Indeed, in the American War of Independence he noted, "Men seem to manifest the most sanguine resolution not to Let their natural rights go without their Lives go with them."[35] Sanguine, of course, here carried the old meaning of bloody, implying that for the cause of liberty the patriots were willing to shed their own blood and that of its enemies.

Black men and women could no more have been expected to remain slaves, Haynes reasoned, than Americans could have been expected to remain subordinate to the arbitrary and oppressive English Crown and Parliament. The oppression inherent in slavery, Haynes noted, speaking of the patriots as still English, was in fact a "much greater opression, than that which Englishmen seem so much to spurn at" and "which they, themselves, impose on others." Since the American Revolution was being fought by those "zelous to maintain, and foster our invaded rights," those patriots should hardly have assumed the position of the English Crown and Parliament, Haynes argued. Liberty was a divine privilege, Haynes continued, so "he that would infringe upon my Benifit, assumes an unreasonable and tyrannic power."[36]

From the right to liberty, the determination to defend it, and the injustice of usurping it, Haynes's conclusion about blacks followed easily. An "affrican," he wrote, "has Equally as good a right to his Liberty in common with Englishmen." Since both blacks and whites shared one human nature, he argued, "Liberty is Equally as precious to a *Black man,* as it is to a *white one,* and Bondage Equally as intollerable to the one as it is to the other." Slaves, therefore, justly demanded their freedom, while the slave trade and slavery were unjust and illegitimate. An "African," Haynes wrote, or "a Negro may Justly Chalenge, and has an undeniable right to his Liberty: Consequently, the practise of Slave-keeping, which so much abounds in this Land is illicit." As he did by invoking the sanguinary determination of the patriots, Haynes here, as well as in later writings, acknowledged the legitimacy of a slaves' insurrection, but his explicit recommendations were always for truer Christianity and better governance than he believed prevailed in a society that tolerated slave-trading and slaveholding. What was illicit under Christian rule should have been renounced by Christians and forbidden by a republican state. "There is Not the Least precept, or practise, in the Sacred Scriptures, that

constitutes a Black man a Slave, any more than a white one," Haynes noted in commingling Scripture and republican thought, so "a mans Couler" was irrelevant to "his natural right." One "not of the same couler with his Neighbour" should not have been "Deprived of those things that Distuingsheth him from the Beasts of the field."[37]

An indentured servant from his early childhood to the year 1774, Haynes was never a slave, though he almost certainly encountered black New Englanders who were enslaved and knew that many other black New Englanders fought in the War of Independence. Born and reared in New England, he never saw Africa, never crossed the Atlantic in the hold of a slave ship, never suffered in the slave plantations of the New World. In his protest against the slave trade and slavery, he drew upon abolitionist literature as well as upon his experience as a young black man in colonial and Revolutionary America. Rarely recorded in autobiographical form, Haynes's experiences and emotions still surfaced in his writings, which brought to bear some of the tendencies of eighteenth-century social thought and religion—antislavery, Calvinism, and republicanism—on the situation of blacks in colonial America and the new republic. Abolitionist literature gave him his understanding of West Africa, the Atlantic slave trade, and the experiences of slaves in the Americas outside New England. This understanding, which figured heavily in "Liberty Further Extended" and his later writings, derived, he wrote, from "a pamphlet printed in Philadelphia, a few years ago."[38]

The pamphlet Haynes quoted, paraphrased, and continued for years to echo was Anthony Benezet's 1771 *Some Historical Account of Guinea.* In support of Benezet's abolitionist views, it printed extracts from the writings of Andrew Brue, William Bosman, Jean Barbot, William Smith, and others who had visited West Africa and composed accounts of both the slave trade and the African societies they observed. It also printed extracts from the writings of the social philosopher Francis Hutcheson and other English and Scottish thinkers.[39] Haynes culled from the *Historical Account of Guinea* information about West Africa and the slave trade, passages of social philosophy, and a pertinent biblical verse, much favored then and later by abolitionists, Acts 17:26: God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

By the mid-1770s, Haynes, already steeped in Scripture, may have independently interpreted Acts 17:26 to imply that blacks should have been free, but he seems, for "Liberty Further Extended," to have copied the verse not from the New Testament itself but from the Quaker Benezet's rearrangement of the Bible text. Benezet quoted selectively from the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth verses and added a comma to the phrase "all nations of men": *"God,* that made the World—hath made of *one Blood* all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth, and hath determined the—Bounds of their habitation." Tellingly, Haynes retained Benezet's punctuation and some of his capitalization.[40] A relevant contrast to Haynes's reiteration here is that of his theological progenitor, Jonathan Edwards, who quoted

the King James Version of the verse accurately in his notes.[41] Haynes himself often used biblical verses verbatim in both his autographs and his publications, so if he borrowed from Benezet at even the fundamental level of quotations from Scripture, other derivations from the Quaker abolitionist are likely. Moreover, Benezet's pamphlet was a favorite of Haynes's black abolitionist peer, Olaudah Equiano, an Afro-British abolitionist whose writings paralleled the black New Englander's. Equiano's friend and co-abolitionist Quobna Ottobah Cugoano similarly used Acts 17:26 to argue that "it never could be lawful and just for any one nation, or people, to oppress and enslave another."[42]

From Benezet's pamphlet Haynes quoted or paraphrased commentaries that inevitably depicted European and American involvement in the slave trade, whether in West Africa, the Middle Passage, or the New World, as brutal and depraved. Europeans resisted peace and fomented wars in West Africa, Brue reported, "since the greater the wars, the more slaves."[43] Slave traders paid some Africans to attack, at a great cost of human life, groups from which captives were then seized, Bosman reported.[44] Dutch slave traders sided with one African group against another, with captors against captives, in order to gain more souls for the trade, Barbot reported.[45] And "Discerning Natives" regretted that Christians had ever encountered them and "introduced the traffick of Slaves," Smith reported.[46] Deeply disturbed by the shadow cast upon Christianity by the participation of nominal Christians in the slave trade, Haynes supplemented Smith's observation that the natives judged that Christianity carried "with it a Sword, a gun, powder, and Ball" with his own comment that the slave trade "Brings ignomy upon our holy religion, and mak[e]s the Name of Christians sound Odious in the Ears of the heathen."[47]

Beyond these quotations and observations, Haynes relied on Benezet's pamphlet for a method of attacking the Atlantic slave trade and for a history of slavery. This use of Benezet's method and his historical understanding explains much about the arguments of Haynes and his black abolitionist peers. Haynes attacked the slave trade by noting that it conflicted with Christianity as well as with the "general attention" to the "liberties of mankind"; by petitioning those in power, even slavers themselves, to eradicate the trade; and by focusing criticism on the African origins of the trade, not only in European misdeeds on the West African coast but also in the West African slave-trading societies in which, abolitionists believed, Islam encouraged the traffic in human beings.[48] The history of enslavement that Benezet offered, corroborated by the first-hand experiences of men like Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, Olaudah Equiano, and James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, provided the backdrop for Haynes's abolitionism.[49] The black abolitionists joined what Betty Fladeland describes as the "diplomatic corps for Benezet"; unlike its white members, they had often suffered the experiences of slaves described in the Quaker abolitionist's writings.[50]

Benezet's pamphlet complemented the understanding that men like Cugoano, Equiano, Gronniosaw, and Haynes had of themselves as members of an oppressed race. The black abolitionists of Haynes's generation consid-

ered not only the sufferings of servants, captives, and slaves but also a larger system in which slavery, long accepted, abolitionists believed, in Old Testament Israelite and some West African Muslim societies, was twisted in the centuries of European expansion into the Americas into the carnage and misery of the slave trade and New World slavery. This ability to examine the slave trade and slavery in a systematic, historicist way determined the quality of the first black abolitionism as well as of the postslavery freedom its authors envisioned. It was also an ability to understand slavery as an institution of the Atlantic littoral, long known in West Africa and by 1776 familiar in the West Indies and the mainland colonies. Eighteenth-century abolitionists, black and white, thus set enslavement in a narrative of far longer duration than the Atlantic slave trade or New World slavery. For instance, one of the most eminent abolitionists of the day, Thomas Clarkson, wrote that the Book of Genesis, in the chapters recounting the Joseph story, demonstrated that the "commerce of the human species was of a very early date." "The instant determination of the brothers, on the first sight of the merchants, *to sell him,"* proved, according to Clarkson, that slavery and the slave trade were established in the ancient world of the Israelites and the Egyptians.[51]

Although the origins of the slave trade were in the lands of the Old Testament, Haynes's peers believed, it was the Atlantic trade that was their immediate concern. The abolitionists' understanding of the history and the system of the slave trade determined the structure of the world in which Haynes and his peers found themselves—the enslavement of black people both in Africa and the Americas; the black affiliation to sub-Saharan African, Islamic, and Christian religions; the existence of a small generation of articulate black abolitionists; and the late-eighteenth-century ideal of a truly free postslavery society. Moreover, this sweeping history wrote black people into the Christian story and asserted an essential identification of all the bound or oppressed, whether Israelites, American patriots in 1776, indentured servants, or blacks enslaved in the New World. This sense of belonging to Christian history and identifying with others who had been delivered from bondage fostered a great optimism among the first black abolitionists that the slave trade and slavery would soon end and an inclusive free society would soon emerge.

"Let us go on," Haynes urged, "to consider the great hardships, and sufferings, those Slaves are put to, in order to be transported into these plantations." In this discussion of the slave trade, he relied on Benezet's pamphlet for his information. Hundreds of slaves were crowded into the holds of slave ships, some shackled together, many naked. Often a third of the captives in the transatlantic passage died, while some committed suicide in their distress. Captives who resisted at sea were often tortured and murdered by the slavers in retaliation. The slave trade inevitably involved the dismemberment of families and friendships at the point of initial seizure of the slaves, at the coastal African slave-trading factories, and at the slave auctions of the New World. Like many abolitionists, Benezet and Haynes were distressed by the fact that husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, wept as they were separated by the hard-hearted sellers and buyers of the slave trade.[52]

Within this abolitionist-minded account of the slave trade, Haynes took more pains than had Benezet to represent the emotions and sufferings of its black captives. It seems likely not only that his own sense of blackness led him into the hearts and minds of the victims of the slave trade but also that echoes of his own sense of difference—the result of his abandonment at birth because of his "tincture," his servitude in a white family, his service as one of the black New Englanders of the patriot effort—resonated in "Liberty Further Extended." While there was no explicit autobiography in the essay, there were significant accretions to Benezet's phrases, including Haynes's ventures into the emotions and sufferings of blacks under the slave trade, slavery, and, more generally, oppression. It seems virtually undeniable that as Haynes imagined the feelings of slaves, he was fathoming his own experience as a black indentured servant; he was addressing not only enslaved Americans but also free blacks, indentured or not, who were oppressed though not chattel slaves. His sense of blackness was articulated in a drive to unearth historical and theological meanings pertinent to the situation of blacks in the New World, yet unimagined by their white contemporaries. In other writings Haynes cast himself as a representative African American, so it seems appropriate to follow him here into the idea that he was expressing a suffering partly his own, but one far beyond his own, too.

The hearts and minds of blacks appear in "Libery Further Extended" in republican dress in their outrage over the curtailment of their natural liberty and in their certitude of a shared humanity. Blacks portrayed in this manner were familiar to whites, even if the latter still considered them liable to enslavement. Whites knew well that blacks resisted slavery by escape, intransigence, or violence. The attraction of the freedom that the British in the War of Independence had seemed to offer slaves, at least in Virginia and South Carolina, who came to the loyalist side in the Revolution was notorious among the patriots.[53] Eighteenth-century defenders of slavery virtually never alleged that black men and black women were content in their enslavement. Defenses of slavery generally relied on its economic value or the fearsome prospect of freeing the slaves into a society that had long mistreated them. White opponents of slavery, like Benezet and Samuel Hopkins, understood the defenders of slavery and, consequently, harped on fears of black resistance, the immorality of letting lucre override justice, and the impolicy of the swelling of a black population, slave or free, in the American nation. For one of the great fears of the whites who came to criticize slavery in the late eighteenth century, when some states were enacting legislation to free slaves, was the presence of blacks as an uncontrollable part of the population in the new nation. Abolitionists thus sometimes accepted the antiblack assumptions of the defenders of slavery, leaving Haynes a legacy of racism in both Calvinist and republican thought with which he would grapple in his maturity.

While his white contemporaries, including men who influenced him, like Hopkins and Thomas Jefferson, gazed with horror at a future black American population, Haynes delved into the horrors of the slaves' lives. Haynes pressed deep into "the Sorrows, the Greif, the Distress, and anguish" of slaves,

here reaching more of the feelings of blacks than white abolitionists like Benezet were willing to do as well as revealing something of his own heart. Haynes depicted African captives of the slave trade in emotional anguish as they were forced away from "their Own Country." "Frinds," he noted, "must forever part with Each Other." Families were ruined by the slave trade, leaving parents to mourn "for the Loss of their Exiled *Child* [and] the husband for his Departed wife." Using an image drawn from Scripture that he would repeat throughout his life, Haynes wrote that the voices of the slain seemed to rise "from the watry Deep." A captive child's mother, he imagined, cursed maternity and begged, "Come, O King of terrors. Dissipate my greif, and send my woes into oblivion." The enslavement of one's child, he added, served to "imbitter all . . . Domestic Comforts." Children under slavery were ruled, he stated, by "white masters haveing but Little, or no Effection for them" and were consequently victims of "abuses that they recieve from the hands of their masters." Was Haynes here thinking of the mother who had abandoned him, contrasting her to the African mother so loath to see her child trapped by slavecatchers that she desired to die? American slaves were treated, Haynes wrote bluntly, as though they were "Below the very Beasts of the field," although it was obvious that "Men are made for more noble Ends than to be Drove to market, like Sheep and oxen." The "miserys of a Slave" made life so "abject," Haynes stated, that "if I may so speak 'tis a hell on Earth."[54]

It seems likely that Haynes himself had one foot in that hell as he matured as a black indentured servant, bereft of mother and father, in colonial New England. It was a hell for blacks, whether free, indentured, or enslaved. Even had the Roses cared for him deeply, he could have been worked or mistreated, at home, in places where his labor was hired, or in the community, in a way that a natural child might not. And even had they cared for him deeply, they may still not have been able to rid themselves of the prejudice against blacks that was typical in eighteenth-century New England. The occasional New England adoption of young blacks as surrogate children probably had an inherent ambivalence that allowed Haynes to praise the Roses as well as to recall the fears and isolation of his youth. With our scraps of evidence, we today have no way of judging whether Haynes, in his early twenties, was thinking about his own childhood when he wrote of abuse and lack of affection, or whether he was implying something about the limits of the affection of his adopted family when he described incidents like being left alone during a storm. What seems most plausible is that he matured in a loving family but that even that familial context did not provide an impenetrable shield against racism.

More centrally, Haynes echoed the religious language and biblical allusions of Benezet's pamphlet, yet the black soldier brought far more of Scripture to bear on his argument than did the white Quaker. After his accounts of blacks' feelings, this expanded use of the Bible is Haynes's other significant revision of Benezet's pamphlet. For instance, both Benezet and Haynes alluded to Scripture in writing that the blood of the slain will testify against their murderers and demand vengeance. Quoting Bartolome de las Casas on

the story of Cain and Abel, Benezet intoned, “If the blood of one man unjustly shed, calls loudly for vengeance, how strong must be the cry of that of so many unhappy creatures which is shedding daily.”[55] Extracts from Granville Sharp’s abolitionist writings appended to *Some Historical Account of Guinea* also included the notion of “innocent blood” calling for “vengeance.”[56] Yet, with his characteristically expansive manner of superimposing scriptural allusions and expressions of emotion onto the white abolitionists’ barer sentences and sparser references, Haynes wrote:

> O! what an Emens Deal of Affrican-Blood hath Been Shed by the inhuman cruelty of Englishmen! that reside in a Christian Land! Both at home, and in their own Country? they being the fomenters of those wars, that is absolutely necessary, in order to carry on this cursed trade; and in their Emigration into these colonies? and By their merciless masters, in some parts at Least? O ye that have made yourself Drunk with human Blood! altho’ you may go with impunity here in this Life, yet God will hear the Crys of that innocent Blood, which crys from the Sea, and from the ground against you, Like the Blood of Abel, more pealfull than thunder, *vengence! vengence!*[57]

The more forceful depiction of the blood of the slain calling to God and crying for vengeance—an image Haynes repeated throughout his life’s writings—suggested not only Cain’s betrayal of Abel, whose blood, God says, “crieth to me from the ground” (Gen. 4:10), but also an Old Testament tradition of a kinsman’s duty to avenge the murder of his family member.

In Judges 8:18–21, a book Haynes quoted in “Liberty Further Extended,” Gideon avenges his brothers’ deaths by slaying two enemies. In Numbers 35:15–29, for another instance, God gives Moses rules about the right actions of “the revenger of blood.” In the Old Testament, the blood of the suffering faithful cries out to God, who avenges the murder of his followers and delivers their nation from its enemies. Haynes may have had on his mind Moses’ song, in which the patriarch laments that the Israelites have abandoned proper worship but still offers a prediction that God “will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people” (Deut. 32:43).

Moreover, it seems certain that Haynes, in his comments on Africans’ blood, alluded to another book he quoted in “Liberty Further Extended” and would return to frequently in later writings—Revelation. In this prophecy concerning the triumph of the godly and the defeat of the demonic, the harlot appears “drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Christ” (Rev. 17:6), while thunder (also mentioned in Haynes’s essay) peals as God’s avenging angel releases the last of the plagues upon the ungodly in the end times and Babylon falls (Rev. 16:17–19). In fact, Revelation 16 was understood by abolitionists of Haynes’s generation to include the slave trade and slavery among the plagues of the end times. Indeed, Prince Hall, a black abolitionist who was about twenty years Haynes’s senior, extended the references to Revelation 16 and 17 to chapter 18. Hall wrote that the “merchants and traders” who set the “iron yoke of slavery and cruelty” upon Africans

were characterized in Revelation 18:11–13.[58] In those verses men of commerce weep for the loss of their unwholesome trade as divine judgment falls upon Babylon. God's people, however, have obeyed his command to flee Babylon and rejoice as the sinful are judged. The black abolitionists could hardly have been clearer in their views of the historical significance of the slave trade and slavery and the new age that seemed to be dawning in the late eighteenth century.

In expanding the Quaker's references to Mosaic law and other elements of Scripture, Haynes constructed a bridge from Benezet's Christian humanitarism to a black theology in which the restoration of God's chosen black people was central to the new age. To Benezet's humanitarian protest against the slave trade and slavery, Haynes added a religious and scriptural vision of first, slavery once legitimate under Mosaic law and, by derivation, under Islamic law, but forever forbidden by Christ; and second, God's chosen people, betrayed, by themselves as well as by others, but ultimately restored to the divine community. With this vision, Haynes could explain the slave trade and slavery, situate himself in the nascent abolitionist movement, and reach out to his countrymen, who would share, he believed, his demand for racial equality since they shared his religion and, oftentimes, his experience as an indentured servant and a patriot soldier.

From Benezet, Haynes absorbed the argument—the common coin of his black abolitionist contemporaries like Quobna Ottobah Cugoano and Olaudah Equiano—that West African societies practiced a form of slavery authorized by the Torah and the Qur'an but barred by the New Testament and that the collusion of white slave traders and West African chiefs had corrupted this Israelite and Muslim form of slavery with the extreme abuses of the Atlantic slave trade and New World slavery. Haynes and his peers understood West African slavery to have originated with the Old Testament Israelites, and its corruption to have occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as Islamic traders forced African slaves into the bloody channels of the Atlantic slave trade. Presupposing Benezet's history of West African slavery and of the Atlantic slave trade, Haynes and his peers achieved a religious vision that was at best vestigial in the Quaker's views. References to Scripture, some obvious in Haynes's writings, others more submerged, expressed the eighteenth-century black abolitionists' view of the triumph of God's people and the restoration of their community after the defeat of their slave-trading and slaveholding enemies. This historical and theological understanding of West Africa, slavery, and the Atlantic slave trade was the foundation of eighteenth-century black abolitionism.

Eighteenth-century abolitionists, black and white, articulated a religiously inspired history of African slavery and its relation to the Atlantic slave trade—an understanding that was confirmed at key points by authors who had survived the Middle Passage. They understood slaveholding to have originated in the lands of the Old Testament, then to have spread to West Africa through Muslims, a people whom they considered to have mistakenly adapted Judaism for their own purposes notwithstanding the coming of Christ. This under-

standing of Muslims probably derived from Muhammad's sojourn among the Jews of Medina as well as from the tales of the Old Testament recounted in the Qur'an. This understanding was probably also encouraged by an eighteenth-century translation of the Qur'an that led readers to see it as derivative of Judaism and supportive of slavery.[59] If Islam had derived from Jewish religion and if both were faiths of obedience to law instead of experience of the spirit (as abolitionists thought was true of Christianity), then the slave-trading and the slaveholding record of Muslims were to be attributed first to Islamic law, but ultimately to the Old Testament. Jewish and Islamic religion authorized, it seemed, the enslavement of strangers or nonbelievers, though the texts and laws of those faiths mandated fair treatment of some slaves. This belief, which echoed discourse and debates within Islamic societies, may have been common in societies where Islam was practiced, where Muslims were influential, or where slaves harbored memories of Muslims' role in the slave trade in the late eighteenth century.[60]

Islam provided, Robert J. Allison argues, a foil that helped define American ideology in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.[61] Islam played the same role for abolitionists. Indeed, Quobna Ottobah Cugoano wrote that the evil of the slave trade was most evident in Muslim societies: "But why this diabolical traffic has not been abolished before now, and why it was introduced at all, . . . must be greatly imputed to that powerful and pervading agency of infernal wickedness, which reigneth and prevaileth over all nations, and to that umbrageous image of iniquity established thereby; for had there been any truth and righteousness in that grand horn of delusion in the east [i.e., Islam as one of the horns of the beast in Revelation 13], which may seem admirable to some and be looked upon by its votaries as the fine burnished gold, and bright as the finest polished silver, then would not slavery and oppression have been abolished wherever its influence came? . . . Then might we have expected to hear tidings of good, even from those who are gone to repose in the fabulous paradise of Mahomet?" Prince Hall believed that the Masons descended from those who had battled Islam and bound themselves "to keep up the war against the Turks."[62] Islam thus provided a counterpoint for both white Americans and black abolitionists. The latter absorbed the Christian prejudices against Islam, yet they also possessed an awareness of the Muslim role in the slave trade, either from their own experience of captivity in the trade or from reports from traders and captives. To understand the late-eighteenth-century abolitionists, we must comprehend their anti-Muslim animus, which derived not only from Christianity but also from awareness of the experiences of the slaves whose traders in West African factories had been Muslims.

Abolitionists saw the influence of Islam in West Africa and in the African arms of the slave trade, although they were apparently unaware that Muslims controlled only certain routes, not the West African trade at large. North African Muslims had, abolitionists believed, carried Islam into sub-Saharan West Africa, where black Muslims in converted communities then became slave traders. "Guinea" was the eighteenth-century name for the slave-trading

zone, which included, in the names used by abolitionists—Senegal, Sierra Leone, the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast (including the kingdom of Benin), and the kingdoms of Congo and Angola.[63] According to Benezet and his informants, West Africans were "mahometan Negroes," "strict mahometans," "rigid mahometans."[64] Islamic societies like the "Jalofs, Fulis, and Mandingos" were prominent among the sources of the slave traders, Benezet reported. The men in governance who directed the slave trade were known as "King," "Jerafo," "Alkair," "Alkali," and "Alkadi"—the last three obvious English transliterations of Islamic terms—and they exhibited deeds associated with Muslims in being able to "read and write arabic," abstaining from alcohol, and prohibiting trade in their coreligionists.[65] Along the River Gambia, Benezet reported, "we find a mixture of the Moorish and mahometan customs, joined with the original simplicity of the Negroes." An earlier work, William Bosman's *Description of the Coast of Guinea,* had theorized that Islam had influenced Africa south of Senegambia.[66]

In an earlier edition of his pamphlet, one that was probably known to Afro-British abolitionists like Cugoano and Equiano, Benezet had offered more detail on West African Islam. "The Natives along the *Gambia,* worship the one true and only God, whom they call *Allah*—they have no Resemblance of Divine Things, but acknowledge Mahomet—They have some broken Tradition of Jesus Christ, speaking of him as a great Prophet." Moreover, in an obvious reference to Muslim teachers, the "Negroe priests" taught boys how to read and write and "rove about the Country, teaching and instructing." This earlier edition had also noted that although the "Fullys" were among the Islamic slave traders, some of them had plummeted into New World slavery themselves, seemingly sold by their more powerful neighbors, the "Mandingos." An association among the Fulah, the Mandingo, Islam, and the Old Testament was made again in the 1790s by the traveler and surgeon Thomas Winterbottom, who wrote that "the customs of these people bear a striking resemblance to those of the Jews, as described in the Pentateuch, and, after Mahommed, Moses is held by them in the highest estimation."[67]

Quoting Smith on the kingdom of Benin, Benezet echoed the belief that, in Judaic and Islamic style, Africans enslaved only strangers: "The natives are all free men; none but foreigners can be bought and sold there."[68] The slave traders of Benin were not Muslims—Benezet probably did not know that—but the point that he and other abolitionists sought to make was that West African slavery and the Atlantic slave trade preserved the ways of the Old Testament. Slavery regulated by religious law, however, in this late-eighteenth-century abolitionist understanding, had degenerated into the abusive system of a vast network shuttling slaves from coastal or inland Africa across the Atlantic as European men of commerce came to tempt those who had once obeyed the strictures of the Torah or the Qur'an. Describing the Slave Coast, Benezet wrote, "By means of the Negro factors, a trade is carried on above seven hundred miles back in the Inland country; whereby great numbers of slaves are procured, as well as by means of the wars which arise amongst the Negroes, or are fomented by the Europeans, as those brought

from the back country. Here we find the natives *more reconciled to the European manners and trade;* but, at the same time, *much more inured to war,* and ready to assist the European traders, in procuring loadings for the great number of vessels which come yearly on those coasts for slaves."[69]

Such comments recorded traces of changes in West African slavery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, suggesting a popular interpretation of the history of the slave trade and slavery. Muslims controlled some routes of the African slave trade, extending slavery and the trade in captives as Islam spread.[70] In the Senegambian region, as Boubacar Barry notes, "Muslim theocracies" assumed an "active part in the slave trade" and earned a reputation as the scourge of the Senegal River valley.[71] Marabouts, Islamic holy men, became, in Barry's words, "a religious and military aristocracy actively engaged in slave trading" in Senegambia, so that "holy warfare dropped its religious mark. Islam became an excuse for slave trading."[72] As John Hunwick notes, the enslavement of black Africans had been justified by North African and West African Muslims in writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A series of Islamic jurists affirmed a traditional notion that only those who were not Muslim at the time of capture by Muslims were to be enslaved—conversion subsequent to enslavement did not mandate liberation—yet at the same time the jurists described blacks as inherently servile, suited to hard labor and hard conditions, and at best an offensive people whom Muslims should have tried to tolerate and convert.[73] Moreover, the Hamitic origin of the justifiable enslavement of blacks was articulated earlier among Muslims than among Christians.[74]

The provenance of the first black abolitionists' views of Islam can never be precisely ascertained more than two centuries after they first wrote. The evidence suggests that literate black abolitionists of the end of the eighteenth century probably learned something about Islam in West Africa from those who had survived the Middle Passage—not from Africans in a general sense but from those who were sold into the Atlantic trade in a region where Muslims controlled the trade. The view of Islam articulated by the black abolitionists from the 1780s seems to have derived not only from antislavery literature but also from information carried from Africa to America by those enslaved during the expansion of the Senegambian trade in the eighteenth century—precisely the period of the emergence of black abolitionism. The conditions in the second half of the eighteenth century for a flow of information about Africa from Senegambian-born slaves were exactly right. In the Senegambian basin, where Muslims were the main traders, about 300,000 slaves were exported during the eighteenth century, with a plateau from the 1720s to the 1740s during a holy war pursued against nonbelievers in the Futa Jallon region and, in David Richardson's words, "a major surge in exports . . . in the third quarter of the century."[75] The Senegambian Islamic state of Bundu taxed the slave caravans that passed from inland regions through its territory on the journey of the coffles to the factories.[76] Moreover, Muslims themselves occasionally fell into the slave trade, sometimes through betrayal by the Europeans or other Muslims with whom they were trading captives.[77]

The points in the New World that Equiano inhabited or visited, for instance, received from 1751 to 1800 at least 49,000 Senegambian slaves, while in Haynes's New England at least 280 Senegambian slaves disembarked—an indication of enough of a Senegambian presence for any literate African American to have been influenced in his or her views of Africa by those enslaved men and women.[78]

The view of Islam articulated by the first black abolitionists seems to have been corroborated by news about Muslims carried from Africa to America by those enslaved at the time of the expansion of the Senegambian trade in the eighteenth century. Haynes's generation of black abolitionists was almost certainly articulating an understanding ordinarily held by black slaves about the Muslim role in the African slave trade. Indeed, black affiliation to Christian religion in the late eighteenth century may have been quickened by the power of Christianity to explain Muslim participation in the slave trade as a result of the Old Testament origins of the Qur'an. The writings of literate blacks suggest that this is so, but we have no records from the masses of blacks who came into the Christian fold beginning in the late eighteenth century.

Some scholars have seen blacks' conversion to Islam or Christianity as the result of the often-violent encounter between relatively small-scale African societies and larger systems of commerce and migration. The Atlantic slave trade and other types of commerce, new forms of coastal African slavery, and New World slavery pushed not only Africans but also their traditional faiths into contact with the Euro-American world. Peripheral areas were being absorbed into a larger system linking Europe, West Africa, and the New World. The deity of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, who had never been conceived by adherents as a local spirit, seemed a more likely ruler of the great world than did the traditional gods.[79] The universal power of this god, which could then have accounted for large-scale systems of slavery, trade, and forced labor and migration, made such a deity uniquely believable for many black men and black women. But this argument makes no distinction between conversion to Islam and conversion to Christianity, when in fact it is evident from the documents of literate blacks that the Christian religion not only offered a universal deity in charge of all human affairs but also explained the reasons that some African Muslims traded slaves. Explanation itself attracts many adherents as a form of empowerment. There may have been, in Philip D. Morgan's words, some New World blacks who could "view an Islamic and a Christian God as one seamless whole," but for literate black abolitionists Islam and Christianity were worlds apart.[80]

The blame cast upon African slave traders by those who presupposed the Jewish origins of Islam and the Muslim dominance of the West African slave trade had anti-Islamic and anti-Semitic implications. But the abolitionists' goal was less to slur non-Christians than to claim that Christians had a unique capacity to wean themselves from reliance on slave labor and to abolish the slave trade and slavery. That claim itself perhaps was prejudicial, but it was characteristic of antislavery Christians, black and white, in the decades of the first abolitionist efforts. Precisely because Haynes and his peers were aboli-

tionists they had to criticize Islam as they understood it. As they were popularly known in the eighteenth century, African Muslims included not only West African slave traders but also figures like Job Ben Solomon Jallo, whose distinctive feature, recounted in his 1734 *Memoirs,* was that he was a Muslim slave trader who was himself betrayed into the Atlantic trade and sold in America.[81]

Today we may legitimately understand figures like Jallo as creating, in Michael A. Gomez's terms, a "collective inner life," drawing from an "ethnic paradigm" rooted in Africa, and struggling "not only to preserve their traditions but also pass them onto their progeny."[82] But to black abolitionists of the late eighteenth century, they were traitors whose participation in the African and Atlantic trade proved that their opposition to slavery was personal and limited, not universal. They may have resisted their own enslavement, but they were not abolitionists. Indeed, Jallo wanted to redeem himself with other slaves —a desire that was ironic and immoral only from an abolitionist or a postslavery stance that he himself never achieved. Such limited opposition to slavery, which Haynes would later call "partial," was exactly what the black abolitionists opposed in whites such as the American patriots who chafed under British rule yet tolerated black slavery.[83] Insofar as they perceived only a partial opposition to slavery inherent in Islam and Judaism, the black abolitionists were attracted to Christianity. It is unlikely that the black abolitionists knew of West African Muslim resistance to the slave trade in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but if they had they would probably have confirmed their sense that Islam motivated at best piecemeal resistance to enslavement, not a universalist approach to uprooting the system of slavery.[84]

Notwithstanding its connection in abolitionist literature to the slave trade, West African Islam helped the black abolitionists express pride in their racial heritage. Views of Africans given in *Some Historical Account of Guinea* helped the black abolitionists set West African culture and history in a grand movement from the Old Testament to the New Testament, from the Holy Lands to Africa, from Africa to America, from slavery to freedom. Benezet's appeal to black abolitionists derived not only from his exacting moral critique of slavery but also from his ability to find positive traits in Africans (their sociability), even as he acknowledged the memories of his black readers (their first captors were black) yet offered an explanation for the depravity of the Atlantic slave trade (it was the result of New World demand as well as the inability of Muslims to resist selling slaves). Islam was not unequivocally condemned by Benezet, who wrote that Muslims generally had many good qualities (honor, literacy, order, sagacity in trade) but lacked the spiritual insight into the unity of humankind required to renounce and oppose the slave trade and slavery. Thus, despite their condemnations of Muslim slave traders, eighteenth-century abolitionists sought to present a balanced account of West Africans, who appear, in *Some Historical Account of Guinea,* in a complex of several views. This effort at balance probably accounted for some of Benezet's appeal to the black abolitionists.

According to *Some Historical Account of Guinea,* West Africans were a simple people, living in a fertile, warm, well-irrigated region where the necessities of life were obtained with little labor. They were, in Benezet's words, "a humane, sociable people, whose faculties are as capable of improvement as those of other people; and . . . their œconomy and government is, in many respects, commendable." In this view they were a sociable people, skilled craftsmen, and honest traders, into whose lives the Atlantic slave trade came as a force of destruction. Also, West Africans as Muslims followed traditional codes of proper behavior and worship, educated their sons in literature and religion, and treated their own slaves fairly. They were "well instructed in what is right."[85] In this view they were members of a great, though false, religious tradition which promoted slaveholding by its adherents. Moreover, West Africans at large were oppressed by despotic chiefs and kings who traded slaves to white men, not only by selling the criminals of their own societies but also by raiding other groups, often with great violence, for captives. This view held that they were a people whose leaders had been corrupted by avarice and whose religion held insufficient power to halt the abuses of the slave trade. As with the awareness of Muslims' role in the slave trade, this knowledge that elite families in West Africa provided slaves for the Atlantic trade suggests an understanding shared by the black underclass and the black abolitionists of the late eighteenth century.[86]

Although Benezet, like virtually all his abolitionist peers, wrote that New World slavery had led to abuses of slaves uncommon in West Africa before the commencement of the Atlantic slave trade, he still noted that African slave traders shared in the blame for the sufferings of the men and women they sold. No eighteenth-century abolitionist was willing to minimize the role of African slave traders in the Atlantic trade, even while acknowledging that a New World market was necessary for an African trade to exist. Indeed, a black association like the Rhode Island Free African Union Society, intent on community advancement, in 1791 condemned "those who are of the African race that do, or hereafter be the Means of bringing, from their Native Country, the Males, Females, Boys, and Girls from Africa into bondage, to the hurt of themselves and the Inhabitants of the Country or Place where they may be bought and sold."[87] Prince Hall condemned the "African kings and princes" who, cowed or enticed by Europeans, "plung'd millions of their fellow countrymen into slavery and cruel bondage."[88] Benezet argued that "avarice" had led West African leaders into twisting their traditional forms of slavery, which so much recalled the Torah, into an ungodly trade in human beings for the plantations of the New World. The Atlantic slave trade was so active and alluring, noted Benezet, that in West African "markets are to be sold men, women, children, oxen, sheep, goats, and fowls," while captives were taken from as far away as the East Indies for such markets. Islam shouldered the blame for West African participation in the slave trade, according to Benezet, for just as Islam authorized the ownership of slaves, so, at best, it turned a blind eye to the slave trade.[89]

Haynes turned Benezet's invocation of the Old Testament and Islam and his presentation of West African society and practices into an abolitionist interpretation of slavery and the slave trade more deeply rooted in Scripture than the Quaker's arguments. This interpretation flowed not only from Benezet's words but also from those of the esteemed social philosopher Francis Hutcheson, a foe of the slave trade and slavery.[90] Hutcheson's argument, which held that since the New Testament undermined the Israelite notion of a stranger, Christians were barred from enslaving anyone under an Old Testament rule, appeared in an appendix to *Some Historical Account of Guinea.*[91] Haynes believed that West African slavery was an Islamic remnant of the bondage of debtors and foreigners allowed to the Israelites under Mosaic law. Such bondage was forbidden in the New Testament, Haynes, like Hutcheson, argued. Africans, however, not yet Christianized, failed to understand the new dispensation inaugurated by Christ and so continued to practice a Judaic form of bondage, Haynes claimed. The opinion typical of late-eighteenth-century abolitionists, that the slave trade and New World slavery exacerbated the condition of slaves of African heritage, merely confirmed to Haynes and his black peers the Mosaic character of West African slavery.

Haynes paralleled other abolitionists' approach to Africa in criticizing the West African slavery that they believed had been distended through the Atlantic slave trade into the New World. He noted that although slave traders and slaveholders claim that *"those Negros that are Brought into these plantations are Generally prisoners, taken in their wars, and would otherwise fall a sacrifice to the resentment of their own people* [that is, other Africans]," in reality the slave trade itself caused "quarrelings, and Blood-shed among them." Still, he continued, even if owners "Came honestly By their Slaves" by purchasing them from someone who had earlier purchased them, the original purchase, even if from the parents of the slaves themselves, would have been illegitimate.[92] Haynes examined the Atlantic slave trade under the only light in which it was argued to be lawful commerce—as the sale and purchase of Africans already enslaved—and asseverated that no Africans could have been in the first instance legitimately enslaved. In support of this point, Haynes drew a long quotation from an appendix to *Some Historical Account of Guinea,* extracts from George Wallis's *System of the Principles of the Laws of Scotland,* in which it was argued that even if the buying and selling of slaves were protected by law, the original alienation of the slaves' freedom could never have been legitimate.[93] For Haynes and his abolitionist peers, no authorization of slavery—whether in the colonies by British law, in the Torah, or in West Africa—could have countered the illegitimacy of the slave's first moment of unfreedom, even had the slave's parents consented to it.

Haynes's interpretation of Mosaic slavery and the slave trade began with an attack on the claims that Africans were descended from Ham through Canaan and that blacks were legitimately enslaved under the "curse of Ham." Haynes did allow that the curse upon Canaan's posterity authorized enslavement, albeit only under Mosaic law. Ham did sin by failing to cover his naked father and by observing him, "perhaps with a Lascivious Eye," Haynes

noted. This was "repugnant to the Law which was afterwards given to the children of Isarel [*sic*]," Haynes continued, so God was right to punish Canaan's descendants. They were made "a publick Example to the world, that theirby they mite be set apart, and Seperated from the people of God as unclean." Moreover, the Israelites, "God's people of old," were authorized to "Enslave the *heathen, and the Stranger that were in the land,"* so Haynes argued that the Gentiles as well as Canaan's posterity could have been legitimately enslaved by the Jews.[94]

The black encounter with Scripture in the slave-based Atlantic world of the eighteenth century led Haynes's black abolitionist peers to craft the same argument. New World slavery, for Christian believers like Cugoano and Equiano, was rooted in African slavery as well as in the Torah. Equiano claimed to recall from his Igbo youth ownership of slaves by members of his society, the sale of some members of his society into the slave trade, and the taxation of captives passing through his society's territory on their way to the coastal slave-trading factories. From these recollections and from other apparent parallels between the Igbo and the Israelites, such as circumcision, naming practices, purification rituals, and reverence for the name of the deity, Equiano concluded that "the one people had sprung from the other." African patriarchy and governance, "conducted by our chiefs, our judges, our wise men, and elders," seemed to be Israelite in origin. "The law of retaliation obtained almost universally with us as with them," Equiano explained, "and even their religion appeared to have shed upon us a ray of its glory, though broken and spent in its passage, or eclipsed by the cloud with which time, tradition, and ignorance might have enveloped it: for we had our circumcision (a rule I believe peculiar to that people): we also had our sacrifices and burnt-offerings, our washings and purifications, on the same occasions as they had." European scholars also considered Africans to be the descendants of the Israelites, Equiano noted.[95]

Similarly, Cugoano vividly remembered West African slavery and the slave trade. He recalled that his family owned slaves and that he was "first kidnapped and betrayed by some of my own complexion, who were the first cause of my exile and slavery."[96] Both Cugoano and Equiano wrote that the Atlantic slave trade had worsened the conditions of slaves and that African slavery in its original state, which reflected its Old Testament origins, had not been extraordinarily abusive. Neither Cugoano nor Equiano was an apologist for West African slavery, which both viewed as a mark of a primitive culture, which was at best, in their opinion, the ruins of Israelite culture. Indeed, Cugoano's and Equiano's comments about the good treatment of West African slaves suggested all the more the influence of the Torah, in which appear strictures concerning the humane treatment of servants and bondsmen and bondswomen.

Yet Israelite, Muslim, and New World slavery all were outlawed by the New Testament, Haynes thought. One great benefit of the New Testament for black abolitionists was that it undid the authorization of slavery in the Old Testament, while, of course, Islam had no second set of sacred texts follow-

ing upon the Qur'an that could have undone Muhammad's acceptance of slavery. Indeed, Muhammad was a slave owner and took as one of his spouses the wife of his slave, so either a new revealed text or a new interpretation of the tradition would have been required to outlaw slavery in Islamic societies. Not merely a prophecy—something central to the Jewish and Muslim traditions—but events as earthshaking as the Crucifixion and the Resurrection were required to inaugurate the postslavery world. The sacrifice of Christ, according to Haynes, in lifting the "curse of Ham" outlawed slavery. Under one "Dispensation," God cursed Ham by "Declaring that he would *visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the Children."* Even the Israelites' worship of God was akin to slavery in that they followed "tedeous forms under the Law, which savoured so much of servitude, and which *could never make the comers thereunto perfect*." Yet as Christ removed the old dispensation, he outlawed slavery. For "now," Haynes declared, "our glorious hygh priest hath visably appear'd in the flesh, and hath Establish'd a more glorious Oeconomy." The old dispensation was "contracted"—meaning here limited as well as covenantal—but the new one was universal, so no group may now be set apart as unclean, seemingly afflicted by "Embarisments, and Distinctions, [and] *Bodily imperfections,"* as blacks once were. "It is plain beyond all doubt," Haynes concluded, "that at the comeing of Christ, this curse that was upon *Canaan,* was taken off."[97]

The curse upon Canaan provided no guidance for the modern world, Haynes insisted, and it was certain from the Bible that "Opression" was sinful. He was probably thinking of Deuteronomy 23:15, which states that the Jews shall neither oppress nor remand to his master an escaped slave, when he wrote that "Opresion . . . is not spoken of, nor ranked in the sacred oracles, among the Least of those sins, that are the procureing Caus of those Signal Judgments, which god is pleas'd to bring upon the Children of men."[98] The Old Testament, properly understood, was against slavery. No one can, Haynes insisted, be denied freedom or "Communion" because of race, appearance, or an Old Testament curse. At "the comeing of Christ," Haynes insisted, "when that Sun of riteousness arose this wall of partition was Broken Down."[99] As Hutcheson phrased it in the sections of his *System of Moral Philosophy* quoted by Benezet, the Torah allowed the Israelites to enslave strangers, but for Christians there are no strangers to be enslaved, "since the distinctions of nations are removed, as to the point of humanity and mercy, as well as natural right."[100] By contrast, Islamic jurists had earlier fortified the "curse of Ham" by arguing that the "peculiarity" of the "children of Ham" was a characteristic of all unbelievers. In the words of a sixteenth-century jurist, "Any unbeliever among the children of Ham, or anyone else, may be possessed [as a slave] if he remains attached to his original unbelief. There is no difference between one race and another."[101] In eighteenth-century black abolitionism, we see Africans of the New and Old Worlds starting to interpret the curse of Ham in a way exactly the opposite of that of the earlier Islamic jurists. The experience of becoming an abolitionist was also for these Africans one of becoming an enemy of Islam.

The new dispensation meant more to Haynes than that the curse of Ham was lifted. It meant also that Mosaic law was revealed, in a new light, as symbolic of God's intent, in a way that the Israelites never understood. The Torah, including its laws regarding slavery, always referred to spiritual matters, Haynes and his peers believed, but no one before Christ's appearance in history could have comprehended that. Spirit and love, not obedience to the law, came to matter in the new dispensation, it seemed to Haynes. In Haynes's view, the Israelites and the Africans who enslaved men and women inevitably misinterpreted the law because they understood religion as a matter of obedience, not spirit.

"Under the *Law,"* Haynes explained, "their were many External Ceremonies that were tipecal of Spiritual things; or which Shadowed forth the purity, & perfection of the Gospel." For instance, "Corporeal *blemishes,* Spurious *Birth,* flatigious *practices"*—his conception and birth were likely on his mind—forbad some people in pre-Christian times from joining the "congregation of the Lord." But these external marks were revealed by the New Testament to be merely symbolic of an inner corruption that alienated one from God; that was the spiritual point that neither Israelite nor Muslim could have comprehended. Physical perfection or conformity to laws such as that mandating circumcision merely symbolized "the instrinsick purity of heart . . . requir'd as the pre-requisite for heaven." Under the Mosaic law lay "a Conceal'd Gospel" that was to be revealed only by Christ and that was to provide the first antislavery rationale in history. All Christians should have understood, Haynes wrote, that the New Testament meant that believers could not "Bring up any of those antiquated Ceremonies from oblivion, and reduse them into practise."[102] Unlike Judaism and Islam, Christianity possessed, in Haynes's opinion, the textual and spiritual resources required to counter the enslavement of men and women.

Once again black encounters with Scripture in the eighteenth century led Haynes's black abolitionist peers to the same conclusion. The Israelites' experience of slavery in Egypt and the Torah rulings on slavery were, the black writers insisted, communications from God both about good and evil as well as about the differences in the relation between human and divine before and after the Atonement. Lawful slavery among the Israelites as well as among West Africans was revealed, after the Atonement, to flow from a misapprehension, even if an inevitable one, of God's commands. This dramatic interpretation of the Israelites, the Atonement, and West Africa—that slavery was inevitably a part of Israelite and West African societies, yet was revealed through Christianity to be always wrong—allowed Equiano and Cugoano to continue to think of themselves as African and to praise West African culture for its Israelite or Islamic nobility even as they criticized the African segments of the slave trade and slavery.

The exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, reasoned Cugoano, was "intended and designed" by God to be "an emblematical representation of their deliverance from the power and captivity of sin." The laws regarding servants and bondsmen and bondswomen in "the promised land" were similarly emblem-

atical in denoting that the Israelites were "to keep under and in subjection the whole body of their evil affection and lusts." The Torah rules on slavery referred, in God's revealed word, not to the actual enslavement of men and women, but to the control of sinful impulses. "By that which is evil in captivity and slavery among men," Cugoano argued, "we are thereby represented to be under a like subjection to sin; but by what is instituted in the law by Moses, in that respect we are thereby represented as Israel to have dominion over sin, and to rule over and keep in subjection all our spiritual enemies." Neither Israelites nor Africans, however, comprehended that the law was spiritual and symbolic, not social. For only the New Testament revealed that "the law is spiritual, and intended for spiritual uses." When he described what was "represented" in the Old Testament, he added that no unconverted man or woman could have understood that representation. Slavery should have ended, Cugoano concluded, "with other typical and ceremonial injunctions, when the time of that dispensation was over."[103] All Christians should have understood, Cugoano noted, that the new dispensation had revealed that the Torah was an imperfect tool that had provided social and ceremonial rules, but merely foreshadowed the spiritual life of Christianity. The persistence of the slave trade and slavery went hand in hand with the incomplete Christianization of the world, as Cugoano understood it.

As Haynes phrased it, the Torah gestured toward "the intrinsick purity of heart that a Conceal'd Gospel requir'd as the pre-requisite for heaven," but without saving grace humankind inevitably misunderstood the gesture. Having established the illegitimacy of the slave trade and slavery after the coming of Christ, eighteenth-century black abolitionists and exegetes critiqued the enslavement of blacks by nominally Christian whites as well as by West Africans. If any justification of slavery based in the Old Testament must have been rejected, then the next antislavery step was to demonstrate that the New Testament barred the enslavement of men and women. One thrust of the abolitionist critique was aimed at the way the New Testament was most commonly quoted in defense of slavery—1 Corinthians 7:21, "Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather."[104]

The proslavery interpretation of this verse was inverted by Haynes, who showed that 1 Corinthians 7 should have been understood as enjoining believers *against* accepting enslavement. Haynes offered here a thoughtful application of Pauline thought to the slave's situation along with a direct assault on one of the pillars of European and American proslavery ideology. Allowing that some forms of servitude were legitimate according to the New Testament, Haynes noted that "the Apostle," in verse 21, "seems to recommend freedom if attainable, q.d. 'if it is thy unhappy Lot to be a slave, yet if thou art Spiritually free Let the former appear so minute a thing when compared with the Latter that it is comparitively unworthy of notice; yet since Freedom is so Excelent a Jewel, which none have a right to Extirpate, and if there is any hope of attaining it, use all Lawfull measures for that purpose.' So that however Extant or preval[e]nt it mite Be in this or that age; yet it does not in the Least reverse the unchangeable Laws of God, or of nature; or make

that Become Lawfull which is in itself unlawfull." In this, Haynes aligned verse 21 with Paul's teachings at large, but not with proslavery ideology. For in 1 Corinthians 7, Paul describes the highest holy states while allowing that certain middle states are preferable to sin. Paul's teachings authorized Christians to seek the highest holy states when they can be reasonably and ethically realized. The middle states—here, for Haynes, one's enslavement—were merely a compromise, sometimes made unavoidable by the world. Christian slaves therefore were to try their best to be free by the "Lawfull" measures available. The persistence of slavery in nominally Christian times meant to black commentators that a corrupt or even false religion held sway. "O Christianity," Haynes lamented, "how art thou Disgraced, how art thou reproached, By the vicious practises of those upon whome thou dost smile."[105] It was obvious that slaves were to seek freedom as fully as possible within the laws of their society as well as strive to further Christianity by ridding it of the proslavery dross of the past.

The New Testament also galvanized eighteenth-century abolitionists, black and white, into asserting apocalyptically that the abuse of blacks in the slave trade and New World slavery was part of the battle between good and evil foretold in Revelation. In one formulation, the slave trade and New World slavery constituted the essential elements of the sixth vial (Rev. 16:12–16) in which "unclean spirits" have spurred "men, especially in the Christian world, [to] a degree of wickedness, which was not known before."[106] Haynes and other abolitionists were familiar with the demonization of Islam, which, insofar as Muslims were believed to be slave traders in West Africa, was readily transposed into antislavery apocalyptism. The theological environment Haynes shared with his contemporary and friend Job Swift, with Samuel Hopkins, and with their common progenitor Jonathan Edwards, scorned Islam. Edwards wrote:

> It seems as though in this last great opposition that should be made against the church to defend the kingdom of Satan, all the forces of Antichrist, and also Mohammedanism and heathenism, should be united, all the forces of Satan's visible kingdom through the whole world of mankind. And therefore 'tis said that the "spirits of devils shall go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them together to the battle of the great day of God Almighty." And these spirits are said to come "out of the mouth of the dragon, and out [of the mouth of the] beast, [and out of the mouth of the] false prophet," i.e. there shall be the spirit of popery and the spirit of Mohammedanism and the spirit of heathenism all united. By the beast is meant Antichrist; by the dragon in this book is commonly meant the devil as he reigns in his heathen kingdom; by the false prophet in this book is sometimes meant the Pope and his clergy, but here also an eye seems to be had to Mohammed.[107]

In the millennium, God would, Hopkins wrote, crush "the pride and power of Mahometans," although in the premillennial struggles "Mahometans and Jews hate and oppose christianity as much as they ever did, if not more."[108] This eschatological notion, long known in Christendom, became another antislavery tool in the hands of the black abolitionists.[109]

Cugoano, for instance, was convinced that slave traders, Muslims, and Roman Catholics had all "become enamored with the scarlet couch of the abominable enchantress dyed in blood."[110] Revelation 13:11, "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon," allowed him to comprehend the false religion of his times. One horn cast, he advanced, upon the earth the shadow of Islam, "an apostacy and delusion . . . founded, in a more particular respect, on a grand perversion of the Old Testament dispensations." Islam, in his estimation, not only warped the law of the Israelites but also provided none of the spiritual insight of Christianity. The other horn cast the shadow of false Christianity, which merely alluded to the New Testament and hollowly professed adherence to it. "All the adherents and supporters of that delusion, and all the carriers on of wickedness, are fitly called Antichrist," he advanced, as well as "every dealer in slaves, and those that hold them in slavery, whatever else they call themselves, or whatever else they may profess. . . . likewise, those nations whose governments support that evil and wicked traffic of slavery."[111]

Divine vengeance threatened to fall upon the nations of slave traders and slaveholders, as the allusion to the two-horned beast of Revelation suggests. Writing at the onset of the American Revolution, Haynes thundered, "god is of Long patience, yet it does not Last always, nay, he has *whet* his *glittering Sword, and his hand hath already taken hold on Judgement;* for who knows how far that the unjust Oppression which hath abounded in this Land, may be the procuring cause of this very Judgement that now impends, which so much portends *Slavery?"*[112] Cugoano, writing in 1787 to a British audience, warned that England risked divine wrath because of the Atlantic slave trade and colonial slavery. A paraphrase of Amos 8:8 ("Should not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?") provided Cugoano with an apt reference to suggest peril to his readers.[113] Particularly suited for Cugoano's message, this reference elucidates the ingenuity with which the eighteenth-century black abolitionists wielded Scripture in the antislavery cause. In Amos, God condemns the Israelites for their abuse of the poor and curses them with a slide into a false religion, then bitterly notes the inconsistency between his care of the Israelites and their disloyalty: "Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt?" (Amos 9:7). Cugoano thus trenchantly contrasted God's care for the Africans and Israelites to Europeans' mistreatment of the black slaves.

The prophetic judgment against Ahab in 1 Kings offered Haynes an opportunity to use the Old Testament to interpret the experience of blacks in the Atlantic world as well as to promote the antislavery cause. The urge to dig deeply into Scripture for historical and theological interpretations of the situation of blacks complemented Haynes's urge to present the emotional and mental states of the slaves, mapping the experience of black people onto narratives of betrayal, tribulation, and justice provided by Scripture. Haynes found one such narrative in the Books of Kings. Several paragraphs of commentary on these books connected Haynes's view of the slave trade and slavery to the

story of Ahab, Jezebel, Elijah, and Naboth. Some passages from the Books of Kings thus came, in Haynes's hands, to deal allusively with the enslavement of Africans on both sides of the Atlantic.

White slave traders and slaveholders had betrayed their Christian heritage because of their greed, Haynes wrote, while their African counterparts had similarly abandoned Mosaic and Qur'anic injunctions concerning fair treatment of slaves. As king of Israel, Ahab represented the blacks and the whites who colluded in the Atlantic slave system. For Ahab was a powerful figure who corrupted Israelite religion by tolerating the idol worship promoted by his wife, Jezebel. The prophet Elijah, here representing the black abolitionist, reproached Ahab for his idol worship and demonstrated to the Israelites that their own god, not that of the idolators, Baal, ruled the earth. Even as God displays his power, Ahab and Jezebel maintain their evil ways, coveting the vineyard of Naboth, here representing innocent blacks. The wicked king and queen unjustly order Naboth stoned to death for blasphemy. "And as wicked *Ahab,* and *Jezebel,"* Haynes wrote, "to gratify their covetousness caused *Naboth* to be put to Death, and as *Dogs* licked the Blood of *Naboth,* the word of the Lord was By the prophet *Elijah, thus Saith the Lord, in the place where Dogs Licked the Blood of Naboth, Shall Dogs Lick thy Blood Even thine. See 1 Kings 21. 19. And of Jezebel also Spake the Lord, Saying, The Dogs Shall Eat Jezebel By the walls of Jezreel. vers 23.* And we find the Judgement actually accomplished upon *Ahab* in the 22. Chap. & 38. vers. And upon *Jezebel* in the 9 chap 2 of *Kings."*[114]

This narrative of betrayal, usurpation, and divine justice was brought by Haynes to illuminate the slave-trading and slaveholding societies of the Atlantic world. Ahab well symbolized the African, American, and European leaders who prospered in worldly affairs, but whose corruption of their religious heritage angered God more than did many other sins. Those who traded in slaves as well as those who betrayed their inherited faith into a slave trader's religion were as idolatrous, Haynes implied, as Ahab and Jezebel. God was already threatening the unfaithful with portents of greater suffering—in 1 Kings 17–18 with a drought in Ahab's kingdom, in the American colonies in the 1770s with the British exercises of force designed to subdue the wayward colonies. Much like abolitionists in the late eighteenth century, the prophet Elijah felt like a solitary voice, though he was able to demonstrate the propriety of his faith. Indeed, when Elijah despaired, the God of his ancestors appeared to him, confirming his commitment, felt also in the late eighteenth century by Haynes and his peers, to maintaining the integrity of an inherited religion in corrupt times.

Desire for "filthy Lucre," like Ahab's and Jezebel's covetousness, was, in Haynes's view, "the root of slave-trading and slaveholding."[115] Naboth suitably symbolized Africans uprooted from their ancestral lands by the forces of greed and violence, particularly by Ahab's and Jezebel's unwillingness to respect Naboth's rights to his inherited land. For when Ahab requests to buy Naboth's vineyard, the latter replies, "Ahab, Jehovah forbid me, that I should give to you the inheritance of my fathers" (1 Kings 21:3), but Jezebel coun-

sels the king that as the figure who "holds sway in Israel" he can take possession of the land (1 Kings 21:7). This thoughtful application of Scripture to the plight of captives and slaves—here in contrasting one man who wished to remain fixed to the land of his ancestors to the wealthy overlords to whom ties to a homeland meant nothing—was Haynes's constant technique. Just as Haynes noted was likely the case in the 1770s—that a return to British rule would be a just bondage for the slaveholders unless they repented and abolished slavery—the wicked suffer their own misdeeds turned upon them. Ahab and Jezebel die ignominious deaths, just as did Naboth, while ultimately Ahab's children and supporters are exterminated because of the judgment against him. "This is God's way of working," Haynes noted, "Often he brings the Same Judgements, or Evils upon men, as they unriteously Bring upon others." Another cruel figure of the Old Testament, Adoni-bezek, was quoted to allow Haynes to emphasize the notion: "as I have Done, So god hath requited me."[116]

The Old Testament thus provided Haynes and his black abolitionist peers with a narrative of a noble people, the Israelites, who stumbled repeatedly in their attempts to worship God. Nothing could have better matched the eighteenth-century black abolitionists' view of slave-trading West Africans, who as Muslims partook of a nobility recorded in the Old Testament and the Qur'an, yet who betrayed their fellow men and women into the Atlantic slave trade. In 2 Kings, Jezebel, Ahab's followers, and the worshipers of Baal are all routed, yet God's chosen people in both Israel and Judah fall to foreign invaders, one to the Assyrians, the other to the Babylonians. The cause of the conquests is God's disgust with the failure of the covenanted nation to observe the Torah. He abandons them to their enemies. The parallel within West Africa was the depredation of one slave-trading group upon another—an action of the type described by Equiano and Cugoano. Furthermore, Torah religion was liable to decay into Islam, in the opinion of Haynes and his black abolitionist peers. All hope, then, for Haynes, was New Testament religion.

Appropriately, Haynes paired the Books of Kings with the Revelation as he sought antislavery arguments in Scripture. The New Testament incorporated and revised the Old as it made itself an antislavery force—unlike what seemed to have happened with the Qur'an. Once again God visits the judgments of the wicked upon them. "Again," Haynes wrote, *"Rev. 16.6 for they have Shed the Blood of Saints and prophets, and thou hast given them Blood to Drink; for they are worthy.* And *chap.* 18.6 *Reward her Even as She rewarded you.* I say this is often God's way of Dealing, by retaliating Back upon men the Same Evils that they unjustly Bring upon others."[117] Here Haynes retained the themes of betrayal, usurpation, and divine justice evident in the Books of Kings, but countered them with a vision of a secure, godly community, united among itself and to God by faith, not a faithless obedience of law. Progress from the Old Testament to the New Testament—movement from the Books of Kings to Revelation, from a national church to a universal one, from slavery to freedom, from Africa to America—was one of the characteristic themes of Haynes's thought, as it was of other black abolitionists.

Revelation served Haynes well as a sequel to the story of Ahab's fall. Indeed, Revelation was probably conceived by its author as in some ways a revision of the Book of Kings, so Haynes followed the Christian reworking of the Jewish texts when he invoked the future divine community as a recompense for the betrayal of black people. Jezebel, symbolic of the greed of the slave traders and slaveholders, reappears in Revelation, in a manner that Haynes saw as relevant to the enslavement of black people. A people of great "works" but insufficient faith, here symbolizing the slave traders and slaveholders, risk corrupting themselves because they "sufferest that woman, Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess" (Rev. 2:19–20), to lead them into idolatry and other sins. The prophet Elijah appears in several allusions (Rev. 11:4–7; 13:13), while Old Testament verses to which Haynes made reference, 2 Kings 9:27–37 (the defeat of the enemies of Israel and the death of Jezebel), were commonly believed to foreshadow the New Testament verses to which he matched them, Revelation 16:16–20 (Armageddon, the seventh vial, the voice of God, and the fall of Babylon). With these allusions to the ungodly and the enslavers, Haynes constructed an antislavery Bible as well as suggested that the enslaved and oppressed will be welcomed one day by God just as in the prophecies of Revelation.

An understanding of himself as a black man as well as of the progress of black people from slavery to freedom flowed from Haynes's biblical view of West African slavery and the Atlantic slave trade. Like Cugoano and Equiano, Haynes perceived blacks in the Atlantic world in the dynamic progress of people who were passing from an Old Testament dispensation to a New Testament dispensation, passing from the shadows of the Qur'an and the Torah to the light of the Gospel, passing from societies in which slavery was legitimate to societies in which it was not, even if it persisted. For Haynes and his black peers these passages from the old to the new were all of a piece: their view was essentially systematic and historicist, and they always thought about slavery and freedom as problems in religious history and in the Atlantic world, never as uniquely American matters. These men were unable to think about their blackness without situating themselves in such dynamic progress. They did not think about themselves only as part of a racial or ethnic group that existed in Africa and America, but rather imagined an existence in time as described in Scripture. Africa and America, the Old Testament and the New Testament, slavery and freedom, the limited group of believers of the Old Testament and the universal church of the New Testament, were all equally on their minds, and to dismiss any element of their knowledge or memories would have been to threaten progress toward freedom. They saw themselves as living in a canopy of trajectories over the Atlantic world that were moving them from slavery and forms of the Old Testament dispensation to freedom and Christianity. These eighteenth-century black abolitionists were historically minded thinkers who used Scripture in an effort to explain the slave trade and slavery in the Atlantic world as well as to envision a truly free postslavery society.[118]

With Africa on their minds, for instance, men like Haynes did not celebrate themselves as black without a critical eye on West Africa, nor did they deny

their blackness by asserting themselves as assimilated into a purely Euro-American culture. To lose sight of the African slave trade or of Islamic Africa, which they considered to be ensnared in false religion, would have been to lose hold of their sense of progress toward freedom, to lose the systematic and historicist qualities of their thought. Essential to their Christianity and to their abolitionism was a theodicy that interpreted every phase of the experience of black people in history. The triumphs and the sufferings were all of a piece for Haynes and his black abolitionist peers, and not to have seen integrated in black history the horrors and travails of the slave trade and American slavery would have been to undermine the freedom and the holiness of the future they envisioned for black people.

A 1776 sermon, on John 3:3, became an occasion of the incarnation of Haynes's thoughts on Africa, slavery, America, and freedom. As a young man, while still in his nonage and, hence, his indenture, Haynes served in family prayers as a lector of other men's sermons. He endeared himself further to his adoptive family with his oratorical skills, but he also found a path to maturity and learned useful lessons from the words of other men. When he came to read his own sermons, apparently beginning around 1776, his auditors initially surmised that he was still merely delivering those of men such as George Whitefield. In his first known sermon, delivered during family worship, Haynes embodied some of the central ideas of "Liberty Further Extended"; like the essay, the sermon was preserved by his white associates, in this instance the family with whom he was studying theology.[119]

Not articulating abolitionism, but embodying it, Haynes moved from text to performance as he enacted the meaning for black people of the transition from the Old Testament to the New Testament. Jay Fliegelman argues that the Declaration of Independence was intended to be read aloud in public—Haynes may have had his first experience of it in that manner—and Haynes's first recorded sermon seems to have been his performance of democracy in interracial worship and communion.[120] The transition from the Old to the New Testament was embodied in the figure of Nicodemus, Christ's interlocutor in John 3. The transition from slave to free man was embodied in Haynes himself as a black speaker, in 1776 only two years free of his indenture and possibly just returned from the northern campaign in the War of Independence. And the free society envisioned was embodied in the kingdom of God on earth that Haynes preached Christ was describing in John 3. Haynes's insight in this sermon was that a scriptural notion—here, the new birth—necessarily had racial implications in America. No American could have been spiritually reborn or could have envisaged the kingdom of God on earth without encountering the implications such things carry in a society that pulled African souls into the slave trade and that oppressed millions of such souls, whether slave or free.

Haynes's sermon on the new birth, moreover, represented his effort to recast his abolitionist writing in a sermon form in which he not only performed the text but also exercised a sermon style familiar to his audience. Instead of relying on a thicket of quotations from authors secular as well as sacred, Haynes

in his 1776 sermon used one scriptural verse as his text. He also replicated one of Edwards's habits in this sermon. In his historical writings, Edwards paid much attention to Islam as a world religion, the seemingly false competitor of Christianity. In the historical and global view, Protestant Christianity seemed to be in conflict with Islam as well as with Roman Catholicism. When the theologian addressed history, Islam was important. But when Edwards preached about Christian faith, Islam all but disappeared from his prose as he addressed himself to the spirit.[121] Similarly, when the black abolitionists pressed Christianity for an antislavery power relevant to their lives, they emphasized Islam as among the proslavery forces. But when they turned their attention to Christian faith itself, even if they meant to imply all the abolitionism they thought was inherent in their faith but not in that of Muslims, they let Islam fade away into the background as they centered on the spirit.

The transition from Old Testament to New Testament religion was, Haynes thought, of ultimate import to blacks. Not only did the spirit come to the fore in religion but also the Torah and Qur'anic rulings on slavery were revealed not to justify any form of enslavement, whether in the Holy Lands, Africa, or the New World. Nicodemus stood at the transition from the Old to the New Testaments, and Haynes put him to good use in alluding to the parallel transition from slavery to freedom. "Rabbi" was, Haynes noted, the form of address Nicodemus used for Christ in John 3. A "ruler of the Jews," Nicodemus acknowledged Christ to be "a teacher come from God." As one of the Sanhedrin, Nicodemus addressed Christ as though he were a Jewish prophet. But Nicodemus had, Haynes noted, merely "a rational conviction" of Christ's divine nature and lacked the inner spirit that would have enabled him to "see the kingdom of God." Hence Christ's comments about the new birth and spirit seemed, in Haynes's term, "a paradox" to Nicodemus. In 1776, Haynes continued, there still existed many people like Nicodemus, "a great man," a "ruler of the Jews," a "master in Israel," but "ignorant about the new birth." "It is now so," as Haynes described his own times, that "many of the great ones of the earth," when they hear that "they must feel the Holy Spirit," will respond with Nicodemus's incomprehension.[122] Christ, of course, responded to such incomprehension with an argument that the second birth was spiritual, while the first was physical. John 3:3 came to be one of the pillars of evangelical Christianity.

There was in the late eighteenth century an obvious subtext to Haynes's sermon that revealed that his spoken word articulated the abolitionism of "Liberty Further Extended." Nicodemus was believed by many Christians to have become a follower of Christ sometime after the dialogue of John 3:3 and before the Crucifixion. For someone like Haynes, whose abolitionism depended on the move of both blacks and whites from Old Testament to New Testament religion, Nicodemus, as one who made the transition during Christ's lifetime, was a figure rich in meaning and implication, indeed was the very model of the progress Haynes urged upon his contemporaries. Nicodemus appears again in John 7:50–53, defending Christ's right to speak, then at last in John 19:38–42, aiding Joseph of Arimathea, who is "a disciple of Jesus, but secretly," to bury the body of Christ. These actions were once widely

interpreted to mean that Nicodemus becomes a Christian, though nothing in John states directly that he is more than an honest upholder of Jewish law. Joseph of Arimathea appears elsewhere as a disciple of Christ (Matt. 27:57), but never in the canonical Bible is Nicodemus distinguished from other upright Jews like Zechariah, Elizabeth, and Simeon (Luke 1:6, 2:25). In his defense of Christ, Nicodemus insists on the consistent application of Jewish law, and in burying the body he follows "the manner of the Jews."

However, an apocryphal book of the New Testament, The Gospel of Nicodemus, known to English readers for centuries before Haynes wrote, depicted Nicodemus as far more loyal to Christ than does the Gospel according to John. The Gospel of Nicodemus also depicted the Jews who sought Christ's death as far more evil and treacherous than did the Gospel according to John.[123] Haynes was probably echoing a Christian understanding of Nicodemus that devolved from John and from the apocryphal gospel as well as criticizing the Jews for their involvement in the Crucifixion. Early Christian texts demonized the Jews, Elaine Pagels argues, as they credited Pilate with a supposed effort to staunch the Jewish treachery against Christ that culminated in the Crucifixion.[124] Words against the Jews were, in the context of eighteenth-century abolitionism, tantamount to condemnations of West African and American slavery and the Atlantic slave trade, which were all seen as ramifications of the Torah, whether transmitted by Islam or not. Nicodemus's conversion to Christianity implied the abolitionist meaning of the transition from an Old Testament religion to a New Testament one. Nicodemus's eyes were opened: this implied all the value of the New Testament, including its abolitionist import. Whatever anti-Semitism was implied by naming Nicodemus in the late eighteenth century—one suspects it was a substantial prejudice—the goal was less to attack Jews themselves than to criticize what seemed to be the vestiges of a religion that persisted in Islam and, indeed, in Christianity insofar as their adherents traded or owned slaves.

As one who moved from Judaism to Christianity, who passed from the old dispensation to the new, from the law to the spirit, Nicodemus was rich in abolitionist implications. To move from the old to the new dispensation, as Haynes noted in "Liberty Further Extended," was to abandon a world in which slavery was believed to be lawful and to accept one in which it was known not to be. It was to enter a world in which a new light revealed that slavery had been lawful only in appearance, only through a misinterpretation of God's will, only to a people who saw divine signs but missed their meaning. The relevance of Nicodemus in 1776 was that still there were "many of the great ones of the earth" who had failed to absorb the message of the New Testament. Haynes's sermon on John 3:3 was just as sharply critical of the social elite he addressed as "Sirs" as was his essay "Liberty Further Extended."[125] The great ones of the earth were the same gentlemen and patriot leaders to whom he addressed his abolitionist essay.

"Old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new" (2 Cor. 5:17), Haynes reminded his audience. The old, for him, included West African slavery, the new, freedom—this is evident in "Liberty Further Extended."

The means of passing from the old to the new was, in Christ's time as well as in 1776, regeneration, Haynes wrote. Among the "consequences of regeneration or the new birth," Haynes wrote, were benevolence, repentance, and the ability to see "the kingdom of God." In "seeing the kingdom of God," Haynes emphasized, believers see it "here in this world" as well as envisioning it "in heaven." The earthly kingdom of God was, Haynes explained, formed by the regenerate united in worship "to promote the cause of Christ." "Universal benevolence" was a matter at once personal, spiritual, and social—and, for Haynes, racial.[126]

The vision of Christian society Haynes depicted in his 1776 sermon was obviously different from that of the slave-trading and slaveholding societies he depicted in his abolitionist essay written at about the same time. An "ocular demonstration" proved that, he wrote. Throughout his 1776 sermon, Haynes emphasized the act of *seeing* the kingdom of God. Sight signified his belief that slaveholding and slave trading were on the face of it unfair—as he said, by "ocular demonstration."[127] Sight and knowledge were linked in eighteenth-century thought: the intellect works by speculation, Haynes wrote. Then he applied empiricist philosophy, which was an important part of the Edwardsean heritage, to an oppressive society, with the belief in mind that oppression was declared a sin in Scripture. One knew on the face of it that such a society was immoral, Haynes was certain. Yet, sight surely also signified the act of seeing Haynes as a black man.

In "Liberty Further Extended," Haynes discussed his race in a manner that at first seems derogatory. He assumed that black skin was indeed a sign of God's disfavor, part of an Old Testament curse that at one time signified the sin to which all humankind was prone; with the New Testament, however, black skin was revealed as nothing but a symbol of human sinfulness, not a mark against dark people themselves. Black skin, even if no longer understood as the integument of strangers, was unclean, imperfect, essentially blemished. At first, such comments upon his appearance seem to indicate an internalization of antiblack sentiment. The indication may to some degree be accurate, for there is no reason that black skin, but not white skin, should have symbolized human sinfulness. But Haynes's mid-1770s essay and sermon suggest other purposes. In discussing his own blackness while at the same time emphasizing that his audience could *see* the injustice of slavery and could *see* the kingdom of God on earth, Haynes offered his own body as a symbol of a free society. He drew attention to his blackness in order to highlight his auditors' act of seeing him as a black preacher, and he seems to have been willing to express some of the antiblack sentiment of his time in order to secure attention. One who could *see* me as a black man delivering a sermon, Haynes implicitly said, was one who could *see* both the immorality of the slave trade and slavery and the virtue of a free society. This was the point of his performance at the lectern in 1776.

In performing democracy in worship, Haynes invited his audience to *see* the kingdom of God on earth in a new way, with a young black man, recently released from indenture and possibly fresh from service in the War of Inde-

pendence, as a member and, indeed, a speaker. He mentioned sight repeatedly, for the act of seeing was crucial to the abolitionism and the faith Haynes advocated in his 1770s writings. "Liberty Further Extended" began, in its first paragraph, with an injunction to Americans "to turn one Eye into our own Breast, for a little moment, and See, whether thro' some inadvertancy, or a self-contracted Spirit, we Do not find the monster [*Tyrony*] Lurking in our own Bosom." "Ocular demonstration" proved, Haynes continued, in the next paragraph, that humankind was corrupt and depraved—the slave trade and slavery were among human deeds—even though God had deigned to "Exhibit his will" and had given men and women "intulect Which is susceptible of speculation." In the third paragraph, Haynes wrote that it was natural "to see" a man aspiring for liberty.[128] Haynes described an empirical process of seeing the unfairness of slavery or seeing the kingdom of God on earth.

The right to liberty was, Haynes argued, seen so clearly that "to spend time illustrating this, would be But Superfluous tautology."[129] *Seeing* a black person, Haynes then argued, involved seeing his or her right to liberty, seeing the effects of slavery on him or her, and, for the true Christian and republican, seeing that his or her "Colour" could not have been the "Decisive Criterion" of "natural right." Americans saw the immorality of the slave trade and slavery so clearly, Haynes noted, that he "need Not stand painting the Dreery Sene." All true Christians, Haynes stated, stood under "the meridian Light of the Gospel," but to understand Christianity as justifying the slave trade and slavery is to "Darkeneth counsel." So intent was Haynes on proper seeing that he emphasized that Ham's sin was a misuse of his sight in peering, perhaps lustfully, at his father's naked body.[130] Similarly, slave traders and slaveholders misused their sight in misapprehending the significance of black skin, which, even if it once was the issue of a curse, signified nothing about anyone's natural rights or favor in God's eyes. Even the hardships of slaves included a forced misuse of sight, since their masters forced them into a state of "Blindness," in which they had little, if any, knowledge of their natural rights, their creator, and their own "*genius.*"[131]

If the slave trade and slavery derived from a misuse of sight, then, Haynes argued, their abolition required a readjustment of vision. "Any rational and honest man," Haynes insisted, would be an abolitionist, while those who supported the slave trade and slavery were "Short-Sited persons whose Contracted Eyes never penitrate thro' the narrow confines of Self." Since mere "Speculation" would prove the slave trade and slavery to be immoral and illicit, Haynes argued, all the abuses and usurpations of the Atlantic slave system were the result of an "inadvertancy"—misdirected vision. If only Americans would "once . . . reflect upon the matter with a Single, and an impartial Eye," they would abolish the slave trade and slavery.[132]

This belief that the immorality and illicitness of the slave trade and slavery were so immediately apparent that their evil could be seen probably expressed the optimism of a young man, an adherent of the Edwardsean empiricist tradition, a believer in the power of his words and his performance, and a careful reader of the Declaration of Independence, with its articulation

of self-evident truths. One could "Behold . . . patriottick zeal" itself and understand that it should advance into antislavery.[133] All those to whom the evil of slavery and the slave trade were so self-evident in the 1770s as to merit immediate abolition were disappointed in the clouded vision of the American majority. Still, even in his first writings, Haynes extended his idea that an act of seeing would spur abolitionism into a justification of the career as a writer and minister that lay ahead. He cast himself as the object of sight, not simply as a black man, but as a writer (whose pages would be seen and read) and as a preacher (whose sermons would be heard as he was seen by his audience). Fittingly, Haynes seems to have been remarkably successful in drawing the eyes of his contemporaries. A comment on his "personal comeliness" reads, "Although the tincture of his skin, and all his features bore strong indications of his African original, yet in his early life there was a *peculiar expression* which indicated the finest qualities of mind. Many, on seeing him in the pulpit, have been reminded of the inspired expression, 'I am black, but comely.' In this case, the remarkable assemblage of graces which were thrown around his semi-African complexion, especially his eye, could not fail to prepossess the stranger in his favour."[134] He drew the eyes of those around him, and he sought then to redirect that attention to the antislavery cause.

"Speculation" meant to Haynes the process of thought by which the slave trade and slavery were revealed as immoral and illicit. In this use, speculation retained much of its root meaning of sight. Whether thinking of himself as a young man composing an antislavery essay or foreseeing the long authorial career he would have, Haynes also used "Speculation" to mean the act of reading his pages. Slave traders and slaveholders might slight his essay as "unworthy of Speculation," Haynes conceded, but they should—here was another metaphor of seeing—"reflect" on their "conduct." For "that god whose Eyes pervade the utmost Extent of human thou't, and Surveys with one intuitive view," was not deceived by humankind's "fair glosses" and will cause impartiality to "Be Seen flourishing." Slave traders and slaveholders must not only attempt to see well, perhaps even to try to see as God saw, Haynes wrote, but must also see the black man as a writer. When Haynes presented his pages as worthy of speculation, he described himself in a self-conscious sense as a writer, making "a period to this Small *Treatise,*" as well as in a visual sense as offering his essay to slave traders and slaveholders. *"Sirs,"* he wrote, "hopeing you will take it well at my hands, I persume, (tho' with the greatest Submission) to Crave your attention, while I offer you a few words." A reader as well as a writer, Haynes described himself as reading Scripture as well as republican and abolitionist writings. "'Twas an Exelent note that I lately Read in a modern peice," he recounted, "and it was this. 'O when shall America be consistantly Engaged in the Cause of Liberty?'"[135] His authorial career, stretching from 1774 to 1833, was rooted in these comments on reading, writing, and liberty.

Between early 1774, when he was released from his indenture, and late 1776, when he had returned from the Revolution's early northern campaign and was settling down to study and write, Haynes evidently felt that he and

his compatriots were in the midst of momentous transitions—personal, political, and racial. His writings convey the excitement and optimism of the moment. He himself was progressing from servitude to freedom, from youth to maturity, from service as a lector of other men's sermons to an independent role as a preacher and author, from an abandoned boy to a man who would be *seen* in a new way. Probably he recognized some force within himself that had led him to criticize the slave trade and slavery and that was perhaps gaining puissance by means of the criticism. Probably he also felt the thrill and empowerment of explanation as he came to understand the abolitionist account of the Old Testament background of the slave trade and the antislavery potential of Christianity. "Liberty Further Extended" was written on the cusp of the transition from colonial to national status, for Haynes usually called his fellow colonists Englishmen, but he occasionally called them Americans and patriots. The Declaration of Independence was promulgated just about the time he composed his essay. A new nation was being born around him, he felt in 1776. As the Bible told him, "All things are become new," and as he seemed to see, the new nation was not to be a slaveholding nation.

The confluence of transitions personal and political seems to have encouraged Haynes with the corresponding possibility of racial transitions. Could Americans progress from a society in which virtually all blacks were enslaved to one in which they were free? He approached the possibility of this transition with the tools of a preacher—the passage, exemplified by Nicodemus, from the dispensation of the Old Testament to that of the New Testament, the passage of the convert from a rational belief in God to a heartfelt one, the passage, for Africans, from indigenous traditions and Islam to Christianity. Yet he also approached the possibility of the transition from slavery to freedom as a republican. Haynes drew out the abolitionism within republican thought more fully than did any of his contemporaries, and he made the test of nationhood—the proof of whether Americans had really freed themselves from England—the abolition of slavery and the incorporation of African Americans into the new republic.

2

Republicanism Black and White

The Atlantic world engendered the first black abolitionism. The movement's figures, most of whom had lived as slaves or servants but wrote as free men or free women, sought to comprehend slavery in providential history from ancient times to the era of the American Revolution. Black slaves were situated in providential history, it seemed; they were trapped under Old Testament laws that had persisted in Europe, West Africa, the West Indies, and mainland North America but were ordained to be free as white Christians better aligned their feelings and their practices with the New Testament.

Some of the black abolitionists became British loyalists in the era of the American Revolution, since they believed that the power of Parliament and the authority of the Crown were likely to be leveled against the slave trade and slavery. The resolution of the Somerset case in 1772; Lord Dunmore's offer of freedom to Virginia slaves who fled their masters and sided with the British forces in 1775; Sir Henry Clinton's proclamation of freedom for slaves who left their patriot masters in 1779; the exodus to Freetown, Sierra Leone, of the black loyalists and their families in 1792; and discussion in Parliament of the abolition of the slave trade in the 1790s led men like Olaudah Equiano and Quobna Ottobah Cugoano to see Great Britain as the best hope for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Lemuel Haynes, one-time minuteman, never wavered in his patriotism. Republicanism formed his intellectual and moral context, and he articulated more clearly than anyone of his generation, black or white, the abolitionist implications of republican thought. Both strands of black abolitionism, the British and the American, prophesied something of the way slavery would ultimately be attacked in the nineteenth century. All the black abolitionists understood in the last two decades of the eighteenth century that only central governing bodies, superordinating over the many states, provinces, regions, and islands where slaves were held, would

end the institution of slavery. Haynes understood, in addition, that the republican sense of human equality and the legacy of the Revolution, seen as incomplete as long as inequality persisted, would be powerful antislavery forces in America.[1]

In the revolutionary years of 1775 and 1776, Haynes first articulated an abolitionist and problack republicanism, which was more of a refinement of American republicanism, influenced as it was by slaveholders, than a rebellion against it. Haynes believed, with some reason, that he was fulfilling the republican tradition, while slave traders, slaveholders, and those free citizens who tolerated slavery in their own society undermined it. The slave trade and slavery were, Haynes argued, essentially identical to the usurpation of liberty and rights with which the British government was threatening the American colonies. Blacks as well as patriots were assailed by despots and tyrants. Liberty was threatened by power, whether freedom's children were dark or fair. Conflicts between enslaved blacks and free whites in the Atlantic world were, in Haynes's view, part of the contest republicans perceived between liberty and power, freedom and tyranny, virtue and vice. Similarly, the collusion of the West African slave traders with the purchasers of their captives exemplified the tyranny of the elite of African societies over the majority, who were liable to be captured, enslaved, and sold in the Atlantic plantation and commercial system. This view of the African slave trade meshed with a critique of Islam as the religion of despots, though Islamic dominance of some of the channels of the African slave trade was then only a recent development and some Muslims themselves were sold into the Atlantic trade.[2] Haynes argued, moreover, that not only the abolition of the slave trade and slavery but also a future accord between blacks and whites should be inspired by both republicanism and Christianity. Both Islam and Judaism were criticized by black abolitionists as faiths that tolerated, even encouraged, the enslavement of outsiders, while Christianity in making all humankind brothers and sisters abolished the ancient justifications of slavery.

In the mid-1770s, Haynes perceived that he and his compatriots were on the cusp of a movement from colonial to national status which, in its antislavery potential as he understood it, mirrored the movement from Old Testament traditions to New Testament faith. His abolitionist essay "Liberty Further Extended" was composed precisely at that point.[3] In his republican expressions of the radical years of the mid-1770s, Haynes never insisted, in the older colonial fashion, on British privileges but rather demanded freedom as a right.[4] Moreover, Haynes continued until the War of 1812 to insist on the relevance of the Revolution, crafting arguments against oppression and for the liberationist significance of the War of Independence.[5] Haynes argued that in addition to the defeat of the imperial power, a truly republican society required the eradication of oppression and the establishment of accord between blacks and whites. More than gaining independence from Britain, an American declaration of freedom and equality for blacks would lift the new nation out of the Atlantic colonial system, which included the West Indies, the paradigm of abusive slave societies in the eyes of aboli-

tionists. This colonial system was defined, Haynes recognized, as much by the Atlantic slave trade and New World slavery as by British efforts to rule the North American colonies.

Disappointed in the outcome of the Revolution, insofar as it had seemed in 1776 to augur the end of slavery and the advent of racial equality, by about 1800 Haynes came to urge upon the new nation a "true republicanism" to alleviate both the civic inequality suffered by blacks and the interracial discord inherent in a society in which the majority of its black population was enslaved and virtually all of its black population was denied fundamental rights.[6] The inequality and discord inevitably inserted into the structure of society by slaveholders undermined republican liberty and security, as Haynes understood them. Vermont, his home state after 1788, was, he believed, a model for a national republicanism. For Vermont had ended slavery in its 1777 state constitution, reiterating in the document, indeed, the very words from the Declaration of Independence addressing humankind's inalienable natural rights that Haynes himself had quoted in his 1776 abolitionist essay.

Haynes wrestled with the question of whether Revolutionary republicanism implied slavery or freedom, oppression or equality, exclusion or inclusion, for African Americans in a time when major white theoreticians of republicanism such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison carried their political philosophy to antiblack extremes. Viewing blacks themselves, not merely the institution of slavery, as certain to undermine republican liberty and security, Jefferson, Madison, and many of their less notable peers came to promote the forced expatriation of black Americans in colonizationist schemes—a manifestly antirepublican solution to slavery and inequality.[7] When the American Colonization Society was formed in 1817 with support from such luminaries as Madison, who later served as its president, it confirmed half a century of expatriationist thinking among the republican leadership.[8] As a commentator on New England religious history noted in 1860, colonization was an effort to thwart and undo the principles to which Haynes had committed himself even as a young man. Colonization sought to widen the "chasm" formed by slavery, wrote D. Sherman. Those who were striving "to denationalize a race of men born on our soil" inaccurately claimed that their views had always been held in America. Yet Haynes "regarded himself as a *citizen,* enjoying all the emoluments and rights, and assuming all the responsibilities that attach to the state." This attitude led him to enlist as a minuteman and to serve further in the War of Independence.[9]

Setting himself against the leaders of American republicanism, Haynes made a significant contribution to republican political philosophy. He argued that republicanism should have enabled Americans to recognize the tyranny of slavers and the usurpation of slaves' rights, to appreciate blacks' contributions to the new nation, and to engender a postslavery society in which the races would be equal and equally secure in their rights. The eradication of slavery and the extension to blacks of the liberty and security of an antislavery republican state were, in Haynes's mind, essential to republican governance and republican life. Haynes made abolitionism and black equality re-

publican causes, while most of his contemporaries evaded the connection between American republicanism and black liberty.

Republicanism provided Haynes the language to articulate his abolitionism and his patriotism. *"Tyrony"* and "oppression," in his mind, characterized not only the British Crown and Parliament but also slave traders and slaveholders. "It is the Deuty, and honner," he insisted in writing of such tyranny, "of Every son of freedom to repel her first motions."[10] Liberty and freedom were, for Haynes, natural rights implanted by God in humankind and known in the consciousness, felt in the heart, directed by the will. Of course, the slave trade and slavery, like other forms of oppression, violated these human rights. The abolition of the slave trade and of slavery were, for Haynes, touchstones of the integrity of Revolutionary republicanism, indeed, even of the self-understanding of the republicans, their ability, as he phrased it, to act in a consistent manner after gazing into their own breasts. In the terms of Haynes's abolitionist essay, the progression from colony to nation, from Englishman to American, even from youth to maturity—all these mirroring the progression from Old to New Testament—should have been accompanied by one from slaveholding to emancipation. As long as slavery persisted, the Revolution was incomplete.

Adherence to the meaning of the Revolution was, for Haynes, a higher form of patriotism than that exhibited by even the slaveholding patriots and veterans themselves. When George Washington freed his slaves in his will in 1799, Haynes took the opportunity to criticize the slaveholding members of the Revolutionary generation. After Washington's death, Haynes praised the emancipation of the Virginian's slaves and criticized the seeming hypocrisy of such slaveholding luminaries as James Madison.[11] Slaveholders seemed, indeed, disloyal to their society, since they compromised its republican spirit. In Haynes's understanding, slavery corrupted the society of the slaveholders, burdened those in bondage, and threatened rebellions from within. Haynes was influenced by Anthony Benezet on this as on many other points. Slavery, Benezet and Haynes agreed, weakened and corrupted the society of the slaveholders, who exercised undue powers such as abusing individuals and separating families. "Those who God hath joined together, and pronounced one flesh," Haynes protested, "man assumes a prerogative to put asunder." "I believe," he continued, "it would Be much Better for these Colonys if their was never a Slave Brought into this Land; theirby our poor are put to great Extremitys, by reason of the plentifullness of Labour, which otherwise would fall into their hands."[12] Benezet had made a similar point by quoting Montesquieu, who wrote that the virtue of the slave was not rewarded, while the master lost moral virtue and became "haughty, hasty, hard hearted, passionate, voluptuous, and cruel."[13] In 1776, Haynes appealed to the patriotism of American slaveholders in writing, "If you have any Love to yourselves, or any Love to this Land, if you have any Love to your fellow-men, Break these intollerable yoaks."[14]

In 1775, a year before he encountered in the Declaration of Independence the lines he set at the head of "Liberty Further Extended," Haynes intertwined

the patriot and the abolitionist causes. As happened a number of times, Haynes's white associates preserved an autograph he himself never published, "The Battle of Lexington A Poem on the inhuman Tragedy perpetrated on the 19th of April 1775 by a Number of the <Ministerial> Brittish Troops under the Command of Thomas Gage, which Parricides and Ravages are shocking Displays of ministerial & tyrannic Vengeance composed by Lemuel a young <Mollatto Man> Molatto who obtained what little knowledge he possesses, by his own Application to Letters."[15] The poem commenced by invoking Urania, the muse Haynes might have encountered in Milton's *Paradise Lost,* which he could have read in the pious household in which he matured. It is virtually certain that he knew *Urania* as the title of a popular collection of hymns and psalms that appeared in several editions in the colonies in the 1760s and 1770s.[16] Moreover, it is possible that he knew Urania as she appeared in Herodotus's *Histories,* in which she was the spirit of fellowship among warriors as well as the muse whose name was given to Book Eight, which recounted a great battle in which the Greeks, vastly outnumbered, defended their homeland against the Persians. The "Battle of Lexington" mentioned none of these sources but suggested them all.

Mingling classicism, piety, and sacred song, Haynes's 1775 poem might best be interpreted as a youthful effort to craft a republican hymn bringing to bear the Puritan heritage and classical heroism on the patriot and abolitionist causes. Many of Phillis Wheatley's compositions can be similarly described. Affiliation to the republican cause, not originality in composition, was the point of his poem. *"Sons of Freedom,"* Haynes wrote, "join to sing/The Vict'ry they Imbrace." He seems to have wanted to compose that song, joining in unison with the patriots just as arms, voices, and interests—here the American and the abolitionist causes—merged. Even in this early composition, the keynote of Haynes's thought was sounded: the abolitionist, Christian, republican, and, indeed, American causes were one. In 1775, the enemy was the British, but even as it became clear to Haynes throughout the decades of the early republic that tyranny was well ensconced within America in its slave system, he never muted that keynote. He remained republican while his more renowned peers of the patriot generation were diluting their Revolutionary heritage.

Tyranny loomed in 1775 in the British forces in Massachusetts, according to the "Battle of Lexington," including even the ghost of Edmund Bonner, Roman Catholic scourge of sixteenth-century British Protestants. The "Sons of Freedom," the "Friends" of Americans, and "Liberty" itself were victimized by the British troops, until the colonists reluctantly retaliated. Americans forged an "Accord" when they were confronted with such depredations on their life and liberty. Once stirred against British "pride," the colonists risked their lives:

> 14. For Liberty, each <Hero> Freeman Strives
> As its a Gift of God
> And for it willing yield their Lives
> And Seal it with their Blood
> 15. Thrice happy they <Who> who thus resign

Into the peacefull Grave
Much better there, in Death Confin'd
Than a Surviving Slave
16. This Motto may <decore> adorn their Tombs,
(Let tyrants come and view)
"We rather seek these silent Rooms
"Than live as Slaves to You[.*"*]

Haynes attributed American victories in skirmishes of 1775 to God's favor and to the patriots' ability as morally superior warriors, like Herodotus's Greeks, to oust an invading force of superior numbers:

One Son of Freedom could annoy
A Thousand Tyrant Fiends
And their despotick Tribe destroy.

Americans resisted enslavement, Haynes insisted, just as Englishmen had resisted Roman Catholic moves against Protestant liberty. Aware that God was on their side, some patriots sacrificed themselves for their cause. "Freedom & Life," he wrote, "O precious Sounds/yet Freedome does excell."[17] Patriots were thus willing to die for liberty, he concluded.

Haynes's sense here that the black and the patriot causes were one probably signified the optimism of a young man. Yet his sense of a collusion of interests signified also a shared experience among black and white in which Haynes sought to root his abolitionism. For as a mixed-race indentured servant, Haynes was a laborer in a common status in the mid-eighteenth century. Just as the enslaved Israelites and enslaved blacks seemed essentially the same in their oppression, so indentured servants, patriots, and slaves all seemed to have tasted the same bitter bondage, some in larger draughts than the others. As scholars note about race relations in the North American colonies, shared experience and shared interests among blacks and whites of the laboring class were often an effective curb on racism.[18] If Haynes invoked elements of experience hardly associated with the lives of most of the laboring class, such as Herodotus's *Histories,* that meant not alienation from the laboring class, but education that infused a literary sense into his identification with the lowly and oppressed. Fresh out of his indenture, Haynes was appealing both to such shared experiences and interests and to republican notions of enslavement in his attacks on slavery. As indentures became rare in the white population, such shared experiences and interests among blacks and whites in the laboring parts of society were rapidly vanishing from the society around him, and he would come to face their absence more explicitly in the 1790s. His early writings still expressed the optimism of youth and the sense that the weakness of his foes were recognized by many of his peers.

Slavery had by the 1770s been long understood in republican thought, ancient and modern, as a state of absolute dependence in which individuals could not enjoy the independence and virtue or exercise the fidelity to society that made others full citizens. "The visible *polis* constituted by citizen-men" in ancient Greek society required, Paul A. Rahe writes, "an invisible

and politically inarticulate body of slaves condemned to labor in private so that their masters might be free to devote their time and efforts to speech and action in public."[19] The idea that the British Crown and Parliament were seeking to reduce the colonists to slavery through limiting their political activity was the standard of American republicanism in the Revolutionary years.[20] Late-eighteenth-century black thought went to the heart of Revolutionary republicanism because writers like Haynes demanded to know to what degree was the enslavement of Africans in the New World relevant to American republicans when they fought for freedom and spoke of liberty, slavery, and oppression. Haynes asseverated that "slavery" and "oppression" applied as equally to the state of most African Americans as to the fate of the colonists within the imperial system. Black men belonged, Haynes and his black peers believed, in the public sphere, at least as authors, ministers, soldiers, and men of commerce, not under the pall of an enslavement that perpetually denied them the benefits of citizenship.

Of course, Haynes's abolitionist essay leaves us unable to decide whether his white contemporaries understood black slavery as similar to political enslavement. Haynes himself urged them to look into themselves, in a way they had not previously, to recognize the identity of the black cause and the patriot cause. The black cause was like the "Conceal'd Gospel" in the Jewish texts—inherent in republicanism but unrealized in a slaveholding society.[21] However, it was still possible in the second half of the eighteenth century, in the Anglo-American sphere, to speak of slavery as a state of absolute dependence which was abhorrent to Englishmen and Americans, but which had no racial connotation or even connection with New World chattel slavery. In literature, politics, and religion, slavery appeared often as the state of absolute dependence, but rarely with a black visage. For instance, if we understand the definitions and attestations in Johnson's *Dictionary* as illustrating English usage of the eighteenth-century public sphere we see that slavery was understood as a social state described in classical literature as the fate of those under despots and tyrants. Almost never did a definition or attestation connect slavery with black Americans.[22] It was precisely this connection Haynes made, laying bare the antislavery logic within republicanism.

African Americans themselves adopted republican rhetoric, including its view of enslavement. But in the case of black authors whose lives spanned the Revolutionary era—here we count figures like Richard Allen, Phillis Wheatley, and the authors of petitions demanding rights for black people—we must ask to what degree their use of a public discourse like republicanism presupposed an understanding of race and slavery that was available to many, if not most, of their white contemporaries.[23] Did the early black abolitionists meet their white contemporaries on common ground, or did they craft versions of religion and political philosophy alien to white Americans? If there was significant shared ground between blacks and whites on matters of faith and freedom in the Revolutionary years, as Haynes believed, then there is some justice in understanding the post-Revolutionary moves of many whites in religion and political philosophy as, at least in part, evasions of the claims

of African Americans to be faithful brothers and equal citizens in the Christian republic. If abolitionists and black writers penetrated to the heart of Revolutionary republicanism, the response they elicited was indirect—not an answer in republican terms, but the evolution of a new form of social philosophy in which blacks would seem alien to white republicans.

Public documents of the Revolutionary era rarely offered evidence that black slavery and republican slavery merged in the minds of the patriots, but suggested that most of the patriots resisted enslavement by Parliament while ignoring the oppression of the slaves around them. The patriots seemed well aware of African American slaves but unable to categorize together slavery as blacks experienced it and slavery as the republican tradition presented it. Only a few voices protested during the War of Independence that all the oppressed deserved freedom, notes Arthur Zilversmit, while in the New England states and Pennsylvania gradual emancipation legislation followed in the wake of revolution.[24] Yet if we delve below public documents and examine private materials such as letters and records of the discussions of the Revolutionaries, we see that white Americans themselves were little able to separate the republican notion of political enslavement from the state of black Americans. Private documents suggest that white revolutionaries' apparent lack of interest in interpreting black slavery in republican fashion was, to some degree, an evasion. Well aware that "slavery" referred as much to the enslavement of American blacks as to the oppressive domination feared by republicans, the white revolutionaries managed to circumscribe the scope of the word in public discourse. They could not, however, have kept "slavery" within the limits of political enslavement in their private writings and discussions. Haynes articulated a common concern of his times and, insofar as he was abolitionist, participated in a contest about the meaning of republicanism for Americans of the Revolutionary era.

In the initial years of rebellion and revolution, 1774 to 1777, when Haynes began writing, the patriots expressed their thoughts on slavery and freedom fully, but not quite openly. From the patriots' letters, for instance, we can see that the parallels between black slavery and political enslavement that were drawn by Haynes were drawn also by a number of his leading white contemporaries. Englishmen, too, expressed the same sense that the abolitionist cause and the patriot cause might well be one, so the awareness of the legitimacy of black slaves' right to republican liberty was not uniquely American, but was part of Anglo-American culture. The most notable example was Samuel Johnson, who earned the American rebels' enmity in 1775 by caustically suggesting that they could not have reasonably gainsaid their slaves being liberated and provided with land, tools, and arms.[25]

The question of whether or not to enlist black soldiers or even slave troops in the patriot effort brought the manumission of enslaved black men readily to the minds of the revolutionaries, of course, yet their comments indicate an awareness, deriving more from the republican tradition than from circumstances of the war, that political enslavement differed little, if at all, from racial slavery. Black participation in the military effort was perhaps a catalyst

for thought, but the place of black citizens in a republic—or the lack of any possible place for them—was on the minds of many Americans before any crisis over black military service and long after it. By the mid-1770s, both Haynes and many of his white contemporaries understood the republican notion of slavery to encompass both political and racial enslavement. Unlike his white contemporaries, Haynes drew out the abolitionist implications of republicanism in the mid-1770s and continued to further a republican brand of abolitionism for a half-century.

The gathering of delegates to the Continental Congress in the mid-1770s encouraged committed republican patriots to express their thoughts about slavery and freedom. Speaking in republican tones, representatives of northern and southern colonies were sometimes pitted against each other in discussing slavery, and they were forced to deal with the possibility that liberated southern slaves would fight as loyalists. These expressions appeared in addresses to the Congress, in proposals for military action and governance, in discussions of the war effort, and in personal letters and records of the congressional proceedings sent to friends and family. Since, in addition to ardent patriots, the first Congress contained some men who commented on slavery but later withdrew from the patriot cause as well as men who quoted Samuel Johnson as representative of the Tory view on black slavery, the papers of the congressional delegates offer perspectives on the role of racial slavery in Anglo-American political culture that range from its libertarian to its Tory extremes. The records of the delegates reveal that their thoughts on slavery and freedom were essentially the same as Haynes's. The delegates recognized little distinction, if any, between the state of black slaves in the Americas and the state of those enslaved, as republican thought had it, by the power of despots and tyrants. Republicanism itself fostered that recognition, offering Haynes an opportunity to address black liberty and equality as well as providing leading white Americans an egalitarian political philosophy from which they would retreat in the early republic as they yielded to racism and the profits of slave labor. Republicanism encouraged objections to chattel slavery, yet a Revolutionary flexibility concerning blackness stiffened in the post-Revolutionary years.

The republican notion of slavery, familiar to the patriots from classical and modern political philosophy, was articulated by the congressional delegates as clearly as it was by Haynes. Within the first week of the Congress in Philadelphia, September 1774, New York delegate James Duane noted, in a speech to the Committee on Rights, that "political Liberty is the great Object of the English Constitution," but "Slaves" are "bound to submit to the arbitrary will of another" since no constitution protects them.[26] Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee, in October 1774, wrote that one's very life was "disgraced with the Shackles of Slavery," while slavery itself was constantly accompanied by "ignorance and idleness."[27] Despots enslave their subjects, crushing their liberty and freedom by disallowing representation in government, wrote Maryland delegate Joseph Galloway in a letter of December 1774.[28] "Abject slavery," "the abyss of slavery," "slavery, the worst of human ills," "submis-

sion and slavery," nothing "so much to be dreaded by Mankind as Slavery": all these phrases, taken from the words of patriots like Samuel Ward, Richard Henry Lee, and Samuel Adams were typical of the delegates' republican notions of slavery, and all were similar to Haynes's understanding of slavery.[29] The delegates to Congress and Haynes shared the notion that the colonists' choice was resistance or enslavement, or, as George Washington delineated the choice in a letter from Philadelphia, blood or slavery. "The once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched with Blood, or Inhabited by Slaves," Washington wrote to George William Fairfax in May 1775. "Sad alternative!" Washington continued, "but can a virtuous Man hesitate in his choice?"[30] Americans in the resistance were "called upon," as John Hancock phrased it in June 1776, "to say, whether they will live Slaves, or die Freemen." To the "Virtue" of the militia, that is, their quality as free men, Hancock noted, "their Delegates to Congress . . . now make the most solemn Appeal."[31]

Slaves were, the delegates understood, equally the dependent creatures of republican thought and the black laborers of America. No clear distinction was maintained between these two types of the enslaved. The delegates perceived the same slavery in the faces of the black people around them as they discovered in works of history and political philosophy. The presumption of privacy of the delegates' discussion and their letters to friends and family allowed them to voice this understanding openly. The delegates in Philadelphia acknowledged that black slaves had just claims to liberty and, sometimes, that free blacks had what John Adams called a "natural" place in the patriot military ranks.[32] Samuel Adams, writing from Boston on March 4, 1775, remarked that the "great Landowners" of New York were reluctant to be represented in the next Continental Congress since they were "Lords over many Slaves; and are afraid of the Consequences that would follow, if a Spirit of Liberty should prevail among them."[33] South Carolina delegate Thomas Lynch, writing to his fellow South Carolinian Ralph Izard, noted that, although the British were inciting "our Slaves" to attack the patriots, the blacks remained "faithful—against the promise even of liberty, dearest—best—of all rewards."[34] In a letter of 1775 to George Washington, Lynch was moved by promoting the "Spirit of Independance and of Seperation from all other authority," to query, "Will it be right to keep your Negroes for wood cutters?"[35]

The interest of slaves in the republican cause was acknowledged by John Dickinson in a statement of October 1774, in which he discussed the dissolution of the colonial assemblies by royal order and noted that even slaves, although denied the benefits of society, objected legitimately to infringements upon the common good. Offended by circular letters criticizing acts of Parliament, George III had insisted that the letters be rescinded or the assemblies be dissolved. "Assemblies were dissolved," wrote Dickinson. "These Mandates spoke a Language, to which the Ears of English subjects had for several Generations been strangers. The Nature of Assemblies implies a power & Right of Deliberation. But these Commands proscribing the Exercise of Judgment on the propriety of the Requisitions made, left to the Assemblies

only the Election between the dictated Submission or the threatened Punishment: A Punishment too <inflicted for> founded on no other Act, than such, as is deem'd innocent even in Slaves—that of agreeing in Petitions for Redress of Grievances that equally affect all."[36] Benjamin Franklin wrote to the secretary of the British post office that the American "Spirit" was evident in blacks and whites working together to fortify New York against a suspected British attack in 1776.[37]

Black participation, whether as loyalists or patriots, in the war effort set in high relief black claims to liberty. As Benjamin Quarles notes, blacks served as soldiers in the Continental Army and in many other capacities in the Revolutionary effort.[38] Free black men volunteered for service, while slaves were enlisted as substitutes for white men. Southerners opposed the enlistment of black troops until late in the war, but, since both North and South employed blacks in many other capacities, the resistance to black soldiers was less over service in the war than over black men assuming the honorific role of service in the Continental Army. "Blacks' desire for freedom found its greatest fulfillment in wartime service as armsbearers," according to Quarles.[39] In 1775, Lord Dunmore promised freedom to the slaves who deserted their Virginian masters and served the Crown (whether he meant to liberate slaves or frighten slaveholders is another matter) and raised his own "Ethiopian Regiment" (many of the freedmen died in camp of contagious diseases such as smallpox). Loyalist and patriot blacks alike hoped that military service would earn them manumission. The war in the southern states became, Sylvia R. Frey writes, a triangular conflict involving two sets of white belligerents and about 400,000 blacks.[40] Many loyalists were freed, whether to remain in the new nation or relocate to places still within the British empire (London, Jamaica, and Nova Scotia), but many were betrayed, including thousands sold as booty of war into West Indian slavery by British officers.[41]

The confluence of republican thought on slavery, unease with the enslavement of blacks, awareness of the justice of black desire for liberty, and black service in the war effort led to a remarkable, though rarely public, flexibility in republican discourse about slavery. In late 1775, the delegates were outraged at Dunmore's proclamation freeing rebels' slaves, of course, yet the patriots also conceded that slaves had a right to seek liberty. Moreover, the delegates acknowledged the justice in Dunmore's strategy but complained that it was misdirected since American slavery had originated in imperial policy. This last point, echoed in Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence, was perhaps more than an evasion of blame for American slavery; it was also an expression of a desire not to be blameworthy.

Although some southern delegates argued beginning in July 1776 that black slaves were property and that the slaves in each colony should not have been counted among the population in calculating its monetary share of the cost of war, all the delegates who addressed the issue understood that slaves were something qualitatively different from property, that they were, in the Montesquieuian sense, a threat to the state in a way that property never could have been. Benjamin Franklin stated it bluntly when he said, in debate, "Slaves

rather weaken than strengthen the state." Taxable property such as sheep—here Franklin ribbed his southern colleagues for their dependence on slavery—"never make any Insurrections." James Wilson, Franklin's fellow Pennsylvanian, noted that "Slaves prevent freemen cultivating a Country. It [slavery] is attended with many Inconveniences."[42] The southerners themselves had to admit that slaves were a peculiar kind of property, even if they were property. When some of Virginian Landon Carter's slaves escaped to a British camp, his fellow Virginian Francis Lightfoot Lee responded. Lee consoled Carter over the defection of one man who had been his "favorite servant," then noted that the escape was to be explained in that "Slavery plants a Vice where a Virtue might be expected." Slaves were thus known and understood as individuals to whom one might feel attached as well as beings prone to the flourishing or withering of humanity's moral sense.[43] Frustrated over the northerners' insistence that slaves be counted in calculating the share of each colony in supporting the war effort, North Carolina delegate William Hooper articulated a sentiment that many probably shared, particularly those who feared that a mass of slaves undermined a republican society: "I wish to see the day that Slaves are not necessary."[44]

Discussion in early 1777 concerning a "recommendation of Congress to the several states to Enact Laws Empowering all Constables, Ferry keepers and Freeholders to take up any persons suspected of being deserters and Carry them before the Justice of the Peace" made it clear how thoroughly black slavery and political enslavement mingled in the patriot mind. Criticizing the recommendation, a delegate from one of the southern colonies defended his position by noting the rights of black slaves to be free. His defense surprises only those not familiar with the records of the private thoughts of the Revolutionaries. To the report making the recommendation, an "amendment was moved the purport of which was that the Power should go Immediately from Congress without the Intervention of the States." North Carolina delegate Thomas Burke instigated a hot debate by contesting the amendment. In statements that would echo in the nineteenth century, Burke argued that civil authority derived from state government, not Congress, and that Congress could have altered no state laws unless it had "a Power over the Internal Laws of the states which Power never would be given, and no one pretended to."

With an irony apparently not evident to the southern delegate, Burke used "the case of the Negro Somerset" as precedent suggesting that no individual was to use "Magisterial Power" or an "act of Dominion" to accuse, judge, and punish another individual.[45] The Somerset case had been resolved at the King's Bench in 1772 in a judgment that James Somerset's master had no authority to force his slave to leave England to return to Virginia, where both had once resided.[46] Although the Somerset case did not end slavery in England (though many in the 1770s believed it did), Burke understood the black Briton's right to freedom as so secure and natural that he used it in congressional debate as an example of the rights Americans wished to preserve. Moreover, Burke's argument concerning the proposed amendment went beyond the idea that blacks had a natural right to liberty to an idea, often articu-

lated by Haynes, that blacks had a claim to the benefits of republican society. Burke referred to redress by law, while Haynes typically referred to education and a shared sense of community, but both men assumed that black men were citizens and public creatures who ought to participate in the benefits and institutions of society.

The most famous of the acts of the First Continental Congress, the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, should be interpreted in light of the members' comments about race and slavery in the mid-1770s. The Congress deleted Jefferson's criticism, in draft, of the Crown for establishing and maintaining North American slavery. The slave trade and slavery constituted, Jefferson had written, "crimes committed against the liberties" of Africans as well as, in a more general sense, attacks on the "sacred rights of life & liberty."[47] The congressional deletion of Jefferson's antislavery sentences may have been a concession to slaveholders, but it was also an expression of the tacit policy of the Congress itself. Race and slavery were privately discussed, and black men were privately acknowledged to possess the same rights as white men. But public pronouncements that threatened American slavery with black rights were very rare. Aside from his role in the Congress, Jefferson followed its method of dealing with race and slavery, as when, for instance, he offered a more positive view of blacks in his correspondence with Henri Gregoire than he was willing to print in a public forum.[48] Seen in its context in the Congress, Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence can be understood as publicizing the delegates' attitude toward slavery in a way they ultimately found unacceptable, not because it falsified their attitude but because it captured it too precisely. American readers have usually assumed that the Congress revised the Declaration to make it match a consensus about slavery, but it is probably more accurate to say that the revisions brought the document in line with the way a white republican leadership would publicize its view of slavery. The Declaration of Independence, in its draft and, less so, its authorized version, suggests the same flexibility in republican thought that the delegates expressed in their speeches and correspondence. Haynes explored and exploited this flexibility while knowing republican principles, yet nothing of the private proceedings of the Congress.

A wide compass of thought about slavery and its illegitimacy demarcated the range in which Haynes's black republicanism developed. The congressional delegates noted one more central point that Haynes shared with them, the notion that the most oppressed people in history had always been the slaves of free men. The hardest lot for slaves was, Haynes and later abolitionists believed, one in which the distinction between freedom and slavery was the clearest. In July 1776, for instance, New Jersey delegate John Witherspoon argued for a vigorous American confederacy, but not one in which a small number of strong or large states predominated. "I would apply," Witherspoon said, "the argument which we have so often used against Great Britain—that in all history we see that the slaves of freemen, and the subject states of republics, have been of all others most grievously oppressed. I do not think the records of time can produce an instance of slaves treated with so much bar-

barity as the Helotes by the Lacedemonians, who were the most illustrious champions for liberty in all Greece; or of provinces more plundered and spoiled than the states conquered by the Romans, for one hundred years before Cæsar's dictatorship." "The reason," Witherspoon continued, was the predominance of the "many great men in free states."[49] As Thomas Jefferson summarized Witherspoon's comments on another occasion, "All experience has shewn that the vassals & subjects of free states are the most enslaved."[50] When Haynes reproached his slave-trading and slaveholding contemporaries who were in rebellion against England yet did not peer into their own breasts, he meant that they were unwilling to transfer this elemental insight of republican thought to the situation of American blacks. Haynes's mature republicanism, developed after his youthful writings and his ministerial training, dealt with the problem of a slave society committed to freedom, in which slaves were even more abject than in other slaveholding societies.

This mature republicanism appeared first in an 1801 address, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism.* The autographs and published poetry of Haynes's twenties, the time of his Revolutionary service, were followed by a decade-and-a-half hiatus as he progressed from studies in theology and languages to ordination, to marriage and fatherhood, and at last to a pulpit in a Congregational church in Rutland, Vermont. His wife was Elizabeth Babbit, a native of Massachusetts, and the first of their nine children was born in 1785.[51] In the 1790s, beginning when Haynes was in his thirties, he published three sermons (his mid-1770s sermon on the new birth was published posthumously in 1837). Then, in 1801, he published his thoughts on republicanism in a address on the twenty-fifth-year anniversary of American independence, adopting as his text Luke 22:26, "But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve." Verses like this one, as Haynes understood them, eradicated the ancient justifications for slavery and were brought to bear for its abolition in post-Revolutionary society.[52] As David Waldstreicher notes, by the 1790s the Fourth of July had become an abolitionist holiday celebrated by black New Englanders.[53] Haynes almost certainly knew of these events by 1801. He was participating in a broad black movement that brought antislavery feelings into public display on the American national holiday. His Fourth of July address was a philosophically minded and theologically minded version of what Waldstreicher describes as free blacks' appropriation of white political culture for antislavery purposes.[54]

That Haynes did represent his fellow blacks and that their celebration of the Fourth of July was contested by whites are evident in a brief article from the Brattleborough, Vermont, *American Yeoman,* of July 1817. This article suggests that antislavery was part of black celebrations, but it also conveys a lack of sympathy on the part of at least some whites. Haynes's address was thus standard for the Fourth of July, yet radical, even offensive to some whites, in its insistence on a true republicanism. An "Account of the Celebration of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by the Africans of Boston" appeared in the newspaper: "More cocked hats was worn on that day than ever before on the

same ocaasion which was a very interesting sight espushully the children. After the parade we mooved to the African Meetnus were an addres was delivered for the edifigation of the herers, after which we dined together,—Many good tosts and men were drunk after diner, that is I mean their health were drunk."[55] Such lampooning of black New Englanders was, according to Joanne Pope Melish, a technique used to deny them a secure role in the body politic.[56] Haynes, of course, aimed at securing blacks in republican and Christian society. His address deserves extended analysis here, so we can understand the way he sought to secure blacks as free citizens within a republican society.

Haynes used Jesus' words, spoken to the disciples at the Last Supper, to articulate a vision of interracial brotherhood and equality secured in a Christian republic. Essential in the address was Haynes's weaving together of abolitionism, republicanism, and Christian brotherhood. Drawing a parallel between the early Christians and Americans in the post-Revolutionary decades, Haynes noted that although Christ had offered a way for the disciples to be emancipated from "the Roman yoke," just as the Americans had become free through the Revolution, he also insisted upon a choice between following him and remaining a Jew.[57] The Revolution unfinished, the parallel choice for Americans in the post-Revolutionary decades was between a free society and a slave society—a choice that for Haynes was, of course, a choice between republicanism true and false, religion true and false, community true and false. Even the celebrations invoked by Haynes in his address, not only the Fourth of July but also the Last Supper, which was a Passover celebration, suggest the progress that he saw within such choices—from Old Testament traditions to New Testament faith to American republicanism to abolitionism. Marked in early black abolitionism with the stigma of Old Testament slavery, the Passover led in the New Testament to the Last Supper, which itself led in Haynes's hands to the American national holiday. As always in early black abolitionism, the movement from the Old Testament to the New Testament—and here, for Haynes, to the uniquely American—involved a progress from the apparent legitimacy of slavery to the necessity of freedom. It made sense to a black abolitionist to superimpose a national celebration on the Last Supper, since both were markers in the move away from slavery.

The address relied heavily on the association of New Testament faith with antislavery and the equality of humankind, contrasted to Old Testament traditions. Luke's account of Christ and the disciples from the Last Supper to the Resurrection justified, according to *True Republicanism,* at once abolitionism, equality, and republicanism. Haynes reminded his audience that the Vermont state constitution was the first to abolish slavery; it did so in 1777 by echoing the Declaration of Independence: "All men are born equally free and independent and have certain inherent and inalienable rights."[58] It was in the paragraph Haynes quoted that slavery (of adult males) was barred: "A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont[:] I. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pur-

suing and obtaining happiness and safety. Therefore, no male person, born in this country, or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by law, to serve any person, as a servant, slave or apprentice, after he arrives to the age of eighteen years, unless they are bound by their own consent, after they arrive to such age, or bound by law, for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like." This "language of our own constitution," Haynes argued, "coincides with the holy oracles, Acts 17:26," the verse, also composed by Luke, favored by abolitionists like Benezet and Equiano and widely understood to mean that since human beings derived from one origin there was no justice in some enslaving others.[59] Of course, Haynes himself had quoted Acts 17:26 in his 1776 abolitionist essay. The coincidence in meaning between Scripture and republican thought, as Haynes interpreted them, guided his black republicanism.

Republican principles, embodied in a constitution, government, or society, coincided, Haynes wrote, with divine providence and natural law by guaranteeing individual rights for "Africans" as well as for whites. The secure possession of such rights, he added, was "the best antidote against faction," serving "to meliorate the troubles of life, and to cement mankind in the strictest bonds of friendship and society."[60] It was, moreover, an immoral, unhealthy society that failed to protect the secure possession of such rights. "The troubles incident to men," he wrote, "have their origin from this source; nor can the body politic enjoy peace, symmetry and tranquility, until it resumes its order; but like a dislocated bone, will diffuse convulsion and pain through every member."[61] Not only slaves but also the happiness and security of society suffered because of slavery. He condemned American slavery in the address, but he did find the harbinger of republican freedom in Vermont, a state with an antislavery constitution, "where the people are free and view each other as brethren engaged in one common cause," where "virtue and philanthropy will be considered as the true criterions of distinction," where "he will be esteemed great who is servant of all, who is willing to devote his talents to the public good." Vermonters enjoyed, he added, "the prominent features of a free, republican government," which "should attach us to our present constitution."[62]

In 1801, perhaps, Vermont deserved Haynes's praise for its virtue and antislavery sentiments (though I shall argue that many Vermonters of repute retreated from a vision of racial equality after 1810). Vermont was, Randolph A. Roth argues, "truly a child of the revolutionary age: a society that was formally committed to the ideals of democracy, equality, and religious freedom and that rejected slavery, monarchy, established churches, and imperial domination."[63] Vermonters' republicanism in the post-Revolutionary decades led them to seek a balance between the values and practices of market-oriented democracy and older notions of "security, moral and spiritual unity, and political harmony."[64] The paradox of a society of "perfect liberty" in which all inhabitants were of "one mind" had not yet become apparent in northern New England.[65] The feeling among Vermonters in the early republic that they had established what, as Gary J. Aichele writes, "until 1777 had existed only in

theory[,] the right of a free and sovereign people to form themselves into an independent body politic through their voluntary consent" must have appealed to anyone thinking about the immorality of slavery.[66]

Haynes had toured Vermont in 1785 and accepted a Congregational pulpit in Rutland in 1788 as part of the effort of the Congregational General Association of Connecticut to alleviate a shortage of ministers in western Vermont, where more than two-thirds of congregations had no preacher and where various unorthodox persuasions, ranging from Deism and Universalism to Methodism and freewill Christianity, were alarmingly active.[67] The Rutland congregation, which itself had Connecticut origins, remembered Haynes from his 1785 tour and agreed to accept him after the death in 1787 of their first minister, Benajah Roots.[68] In an irony that Haynes perhaps savored, most of the white men with whom he was mobilized to "the regions beyond" were of such low quality, particularly in gaining converts, that they were soon dismissed by their congregations.[69] Many white ministers went to the northern frontier in the late 1780s because they lacked the skills necessary to gain employment in southern New England, while Haynes was sent to the northern periphery because his race unsuited him for employment in a more central pulpit. Haynes maintained his pulpit for thirty years and became a leading controversialist in New England paper wars over politics and theology as well as a famed revivalist. Orthodox Rutland greeted Haynes warmly, partly because his ministerial competitors in the region were moving towards Arminianism and Unitarianism if they were not already entirely heterodox.[70] It is also likely that Haynes's service in the War of Independence recommended him in Rutland, the inhabitants of which had taken "an active and patriotic part in the war" because of their "hostility to the arbitrary measures of the British crown and ministry" and their "sympathy with their friends in Massachusetts and Connecticut, whence they had emigrated."[71]

True Republicanism was a political sermon in the Revolutionary tradition, weaving together biblical and republican themes and, in Haynes's hands, abolitionist ones. "A true republican is one who wishes well to the good constitution and laws of the commonwealth, is ready to lend his heart, his sword and his property for their support," he wrote.[72] The heart, the sword, and the property all echoed both the republicanism of the Revolution and the writings of Luke. Haynes's technique was to capture the egalitarian and fraternal implications of the last chapters of Luke's Gospel and relate them to a brotherly regard for "the Africans, among us." Haynes carried the religious insight that freedom came from Christ into both an abolitionist understanding of black freedom and a republican understanding of the necessity of securing freedom for all members of a commonwealth. A more forceful attack on slavery articulated within the Christian and republican traditions was scarcely imaginable.

Christ's words taken by Haynes as a text were spoken at Passover, the Jewish festival celebrating the deliverance of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt. In Exodus, the first Passover accompanied the tenth and last plague visited by God upon the Egyptians, who had refused to free the Jews. With

this reference, one his audience knew well, Haynes was echoing and deepening his earlier comments on God's punishment of slaveholders as well as reiterating his awareness of the mid-1770s that American race relations were in a state of flux that, in his mind, should eventuate in freedom for blacks. The American soldiers dead in the War of Independence corresponded to the sons taken by the Angel of Death in Exodus, for God had exacted his punishment upon a slaveholding nation. Haynes was thus urging Americans not to follow further in the path of the Egyptians by refusing to emancipate the slaves, for that way was sure to lead to more suffering and death.

Americans were, however, as any black Christian knew, at once Egyptian and Israelite—the one in holding black slaves, the other in having freed themselves from despotic England. Haynes delved deep into the language and imagery of Passover and the Last Supper in order to communicate to white Americans the mixed Egyptian and Jewish nature revealed in their toleration of slavery in their post-Revolutionary society. The Passover blood, painted by the Jews on their lintels to deter God's avenging angel, symbolized by 1801 both the blood lost by the slaves in the slave trade and that lost by the patriots in the Revolution. That spilled blood was to be understood as a sacrifice intended by God to secure freedom for the enslaved, much as the blood of the sacrificial lambs and the blood of Christ had bought freedom for God's people. Samuel Hopkins had written in 1793 that "the Passover typified the death of Christ, and he was crucified at the time of that feast."[73] Haynes continued the typical pairings into his own day, for antislavery and republican purposes. Properly acknowledged, that spilled blood could deliver America from slavery in 1801 and, in the same act, deliver Americans from divine vengeance due to them for their flouting of God's law. For the import of the words of the blood, the cries of the slaughtered to the living, was the necessity of the repentance of the slavers and the liberation of the slaves. The point was, as Haynes understood it, to become fully Christian and republican, to participate fully in the dispensation in which the blood of the sacrificed (Christ, the patriots, the slaves) had, according to God's will, replaced the Passover blood. The failure to comprehend that the spilled blood of slaves and of patriots signified the necessity of liberty for all was tantamount to the failure to comprehend that the blood of Christ, as a complement to the Passover blood, signified the necessity of atonement of sinning individuals before God.

Again Haynes was interweaving republicanism and Christianity. Allusions to Egypt and Israel were just as republican as they were abolitionist, for they were already established in Revolutionary discourse. In the words of Samuel Adams, George III had a "heart . . . more obdurate" and a "Disposition towards the People of America . . . more unrelenting and malignant than was that of Pharaoh towards the Israelites in Egypt."[74] A minister in Philadelphia preached, John Adams reported, on "the Signs of the Times. He run a Parrallell between the Case of Israel and that of America and between the Conduct of Pharaoh and that of George. . . . He concluded that the Course of Events,

indicated strongly the Design of Providence that We should be seperated from G. Britain, &c."[75] When a "Great Seal for the confederated states" was discussed in 1776, both Franklin and Jefferson proposed devices displaying the Israelites triumphant over the Egyptians. Franklin's motto was "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God."[76] It was commonplace among the patriots to cast themselves as the Israelites in Egypt, as when loyalty to the Crown was dismissed as a preference for the "leeks of Egypt" instead of the "fruits of the Promised Land."[77]

The many fruits of faith described in Luke's Gospel, particularly in the chapter Haynes quoted, were brought to bear for abolitionism. Jesus' sympathy for slaves was suggested (Luke 22:51) when he miraculously healed the ear of the slave of those who came to seize him in Gethsemane. Haynes transformed Luke's sympathy for ordinary Jews misled by the Sanhedrin into an abolitionist and republican sentiment when he wrote that because "civil regulations respect the community, and all are equally interested in them, we at once argue their origin, viz., from the people at large," in whom blacks were incorporated. A commonwealth required, Haynes continued, the centripetal forces of benevolence, patriotism, and unity, even as it provided constitutional guarantees of individual independence.[78] In Luke's account, Christ is betrayed by those representing the forces Haynes decried—selfishness and dominance. Christ is sold for money, sacrificed to secure the Sanhedrin's dominance over ordinary Jews. Signifying the worldly elite and, particularly, slaveholders, the Sanhedrin fear the crowd and seize Jesus only by circumventing the people (Luke 22:6), not only completing their deeds in secret but also relying on Roman guards. Yet in the Last Supper, Christ and his eleven loyal disciples articulate their brotherhood, look forward to the kingdom of God, and establish a ritual of brotherhood and faith. For Haynes, republicanism was the social philosophy for that ritual, Christianity its religion, racial equality its touchstone.

Still, Haynes noted, the eleven loyal disciples were not fully enlightened; they had not made an ultimate decision to follow Christ, as Luke 22:45–62 makes clear. They were still, in the black man's point of view, impurely part Israelite, part Christian. They exhibited the characteristics Haynes saw at work in placing whites over blacks in America, the "insatiable thirst for preference" that was a "fruitful source of many evils." Jesus came, Haynes insisted, to preach against the traits of slave traders and slaveholders—ambition, despotism, selfishness, and tyranny. Using one of the key words with which abolitionists critiqued the way the free regarded the enslaved, Haynes noted that a "contempt" for ordinary people was the result of the presence of "royalty" in society—whether African chiefs, American elites, or European monarchs. Ambition and tyranny made society, Haynes continued, a "field of blood" purchased, like Judas's "aceldama," by those who denied Jesus, a recollection of the black man's earlier critique of the slave trade. Judas doomed himself, Haynes wrote, by absorbing the ambition of the Sanhedrin, while in 1801 there were many similarly blinded by the "glare of prosperity."[79] Judas's sin

was not only his betrayal of Christ but also his violation of the brotherhood articulated in the Last Supper. He betrayed those with whom he had broken bread, just as American slavers betrayed those blacks who had fought in the War of Independence.

In the face of ambition—the disciples' pressing for preference, Judas's desire for money, the Sanhedrin's scorn of ordinary people—Jesus preaches that the right end was to be a brother, not a tyrant. The tyrant assumed an undeserved authority, while a brother knew that the chief and the servant were essentially one. Jesus acts as brother and servant at the Last Supper, prefiguring his ultimate service to humankind in the Atonement. The Sanhedrin, along with their instrument, Judas, refuse the brotherhood Christ announced, which Haynes wrote was refused also by the "heathen." Furthermore, the disciples are charged with strengthening their "brethren" against the machinations of the Sanhedrin. In Haynes's time, republican government, he argued, had assumed the role of the disciples, preserving "liberty and equality" and countering "the forces of domination and tyranny."[80]

The essence of republican governance, Haynes argued, was to "defend and secure the natural rights of men" and to obstruct all efforts to undermine "true liberty." Republican states were to move against all forms of "preference." "A free republican government," Haynes wrote, "tends to destroy those distinctions among men that ought never to exist." Despotism fostered a vast social distance between the powerful and the oppressed. Tyranny and oppression led ordinary men and women to "look up to others as above them, and forget to think for themselves, nor retain their own importance in the scale of being. Hence, under a monarchal government, people are commonly ignorant; they know but little more than to bow to despots, and crouch to them for a piece of bread." The essence of tyranny was revealed, Haynes argued, in the oppression and subordination of slaves. "Africans, among us," Haynes noted, were the paradigmatic example of such bowing and crouching. Slaves were essentially "weak" and "menial," Haynes wrote. Again using the vocabulary of abolitionism, Haynes noted that the oppressed such as black Americans were victims of the "lusts of men."[81]

Just as he had in 1776, Haynes emphasized that America was in a transitional state between slavery and freedom, understood in the racial as well as the political sense. He noted that the "pyramids of Egypt" were an imperfect symbol of republican aspirations, since the Egyptians were slaveholders and the deliverance of the Israelites left them still an oppressive people who held others in bondage. Americans should transcend the legacies of both the Egyptians and the Israelites.[82] Luke again offered a deep well of implications for Haynes's argument, since the Sanhedrin could know that Jesus is their Messiah and some Jews like Joseph of Arimathea (Nicodemus's collaborator) follow Christ. Moreover, the first man who literally follows Christ with the Cross, in an act that was to symbolize the process of Christian faith thereafter, is an African, widely interpreted in popular culture as black, Simon of Cyrene. Of course, Simon carries the Cross (Luke 23:26) after the disciples deny their allegiance to Jesus and before they are confirmed in their faith by

his appearances after Golgotha. Simon aptly symbolized Haynes's own sense of himself as loyal to the essence of Christianity and republicanism in a time of religious and political apostasy. Haynes was saying that Americans had the resources—Christian religion, republican political thought, and a black population yearning to be free—to transcend the slaveholding era but needed to be true to their own faith and ideals.

Christ's words and deeds throughout Luke's account of the days from the Last Supper to the meetings after the Resurrection added to Haynes's depiction of America in a state of momentous transition. For instance, Jerusalem is to suffer, Christ tells the women who tearfully observe him on his way to Golgotha. In 1776, Haynes had referred to other prophecies of the sufferings of the Jews as applicable to Americans' travails in the War of Independence, but by 1801 he was suggesting the possibility of the corruption of republicanism and the fall of the republic. The alternative Haynes urged in the eradication of slavery was parallel to the beginnings of the Christian era as they appear in Luke's Gospel. After the Resurrection, Jesus opens up the Scriptures for the disciples by leading them to understand that the delivering Messiah promised in the Old Testament and the righteous one who suffered shame and death are one and the same. His suffering necessarily precedes his glorification. After the Resurrection, he again shares bread with his disciples—indeed only by sharing a meal with him do they know him as Christ—and he leads them to understand that his word is to be preached to all humankind, that he is a universal deliverer, not merely the Messiah of the Jews. The abolition of slavery, as Haynes cast it, would rank in importance with the advent of Christianity and would further its universalism insofar as freedom would then be for all, not just a part of society.

The final meaning of *True Republicanism* was that if republican equality was the political correlate of Jesus' offer of universal salvation, Americans had not yet created either a free society or a Christian one. Haynes hailed the Revolutionary years as the "happy era" that "broke the galling yoke, and taught the free-born sons of Columbia to assert their birth-rights." Only if republicans took their "object" to be "the general good" were they "worthy of divine approbation." All forms of "tyranny and oppression" undermined a godly society, "the kingdom the blessed Jesus came into the world to set up." As he had in 1776, Haynes wrote that if America was to become "the glory of the whole earth," then "oppression, tyranny, and domination," all the impulses at work in slavery, constituted "the mystical Euphrates, that must be dried up that the beams of this rising morning may illuminate our globe." The drying up of the Euphrates (Rev. 16:12) alluded to parts of Scripture that were interpreted as abolitionist in Haynes's lifetime (Rev. 16–18). Probably Haynes alluded also to Jeremiah 50:38—"A drought is upon her waters; and they shall be dried up; for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols"—which was sometimes interpreted as describing the disappearance of the waters of the Euphrates and the first act in the chastisement of Babylon.[83] The abolition of slavery was an antitype of the Jewish deliverance from bondage, yet a type of the ultimate triumph of Christians. Then drawing the more

homely metaphor of the liberty tree from the Revolution and its legacy, Haynes added that America was still "a land of improvement; we are not to conclude that the fair tree of liberty hath reached its highest zenith; may we not add to its lustre by every new and valuable acquisition."[84] Recalling the military service of his generation in the War of Independence, Haynes urged on his contemporaries a mindfulness of the God who gave them their liberty and an effort to further freedom and the general good.

Again the Revolution was on Haynes's mind in the midst of the War of 1812, when he was preparing an address for the commemoration of Washington's birthday in 1813. Haynes recalled his patriotic service: "Perhaps 'tis not ostentatious in the speaker to observe, that in early life he devoted all for the sake of freedom and independence, and endured repeated campaigns, in their defence, and has never viewed the sacrifice too great."[85] Again he was participating in a broad cultural phenomenon, in that, as David Waldstreicher notes, the War of 1812 became an opportunity for many New Englanders to recall the Revolutionary generation and to assert its importance and relevance.[86] The address, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* praised Washington for freeing his slaves and opposing slaveholding, criticized the hypocrisy inherent in his country's waging a war over impressment of seamen when many Americans themselves owned slaves, and reminded Haynes's audience that the republican promises of the Revolution remained unfulfilled.[87] In contrast to James Madison, Washington earned Haynes's praise because "the savior of his country" fought only a "defensive war," recommended "religion and morality, as the basis and support of civil government," and was thus "an enemy to slaveholding." Washington "gave his dying testimony" against slavery, Haynes wrote, "by emancipating, or providing for those under his care. O that his jealous surviving neighbors would prove themselves to be his legitimate children, and go and do likewise."[88] Yet *Dissimulation Illustrated* made as well a larger point that republican society could survive only if its motivating forces of affection and benevolence and its benefits of freedom and equality were extended to blacks. The unique ability of Christianity, in contrast to Old Testament faiths such as Judaism and Islam, to foster the abolition of slavery again appeared, and Haynes added a new element—a crucial one, that distinguished him from his contemporaries like Jefferson and Madison—in his emphasis on the necessity of extending affection, benevolence, and sentiment across race lines in a republican society.

Scripture gave Haynes his purchase from which to attack slavery. Within his first paragraphs, he referred to Romans 12:9, Matthew 22, 1 John 4:8, and Isaiah 66:3—all texts at the biblical roots of his abolitionism.[89] In Romans 12, Paul offers one of his most famous metaphors for the church of believers—a body of many members, all loving one another. "Kindly affectioned to one another with brotherly love," the members of this body could and should have felt love without dissimulation. Moreover, the members of this body were to "bless them which persecute you: bless, and curse not"—a recommendation Haynes evidently took to heart in addressing matters of race. In Matthew

22, Christ finds himself arrayed again against Jews who, as Matthew presents them, do not understand their own faith. They seek to discomfit Christ with a question about which commandment was the greatest. Christ answers that love to God is the greatest commandment, but that love to one's neighbor is "like unto it" and that "on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." In 1 John 4, the radical notion appears that "he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" All such verses from the New Testament undermined the ancient justifications of slavery based on the distinction between compatriot and stranger.

An Old Testament book, Isaiah had long been understood as foreshadowing the New Testament, even prophesying the miraculous birth of a "man child" and "the new heavens and the new earth" that God will provide. Like Luke's Gospel, Isaiah provided a deep well of abolitionist implications. In Isaiah 66 appears the radical notion that the Jews betrayed their Lord by casting out their "brethren," and that Israel will be redeemed in the Lord's eyes by preaching its message across national boundaries. Haynes had already noted that the coming of Christ required that Christianity be preached to the different peoples of the world. Moreover, Isaiah addresses himself to those who believe truly in the Lord, in contrast to the "brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake," and that will appear one day "ashamed" before the brothers they have alienated. Isaiah provided a powerful metaphor of the sins of the slave trade and slavery (loving not one's brother), while at the same time offering a vision of brotherhood restored in a holy community (faith shared across ethnic, racial, or "national" boundaries). Touched by that power, Olaudah Equiano set verses from Isaiah as the epigraph of his *Surprising Narrative.* Similarly, Richard Allen, Haynes's and Equiano's contemporary and first leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, relied on Isaiah for a eulogy for Washington.[90]

Dissimulation Illustrated was a scathing attack on Americans' pretensions to Christianity and republicanism. In Haynes's terms, they were dissimulated and corrupted, much like the beliefs and practices of the Israelites as depicted in Isaiah, because of the American failure to include blacks within the circle of beneficence. Benevolence and benevolent affections were real, Haynes argued, only when men and women loved humankind impartially and disinterestedly. "The scriptures of divine truth abundantly teach us," Haynes wrote, "that all our claims of love to God are vain, if we hate our brother."[91] The War of 1812 demonstrated, Haynes noted, that Americans felt affection and concern for slaves—or at least some slaves, the white men impressed into the British navy. "We feel a pity and compassion for our brethren in slavery," Haynes wrote, "and pray for their deliverance and emancipation."[92] Yet it was precisely this concern for impressed seamen, Haynes insisted, that revealed the dissimulation of Americans' feelings of brotherhood. For brotherhood was not extended to blacks.

Quoting a pacifist minister, Haynes wrote, "'Our president, (says one) can talk feelingly on the subject of impressment of our seamen. I am glad to have him feel for them. Yet in his own state, Virginia, there were, in 1800, no less

than three hundred forty-three thousand, seven hundred ninety-six human beings holden in bondage for life!' . . . I ask, would it be the duty of these slaves to rise and massacre their masters? or for us to advise them to such measures? Partial affection, or distress for some of our fellow-creatures, while others, even under our notice, are wholly disregarded, betrays dissimulation."[93] Appropriately, Haynes quoted from one of Jesus' sharpest attacks on the Pharisees as a corrupt and parasitical elite, Matthew 23: "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers" (Matt. 23:2–4).[94] After having used "steal" to describe the act of capturing slaves, Haynes quoted from Romans 2, "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, doest thou steal."[95] The applicability of such moral critiques to slave traders and slaveholders could hardly have been more obvious.

Throughout his text Haynes added biblical allusions that made it clear that slavery was on his mind. One allusion was to Exodus 1, in which the Pharaoh commands the midwives to kill the sons of the enslaved Israelites. Haynes noted, of course, that the women were justified in disobeying the ruler of the state in which they resided. John Adams had similarly cited the Israelite midwives as justification for the separation from Great Britain.[96] Another allusion was to Daniel 6, in which the enslaved prophet, one of "the children of the captivity of Judah," is condemned to be thrown to the lions for praying in a time when petitions to any authority but the king, Darius, are disallowed. Daniel survives his time with the lions and becomes a means of the proclamation of God's glory, while those who betrayed him and sought his death are themselves destroyed by the lions. Appeal to a higher law, superordinating over that of states, which came to be a pillar of antebellum abolitionism, surfaced in *Dissimulation Illustrated.* Haynes quoted Hosea 5:11, "Ephraim is oppressed and broken in judgment, because he willingly walked after the commandment."[97] The import of Hosea 5 is that God threatens to scourge "the princes of Judah" because of their iniquities, one of which is obeying state laws that they know are immoral.

Responding to the fact that slavery was legal in parts of America in 1813, Haynes addressed the obligations of life within a corrupt state. Were Virginian slaves to revolt and kill their masters, he asked? The solution for slaves was, Haynes believed, not violent insurrection. Rather, he sought to secure blacks' rights in shared sentiments and impartial republican governance, neither of which could have coexisted with slaveholding. He insisted that Americans owed allegiance to republican governance, but not to the current placeholders.[98] "The honest upright man," Haynes insisted, "will hold it as his unalienable right to examine into measures of government, and bring them to the unerring standard of reason and religion." No one can be a "republican, or even a Christian," if he or she refuses that right. Scripture did not authorize "*unlimited* submission to civil authority," Haynes asserted. Quoting a British exegete, Haynes noted that Romans 13 distinguishes between

authority and the rulers, although the chapter was commonly used to justify obedience to political rulers. "'Ai exousia upekontes, *the higher powers,* being distinguished from oi arkontes, *the rulers,* verse 3, must signify, not the persons who possess the supreme authority, but the supreme authority itself, whereby the state is governed; whether that authority be vested in the people, or in the nobles, or in a single person.'" Since citizens owe allegiance to the "form of government established in a country," not necessarily to the "persons who possess the supreme power," then if the "supreme power in any state" is exercised in such a way that it destroys "the fundamental laws" and leads to "the ruin of the people," it *"ought to be resisted."*[99] Insofar as Americans wanted a secure republic, they were to forge an antislavery one. Insofar as blacks were among "the people," they were to be free.

Resistance was, in Haynes's mind, not revolution—America had already revolted—but the establishment of benevolent society, in which blacks and whites united in sentiment and in which human rights, including those of ex-slaves, were secured by republican institutions. By 1813, he had held a sentimental ideal of society for more almost forty years. An early poem, his first publication, lauded friendship, charity, neighborliness, and benevolence.[100] In undated sermon notes, Haynes represented his social ideal as a prelude to "heaven."

> By brethren this holy affection or love to Christ that must unite us this is the silken cord that <cements> unites and that binds all holy beings in one eternal bundle of life—That divine and that blessed cement that directs all holy created intelligences in their revolutions around the great center of moral attraction[.] The consideration of our meeting this celestial throng should excite us to reverence—To purity of heart—To humility[,] to carefulness—To admiration—To bid them welcome to our communion—not to humble boldness as we come to Jesus the mediator of the New Covenant. Our meeting on earth will be a happy prelude of our shortly meeting in the heavenly world.[101]

In his sermons and his addresses like *True Republicanism* and *Dissimulation Illustrated,* Haynes subsumed a traditional ethos of charity into a modern insistence on a right to liberty, which should have been granted charitably but was also to be enforced by the state at the peril of the dissolution of society itself. Freedom was not a privilege, but a right. Charity was not merely a desideratum, but an essential part of republican society. As with the antislavery commitment written into the Vermont state constitution, there was a public context in Haynes's adopted state that made his way of looking at race, slavery, and freedom seem reasonable at a time when both slavery and racism were becoming stronger in American society.

Vermont newspapers in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century frequently condemned the slave trade and slavery and just as often articulated the goal of an interracial society of shared affections. Haynes was thus in an antislavery context that, like the revolutionary movement of 1776, confirmed his own abolitionist sentiments. In 1791, the Windsor, Vermont, *Morning Ray* noted that Haitian slaves had become "inspired . . . with ideas of *liberty"* but noted that one of the flaws of American life was that "the Negro has no friends." The newspaper also reminded its readers that some blacks

had migrated to Nova Scotia after the Revolution.[102] In 1792, the newspaper published a tale elucidating blacks' "benevolence," "remarkable attachment to their children," and sense of honor. The outcome of the tale, which depicted the willingness of a black man and his son to sacrifice for each other, was freedom for a black family. Another tale demonstrated that even if they were dependent on whites for charity, blacks showed compassion for unfortunates.[103] In 1792, the *Herald of Vermont* condemned the mistreatment of slaves and noted that southerners reacted forcefully against slaves' desires for liberty, while at the same time the newspaper recommended that "friendship," "amity and love," prevail. For, "society being formed, it becomes essentially necessary that universal benevolence founded on the true principles of friendship should be its base and support." Vermont seemed an ideal location, where people and commerce aimed at "friendly intercourse."[104] In 1793, *The Farmer's Library, Or Vermont Political and Historical Register,* noted that "ambition and avarice" caused "misery" and that "the Southern States" were burdened with "rich planters" and the "profligate."[105] From 1795 to 1798, years in which the *Rutland Herald* praised Haynes for his service to the community, the newspaper criticized the slave trade and slavery, championed the "unfortunate Africans," and promoted "republican habits" like "friendship without interest" and virtue that made liberty its "rose." A united society was strong, the newspaper assured its readers, while one split by division between slaves and masters was passionate and violent.[106] From 1798 to 1800, the *Vergennes Gazette* lauded "friendship" as "the grand tie of society," criticized vice, slavery, and despotism, and praised the natural benevolence of blacks.[107]

Such newspaper commentary continued through Haynes's delivery and publication of *True Republicanism.* In 1802, the *Vermont Mercury* published a letter purportedly from a black man who argued for liberty and equality for blacks as well as an account of a religious revival in which a black man participated, a "poor oppressed African with his soul liberated, longing to be with his God."[108] In 1802 and 1803, just at the time that Haynes received an honorary degree from Middlebury College, the *Middlebury Mercury* published a number of articles sympathetic to blacks and critical of slaveholders. Haitian blacks were fighting, the newspaper argued, not only to end "oppression" but also for the "friendship" that will guarantee "liberty." Toussaint L'Ouverture was, Vermonters read, "an advocate of an oppressed people," yet his French enemies were so depraved that in a single day they performed "a dreadful massacre of the blacks, prisoners on board the French ships," in which "not less than six thousand of these miserable wretches, after being bayonetted, were thrown overboard." In America, slavery was killing virtue and undermining the republic, the newspaper proclaimed.[109] In 1805, the Windsor, Vermont, *Post Boy* lamented the plight of "the poor African" under slavery and declared that Americans should "abolish slavery."[110]

Haynes's ideas were quintessentially republican and, it surely seemed to him in 1801, expressed in Vermont as well as inherent in American ideals.

Yet just as Haynes sought to secure black Americans in sentiment and republican institutions, others sought to remove blacks from the benefits of post-Revolutionary society. Haynes's leading white peers were little able to argue that blacks had not served in the War of Independence or that slavery was just—these views were virtually impossible to hold in the post-Revolutionary decades—but rather they came to argue that affection, benevolence, and sentiment never cross the line between black and white. If a social union of the affections was necessary for republics to sustain themselves, and if racial distinctions and the history of slavery thwarted all hopes of such union between blacks and whites, then the abolition of slavery and the citizenship of blacks became more problematic than Haynes believed them to be. Haynes utilized republican thought in an effort to achieve racial equality, while his notable white peers put it to the purposes of building a white nation. Stanley L. Engerman considers it paradoxical that the slave trade and slavery thrived in the republican era, since they were "a violation of the spirit of the Enlightenment hope that all good things would go together."[111] Many white Americans, however, understood the exclusion of blacks from civil society as necessary for the continuance and security of republican governance and life in post-Revolutionary America. Not only slavery, as Haynes knew, threatened the republic but also even the presence of blacks, many of his contemporaries felt, was antirepublican. Attention to the way in which blacks were excluded from the public sphere, indeed even from the continent, is an example, in Peter S. Onuf's words, of "greater awareness of the theoretical and rhetorical ambiguities of American republican thought" and "attention [to] the specific contexts in which republican ideas were deployed."[112]

Many articulate Americans of the revolutionary generation were, like Haynes, convinced that affection, benevolence, and sentiment would bind their society together once the corrupt trappings of European aristocracy were eliminated. Such affection, benevolence, and sentiment united people naturally and "positively," as Thomas Paine put it, not merely "negatively," as European authority and institutions had done.[113] Both Americans whose ideas and values were influenced primarily by orthodox Christianity and those whose ideas and values were influenced primarily by the Enlightenment reasoned that a people so united were a virtuous people. A virtuous people, sharing a common interest in liberty, resisted power's depredations and preserved the freedom of their society. Still, the unity of the people was not to be left to chance. The Revolutionary generation was all too aware of internal discord and dissent.[114] Few took for granted that the benevolence and unity requisite for republican virtue were automatic in America. Instead, Americans of the Revolutionary generation were determined to promote, rather than to assume, a unity of interests. A republican rhetoric was required both because the ideal society did not exist and because the high value placed on liberty in republicanism made it virtually impossible to craft the ideal through force, at least where white citizens were concerned. Haynes's leading white contemporaries were rhetoricians of republicanism, and blacks bore the brunt of their rheto-

ric. Colonization, the expatriation of blacks, was the cardinal point of republican rhetoric when it concerned race, slavery, and the future of American society.

American republican rhetoric often expanded upon a set of ideas, derived mostly from British moral philosophy, that identified affection, benevolence, and sentiment as sources of social unity and identified common sense as its most important vehicle.[115] Americans committed to such sentimental republicanism sought to foster benevolence and common sense through small-scale social and political organizations as well as through education. Thomas Jefferson's plan to spread "little republics" or "wards" across the West, as well as Timothy Dwight's promotion of united, pious societies such as his idealized Greenfield Hill, were part of this strain of republicanism.[116] Jefferson's and Dwight's decades-long effort to further education, paralleled by Paine's efforts in *The Age of Reason,* to define a common mindset for republicans were manifestations of such republicanism. Affection, benevolence, and sentiment, abstract terms borrowed from British moral philosophy and used in the new social science of the eighteenth century, seemed to possess a philosophical or scientific universality that would have made them poor candidates for use in racist discourse. Yet, the model of human relations that Americans borrowed from British moral philosophy—a model Conrad E. Wright aptly calls the "gravitational model," since it was rooted in Newtonian natural science—allowed Americans like Jefferson to cast arguments for the expatriation of black Americans as a matter of common sense derived from fixed principles.[117]

This model of human relations described people as united in society according to the strength of their affections. Those near together were united strongly, while those far apart scarcely felt a connection. Near and far were defined geographically—a definition perhaps suited to a society in which people saw themselves embedded in a network of patrons, family members, and helpers, not as members of classes defined in economic terms.[118] As the gravitational model was transferred from Newtonian science to British moral philosophy to American ideology, the concept of distance was transmuted so as to provide a justification for the American form of racial separation—not spatial, but civic and cultural separation. Since nature and history had so separated black and white that virtuous unity could never have been achieved in a biracial society, America was to expatriate its blacks, Jefferson argued. He was able to imbue such arguments with an aura of scientific reason by adapting Newtonian natural science to eighteenth-century social science. Jefferson's pseudoscientific argument for the total separation of the races was so convincing that even an otherwise hardheaded thinker such as James Madison served as president of the American Colonization Society, which was essentially an effort to reify geographically the breach in racial affections.[119]

This view of politics seen through the lenses of sentimentalism and natural science colored Jefferson's writings from the beginning of his career to its end. In the early 1780s, discussing population growth and immigration in *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Jefferson stated, "It is for the happiness of those united

in society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent." Jefferson concluded that immigration into the United States was to be restricted for a number of years, for immigrants "will infuse into [legislation] their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass." Without this infusion of a foreign spirit, Jefferson queried, "May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable?"[120] In a letter of 1785, Jefferson characteristically linked happiness, sentiment, unity, and political activity. "Happiness" was found in one's own country, among compatriots; politics grew naturally from the relatedness. "Cast your eyes over America," Jefferson proposed, "who are the men of most learning, of most eloquence, most beloved by their country and trusted and promoted by them? They are those who have been educated among them, and whose manners, morals and habits are perfectly homogeneous with those of this country."[121] Jefferson's argument that the division of property inevitably created internal divisions that society could never have eliminated endorsed Madison's notion of the value of a large republic even though he resisted the inevitability of "factions." He wrote, "I suspect the doctrine, that small States are fitted to be republics, will be exploded by experience, with some other brilliant fallacies accredited by Montesquieu and other political writers." But Jefferson immediately deviated from Madison's argument by criticizing "schisms" and asserting that a people "much enlightened" will not long "tolerate such a contrary state of things."[122] In the last two decades of his life, Jefferson became obsessed with what he interpreted as the efficacious unity of the Revolutionaries. His autobiography, for instance, idealized the Revolutionary committees and the Continental Congresses and accentuated the "unanimity" of the patriots. "Schism," he deduced, hindered governance. The conclusion that he drew for the readers of his autobiography was that "good sense," "the people," their "one voice," and the "general welfare" were woven together in a republican society.[123]

Jefferson proposed several means to foster the mental and moral unity required in a healthy body politic. In politics, he promoted the formation in the west of "little republics" or "wards," each of which was to create a common public life for its members, who might then act "as one man." In intellectual and moral culture, he endorsed a common education for "the white population," as well as common-sense realism and sentimentalist ethics, that was to bind people to a shared world of things and feelings. Jefferson's *Report of the Commission Appointed to Fix the Site of the University of Virginia* in 1818 elucidated his belief in social unity formed by education. The university should be located, he declared, in the center of "the white population" and should receive only students who had all been previously trained in the same languages. Education was to inculcate virtue. He fleshed out his notion of a virtuous education by noting that an educated individual was to "observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he is placed," "understand his duties [and] his rights," "harmonize and promote the inter-

ests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by the well informed views of political economy . . . give a free scope to the public industry." With this education, "our youth" will be "examples of virtue to others, and of happiness with themselves."[124] Similarly, he viewed common-sense realism and sentimentalist ethics as centripetal forces, while he condemned idealism and metaphysical speculation—"whimsies," "mysticisms," and "scepticism"—as centrifugal forces.[125] Jefferson insisted that knowledge was based only on "reason and fact," just as he secured individuals in "friendship," "sentiment," "sympathy," "benevolence," and "love."[126]

Jefferson calculated that the expatriation of black Americans would promote further white social unity. Believing unity requisite to the body politic, he found blacks so naturally and historically distinct from whites as to preclude accord between the races. In *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Jefferson advocated shipping young blacks to another part of the world once they had come of age and had been "brought up, at the public expence, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses." Science seemed to reveal that blacks and whites were naturally divided, "races . . . distinct as nature has formed them." History likewise proved that upon manumission the former slave ought to be removed: "It will probably be asked, why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expence of supplying, by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race."[127] Far from believing blacks and whites to be citizens united in common interests, or, in the Christian sense, brothers instead of strangers, Jefferson considered American blacks to be engenderers of inevitable contention. The incorporation of black Americans into free society would "divide us into parties" of black versus white, so, he reasoned, blacks should "be removed." Discussing black resistance in the French Caribbean, Jefferson noted the "deep . . . tragedy" of the whites who had been expelled from their island homes and plantations. He conceded that he was "daily more and more convinced that all the West Indian islands will remain in the hands of the people of colour, and a total expulsion of the whites sooner or later will take place." Reflecting on the expulsion of one race by another, Jefferson added, "It is high time we should peruse the bloody scenes which our children certainly, and possibly ourselves, (south of the Potomac,) have to wade through, and try to avert them." The new republican nation would purify itself through the expatriation of blacks.[128]

Jefferson steadfastly endorsed the expulsion of blacks. In an 1801 letter to James Monroe, governor of Virginia, Jefferson rejected even the possibility of removing black Americans to the western territories, explaining that white Americans were someday to "cover the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or

mixture on that surface." In the "West Indies," Jefferson reasoned, where black "sovereignty" existed, "nature seems to have formed these islands to become the receptacle of the blacks transplanted into this hemisphere." Assuming the necessity of social unity, Jefferson concluded that the existence of a black West Indian society, along with the instruction of nature, proved that the West Indies provided a suitable home for expatriated black Americans. He went on to urge the governor and the Virginia legislature to act quickly while power was in sympathetic hands, for, Jefferson implied, time for the expulsion was becoming short. A year later, Jefferson seized upon the hope of a colony of former slaves in Sierra Leone.[129] So desperate was Jefferson that he violated his lifelong exaltation of family life by endorsing an expatriation scheme involving "the separation of infants from their mothers." The babies were to be sent to Africa to prevent their becoming "breeders" in America, while their mothers remained laboring on plantations in the United States.[130]

Republicanism led Jefferson to his conviction that emancipation was to be realized only with the expatriation of free blacks. Jefferson was convinced that blacks were natural republicans. Indeed, ironically, this made the expulsion of free blacks all the more pressing. In a revealing passage Jefferson wrote, "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them."[131] In his attitudes on race, Jefferson was thus bound by the two great ruling principles of his thought—nature and sentiment. "Nature" had not only planted the spirit of freedom in blacks but also had distinguished black from white—a distinction democracy could not have erased. "Habit" and "opinion," corollaries of common sense and sentiment, likewise dictated that blacks and whites could not have lived together in freedom and equality, so American blacks were to remain slaves or be removed to Africa or the Caribbean. What Joyce Appleby describes as Jefferson's "radical naturalizing of society" and his discovery of "design in nature" involved his intent to see blacks removed from the scene of likely, yet unnatural associations with whites in North America.[132]

James Madison, John Taylor, Henry Clay, John Marshall, James Monroe, and other luminaries of the early republic shared the belief that biological differences and the history of slavery forestalled affection, benevolence, and sentiment across the race line. Thomas Paine, despite his strong commitment to universal human rights, might well have suggested that black Americans be transported to the western fringe of British America, not only to remove them from white society but also to establish them as a buffer population between whites and threatening Indians.[133] It was even possible in the early republic for those, such as St. George Tucker, who recognized the impracticability of a centrally directed expatriation, to advocate harsh discriminatory laws that would make life so unbearable for free blacks that they would have emigrated on their own.[134] Jefferson's conviction that free blacks were always alien in a white republic became a commonplace. "The tree of Liberty has indeed been planted," announced a member of the American Colonization Society in 1825, but with

"a canker at its root . . . a worm that never dies." The canker despised by colonizationists was as much the black population as slavery. Virtue flourished—*"virtute et labore florent Reipublicae"*—only in a racially pure society. With the emigration of blacks to a "colony," Americans "may yet behold a great and flourishing republic rise on the shores of Africa."[135]

The relationship between slavery and republicanism is a crucial issue in modern historical scholarship. When we emphasize the liberal elements in republicanism to the point of seeing it as an ideology that transcended affection, benevolence, and sentiment—in other words, when we identify a republicanism Haynes would not have recognized—we tend to posit slavery as a triumph of greed and racism over liberal political principles. Slavery and liberty thus appear incompatible. Slavery was, Appleby has declared, a "glaring contradiction" in the early republic.[136] Noting a "contradiction between slavery and republicanism," Gary Nash has claimed that with slavery "postrevolutionary America could never be ideologically true to itself."[137] Yet the exclusion of blacks from free society was essential to the republicanism embraced by many, perhaps most, articulate white Americans. David Brion Davis's comment about antislavery and Revolutionary republicanism describes as well the norm of the early republic: "Antislavery probed and helped to define the boundaries of an emerging republican ideology. It embodied some of the central tensions of eighteenth-century thought and also revealed the limits of change which a given society could envision or assimilate."[138] A black presence forever thwarted, American republicans reasoned, the benevolence and unity required for the survival of the republic. The republican liberty that Jefferson promoted required not interracial benevolence and virtue, but separation of blacks and whites.

In promoting the abolition of the slave trade and slavery as well as freedom and equality for black Americans, Haynes went to the sentimentalist roots of the republicanism of the Revolution and the early republic. A comparison of Haynes's black republicanism with the Jeffersonian version reveals the sentimentalism with which their generation began. The question sentimentalism posed to American republicans was how best to foster the benevolence and virtue required of citizens of a republic. Haynes answered with the extirpation of slavery and oppression and the promotion of interracial benevolence. Jefferson and his peers believed the expatriation of blacks to be necessary to the full flowering of sentiment and republican liberty. The distance of this Jeffersonian republicanism from liberal ideology is suggested by C. B. Macpherson's comment that Jefferson's commitment to a "one-class" society was an indication of Jefferson's distance from "the liberal tradition."[139] Macpherson's insight applies equally to the republican vision of a society without blacks.

The difference between Haynes's republicanism and Jefferson's went to the heart of the question of how the republican tradition was to be articulated in America. Montesquieu, whose *Spirit of the Laws* influenced Jefferson's generation, had argued that a cohesive ethos united a republic and that under

some circumstances slavery was to exist in a republic. The enslaved might be those who threatened the republic or those who, in Anne M. Cohler's words, "supplied the goods necessary for its practice."[140] However, Christianity worked, as Haynes recognized, at cross purposes to the exclusion—in America, the racial exclusion—inherent in the republican tradition. As Cohler writes, "When one returns to the problem raised by the Christian notion of spirit, the situation changes. Christianity presupposes the possibility of divine spirit in everyone. . . . Politics came to be based on the presumption of some underlying human similarity, not of profound differences."[141] Haynes extended American republicanism by adding to it a Christian universalism as well as by noting black contributions to America and the threat slavery posed to American society.

Madison, like Jefferson, demonstrated the importance of racial exclusion to one understanding of republicanism. He considered blacks to be naturally freedom-loving republicans who were someday to claim the natural rights of citizens in whatever country they resided. He knew that colonization schemes were widely opposed by blacks, including his own slaves. Yet Madison endorsed colonization in the 1780s and eventually served as president of the American Colonization Society. Colonization was to follow emancipation, Madison reasoned: "Outlets for the free blacks are alone wanted for a rapid erasure of the blot from our Republican character." Madison fretted about the practicality of colonization, but he still considered the expatriation of black Americans, in Drew R. McCoy's words, "the only responsible and honorable way of keeping faith with the Revolution."[142] Indeed, Madison understood the work of the Federal Convention as guaranteeing that southern blacks were to remain enslaved, so that only a colonization effort led by the southern gentry, not an abolition led by northerners, was to end slavery.[143]

Scholarly efforts to excise sentiment from revolutionary republicanism have led to a misunderstanding of ideological change in the Revolutionary era and the early republic. When we see a modern individualism within republicanism, we fail to see either its sentimentalism or the attitude toward blacks it suggested to its adherents. In emphasizing liberty while virtually ignoring benevolence in republican thought, Paul A. Rahe, for instance, miscasts both race and Madison's role in the development of American republicanism. Noting that Jefferson and Madison worried about race, Rahe treats race—he has little role for benevolence—as though it were a problem incidental to a concern with liberty. Once race and benevolence are placed at the margins of revolutionary republicanism, it becomes easy to streamline Madison's advances as aimed only at liberty. Madison saw the central problem of modern republicanism, Rahe rightly argues, as one of allowing individual liberty a larger scope without letting a welter of conflicting demands from citizens reduce the effectiveness of governance and ultimately, therefore, limit liberty itself. However, Rahe's subtle miscasting of Madison's problem treats race relations as an incidental concern to be resolved only after more urgent measures of effective governance were settled. "In the principle of the multiplication of factions," Rahe writes, "Madi-

son believed that he had found a way to obviate the danger of sectarian zeal and the perils of class struggle itself. But if geographical extension promised to solve these two problems, it posed a third, perhaps even greater," conflict over slavery in the west.[144]

Actually, Madison linked liberty for whites, the expatriation of blacks, and the value of an expansive republic—all three essential to American republicanism. There is no coherent way to examine one of these essential points in Madison's thought without examining the others, for to do so would be to distort his understanding of America as well as that of those, like Haynes, who objected to it. American republican thought, including that of the Federal Convention, always included considerations of keeping blacks enslaved until they could be expatriated. Blacks were never irrelevant to American republican thought, whether it was aimed at education or the creation of a government. Madison realized that a republic did not require mental and moral unity but could thrive through governance that balanced against one another the various factions within society. Yet he explicitly denied the legitimacy of a black faction against a white one, as well as of a northern faction wrestling with a southern one over a federal power to inhibit slavery. Any consideration of Madison's thought that fails to consider what he considered legitimate factions and what he considered illegitimate factions is incomplete. Protection of slavery, which meant for Madison that emancipation was to be achieved only with expatriation, was one of the great compromises northern and southern delegates reached at the Federal Convention.[145]

Slavery was, as Staughton Lynd argues, a "potent force in shaping the Constitution." The publication in 1840 of Madison's notes on the Federal Convention revealed that the protection of slavery was central to the discussions in Philadelphia. The southern problem was, in Lynd's words, that although "recognizing the need for stronger federal powers, it feared to create them until it was assured that the South could control their use."[146] Until his death, Madison remained resolute that the Constitution provided "no power to emancipate slaves" nor "to control the distribution of those within the country."[147] This federal inability to inhibit slavery went hand in hand with his decades' long commitment to colonization as well as to his revision of Jeffersonian republicanism. It is essential to Madison's thought about factions that he broke free of Jefferson's restrictive beliefs about unity and "little republics," yet was unable to transcend his fellow slaveholder's understanding of race. In Madison's scenario, the Constitution protected slavery in order to allow the white-directed expatriation required to circumvent interracial factionalism. Thus factionalism, the necessity of colonization, and the federal inability to diminish slavery were all linked in Madison's thought. We fail to understand Madison if we fail to see that the limit of his acceptance of factionalism was the race line, so that both interracial conflict and sectional conflict over slavery were threats to the republic in a way that conflict flowing from the distribution of property was not. If we insist upon claiming Madison as the defender of practical liberty—a freedom secured by the structures by governance—then it is hard to avoid accepting that Madisonian liberty

included the freedom of whites from blacks, not merely in the public sphere but in the nation.

When we extend our analyses of republican ideology to its racial dimension, we find the cogent and challenging black republicanism of Lemuel Haynes as a counterpoint to the beliefs of Jefferson and Madison. Haynes is noteworthy because he shared the republicanism of the luminaries of the Revolution and the early republic and he shared their sense that slavery and race tested American ideals, but not their presupposition that affection, benevolence, and sentiment could not have crossed race lines. Haynes showed clearly that some of his generation held benevolence and liberty in equilibrium; in "true republicanism" benevolence crossed race lines, and liberty was a secure right regardless of race. Haynes's famous white contemporaries were likewise convinced that republican liberty rested on benevolence—a conviction implying that the expatriation of blacks, who would never have united benevolently with whites, was necessary to the future of the republic.

Haynes's was a radical notion of liberty—the first enunciated in the American tradition asserting that the right to liberty was not dependent on one's ethnic, racial, or "national" inheritance. Haynes made a step forward not merely in the American tradition, but in the Atlantic world. Other Atlantic traditions, such as Islam and Christianity, had both authorized slave trading and slaveholding and encouraged relatively limited criticisms of slave traders and slaveholders. The convictions that slavery as an institution was illegitimate and that the right to liberty was universal were innovations of the late eighteenth century. Although Haynes knew Islam only through the writings of abolitionists and theologians, his black abolitionist peers and many of his black contemporaries had more direct experience with the tradition. Haynes's notion of liberty represented also a radical break with that part of West African cultures, indigenous and Islamic, that authorized the possession of slaves and the trade in them. Thus Haynes was among the first to voice an alternative to the patterns of belief that encouraged slave trading and slaveholding in the Atlantic world. Haynes was, as he thought, truer to the Christian and republican traditions than were his contemporaries who tolerated slave trading and slaveholding or participated in them. For neither Christianity nor republican thought had any unique applicability to colonial America or post-Revolutionary America, but were by the eighteenth century traditions of the Mediterranean, European, and American worlds that could have been used to foster benevolence, freedom, and virtue. In measuring interactions between blacks and whites by Christian and republican standards, Haynes was truer to those traditions and their inspirations than were most of his contemporaries.

At the beginning of the organized abolitionist movement, in 1832, William Lloyd Garrison looked back at eighteenth-century abolitionism and implied that it was "mild" in comparison to his own views, even if many people had once regarded it as "fanatical and outrageous." Garrison cannot be expected to have known Haynes's arguments, yet the white abolitionist was mistaken about the difference between his radical abolitionism and its eighteenth-century predecessors. For Haynes, in 1832 just one year from his death,

had made from 1776 to 1813 most of the substantive points Garrison articulated: blacks were not to be removed from the republic, hypocrisy prevailed in the land, the Fourth of July was to be a universal freedom celebration, Americans were betraying their own Revolution, Christianity was an antislavery faith, slaveholders were tyrants who had so far escaped effective criticism, and God threatened the republic that persisted in tolerating slavery.[148] Challenging forms of abolitionism appeared during the Revolution, and Haynes expressed the most radical of them.

3

The Divine Providence of Slavery and Freedom

Lemuel Haynes's politics were republican and his religion was Calvinist—a common pairing in late-eighteenth-century New England. Haynes early encountered American Calvinism in the New Divinity theology, becoming one of its staunchest defenders and exploring its antislavery and problack dimensions. The New Divinity ministers were ardently committed to the patriot cause in the War of Independence, since republican political principles struck the New Divinity ministers as God's moral law articulated in a polity.[1] Some New Divinity ministers served as soldiers' chaplains in the war, and several, like Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins, lost sons or brothers in service.[2] Members of the New Divinity school were among the first Americans to publish against the slave trade and slavery, yet they were also among the first to propose the expatriation of freedmen and freedwomen to Africa. Haynes defended the New Divinity against its antagonists, but he resisted its expatriationist impulses. Within the New Divinity, Haynes offered a black man's view of the way that a godly, republican society was to be forged in America. Sin was a great concern of the New Divinity, which was as much a theodicy as a theology, and Haynes offered one of America's most penetrating analyses of the sins of a racially inegalitarian society. The New Divinity theodicy resurfaced in an attenuated form in the 1830s, for example, in William Lloyd Garrison's comments on God's overruling power, but no one in the antebellum abolitionist movement grappled with the sin of slaveholding in the way Haynes had.[3]

In the midst of the American Revolution, probably about the time of his own service, Haynes felt a calling to the ministry. His neighbors in Granville, Massachusetts, soon came to regard the young black man as "one raised up of God for more than common usefulness" because of his "uncommon gifts

in prayer and exhortation."[4] Haynes himself reported that he was offered a place at Dartmouth College, but preferred, beginning in 1779, to study theology in Canaan, Connecticut, with the minister of the Congregational church there, Daniel Farrand, a noted figure in the mid-eighteenth-century revivals. Farrand was the first in a series of Congregational ministers of Calvinist persuasion who supported Haynes from the Revolutionary years to the War of 1812. Haynes lived with Farrand, bartering labor on the minister's farm for sustenance and tutoring in theology and ancient languages.[5] Soon Haynes found another ministerial tutor, William Bradford. Bradford proved useful to Haynes in securing him a teaching position in Wintonbury, Connecticut, and in introducing him to James Bradford and Ebenezer Bradford, who shared in his ministerial studies and preserved one of his crucial early manuscripts.[6] On November 29, 1780, three Connecticut ministers, including Farrand, certified Haynes as qualified to preach the gospel based on his knowledge of doctrine, languages, and sciences and his "practical and experimental religion." On the day of his certification, Haynes preached a sermon from Psalm 46:1, "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice."[7]

The men with whom Haynes studied languages and theology were members of the New Divinity school. Sometimes called "consistent Calvinism" or "ultra-Calvinism," the New Divinity followed Jonathan Edwards's theology in emphasizing the absolute governance of God over all events, the inability of sinners to save themselves, and the ineluctable selfishness of all the thoughts and deeds of the unregenerate, even their desire to be saved. Theodicy was central to the New Divinity ministers, who emphasized that God used sinners and their evil deeds as instruments in a plan to glorify himself and to gather the saints around him in heaven. Haynes furthered his affiliation to the New Divinity after 1780 by associating with other members of the school, most notably Job Swift, and by entering the paper wars of New England theology as a defender of Samuel Hopkins, the leader of the school. Haynes also remained loyal to the New Divinity principle of limiting full church membership to the converted. His status in the New Divinity school garnered him an invitation in 1814 from Timothy Dwight to preach at Yale College in the chapel in which Edwards, Dwight's grandfather, had preached.

Haynes's first sermon was an exercise in the New Divinity doctrine of regeneration, taking as its text John 3:3, "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Expressing New Divinity views on the unregenerate, Haynes wrote that "antecedent to the new birth," individuals "have no relish for divine things, but hate, and choose to remain enemies to, all that is morally good." Their "very heart" was "enmity against all the Divine perfections," and they were blameworthy since they acted "most freely and most voluntarily in these exercises." Indeed, the unregenerate "prefer" sin.[8] God barred the unregenerate from heaven, since "consistent with his perfection" he did not "connive at wickedness." Only God effected regeneration, Haynes continued, since the exercises of an unregenerate individual were motivated not by disinterested love, but by selfishness. The regenerate individual, however, "loves

holiness for what it is in itself. . . . He loves the law of God. He loves the gospel." Moreover, the regenerate individual felt a "supreme love to God and benevolence to man," since regeneration formed in men and women "the same kind of affections and dispositions as there are in God."[9]

The kingdom of God mentioned in his text was, Haynes concluded, alive not only in the heart of each saint but also in the earthly community of saints. "The kingdom of God" included, Haynes wrote, "the spiritual kingdom of Christ here in this world. I mean that gracious temper of mind, or those holy dispositions that are implanted in the heart by regeneration, and also when a number of such do unite in an ecclesiastical body. This is called Christ's kingdom, because they not only have Christ's kingdom in their hearts, but also, being visibly united together to promote the cause of Christ, they may, by way of eminence, be so styled."[10] This notion of the union of the saints on earth became one of the tools Haynes used to criticize the slave trade and slavery as well as to envision postslavery society.

In his 1780 sermon, Haynes's commitment to the New Divinity was similarly evident. Psalm 46:1 meant to Haynes that the faithful were to rejoice over the absolute government of God. Scripture proved, Haynes argued, the omnipotence, omniscience, and holiness of God. "All things are entirely dependent on God for their existence," Haynes preached, and without absolute governance by God all would have fallen into "disorder." The objections to such doctrines were, of course, that they made God a tyrant by stripping individuals of their freedom and that they made it seem acceptable that individuals not strive for salvation, even revel in sin and evil. Haynes's reply, representative of New Divinity thinking, was that the objections themselves were motivated by a lack of belief in divine sovereignty. Those who do not believe in divine sovereignty lacked, Haynes asseverated, both a true desire to be reconciled to God and an understanding that "exertion is the very essence of that salvation which delivers from destruction."[11] True liberty was found in God's arms, Haynes implied, while selfishness and conformity to the ways of the world were forms of bondage.

The first pulpit offered to Haynes, on a provisional basis, was in Torrington, Connecticut. From 1741 to 1776, the church had baptized the children of church members under the Half Way Covenant. When a new minister, Noah Merwin, began to insist that "justifying faith is necessary in order to enter into covenant with God," he caused a rift in the congregation, which dismissed him in 1783. Haynes was appointed minister in 1785, but his presence turned the rift into a schism. According to the historian of Torrington, "he was a talented, devoted man, well and favorably received by his ministerial brethren; but African blood flowed in his veins, and there were prejudices existing in those days sufficient to make trouble as to this matter, if in all other respects there had been peace in the community." Forty-six adult members of the Torrington church who had agreed with Merwin on the rejection of the Half Way Covenant and who were loyal to Haynes formed a separate society in 1786 with Haynes as their minister. Daniel Marsh assumed the pulpit of the larger church. Members of the "old church" remained resolutely against

Haynes and members of other churches became alarmed at his ability to attract listeners from outside his congregation. "People began to come to hear Mr. Haynes, and it was a matter of some feeling on the part of the faithful . . . that their people would go away from home, and especially to hear that colored man preach." Haynes was called to Rutland, Vermont, in 1788, and the Torrington congregations reunited in 1792 by means of a capitulation of the "old church" to the New Divinity position on the Half Way Covenant, which was that "none should be admitted to the sacraments except those who professed to have become true Christians." Jonathan Edwards, Jr., presided over the installation of a new minister, Alexander Gillett. Haynes's theological views prevailed in Torrington, although he was never offered a regular pulpit there.[12] His views seem to have been acceptable in a way that his skin color was not.

The thrust of Haynes's theological writings after 1780 was the application of the New Divinity to the cause of interracial equality in the new nation. Accepting the New Divinity doctrine that as an absolute governor God used sin for his benevolent purposes, Haynes argued that the slave trade and slavery were designed by God to further the appreciation felt by black and white alike of liberty, education, and social harmony. To the degree that the slave trade and slavery countered the benefits of social harmony, Haynes argued, they revealed the goodness and the divine providence, the part in God's design for humankind, of accord among the members of society. Haynes developed his views on the providential role of slavery and the slave trade in a series of writings produced from 1776 to 1805. Since the New Divinity men had married their theology to the American cause, to republican liberty, Haynes's dealings with slavery, liberty, and the New Divinity were an encounter of a black man, who by 1776 had been both an indentured servant and a patriot militia man, with a distinctly American confluence of faith and politics. Since Haynes wrote as a New Divinity man when he disputed the understanding of slavery and the slave trade held by the major New Divinity figures, it is important to understand both the New Divinity doctrine of the providential role of sin and Haynes's emergence as a major defender of the New Divinity in the early 1800s.

The New Divinity ministers drew their fundamental doctrines from Jonathan Edwards's writings of the 1750s. In his *Freedom of the Will* (1754), Edwards argued that an omnipotent, omniscient God had formed men and women to be at once ruled by his sovereign will and accountable for their individual actions.[13] Sin resulted, Edwards argued, from an individual's disinclination, felt as voluntary, to love God, so men and women were justly held accountable for their sins, even if God had predetermined their sinfulness and their sins. In his *Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue* (written in the mid-1750s), Edwards argued that true virtue was disinterested love of being, a love of God independent of assurance of salvation. According to his view the regenerate individual relished the glorious God apart from any concern about his or her salvation, while the sinner, trapped in the selfishness of the unregenerate, desired salvation, if at all, for love of self, not of God.[14]

From this argument arose the notorious New Divinity maxim that the saved were willing to be damned for the glory of God. In his *Dissertation Concerning the End for which God Created the World* (written in the mid-1750s), Edwards argued that God, in damning the unregenerate, displayed not only his omnipotence but also his benevolence. Divine benevolence required, Edwards reasoned, the damnation of the unregenerate, since God could not have consistently loved himself and his creation at the same time as he accepted sinners into heaven.[15] Sin became, then, a providential means of revealing divine benevolence, since God had designed evil as the occasion of the damnation of the unregenerate and the revelation of his glory and goodness. As God revealed his benevolence through the damnation of the unregenerate, humankind at large approached the goal of all knowledge, namely, fuller apprehension of God.[16] Even the damned in hell were assumed to recognize God's glory and benevolence.[17] As Hopkins, Edwards's heir-apparent, put it in 1759, because sin was part of divine providence—one might even say, in an Hopkinsian vein, because sin existed—sin was "an advantage to the universe."[18]

In Edwardsean theology, God was at once awesome and glorious, using sin providentially as he damned the unregenerate as part of a benevolent plan for the universe. Hopkins reiterated the Edwardsean understanding of the providential role of sin in his first major work, *Sin, thro' Divine Interposition an Advantage to the Universe* (1759). Hopkins echoed Edwards's argument in writing that "the Holiness of God primarily consists in Love, or Benevolence to himself, and to the Creature." God's design was an "Act of Benevolence to the Universe," so the omnipotent, omniscient God exercised his benevolence when he "prefers" that sin exist. "The great Work of the Saviour of the World, is To Bring Good Out of Evil," Hopkins reasoned.[19] "God's Permission of Sin" was part of "his Wisdom, Holiness, and Revealed Will," affirmed Hopkins. "God makes the sin," Hopkins expounded, "the Occasion and Means of his own Glory."[20] God "over-ruled" sin, Hopkins argued, in the sense that deeds that individuals intended as evil were used by God as the occasion of good.

One example of divine overruling was the Crucifixion, which became the occasion of the Resurrection and the Atonement. Another example, which drew the attention of most early black commentators on Christianity, was the selling of Joseph into slavery, which became the occasion of his rise to power and his invaluable service to his people. Phillip Richards writes that the Joseph story (Gen. 37, 39–48, and 50) was the prototype of early black narratives.[21] The story of the favored slave, betrayed by his brethren and beset in the world of his master by hardships, including sexual temptations and dangers, yet destined to become the savior of his people, reflected the situation of early black writers who were aware of the African arm of the slave trade, who became literate yet as slaves or indentured servants never had ease in their lives, always had to negotiate the American sexual landscape, and ultimately committed themselves to the abolitionist cause. Indeed, references to the Joseph story abound in early black writings.[22]

Even the trials of the faithful in the last days before the millennium, the days beset by the evils of the sixth vial, were required for the fulfillment of history and were destined to be overruled by God. "These evils, both natural and moral, however undesirable and dreadful, in themselves, are necessary," Hopkins wrote, "for the greatest good of the church of Christ, and to introduce the Millennium in the best manner, and there will be then, and forever, more holiness, joy and happiness, than if these evils had never taken place. In this view, they are kind and merciful dispensations to the church."[23]

God's overruling of human sin was the essence of Edwardsean–Hopkinsian theodicy. "Since God has in some Instances, yea in so many, over-ruled the Sin of Man, to bring about some great Good," Hopkins argued, "who can say that he does not so with Regard to every Sin that men commit? Yet have we not Reason to think, and even be sure that this is actually the case?" Precisely this overruling of sin constituted, Hopkins argued, God's omnipotence and benevolence.[24] Yet Hopkins extended his master's teachings incautiously in advancing that humankind understood that God used a particular sin to produce a particular good, not merely that God overruled humankind's misdeeds. Edwards had generally obliged humankind to promote God's design through disinterested benevolence, but Hopkins posited a calculus allowing individuals to perceive God's intention in allowing particular sins. The Puritan sense of the inscrutability of God did not survive in the New Divinity.[25]

Hopkins perceived a pattern of opposition in God's providential overruling of sin; God used a deed intended by an individual as evil to produce its opposite. Intent upon explicating this pattern of opposition, Hopkins noted, for instance, that if "the Conduct of a Man towards his Neighbour has a most direct tendency in itself to hurt and undoe him," then "the over-ruling Providence of God" provided the "interposition of some wise and able Friend," a person who truly furthered God's design and reversed the misdeeds of the sinner. Furthermore, Hopkins argued, because humankind could have understood the use of sin in "God's aims and designs," men and women were morally obliged to further those aims and designs, not by sinning, of course, but by reversing the evil of sin.[26] As Steven M. Dworetz notes, many liberal New England ministers of the Revolutionary era came to comprehend God as limited by his own perfection and obliged to act in a rational manner comprehensible to humankind despite his omnipotence.[27] Hopkins, the antiliberal incarnate, accepted the same rationalism, but with the Calvinist God in mind. In Hopkins's view, as men and women came to understand "God's will in permitting sin," they became, he explained, "nearer conform'd to . . . God's Disposition and Will" and thereby better able to obey "what God's Law requires of Man," which is "Benevolence to Being in general."[28] Hopkins summarized his view in the preface to *Sin* as he joined divine benevolence to the human obligation to further the divine design. "'That there is no absolute evil in the universe,'" Hopkins wrote, "is a Maxim on which is grounded all implicit Submission to God's Will, in His providential directing and disposing all Events; which we are required to be ready, on all Occasions, to exercise."[29] God's sovereignty over all persons, things, and events, including sinful deeds,

was, in the Edwardsean–Hopkinsian tradition, a "sweet" doctrine declaring God's "excellence."[30]

Hopkins's extension of the Edwardsean tradition opened the door for Haynes's explorations of the significance of the mistreatment of blacks in the slave trade and New World slavery. Other Hopkinsians such as Jonathan Edwards, Jr., applied the doctrine of God's overruling power to the War of Independence, as Donald Weber notes; it makes sense that if African Americans scanned the Revolution for its abolitionist meaning, they likewise examined providentialism for the same purpose.[31] Ezra Stiles, a contemporary of Hopkins and a critic of the New Divinity, noted in 1773 that Hopkinsian theology seemed well suited to "Africans" although, it seemed to him, they did not grasp its "metaphysical subtleties."[32] Stiles was right about the New Divinity's attraction for blacks in New England, but he did not perceive its cause—the doctrine that God overruled the sins of humankind, including the enslavement of blacks, with their opposite. If there was a divine providence of the Crucifixion in the Resurrection and the Atonement, then there was surely, some African Americans thought, a divine providence of the slave trade and slavery in freedom.

Haynes emerged as a major spokesman for the New Divinity around 1800 as he defended Hopkins's notions of the providential use of sin and the just damnation of the unregenerate, which, since the 1750s, had been attacked in turn by moderate Calvinists, the earliest Unitarians, and Universalists.[33] Haynes stepped forward as a spokesman for the New Divinity in an 1805 sermon, *Divine Decrees, an Encouragement to the Use of Means,* but his contemporary reputation rested primarily on two anti-Universalist works, *Universal Salvation* (1806) and *A Letter to the Rev. Hosea Ballou* (1807).[34] Haynes's *Divine Decrees* was a defense of Hopkins's notion of the providential role of sin against the critique advanced by moderate Calvinists, Unitarians, and Universalists that the New Divinity stripped humankind of its free will as well as imputing sin to God.

Hayne's *Divine Decrees* rehearsed the argument of Hopkins's *Sin.* God used "wickedness" as a "means . . . calculated to exhibit his wisdom, power, and goodness."[35] The rescue of the infant Moses after the Pharaoh's condemnation of Hebrew children, Joseph's rise to influence after being sold into slavery, and the Resurrection provided Haynes with his examples of the divine overruling of sin.[36] In grouping the Resurrection with Joseph's first steps out of bondage, Haynes suggested the importance of slavery in his thought. Timothy Dwight, who invited Haynes to preach in his pulpit in New Haven, likewise signified the potential significance of slavery in the New England theological tradition by arguing that the abolition of the British and American slave trades in 1807 and 1808 was an event on the order of the Reformation of Christianity and the independence of the American colonies.[37] Haynes insisted upon the New Divinity doctrine that God caused sinful actions, as opposed to the moderate view that God merely tolerated them: "All will allow that God *permitted* or *suffered* sin to take place; but if, on the whole, it is not promotive or made subservient to the highest good, then he cannot be vindicated in *permitting* it to be; but if it

is best that sin should have existence, why cannot the divine Character be cleared in *causing* it to take place? Some, to relieve themselves of difficulties, suppose sin to be merely negative, consisting in the want of holiness. But can this be criminal only as implying positive exercises of hatred to God? Should I tell my neighbor who stands by me, that the pen with which I now write is crooked—should he reprove me for my impertinence and deficiency of language, and say I had not declared the thing as it is; for it *wants* straitness, should I gain much philosophical instruction by the remark?" Having identified the divine agency in sin, Haynes needed to meet the challenge of defending Hopkins's theology against the charge, coming from both moderate Calvinists and liberals, that it characterized God as evil, not benevolent. For "some are unwilling," he noted, "to acknowledge the absolute and unlimited providence and agency of God in the production of all things, especially with respect to the existence of moral evil."[38]

Haynes defended the providential role of sin by arguing that only an overruling God was benevolent. Were God to "work without design, he would not be virtuous or praiseworthy," he advanced. For a God lacking design would have allowed "accidental events," which would not have been guaranteed to produce the highest good of the universe. Moreover, a God without design might himself change through time as the contingent universe changes—a happening he rejected as impossible. "Fortune, luck, or chance," he wrote, "such things have no power, or even existence." Haynes distinguished between cause and effect, between God's reason for allowing sin and the sinful action itself. There need not be "the same in the cause as in the effect," he asserted. God was able to "stir up and employ wicked instruments," yet the intent and effect of his efforts were always holy. "Men do not," he argued, "create, or bring about events, only as instruments in the hand of God," so humankind was still sinful even when overruled. God worked through human deeds, but men and women still bore responsibility for their intentions, since their deeds resulted from their own volition as well as from God's. God's condemnation of sin was just, concluded Haynes: "The agency and government of God is perfectly consistent with the liberty and freedom of man, and with their being the subjects of blame and praise; so that it does not exclude moral good and evil from the system. . . . The reason why the wicked must be slain before the face of God is because they oppose his holy government or plan. . . . The providence and agency of God does not destroy our freedom, and so not our criminality."[39]

Haynes concluded *Divine Decrees* with an injunction to further God's design. "Faith, in divine purposes," Haynes advanced, "will excite the people of God to the diligent use of means; as he has appointed them as instruments, by which he will accomplish his designs; and has commanded them to be workers together with him. . . . The people of God consider themselves as active instruments to bring about his holy designs. . . . It must be pleasing to the saints to be in the use of such means as tend them to pass—without which they cannot exist; this makes them *cheerful* in the service of God; as they are seeking the same glorious ultimate object with him." Yet, Haynes warned,

only those who truly rejoiced in "the absolute dominion and agency of God," those who so "fear, love, and serve God [as to] acknowledge his government," acted as holy, not wicked, instruments in the divine design. This was because "men are naturally blind to divine government" and required to be "sanctified" to be capable of "virtuous affection" before they acted with God, not against him. Indeed, the last third of *Divine Decrees* was an exhortation to Haynes's audience to support the "Evangelical Society," which sought to fund needy young men in preparation for the ministry. Haynes presented such philanthropic support as a holy effort to be God's instrument, particularly, he noted, because missionaries were then evangelizing in Africa, capturing "trophies of divine grace" there.[40]

Beyond his defense of the providential role of sin, Haynes evinced his loyalty to the New Divinity in several ways. Haynes quoted Hopkins's *System of Doctrines,* referring to it as definitive work for "those who wish to see the subject largely and clearly illustrated."[41] Haynes offered the leader of the New Divinity high praise in noting that "on the occasion of their first awakening," people often attribute it to a reading of Hopkins.[42] Haynes grouped Hopkins with the "apostles," "prophets," and "ministers" who had died and left behind "precious" memories. "No more in their studies," Haynes lamented; "no more the visitants of their bereaved flock; no more in their chapels or sanctuaries on earth."[43] Moreover, when Haynes preached that "there is nothing inconsistent or absurd in the idea of holding communion with those we never saw," he mentioned Hopkins as among those whom "death has separated . . . as to bodily presence but not in love or affection," a group that included Abraham, Jacob, Calvin, Luther, Edwards, and David Brainerd.[44] Haynes's contemporaries considered him a "Hopkintonian," the label given to him by the Universalists who attacked his theology in the early 1800s.[45] Naturally, Haynes's biographer (a white minister who had studied at Yale College with Ezra Stiles) linked him to Hopkins, noting the black man's familiarity with Edwards and later American Calvinists. Haynes's "theological views were systematic," embracing "essentially the New-England orthodoxy of the last age," noted his biographer in 1837.[46]

While confirming his orthodoxy, Haynes applied New Divinity theology to the situation of slaves and free blacks; God would overrule the sins of the slave traders and slaveholders and liberate the captives and slaves, yet all believers were obliged to further God's intent in this matter. The Revolution obliged the New Divinity ministers, as Donald Weber argues, to renovate providentialism: "During the passage from an old identity to a new one . . . during these often dangerous but culturally creative and obligatory junctures . . . discourse is multivalent; imaginatively, and socially, everything is possible."[47] But Haynes did not imagine new possibilities within the framework of the New Divinity without contest. Beginning in the Revolution, the most notable of the New Divinity ministers applied the Edwardsean–Hopkinsian notion of sin to the slave trade and slavery. As New Divinity men such as Hopkins, Levi Hart, and Jonathan Edwards, Jr., mapped the sins of the slave trade and slavery onto their coordinates, they naturally came to inquire into

the providential role of the slave trade and slavery. Their conclusion—that God designed the enslavement of black men and women as a means of Christianizing “Ethiopa” through the expatriation of converted black Americans to Africa—revealed much about religion, race, and ideology in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. God willed, they wrote, that blacks be removed from North America to Africa or the West Indies. Still, even as it fueled colonizationist schemes, the New Divinity, like republican thought, allowed Americans to envisage a brotherhood of black and white. Expatriation and brotherhood were the two impulses warring within the New Divinity as well as in republican thought.

An essay by Levi Hart, a leading New Divinity minister in Connecticut, which he composed at the onset of the Revolution, demonstrated the way in which the New Divinity was both a centripetal force uniting blacks and whites in society and a centrifugal force pushing blacks away from America. Most of the New Divinity men who followed Hart in commenting on slavery and race relations reiterated the centrifugal tendencies, while it fell to Haynes to pursue the centripetal force of New England theology. Thus, much like republican thought, New England theology contained the seeds of abolitionism and egalitarianism, but seeds that were nurtured by few white adherents. It fell to Haynes to achieve the fullest articulation of the egalitarian spirit of New England theology.

Headed “As the Subject of making & keeping Slaves is become so interesting, I presume you will accept the following attempt in favor <to> of the poor oppressed Africans,” Hart’s essay remained unpublished in its author’s lifetime, although he published a separate critique of slavery in 1775. Since both Hart and Haynes were at camp in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in mid-1775, it is possible that the minister met the young black man or saw him in attendance at a sermon.[48] Hart commenced with beliefs Haynes shared. Both the “natural” intellect of the unconverted and the mind illuminated by grace revealed that the slave trade and slavery were immoral. Blacks as well as whites—“the Negro Slaves <among us>” and “their masters”—resisted enslavement in the same manner. As Haynes did in 1775 in the *“Battle of Lexington,”* and in 1776 in “Liberty Further Extended,” Hart made the obvious point that American resistance to British moves to “enslave” the colonists in the 1770s demonstrated the will to resist slavery. Blacks had, Hart noted, a universal “right to liberty,” which implied that even at its root the Atlantic slave system was immoral. No argument that there had been a legitimate purchase of slaves in the West African factories could ever have been used, Hart asserted, to justify American slaveholding. The entire Atlantic system of trading and owning slaves was immoral, Hart insisted. Owning a slave was, he asserted, “a constant acting over of the same crime which was committed in enslaving him at first; for if he had a right to liberty at first, his being forcibly reduced to Slavery could not deprive him of that right.” Hart argued carefully for his position—ratiocination was the hallmark of the New Divinity men—but he also insisted that the immorality of slavery was “a fundamental maxim” evident “to the understanding of every man.”

Like Haynes's generation of black abolitionists, Hart believed he had to account for the existence of the slave trade and slavery as elements of the divine plan. Hart's grasp of the divine origin of the slave trade and slavery was matched by his offer of a program to terminate and transcend them. That the slave trade and slavery existed was not a matter of chance in the New Divinity mind, nor was it a justification of the modern trade or of American slavery. God had, of course, allowed the Israelites to enslave members of neighboring nations, though not their own kin, Hart noted. Yet God in using the "instrumentality" of the Israelites as his "executioners" neither justified their deeds nor authorized enslavement in the modern era. "That God who was the national king & Lawgiver to Israel is also," Hart wrote, "the sole proprietor of all things & all men, that the nations have all forfeited their liberty & every enjoyment to *him* tho not to *one another* & he has a right to inflict the punishment of Slavery, or any other punishment when, and by whom he thinks proper." Like the black abolitionists, Hart argued that the deeds and successes of the Israelites were "typical of Spiritual things," yet the acts of an Old Testament people were not to be imitated by Christians. Nothing from the Old Testament, not "driving out the Canaanites by possessing their land," nor "the license of the Jews to enslave the nations," nor the argument "that the Negros are the posterity of Ham, & therefore we are authorisd to enslave them from the curse pronounced on his Seed," could have justified modern slavery, Hart insisted. Similarly, "this Slavery" of Connecticut was not authorized by the New Testament injunctions to servants to be obedient. No place in the New Testament was it claimed, Hart wrote, that such servants "were in a State of absolute Slavery for life." Christians themselves at times were obliged to obey "tyrannical governments," Hart added, yet this hardly proved that either tyranny or slavery was just.

Hart mounted a strong challenge to Connecticut, then of course stirring in its own movement for liberty: without a general plan to free slaves, individual masters were morally obligated to free their bondsmen and bondswomen. Slaves were to be freed at "public cost," and owners were "bound in duty" to manumit their slaves "if the legislature refuse or neglect to do it." Hart defined a corporate solution to slaveholding according to which black men as well as slaveholding and non-slaveholding white men would have involved themselves in the process of abolition. Hart argued that since the colonial legislature had protected slavery, "each individual in the Colonies, as a member of the community, is as really concerned in the Slave trade as the owners of Negros & therefore as really obliged to bear his part of the expence in procuring their freedom." To the objection that whites were inconvenienced by the expense of manumitting slaves, Hart answered, "If the Slaves have a right to their freedom & we have been guilty of robbing that invaluable Jewel hitherto it is more time to do them Justice & the greatness of the expence attending that act of Justice only evidences the greatness of the injury done to the Negros for their liberty cannot be of greater value to their owners than to themselves." No "restitution" was "too expensive" for a "Thief or Robber" to make, Hart emphasized.

The scheme Hart crafted to abolish slavery in Connecticut required owners to free slaves as well as to support infirm and superannuated slaves, but it also required young slaves to work for their masters in order to repay the value of their upbringing and education. Although this scheme exhibits one of the unpleasant features of gradual emancipation—exslaves continuing to work for their former masters in a process of moving from unfreedom to freedom—it was essentially a communal approach to abolition in which slaves, masters, and nonslaveholders alike assumed responsibility in the abolition of slavery. The corollary of this communal approach to abolition was, in Hart's mind, that free blacks were assured a secure place as citizens. By acceding that the laws governing slavery, even if unjust, had been enacted by representative legislative bodies, the foes of slavery, including slaves themselves, proved their loyalty to the principle of a representative society. The alternative was, he surmised, an abolition that in pitting black against white as well as nonslaveholders against slaveholders virtually guaranteed that blacks would not be accepted as citizens in a postslavery society. For the majority population would have resented them on two counts—masters regretting the loss of their slaves without compensation, whites at large blaming blacks for a rift in white society over slavery and abolition.

Moreover, plans for gradual emancipation provided a context in which enslavement was seen as unjust and in which abolitionists who sought immediate freedom spoke out. The injustice of enslavement was assumed in Hart's essay, and the major question it raised was how best to end slavery. The opponents of slavery of the post-Revolutionary and antebellum years did not create antislavery sentiment *ex nihilo,* but relied on a context in which slavery was open to criticism for its immorality. Arguments like Hart's and Haynes's helped form that context. Gradual emancipation of slaves and compensation for former masters disgusted antebellum abolitionists as much as they do modern historians.[49] Yet it is possible to see that Hart conceded a provisional legitimacy to slaveholding, derived from its authorization by an elected assembly, in order to promote a peaceable end to slavery. The assembly itself did not, of course, represent slaves, yet Hart never doubted the illegitimacy of all slaveholding and was seeking in a dismal situation for a brighter future.

Connecticut slaves fell into three categories, according to Hart, each to be treated differently in emancipation. First were slaves under the age of twenty-five years, who had probably not, Hart thought, repaid a master with labor for the cost of their upbringing. These slaves were to continue in service until aged twenty-five years. Second were slaves between the ages of twenty-five and fifty years, who had, Hart thought, adequately repaid their masters. These slaves were to be freed immediately and were to be eligible for some reparation from a public fund. Third were slaves over the age of fifty years, who had, Hart thought, repaid their masters but who were unlikely to be able to support themselves if manumitted. These slaves "ought to be supported by their owners during the remainder of their lives," while "it should be the care of the Selectmen of each town, or some proper persons appointed by author-

ity for that purpose, that such aged or infirm Negros be supported in a decent & comfortable manner." Moreover, whatever losses a slaveholder suffered, for instance in manumitting a slave who had not labored enough years to repay the cost of upbringing or purchase, were to be indemnified through a fund created by a general tax on inhabitants of the colony. Any excess monies in that fund were to be used in a way to benefit freedmen and freedwomen, according to Hart.

Those of us living in a free society tend to question Hart's assumption that slaves owed their masters for investments made in clothing, feeding, housing, and training. However, in Hart's mind, blacks and whites had been linked in a system of costs and benefits, and the solution to the immoral system necessarily involved all its members repaying the benefits they had received and being compensated for costs they had incurred. Slaveholders had, he noted, bought slaves with a trust that the investment was protected by the laws under which it was made. To break that trust by refusing owners compensation under all circumstances was to fracture the very social compact under which freed slaves hoped to live and under which disabled or superannuated freedmen and freedwomen were to be sustained, he wrote. His proposal for a system of continued labor and freedom, indemnification and reparation, was meant to equalize an inequitable system of costs and benefits, to extend the social compact—including its protection of property—to blacks, and to encourage blacks and whites to become compatriots after emancipation. Thus young slaves owed masters for their sustenance, middle-aged slaves were to be set free immediately, and old slaves were owed lifelong support in return for the laboring years they had surrendered to their owners. While Hart's ideas about emancipation offend the modern sensibility (as Haynes's own ideas occasionally do), the more important point is that both Hart and Haynes thought systematically about slavery—its origination in the past and its extirpation in the present, its divine use in the past and its sinfulness in the present, the legacy of ownership of blacks by whites and the desideratum that they live together as citizens and compatriots in the present and the future.

To the common argument that manumitted slaves would have been vicious, criminal, and unable to support themselves, Hart replied, "there is no apparent want of capacity in the Negros in general to conduct their own affairs & provide for themselves, but what is the natural consequence of the Servile state they are in, & the treatment they receive." He insisted, "A state of abject Slavery breaks the spirit & benumbs the powers of the human mind." Far from being vicious and dishonest, freedmen and freedwomen "will be members of the community, & will have a common interest with others in the support of good order & preservation [of] private property." All the freed slaves "shall enjoy the benefit of the english laws & secure the same treatment with the white subjects," he wrote. His scheme for gradual emancipation was, he thought, the best way of fostering a common interest between blacks and whites and a secure situation for blacks in a postslavery society.

With his fellow New Divinity men, ranging from the luminary Hopkins to the newly freed Haynes, Hart was convinced, in the mid-1770s, that time was

short to implement a plan for abolition. The travails of the Revolution seemed to them to be God's "punishment for oppressing the injured Africans who have as good a title to freedom as ourselves." The question of the maintenance of liberty and the likelihood of God's punishing Americans for the sin of slaveholding meant that everyone was to "exert himself in a proper manner for the liberty of the oppressed Negros." All whites have benefited from slavery, so, Hart reasoned, "we must each of us bear our portion of the guilt attending it till we clear our spirits by striving to put a stop to it." Freemen were to instruct their representatives to the General Assembly to legislate the abolition of slavery in the next session, he insisted.

Haynes would soon reiterate Hart's communalistic and integrative approach to abolition and a postslavery society. Indeed, by applying New Divinity theology to slavery and race relations, the black preacher would make it a *theological* approach in a way that his white elder had not. Yet in his proposal, the white minister mentioned a contrary approach that would soon become the hallmark of the New Divinity: the removal of black Americans to West Africa. Hart recommended that blacks who were convicted of "stealing, house breaking, immodest conduct towards, or intercourse or pretended marriage with any white person of a different sex—or any other atrocious crime" be punished by transportation to Africa and resettlement there. Moreover, he believed, some blacks "of peaceable & inoffensive conduct" would willingly resettle in Africa in order "to engage in some honest calling in that country." These men and women were to withdraw from the tax-supported fund an amount adequate to meet the expenses of traveling to Africa and establishing themselves there, he advanced.

By the mid-1770s, thus, two New Divinity approaches to slavery, freedom, and race had been articulated. One approach emphasized the connections between blacks and whites, envisioning a day when both races would be united as equals in America. The other approach emphasized the distance between blacks and whites, envisaging the end of the slave trade and slavery yet also promoting the expatriation of blacks from North America. Within the New Divinity existed thus the centripetal and the centrifugal forces of race relations in America. Edwards himself embodied these two forces, although he did not live to see colonization broached. He held a slave, but he also worked to bring blacks into the church as well as looking forward to the millennial days when black and Indian "divines" would preach the gospel.[50] Haynes's distinctive contribution to the New Divinity and, indeed, to American theology was to identify the forces within them that countered the centrifugal force with which black people were expelled, either literally to another continent or metaphorically to the inferior status defined by a racist society.

Turning their attention during the 1770s to the sinfulness of the slave trade and slavery, Samuel Hopkins and Jonathan Edwards, Jr., were the first New Divinity colonizationists.[51] Although the New Divinity men perceived clearly that the slave trade and slavery were cruel and deadly, the arguments that Hopkins and his followers developed against them were more than (perhaps, one might say, less than) protests against the mistreatment of slaves in the

slave markets, the Middle Passage, and the plantations, fields, and homes of America. The Hopkinsian argument against the slave trade and slavery commenced with the danger such sins posed to the Revolutionary cause. As the American resistance to British power escalated into rebellion in 1776, Hopkins, who saw a segment of the slave trade in his home city of Newport, Rhode Island, claimed that God would thwart the patriots' efforts unless slavery was banished from America. In Hopkins's jeremiads, the slave trade and slavery were so sinful that God would not only thwart Americans' efforts at self-determination but also increase the hardships Americans were feeling under imperial rule. The travails of the imperial crisis, such as the British blockade of Boston harbor were, Hopkins reasoned, divine punishment for Americans' participation in slavery and the slave trade.[52] God owed no mercy to slaveholders, Hopkins insisted.[53]

Unfortunately, the argument that the slave trade and slavery threatened the Revolutionary effort led easily into the argument that blacks imperiled a free, post-Revolutionary society. Slaves threatened the society in which they lived, since slaves lacked reason to be patriotic. The slave trade and slavery were, Edwards, Jr., advanced, "hurtful to the state which tolerates them." "Every slave is naturally an enemy to the state in which he is holden in slavery," explained Edwards, Jr., "and wants nothing but an opportunity to assist in its overthrow. And an enemy within a state, is much more dangerous than one without it." Furthermore, Edwards, Jr., claimed, the slave trade and slavery "harden the human heart against the tender feelings of humanity," a "depravity . . . extremely hurtful to the state." Slavery also weakened "industry" and fortified "despotism," threatening the "state" whose "wealth, strength and glory" depended on "the number of its virtuous citizens."[54]

The argument against the slave trade and slavery continued with the sinful nature of slavery itself. Hopkins clearly defined slavery as a sexual sin, a lustful and lewd version of selfishness. "Lust" was, indeed, the cause of slavery, Hopkins maintained.[55] Edwards, Jr., wrote that slavery "tends to lewdness," since a "planter with his hundred wenches" is like a "Sultan in his seraglio."[56] The evident issue of this sexual sin, also known as amalgamation, was generations of mulattoes in America.[57] While slavery led to sexual intercourse between members of different races, the New Divinity men noted, the slave trade disrupted black families by curtailing benevolent relations among blacks. Articulating once again a more humane understanding of the sufferings of slaves than his peers generally evinced, Hart began his published 1775 attack on slavery by arguing that families were the basic unit of human society, since they were the first circle of the exercise of the affections and since they were a model of the larger structures of social and political authority. The slave trade thwarted the natural exercise of human affection in tearing Africans out of their families and shipping them across the Atlantic.[58] The slave trade uprooted slaves from "their parents, their children, their husbands, their wives, all their dear connections," echoed Edwards, Jr.[59] Beyond the slave trade, slavery itself undermined social relations, Hart reasoned, since "human society is founded originally in compact, or mutual agreement. All the larger

circles of society originate from family connection or mutual compact between husband and wife; and mutual compact necessarily implieth certain rules and obligations which neither of the parties may violate with impunity." "Slavery," Hart concluded, was "inconsistent" with the "chief bond of union" by which society was formed and maintained, since slavery never resulted from "mutual compact."[60]

The complex sinfulness of the slave trade and slavery did not deter the New Divinity ministers from the task, determined for them by Hopkins's *Sin,* of ascertaining the nature of the divine providence of slavery and the slave trade in God's benevolent design. "God in his providence suffers some men to be enslaved," Edwards, Jr., asserted, so "from the beginning he intended that they should have been enslaved, and made them with this intention."[61] Still, the New Divinity men were careful to remind their audience that slave traders and slaveholders were culpable, even though they were instruments in a divine design for universal good. "We are not at liberty to do evil," Edwards, Jr., explained, "that good may come."[62] The New Divinity men accepted the task of figuring out God's providential aims and designs in permitting the slave trade and slavery. As these aims and designs were ascertained, the pious came closer to the will and dispositions of God, acting their part as divine instruments. The providential use of the slave trade and slavery was, it seemed evident to the New Divinity men, the Christianization of Africa through the expatriation of black Americans who had been taken by the hand of God from "heathen" Africa to a Christian land where they learned biblical religion.[63]

Hopkins recognized, of course, that slave traders and slaveholders had never intended to free their slaves nor to speed the conversion of Africa, but this recognition only served to confirm the New Divinity doctrine that God overruled sin by directing sinful acts to a result opposite of the sinners' intentions. Slave traders and slaveholders had sought to bring blacks to America to live in bondage, Hopkins reasoned, while God would return blacks to Africa to live in freedom. Slave traders and slaveholders had sought to debase the people held in bondage, Hopkins reasoned, while God would uplift them with Christian religion. Cannot we hope, Hopkins queried, "that benevolence and compassion toward the miserable Africans will be so sensibly, and with such strength, exercised towards them, by the people in general, that all proper measures will be taken to make them a free and happy people? And if it be necessary, in order to this, that they should return to Africa, the continent which seems to be best suited to their constitution, may we not wish and hope that such a desire to compensate them, as far as we may, for the injuries we have done them, and such a spirit of benevolence will be excited, that we shall with cheerfulness contribute every thing necessary to answer this end?" The providential use of slavery was, according to Hopkins, the Christianization of Africa: "We may hope, that all this dark and dreadful scene will not only have an end, but is designed by the Most High to be the means of introducing the gospel among the nations in Africa: that those who have embraced the gospel, while among us, with all who have been or may in some good measure

be civilized and instructed, will, by our assistance, return to Africa, and spread the light of the gospel in that now dark part of the world." For, Hopkins reasoned, God overruled the evil humankind intended: "Thus all this past and present evil which the Africans have suffered by the Slave-Trade, and the slavery to which so many of them have been reduced, may be the occasion of an overbalancing good; and it may hereafter appear as it has in the case of Joseph being sold a slave into Egypt, that although the Slave-Traders have really meant and done that which is evil, yet God has designed it all for good, the good of which all this evil shall be the occasion."[64]

Hopkins's thoughts about the divine providence of the slave trade and slavery were central to his theology, not merely a corollary developed as he sought to deal with the sins about him. For Hopkins understood the effort to Christianize Africa through the "return" of black Americans as one of the most important exercises of disinterested benevolence possible for white Americans.[65] The Christianization of Africa was integral to the advent of the millennium. The slave trade and slavery were, Hopkins reasoned, essential parts of the sixth vial mentioned in the Book of Revelation, since they were "the work" of "unclean spirits" that have excited "men, especially in the Christian world, [to] a kind and degree of wickedness and mischief, which was not known before." The death of slavery was to open the seventh vial, the millennial kingdom of God on earth. Hopkins, like Edwards, was a postmillennialist, believing that Christ's return to earth was to follow a thousand years of the Kingdom of God. The millennium was to commence with the defeat of Satan's followers, among whom Edwards counted Muslims and among whom Hopkins counted slave traders and slaveholders. In the Edwardsean tradition, the urgency of the battle against such forces could not have been higher.[66]

Benevolent whites exercised their virtue, Hopkins reasoned, by terminating the slave trade and slavery and then supporting the preparation and travel of the blacks who were emigrating to Africa. Such preparation and travel would probably have been supported by charitable donations, and indeed Hopkins himself supported the education of two black men, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma, who he believed might be worthy ministers in Africa.[67] The white Americans who supported black emigration played the role of the good neighbor Hopkins described in 1759: blacks suffered from the misdeeds of slave traders and slaveholders, so God provided the "interposition" of a "wise and able Friend" to further the divine design.[68] Hopkins's arguments were so convincing that in the early 1790s Levi Hart began to seek support in Connecticut for African colonization, and in the late 1790s Hart, Edwards, Jr., and other New Divinity ministers like Nathaniel Emmons and Nathan Strong formed missionary societies for the Christianization of Africa.[69] The termination of the slave trade and the Christianization of Africa retained their millennial significance in American culture into the middle of the nineteenth century.

The New Divinity argument about the providential use of slavery and the slave trade possessed an aura of inevitability based in Hopkins's argument that God overruled sinful acts to promote the opposite of sinners' intentions. Sinners had carried blacks west across the Atlantic, while God would guide

them east. Sinners had debased blacks through cruelty, while God would uplift them through Christian faith. Blacks would sail east, Bibles in hand, as God overruled their shackled westward passage. This aura of inevitability served, however, to obscure the connection between the providentialism of the New Divinity ministers and their notions concerning race. The commentary of the New Divinity men on race revealed the fear and disgust they felt at the prospect of a future black presence in the United States. After the Revolution, the major New Divinity men expressed such sentiments as they turned the Revolutionary-era arguments against the slave trade and slavery against black Americans themselves. Although the major New Divinity men presented their expatriationist proposals as the result of a strict understanding of God's oppositional use of sin, their other writings on race suggest another cause for their expatriationism.

Edwards, Jr., bluntly expressed the unease with which the New Divinity men envisioned a mixed-race society. Like many other Americans of the Revolutionary generation, Edwards, Jr., assumed that slavery was bound to decline in a republican society. Slaves were, he asserted, destined to be free to mix equally with the white population and to command "common privileges and honours." The "mongrel breed" of "mulattoes" was evidence that interaction of blacks and whites was already occurring. Such mongrelism, along with the inevitable triumph of republicanism over slavery, presented whites with a dilemma, he claimed. The sin of slaveholders in sexual liaisons with their slaves implied that in a free society there might be similarly sinful relations between free blacks and free whites. Whites were either to accept blacks "into affinity with themselves, giving them their own sons and daughters in marriage, and making them and their posterity the heirs of all their property and all their honours" or else to separate the races permanently. Edwards, Jr., took what he understood as mixed-race societies in the southern states and in the West Indies as examples. Long reviled by abolitionists, the West Indies by virtue of not having joined the American Revolution became a counterpoint for new national visions. Whites should, he argued, "judge it prudent, to leave the country, with all their houses, lands and improvements, to their [that is, blacks'] quiet possession and dominion; as otherwise Providence will compel them to make dearer settlement, and one attended with circumstances inconceivably more mortifying than the loss of all their real estates, I mean the mixture of their blood with that of the Negroes into one common posterity."[70]

The New Divinity ministers passed easily from the notion that societies with a preponderance of blacks were to be made completely black by white emigration to the notion that societies with a preponderance of whites were to be made permanently white by black emigration. Although white proponents usually claimed that black emigration was to be completely voluntary, colonization was often understood as an effort to remove all blacks from white American society. Colonization "will gradually draw off all the blacks in New-England, and even in the middle and southern states, as fast as they can be set free," Hopkins wrote, "by which this nation will be delivered from that which,

in the view of every discerning man, is a great calamity, and inconsistent with the good of society; and is now really a great injury to most of the white inhabitants, especially in the southern States."[71] Like Hart and Edwards, Jr., Hopkins was certain that white Americans would be injured by interracial sexual relations that would engender a mixed-race population.

Thus, although the white New Divinity men recognized God's glory in the eastward flow of Christian blacks across the Atlantic, they also perceived something repugnant in black faces and black bodies, probably, sadly, even in the black men and women who shared their faith. The faces and bodies suggesting a mixed-race parentage—in other words, individuals who could easily be seen in New England entrepôts—probably repelled them even more. Colonizationist schemes expressed both this sense of glory and this repugnance. Ironically, the very arguments that had been used against the slave trade and slavery in the 1770s were used against blacks themselves by the 1790s. Assuming families to be the essential building block of society and the first sphere of benevolence, the New Divinity men had argued that the slave trade in Africa disrupted black families, while slavery in America similarly disrupted family life by encouraging lewdness and undermining the "mutual compact" in which men and women were joined in marriage. Yet a free black population seemed just as disruptive to the New Divinity men, since it was clear that blacks naturally sought familial affection by forming families in America and that those families sometimes were black and white together—even if evident only in the children of interracial liaisons, not in stable families that thrived over time. The New Divinity men condemned not only the lewdness of slave traders and slaveholders but also the black and white men and women who allowed affection to cross race lines, whether they did so in the exercise of lust or, in the words of Edwards, Jr., in taking another race "into affinity with themselves."[72] "Mutual compact" did not, it seemed, unite families composed of members of different races or of mixed race. Thus, black and mixed-race Americans came to represent just as much a threat to the republic as did slavery and the slave trade.

Haynes, of mixed-race parentage himself, discussed the providential use of sin, particularly of the sins of the slave trade and slavery, in his first essay, "Liberty Further Extended." The essay is a clear example of the Revolutionary-era marriage of republican ideology and New Divinity theology. In a republican vein, Haynes defended "Liberty, & freedom," objecting to slavery as a form of "Tyrony" that violated "Innate principle" and "natural rights." Joining the New Divinity to republicanism, Haynes claimed that the slave trade and slavery were to be ended not only through treating black and white "Equally," but also through exercising "Disinterested Benevolence."[73] The sinfulness of the slave trade and slavery comprised, according to Haynes, the violation of the natural right to liberty, the cruelty of forced transportation and forced labor, and the disruption of black families, both in Africa and America. Haynes decried the slave traders' and slaveholders' selfishness (the New Divinity paradigm of sin) while he lamented the effect of the slave trade and slavery on blacks.

African friends and families "must forever part," Haynes lamented. "What must be the plaintive noats that the tend[er] parents must assume for the Loss of their Exiled Child? Or the husband for his Departed wife? and how Do the Crys of their Departed friends Eccho from the watry Deep! Do I not really hear the fond mother Expressing her Sorrows, in accents that mite well pierce the most obdurate heart?" Black Americans were prohibited, Haynes continued, from exercising the "natural Effections" that bound people to God and to their families, since slavery in effect treated blacks as though they were "without natural Effections[,] which is to rank them Below the very Beasts of the field." "Those Negroes amongst us that have Children," Haynes added, "they, viz. their Children are brought up under a partial Disapilne: their white masters haveing Little, or no Effection for them. So that we may suppose, that the abuses that they receive from the hands of their masters are often very considerable; their parents Being placed in such a situation as not being able to perform relative Duetys." Slavery barred blacks, Haynes lamented, from "performing those morral Duetys Either to God or man that are infinitely binding on all the human race," largely because slaveholders often separated "Children from parents" and "Husbands from wives."[74]

Haynes was obliged to address the New Divinity doctrine of the providential use of sin. If the slave trade and slavery were sinful, then surely, according to New Divinity thought, God had provided them as elements in his benevolent design. The slave trade and slavery must have been providential. A young man in 1776, Haynes was unable to identify the providential use of slavery and the slave trade, but he did dispute the argument that the slave trade and slavery led to the spread of Christianity. Some argued, Haynes noted, "that those Negros that are Emigrated into these colonies are brought out of a Land of Darkness under the meridian Light of the Gospel; and so it is a great Blessing instead of a Curs. But I would ask, who is this that Darkeneth counsel By words without knoledge?" Haynes attacked Hopkins's blithe assumption that God would overrule the slave trade and slavery so as to Christianize Africa. Haynes claimed to see no evidence for the spread of Christianity through the slave trade and slavery. "Slave-merchants" caused "quarrelings, and Bloodshed" in Africa, while "Slaves in these Colonies are generally kept under the greatest ignorance, and Blindness, and they are scersly Ever told by their white masters whether there is a Supreme Being that governs the univers."[75]

Yet Haynes's comments of 1776 about the slave trade, slavery, and the Christianization of Africa were only a feeble assault on Hopkins's notions of the providential use of the slave trade and slavery, especially weak in coming from within the New Divinity camp. For Hopkins had never argued that sin itself exhibited any of the holy features of God's design, but only that God used sin as an instrument in a benevolent design. Even though its issue was good, sin was always evil.[76] What redeemed sin from absolute evil in Hopkins's reasoning was only God's benevolent use of it, not any mitigating features of the misdeeds themselves. Indeed, the repellent features of slavery and the slave trade served only to affirm that God overruled such horrific sins. In 1776, Haynes seems to have had an intuitive reaction against the argument that the slave trade

and slavery Christianized blacks, yet he was unable to disagree with Hopkins and his compatriots in a *theological* fashion, but only by emphasizing the egregiousness of the slave trade and slavery. As a mature Calvinist, however, Haynes came to understand the slave trade and slavery as divine instruments, but to an end markedly different from that identified by the prominent New Divinity men. Beginning around 1800, Haynes aimed the disinterested benevolence and natural-rights ideology of his earliest writings against the orthodox New Divinity view that the slave trade and slavery were providentially designed to "return" blacks to Africa. Instead, Haynes pointed to a vision of blacks and whites united affectionately and equally in American society—a vision that he believed God was offering to Americans through the sufferings of slaves. Just as theologians like Dwight put the abolition of the slave trade and slavery on a par with the Reformation, Haynes put the sufferings of slaves on a par with the Revolution as means to a further liberty and accord between the races. God was using the evil of the slave trade and slavery to emphasize the goodness and beauty of a free and benevolent society.

In his 1801 *Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* Haynes advanced two ways in which divine providence worked through slavery as he affirmed that God used men and women as divine instruments.[77] In 1801, Haynes was in his maturity as a husband and father; as a minister he had been successfully settled with the same congregation for more than ten years. He had published three sermons revealing himself as a son of the New Divinity and New England Federalism.[78] First, in *True Republicanism,* Haynes argued that since white Americans had seen "oppression" at first hand, both in the Revolutionary era and in American slavery, they were ready to comprehend and value liberty so greatly as to extend it to others, including the enslaved. "The once contaminated regions of North America" were obliged to recognize, Haynes noted, the "domination and blood-shed which has denominated the world an aceldama [and] has kept Europe at war with little cessation." Despite the efforts of "King, Prince, Lord," Haynes declared, "the bloody flag could not be established on our shores." Slavery furthered the cause of liberty by steeling all freedom-loving Americans against oppression. Because it violated the equal "rank" prescribed by "the God of nature," slavery showed "the effects of despotism, and should fill us with the utmost detestation against every attack on the rights of men: while we cherish and diffuse, with a laudable ambition, that heaven-born liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." Second, Haynes argued that the experience of slavery and oppression induced black Americans to prize not only liberty but also education. In Haynes's words, black Americans, having been left "ignorant" in "the cruel hands of oppressors," were ready to commit themselves to "education" since they understood that "oppression and usurpation hold their empires where ignorance and darkness spread."[79]

Haynes thus reinterpreted the oppositional logic of Hopkins's argument about divine providence. Hopkins's view that the sinfulness of the slave trade and slavery comprised the seizure of the slaves in Africa and their debasement in America led to his view that divine providence would lead black Americans

into Christianity and push them back across the Atlantic. Haynes's view that the sinfulness of the slave trade and slavery comprised the violation of the natural right to liberty and the ignorance of Christianity and of republicanism into which slaves were forced led to his view that divine providence used "slavery" to show "the effects of despotism" and thereby to compel men and women to "cherish and diffuse" liberty.[80] Haynes commenced with the premise of the Calvinist providential tradition—that "the providences of God will appear harmonious, calculated, through divine ordination, to promote the highest glory of the universe"—and achieved the conclusion, even the revelation, that blacks and whites, tied together by the oppressions common in the late colonial and slave experiences, were obliged to concur on the importance of liberty for all. A black and white republican accord should have existed because, in providential terms, there was "so great a similarity in the sufferings of the servants of God, and in the interpositions of divine providence towards them, as to excite a pleasing and holy fellow-feeling in their souls."[81]

Much of early black abolitionism involved mapping the experience of blacks in West Africa and the New World onto the coordinates of biblical narratives. In arguing for the providential significance of slaves' experience, Haynes was inserting it into a Christian narrative, declaring it akin even to events such as the Crucifixion, which, as Hopkins asseverated, "was part of the divine plan."[82] Indeed, Hopkins had identified the slave trade and slavery as part of the sixth vial of Revelation, which he described as a necessary precursor to the millennium. In Haynes's extension of Hopkins's theodicy, the suffering and deliverance of slaves became a precursor of a truly republican society as well as of the millennium.

Haynes set himself against two other notions the New Divinity men held about the slave trade, slavery, and divine providence—the way in which Africa was to be Christianized and the threat black Americans posed to the republic. Hopkins had presented a vision of the Christianization of Africa that would follow from the violence and bloodshed of the slave trade and slavery. Haynes suggested a peaceable way in which Africans came to accept Christianity. In *Divine Decrees,* Haynes recounted the "reproof of a Hottentot." When a missionary preached to the "Hottentot" about "salvation," she responded, "'What a pity, what a sin it is, that you Europeans, who have for so many years enjoyed in abundance the heavenly bread, should keep it all to yourselves, and not spare one little crum to the million of poor heathen.'"[83] Probably here Haynes meant to remind his audience of Matthew 15, in which Jesus challenges the Pharisees with the same principle Haynes had used in his 1776 critique of the slave trade and slavery: no longer may the faithful claim that physical conditions or outward signs bar individuals from joining the community of worshipers. The Pharisees concern themselves with ritual cleansing of the hands before eating, but Haynes, of course, concerned himself with the color of a person's skin. After the Pharisees take offense at Christ's attack, the universal implications of his mission are revealed. In Matthew 15:22–28, "a woman of Canaan" begs Christ for help for her daughter, who is possessed by a demon. Christ initially rebuffs her by expressing the limited nature

of his mission: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" and in 15:26 describes the Canaanites as "dogs" undeserving of "the children's bread." And the Canaanite woman answers, "Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table." Once Christ recognizes that the woman is of "great . . . faith," he grants her request and frees her daughter from the demon.

All such transitions from Old Testament understandings of morality and community were challenges to the slave trade and slavery as well as, here in Haynes's sermon, charges to spread the faith among the unconverted. There were precedents within Edwardsean theology that made Matthew 15:22–28 a potential antislavery text. Edwards had taken 15:26 to imply "a great difference between converted and unconverted men"—an interpretation in line with Haynes's thoughts about the new birth and its antislavery meaning as well as one that softened Christ's initial disdain of the woman as an outsider. And Edwards had taken Christ's casting out of the demon from the woman's daughter as a figure of "the casting the devil out of the Gentile and antichristian world"—an interpretation in line with the black abolitionists' beliefs about the advent of the millennium and the godly battle against the slave traders and the slaveholders.[84]

Haynes's "Hottentot" effectively inverted Hopkins's view of the conversion of Africa, since, Haynes noted, slaves were left spiritually ignorant while free Africans evinced an intuitive understanding of Christianity. Haynes presented this intuitive understanding in the "Hottentot's" comment on missionary efforts to spread "the heavenly bread": "'You may depend upon it, you should not have the less for yourselves, by giving some to them; but the Lord Jesus would bless you and give you the more.'"[85] The Africans most open to Christianity were not slaves, "abject" and "despised," Haynes implied, but those among whom missionaries evangelized peacefully.[86] By contrast, Hopkins described the "blind, stupid Hottentot" who would never have received saving grace since God did not concern himself with those so far from the truth.[87] Again there was a precedent in Edwardsean thought that favored Haynes's view of the Hottentot, if for him, as his language suggests, the African woman was a type of the Canaanite woman of Matthew 15. Edwards had considered her symbolic of believers who "met with great discouragements, while they were wrestling for a blessing," but who "persevered, and obtained their request."[88] Haynes here stepped through Hopkins and grasped Edwards's interpretation of Matthew 15, suggesting its value for an antislavery Christianity.

Hopkins and his compatriots considered black Americans a disruptive force in the new republic. Haynes reminded his audience, however, that he had helped create the nation by serving in the militia during the Revolution and that the persistence of slavery was a violation of Revolutionary republicanism. Military service in the patriot cause was, as Haynes well knew, a shining example of disinterested benevolence for his generation. In 1801, Haynes recalled the military service of his generation in writing of "the generous warrior" who forsook "the inviting charms of domestic life" in order "to buy

our freedom." "That almighty being, who directs the affairs of men," made "those advocates for liberty" his instruments, Haynes declared. But America "still," he noted, "is a land of improvement; we are not to conclude that the fair tree of liberty has reached its highest zenith."[89] Similarly, in an 1813 discussion of "the great excellency and utility of benevolent affections" and the "intention, to defend and support our excellent constitution, and the wholesome laws of our country," Haynes wrote, "Perhaps it is not ostentatious in the speaker to observe, that in early life he devoted all for the sake of freedom and independence, and endured frequent campaigns in their defence, and has never viewed the sacrifice as too great. And should an attack be made on this sacred ark, the poor remains of life would be devoted to its defence."[90] In a sermon delivered in Bennington, Vermont, a few years before his death, Haynes wrote, "Fifty-four years ago next October, I was in this town with troops on their march to Ticonderoga. We halted here on the Sabbath for the forenoon."[91] Indeed, one of the persistent themes in Haynes's public career was his virtuous commitment to society. As soldier, revivalist, and defender of the New Divinity and New England Federalism, Haynes presented himself as a virtuous black man loyal to American society.

Beyond his careful revision of the New Divinity notion of the divine use of slavery and the slave trade, Haynes was seeking to hold the New Divinity to the standard of universal benevolence that Hopkins himself had announced in the *Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness.* Haynes had good reason to value the New Divinity, notwithstanding the racism of most of its leaders. "Where there is no holy love of benevolence," Hopkins had argued, "there can be no holy love of any kind."[92] The writings of Hopkins and Edwards, Jr., show that they assumed that while lust all too easily crossed race lines, the "holy love of benevolence" did not. Haynes engaged New Divinity theology in order to question this assumption. While Haynes argued in his sermons and essays for a disinterested benevolence that crossed race lines, he also lived the life of a black man united in affection and virtue to his family, congregation, state, and country. He rose to defend New Divinity theology, yet he also criticized it and sought to extend it to encompass racial equality and accord. Haynes himself offered a commentary fitting his effort to establish interracial equality and accord as *theological* matters. He wrote, "However doctrinal preaching may be discarded by many, and such words as *metaphysical,* abstruse, etc., are often made use of to obstruct free and candid inquiry; yet it is evident that one great end of the gospel ministry is to disseminate right sentiments; hence it is that Paul so often exhorts Timothy to take heed to his *doctrine.* Sound doctrine, as well as good practice, is necessary to constitute the Christian character: 'Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the *doctrine* of Christ, hath not God.'—2 John, 9."[93]

If Haynes found within the New Divinity the idea of the divine providence of slavery and freedom, he found also within it an ideal of interracial human community.[94] Edwards described his "heart" as "knit in affection" to the pious.[95] Hopkins argued that "universal benevolence" allowed no exceptions.[96] For instance, from 1767 to 1801 Hopkins delivered a series of sermons on

"Christian friendship." "Friendship affords," he preached, "the highest and most sweet enjoyment that is to be had in this life, or that rational creatures are capable of. Yea, it is in some sense the *only* source of real enjoyment and happiness."[97] Human friendship was, Hopkins insisted, "an imitation and image" of friendship between humankind and God.[98] Notwithstanding his advocacy of colonization, Hopkins was one of the most articulate critics of the slave trade in Revolutionary America, so Haynes had reason to apply the white minister's notions of Christian friendship to relations between blacks and whites. Hopkins mentioned, for instance, the Ethiopia of Isaiah 43:3–4, which could have prefigured the divine providence of slavery.[99] Despite Hopkins's cold comment on the stupidity of "Hottentots," he did write that according to "the royal law" he was obliged to love an "Ethiopian" as he loved himself.[100] Mired in racism, the interpreters of the Edwardsean tradition still achieved glimpses of the egalitarian society Haynes wanted them to behold.

Some of Hopkins's comments on love, friendship, and liberty coincided with Haynes's Revolutionary critique of the slave trade and slavery. Hopkins preached, for instance, "The law of Christ is nothing but a law of love and friendship, as nothing else is required; it is therefore called the perfect law of liberty."[101] The phrase on which Haynes built his 1813 critique of slavery—"love without dissimulation"—was Hopkins's description of ideal friendship.[102] Significantly, in his series on Christian friendship Hopkins treated the slave trade and slavery as exemplifying the reluctance of seeming Christians to be "true friends of Christ [who] desire and long to have others become his friends." "The slave trade, and the slavery of the Africans, in which this town has had a greater hand than any other in New-England," he wrote of Newport, "must not be passed over unmentioned here. This inhuman trade has been the first and chief spring of all the trade and business by which this town has risen and flourished: which has therefore been built up, in good measure, by the blood and unrighteous sufferings of the poor Africans. And this trade is yet carried on here, in the face of all the light and matter of conviction of the unrighteousness and aggravated iniquity of it, which has of late years been offered, and against the express laws of God and man."[103] Like Haynes, Hopkins believed that the ultimate judgment on slave traders and slaveholders would be made by God. And like Haynes, Hopkins believed that the Revolution, which should have been used to crush American slavery, remained incomplete as long as blacks were enslaved. Hopkins's colonizationism is all the more lamentable in light of such remarks.

Others, black and white, shared and acted upon the conviction that interracial benevolence was the antidote to the cruelty of the slave trade and slavery. Hopkins's supporters and fellow Newporters, Susanna Anthony and Sarah Osborn, prayed with black men, women, and children and thought about their interactions with blacks—Hopkins agreed—as benevolent.[104] Richard Allen, first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was a leader in the creation of social institutions by and for black Americans. Allen's adopted Philadelphia came to exemplify a city where a free black community established itself, and he was almost on a par with Haynes as a commentator on

the religion dimension of relations between blacks and whites. Like Haynes, Allen insisted that the social ideal was "affection."[105] "Friendship" and a sense of the "heart" were needful in whites, Allen wrote, if they were to live in harmony with blacks. Like Haynes, Allen thought that a lack of affection led not only to disharmony but also to "despotism," which was enacted in the white enslavement of blacks. In his sermon, "Acts of Love," Allen articulated the staple of Christian ethics that men and women express their love of God through love of other men and women. Moreover, paralleling Haynes's comments on his childhood, Allen credited the white family with whom he matured for its affection, humanity, and tenderness and described a preacher as "friend and father" but still added, "Slavery is a bitter pill, notwithstanding we had a good master."[106]

The famous *Narrative* that Allen wrote with Absalom Jones was a protest against the racist mistreatment of black Philadelphians after they had stepped forward as nurses and grave diggers during the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in the city. Yet the *Narrative* was also a commentary on the relevance of eighteenth-century sentimentalist ethics to race relations in America. Blacks exhibited, Allen noted, the affective qualities of virtue: sensibility, affection, virtue, benevolence, feeling. Their charitable service during the epidemic proved their virtue. However, whites at large do not, Allen noted, extend to blacks the "finer feelings of humanity." Those white Americans who were willing to live equitably and harmoniously with blacks were, Allen thought, men and women of "affectionate sympathy." Indeed, it was precisely their sympathy and sensibility that led white men and women to engage "in the cause of the African race," to be "disinterested," to evince the "tear of sensibility," to act upon their "charity." The white Philadelphians who interfered with black worshipers lacked affection, Allen asserted. Like Haynes, Allen insisted that charity was never partial, for in being less than universal it became less than Christian charity. Christian practice and charity were one and the same. Slaves in particular and blacks in general were owed Christian charity and benevolence, Allen insisted.[107]

The beauties and uses of social union were as fervently described in Haynes's sermons as in Allen's, Edwards's, or Hopkins's writings. The "new covenant" had formed a "sacred union between all holy beings," Haynes preached. The "God of order," that is, Calvin's God, required "union and fellowship among his rational creatures." In sharing "one and the same Father," the faithful are "unite[d]" as "branches" drawing "nourishment from the living stock or source." Many are made into "one bread and one body" by virtue of being "partakers of that one bread." Similarly, "by drinking the cup in the Lord's Supper," the faithful "drink into one spirit," are united in "one sort of faith, love and holiness by which that one body is animated." This union of "sentiments," "tempers," and "pursuits" meant that the old dispensation had been transcended and that all the faithful should have become welcome one to the other. Haynes wrote, "Jews and Gentiles are united in one holy communion—We are not come to the mount that burned with fire and that made even Moses exceeding fear and quake but to mount Zion. . . . Who may we invite to the table of the Lord? . . . All Whose

Sentiments and practice give evidence that they love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth." That Haynes believed that sincere worship improved the lives of those who professed to be Christian but whose attitudes and behavior may have been tainted by American racism was perhaps suggested when he preached, "There are none on earth but what have their imperfections but when we commune with a brother it does not suppose we fellowship with his sins or defects."[108]

In 1805, Haynes offered a full articulation of the relevance of the New Divinity—its providentialism, sentimentalism, and hostility to what seemed to be survivals of the Old Testament era such as Islam and slavery. Around this time, Haynes claimed in newspapers to be composing a theological statement that was to appear in book form.[109] The book Haynes advertised never appeared, but he did publish his edition of the sermons of Job Swift, whom he had met during his tour of Vermont in 1785. Swift was a New Divinity man whose career fit the pattern of many of his cohort. After studying with Joseph Bellamy, Swift supplied a pulpit in Rowley, Massachusetts, until he offended his audience with his ultra-Calvinism. He was dismissed by his congregation and, refusing to cease preaching, itinerated in Massachusetts and Vermont. Swift was also an elder, in some ways a surrogate father, to Haynes, and the white man gained a reputation for his protection of the black man from some of the force of racism, even within the ministry. Haynes described Swift as his "spiritual father."[110] When Swift died unexpectedly, Haynes preached on his demise and collected his manuscripts—replicating the deeds of Hopkins at the death of Edwards. In his edition of Swift's sermons, Haynes admitted that the manuscripts had survived only in "short minutes," which he had been obliged to "decypher."[111] Haynes implied that it was one of Swift's strengths that he preached without a written sermon at hand, but the obvious inference was that the *Discourses* were in some sense Haynes's creation as well as Swift's. Moreover, Swift's son insisted that his father had left only "skeletons" and that the *Discourses* "were by no means the sermons which he preached."[112]

The *Discourses* were a collaboration, the work of both the deceased white minister from whose notes they were derived and the black minister who produced the text that was published. We see in the *Discourses* the pattern of "humility, ambition, and indirection" that Richard D. Brown identifies in Haynes's life. Haynes was often willing, Brown remarks, to attribute initiative to white people when a likely possibility was that the black man himself was at the center of activity. For instance, Brown notes, when Haynes married a white woman ten years younger than he the public pronouncement on the engagement was that she had asked him for his hand.[113] Probably much like the marital engagement, the *Discourses* represented a collusion of interests—Swift's, posthumously, in the publication of his sermons, Haynes's in the further exploration of the New Divinity for its abolitionist and equalitarian significance.

The reconstruction of Swift's sermons made several points that challenged American slavery and inequitable race relations. A statement in the *Discourses*

that "we are to call no man master" (paraphrase of Matt. 23:9–10) evoked not only republican liberty and a refusal to place any man or woman before God but also a critique of slavery.[114] The leaders of society, including those at the head of "federal" societies and those with whom God had made covenants, bore responsibilities to the lowly, including their servants and slaves, to welcome them into the benefits of both federal and covenantal societies. Americans should have made a decisive break with survivals of the Old Testament era, which Haynes had long thought included slaveholding, for in following a religion of practices they relied for divine favor on their "lineage," not their faith, and at the same time allowed seemingly ritualistic religions like Islam to flourish and grow. Africa, in particular it seemed, was all but abandoned to Islam because an insufficiency of spirit in Christians led them not to evangelize effectively there. The summation of both faith and law in Christianity was the enactment of benevolence. Affection, benevolence, charity, sentiment—all were to suffuse social relations in a truly Christian America. And the millennium, subject of a great "prophecy," was to be a deliverance from "tyranny."[115]

Such points had been used by Haynes and others, black and white, in abolitionist writing, but the *Discourses* was Haynes's first effort to articulate them systematically, even if ventriloquistically. Moreover, the *Discourses* reiterated phrases Haynes had often used in his critiques of slavery—those who deal with blood and those who are guilty of the blood of others. Job Swift was innocent of the blood of the unconverted, Haynes assured readers, since the white minister had preached a demanding gospel, not of "consolation," but of "doctrine" and "faith."[116] Unlike the slave traders and slaveholders Haynes had mentioned, Swift, as a good man, was "clear of [the] blood" of others. Like black men and black women under slavery, all the faithful who suffered under sinners would be heard when God harkened to "the cry of the martyrs that their blood might be revenged."[117]

The *Discourses* made slaves, slavery, and the failings of slaveholders central to one of the originating acts of biblical history, God's covenant with Abraham. The *Discourses* insisted that God had intended his covenant with Abraham to include slaves and servants, but that the Israelites, even Abraham himself, failed to extend its benefits to them.[118] The covenant was, according to the *Discourses,* contingent upon the Israelites welcoming into their numbers the slaves and servants around them, and Abraham was, indeed, called to lead not only the Jews but also "other nations," which in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century meant other races.[119] The treatment of Ishmael represented the Israelites' failure to maintain the terms of the covenant. The son of Abraham and the "bondwoman" Hagar, Ishmael was easily seen as a symbol of American slaves, many of them the offspring of a slave woman and her master. Even in his name, which means "God hears," Ishmael was relevant to one of Haynes's constant themes, God's attention to the cries of the oppressed and suffering. Here Ishmael symbolized the blacks whom Christians were, Haynes had always insisted, obliged to welcome into their society. Abraham initially accepts Ishmael into his household as a son and a

member of the faith—the boy's circumcision signifies this—but when Abraham's wife, Sarah, becomes jealous of Hagar and Ishmael, they are cast out of the Jewish household and into the desert to die. The mistreatment of black slaves in America, both female and male, was prefigured in the story of Hagar and Ishmael. Hagar and Ishmael suffer in the desert, but ultimately God delivers them—just the sort of divine act in which Haynes's generation of black Christians hoped, even if, of course, human means had to be used to achieve that end. Yet Abraham still broke the covenant, and in the *Discourses* appeared a phrase that Haynes had used to criticize slave traders: "The Bible says, that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him."[120] The providential history of slavery and, likely enough, his own experience can be read in Haynes's edition of Swift's sermon on the covenant and the slaves. Like Haynes himself, Ishmael was a surrogate son, a boy of different lineages, born into bondage. The *Discourses* thus utilized the Bible to criticize slave traders and slaveholders, yet at the same time placed slavery as well as the deliverance of slaves in providential history.

Abraham's flaw was, according to the *Discourses,* his faithless, formal religion, which Haynes, Swift, and the other New Divinity men believed was characteristic of Judaism and Islam. "Mahometans" received their religion only from tradition, not from the spirit, according to the *Discourses*.[121] Such spiritless religion was "a bar to fellowship," while fellow-feeling was, Haynes and his black abolitionist peers believed, essential to the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery.[122] Hamstrung by such spiritless religion, Americans were, according to the *Discourses,* unable to extend Christianity to Africa or to counter the spread of Islam. Americans, no more willing than Abraham to meet the terms of the covenant, were treating blacks the way the father of the Israelites had treated Hagar and Ishmael. Indeed, since Ishmael was understood by Muslims as one of the prophets of the Qur'an, Abraham's abandonment of his son implied a rebuke to Christians who were unable to quell Islam in the modern world. In the *Discourses,* as in Haynes's *True Republicanism,* Americans were branded "Jewish Christians," who performed "Mosaic rites." "All the rites had evidently their accomplishment in Christ and the Christian dispensation," according to the *Discourses,* but many people "did not know how to give them up."[123] Americans, spiritless, had not evangelized effectively in the "barbarous parts of Africa."[124] Churches "planted" in Africa "have dwindled."[125] In the seeming vacuum formed by Christians' inability to communicate their faith, Islam fortified itself: "How widely extended is the Mahometan imposture!"[126]

The story of Lazarus, like that of Hagar and Ishmael, served in the *Discourses* as an allegory of black and white relations in America. Lazarus was "despised"—a word Haynes had used for blacks. The rich man hoped that his lineage, his descent from Abraham—in the case of white Americans their whiteness and their historic connection to Christianity—would have saved him. But human bodies were secondary, for none was "fit for heaven." Neither one's race nor one's faithful ancestors gained one entrance into heaven. Abraham's legacy failed the rich man, for the great and the lowly alike must be purified before they enter heaven. New Divinity abolitionism was echoed

in two ways in this sermon. First, God worked through overruling and proportionality: Lazarus was lowly, then exalted, the rich man high in social status, then cast into hell. Second, an essential part of Christianity was the abolition of the distinction between fellow and stranger, the difference that had been used to justify slavery, in both the Old Testament era and the modern era. The *Discourses* quoted Scripture on this point: "Eph. II. 19. Now therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God."[127] In New Divinity abolitionism, of course, divine providence worked through overruling and proportionality while divine law commanded that black and white understand each other, and love each other, as brother and sister.

Benevolent and egalitarian, Christianity, unlike Judaism and Islam as the New Divinity cast them, offered to all, "whether bond or free," baptism into one body. Tyranny, oppression, and slavery were incompatible with Christianity, since all the faithful were "essentially" the "same." "Grace" united the "different nations"—again an obvious reference to race—for "it is all the fruit of the same spirit." Christians were "of one family," according to the *Discourses,* "nay of one body." As had Haynes's *True Republicanism,* the *Discourses* described the Last Supper as the symbol of union and fellowship among God's people.[128] The faith that Christ preached at the Last Supper was love to one's fellow men and women. "It is a love that is opposed to private, selfish affection. It unites to the whole good of being—to holiness, as being what it is—and therefore, regards God as supreme—and our neighbors as ourselves."[129] "Brotherly love" was, the *Discourses* continued, "absolutely essential to communion."[130] Moreover, such brotherly love was essential to republican society: "liberty and equality" were never to be used to undermine "benevolence," but were to protect "the interest and good of every class of men."[131]

The relevant contrast was to Judaism and Islam. It seemed that these faiths had rituals—circumcision and the articulation that there is one God and Muhammad is his prophet—of entrance into the number of the faithful, but they lacked, in the understanding of Haynes's generation of black abolitionists, a sacrament of union like baptism. The sacrament was, in this understanding, at once a spiritual entrance into the body of the faithful, a claim of recognition as a brother or sister, and more of a challenge to slave trading and slaveholding than what seemed to be a mere ritual or a statement could have been. The *Discourses* sounded the millennial and anti-Islamic note familiar within the New Divinity, reiterating the language that Hopkins had used (and that Dwight would continue to use for a decade after Swift's demise) to describe the slave trade and slavery as among the last trials of the faithful. The *Discourses* also added the spread of Islam into the list of the trials of the last days before the millennium. "We are probably in, and entering on the most dreadful hour of temptation," in which arise the "three unclean spirits," noted the *Discourses.* "The most dreadful scene is coming on the world, in the compass of a few years," continued the *Discourses,* including the destructive power of the "Mahometan imposture." For, it seemed, in crushing a sense of broth-

erhood and diminishing the awareness of the spirit, Islam "oppressed" humankind and led it "to abandon religion entirely."[132]

The dawning of the millennium was to be, according to the *Discourses,* a day of liberation. Again the *Discourses* expressed the abolitionist possibilities of the New Divinity. The millennium would dawn as God overruled sinful deeds, including the persecution of the faithful. The sufferings of the faithful, even their deaths at the hands of their persecutors, fulfilled God's plan, just as, the *Discourses* insisted, Paul's conversion and contributions to the church flowed from his murder of many Jews. Saul "wanted to spill the blood of every Christian," and the martyrs cried to God to "avenge their blood." God's providential act was Saul's metamorphosis into Paul, the greatest of the evangelists. God's hand was at work in the same way in America in 1800, the *Discourses* insisted.[133] The millennium was to be, in God's will, another deliverance like that of the Jews, "oppressed and in bondage at Babylon," then delivered from "tyranny." The drying up of the River Euphrates, which Haynes had mentioned as a type of the growth of liberty in America, appeared in the *Discourses* as a sign of future liberations from slavery. The deliverance from Babylon was, according to the *Discourses,* "a prophecy that goes beyond deliverance of the Jews."[134]

The *Discourses* identified "the declarative glory of God" in history.[135] Haynes's hand in transforming Swift's notes into a text merged the declarative glory of God and the Declaration of Independence, bringing the latter into the abolitionist camp as well as refreshing its relevance to the American Calvinist tradition. For God declared his glory, the *Discourses* asserted, not just in the national liberation of America but also in the elevation of servants and slaves into members of the covenantal society, in the deliverance of the oppressed, and in the universal benevolence of Christianity. The millennium was to institute an ultimate liberation, but always, even in the end times, the faithful were obliged to follow God's will. David Brion Davis identifies a predetermined failure in the New Divinity opposition to slavery: if God threatened the defeat of the slaveholding patriots and then the Revolution succeeded, then Hopkins's antislavery argument would be proven wrong.[136] Yet the New Divinity ministers insisted that humankind, even the damned, were obliged to draw ever closer to the mind and will of God. As Gerald R. McDermott notes of Edwards—the comment applies equally to his New Divinity heirs—he was not a jingo or a chauvinist.[137] No earthly event, even one as momentous as the success of a political revolution, was a final articulation of the divine will, an incentive to cease interpreting God's revealed will. One was always obliged to look beyond events, to seek to understand divine providence, whether expressed in success or failure, comfort or suffering, and act in accordance with God's will. Only the millennium was to free the faithful from seeking to move closer to God—and nothing in the Edwardsean tradition encouraged the notion that the millennial days had arrived in America around 1800. Although Hopkins had incautiously extended the Edwardsean tradition into justifying the expatriation of blacks, he still believed that "Jesus Christ is an unbounded and infinite object of knowledge" and that therefore "there

is foundation and room for constant and increasing progress in the highest and best knowledge, by attending to and considering him."[138]

Divine providence never meant to Haynes and his associates in the New Divinity that the faithful were to wait passively upon divine action. The faithful were always obliged to seek to understand God's will and to seek to further it through their own actions. As the *Discourses* phrased it, "A spirit is composed of understanding, will and affections," and the will was to be exercised in accordance with God's design.[139] Haynes argued that Americans should have addressed themselves willingly, voluntaristically, to the cause of racial equality. It was always sinful, Haynes argued, to do evil, even to permit evil deeds to occur, simply because one trusted that God overruled evil with good. The slave trade and slavery were thus never just, even if in divine providence God used them as steps toward freedom and enlightenment. Humankind was obliged to perceive God's plan even within the slave trade and slavery and to understand both their sinfulness and God's intent in allowing them to flourish. God meant to provide freedom, not slavery, but he used slavery in history because he had to work through sinful beings and because he had to lead them to comprehend the value of freedom by perceiving its contrast to bondage. After that perception, which Haynes was sure was liberationist, humankind was obliged to seek to further the divine providence of freedom. As the faithful come to know God, they come to love him, accept his design, and love their fellow men and women—and free the slaves among them.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, with slavery entrenched in the southern states and gradual emancipation the standard in the northern states, Haynes's argument meant that knowledge of God entailed two things: love of the oppressed, including blacks, and recognition of the sinfulness of the slave trade and slavery even as one acknowledged that God had used them to further liberty and enlightenment. The experience of black Americans, enslaved and free, was to be interpreted, in Hopkins's phrasing, as exhibiting deity: "Every creature and all events exhibit Deity to view, as constantly present in every thing, in the exercise of omniscience, power, wisdom, rectitude and goodness; and unite to impress that sense of the divine Being on the mind, and lead to that acknowledgment of him, in which all true piety most essentially consists."[140] To interpret the experience of slaves and free blacks in this light was to offer a radical critique of injustice, yet to see hope in the justice that thus came into clearer view. To despise blacks, to trade in slaves, or to hold slaves was to not acknowledge God, to not approach his affections, mind, and will. A more forceful challenge to the slave trade, slavery, and racism could hardly have been articulated within the Calvinist tradition.

The New Divinity was an early exercise of the reform impulse within American history, transmitting the legacies of millennialism and the Revolution to the antebellum years and furthering such causes as abolitionism. Haynes was prophetic in his insistence that the faithful were to seek reform of the ills of society. He argued that it was unacceptable to trust passively in progress and that one was obliged to seek to understand progress and to further it oneself. The War of Independence, with the republican and Christian ideas that

motivated the patriots, was, Haynes knew, an obvious example of people reforming their society. The abolition of the slave trade and of slavery deserved the same sort of dedication. Similarly, Haynes insisted, the American commitment to an equalitarian society was a religious commitment. Equality across racial lines was so essential to the morality of the faithful that tolerance of inequality was tantamount to the destruction of religious faith.

Haynes was well known in his time as a defender of the New Divinity, but the measure of his full contribution to American theology was veiled during his lifetime. Some of his writings were unpublished and most of his theological peers were colonizationists little prepared to see the kingdom of God on earth as uniting black and white in one society. Moreover, only in retrospect, with knowledge that Christianity would motivate the antebellum abolitionist movement, can we see that Haynes articulated one of its inspiring possibilities—that the desire to be free is a Christian desire, not a selfish one. The New Divinity ministers feared desire as selfish. Believers were not to desire even salvation, since to yearn for it could have been to want it selfishly, not for disinterested love of God. Haynes made two momentous advances in New Divinity thought about the relationship between the individual and God.

One of Haynes's advances was his realization that individuals' desire for civil freedom, the desire to be a free person, not a slave, was a yearning to live in society in which one could love God disinterestedly. A godly society entailed freedom, literacy, education, and citizenship, while slavery did not, Haynes noted, foster religion or other civic virtues. The yearning for such society was, Haynes recognized, different from the desires the New Divinity ministers feared and loathed as selfish. The New Divinity had encouraged the notion that under tyranny, as under the slavery of sin, humankind became "morose" and "melancholy."[141] With Haynes, this notion blossomed into a claim that faith required freedom secured by one's society. Grappling with the New Divinity interdiction on desire, Haynes made a subtle, yet astounding, advance in the American Calvinist tradition by arguing that those desiring freedom *must* come to desire it as a means of coming to know and worship God. Although many Christians in America and Europe traded slaves, held slaves, and accepted slavery as a social institution, Christianity in the long run could not counter the argument that believers were obliged to seek the freedom and equality they needed in order to know and worship God. In a religious tradition in which desire was always suspect as selfishness, a black man announced that desire for freedom and equality was part of an individual's movement toward God, not necessarily self-indulgence.

Haynes's other advance was his understanding that the desire to be free in order to know and worship God did not effect salvation, even when freedom was achieved. In this, Haynes offered a sharp critique of American liberalism, which was a moral failure insofar as its adherents limited liberty only to parts of society. For yearning to be free was subordinate to the Abrahamic covenant according to which servants and slaves were to be accepted into the community of believers. Those with faith, regardless of outward signs such as circumcision and tribal identity, were Abraham's true children, were the

saved. No human deed effected salvation; this was a warning to the faithful who tolerated the slave trade and slavery, who believed that they could be saved outside the covenant. Discussing the Jewish tax-collector who sought to see Jesus on his approach to Jericho, Haynes asked, "Is it best for sinners to seek a sight of Christ with the temper of Zaccheus?" The answer was that although "there is no holiness in it and no promise annexed to such seeking," one was still to "seek according to God's appointment." Zaccheus's effort was rewarded—here he achieved what Abraham had been unwilling to attempt—in that Christ fulfilled a compact with the tax-collector to "impart grace" to his "unconverted children," his "house and household."[142] Indeed, the central New Testament passages in which the Abrahamic covenant and faith are discussed, Romans 3–4, included the verses Haynes had used in 1776, Romans 3:6–8, to note that humankind was obliged to follow God's law—in that case not to trade or own slaves—notwithstanding God's overruling evil with good, the promises of the new covenant, and the inadequacy of obedience of the law in effecting salvation.[143] Haynes thus dealt incisively with the strongest of Christian impulses—to know and love God—by declaring it to be subordinate to the originating covenant, according to which the masters were to reform their community by inviting servant and slave to join it. Not the urge to know and love God, no matter how profoundly felt, but rather the maintenance of the terms of the Abrahamic covenant, saved Christians. If the Abrahamic covenant, not individual faith, effected salvation, then slavery in a Christian nation was a terrible contradiction threatening the entrance of any of its citizens into heaven and must be terminated as soon as possible. Like the Israelites in Romans 3–4, American republicans had seen the truth and were obliged to accept the terms of the covenant, including the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.

Haynes supplemented the American Calvinist tradition with subtleties unimagined by Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins: a slave's yearning for freedom was a Christian desire, yet even it, like all such acts, was no guarantee of salvation, but always subordinate to the originating covenant, the only warrant of salvation. Servants and slaves were intended by God to be beneficiaries of that covenant. Although Abraham had abandoned the covenant, Americans, slaveholders yet Revolutionaries, could still fulfill it. In applying the logic of the Edwardsean tradition to the situation of African Americans, Haynes wrote a new chapter into American Calvinism. Just as the covenant of grace was inherent in the covenant made with the Israelites, the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery and the acceptance of black Americans as citizens was inherent in the American Revolution.[144] America, with its slaveholders, was nonetheless, in Haynes's view, a partly free, partly Christian society, bearing the same relationship to a fully free and Christian society as the Israelites bore to the followers of Jesus. The first was both a type of the second and a means to the second—for the individual, faith, and for the nation, true liberty and acceptance of the covenant.

4

Making and Breaking the Revolutionary Covenant

Beginning in the late 1790s, Lemuel Haynes's grappling with ideological conflict differed from his endeavors of the Revolutionary years and the first decade of his ministry. In the 1770s and 1780s, republicanism and Calvinism, as Haynes understood them, challenged slave traders and slaveholders, whom he saw as violating first principles of social and religious thought. Oppression was wrong by both republican and Calvinist standards. The completion of the Revolution in the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery was like the fulfillment of a covenant—its terms inherent in its initial compact and, as always in covenantal thought, ready to be met by human effort in the service of God.

From the 1790s, however, a new challenge appeared as American politics divided into Federalist and Democratic-Republican factions. It seemed that enemies were arising within American ranks—not compatriots who could have been reminded of first principles and covenanted responsibilities, but contemporaries who held principles outside the covenant. Jeffersonian politics and social thought were not as self-evidently sinful as trade and property in slaves, but Haynes opposed Jefferson because he and his followers undermined the black man's benevolentist and integrationist arguments against the slave trade and slavery. As political factions became hostile camps, Haynes remained a traditionalist in insisting on the value for African Americans of the benevolent, virtuous, united society idealized in the eighteenth-century republican and Edwardsean traditions. In line with Revolutionary republicanism, Haynes saw slaveholders' power preying on blacks' liberty. But as northern slavery was dismantled, power exercised apart from slavery began to press upon blacks—something Haynes had no political vocabulary to describe. As liberal politics and social thought waxed in the post-Revolutionary decades,

his early optimism, evident in his belief that the injustice of the slave trade and of slavery was self-evident, waned. His essays and sermons became more pessimistic and more bitter as even in rural Vermont the Jeffersonians triumphed. The abolitionists were ultimately to triumph, but their opposition to slavery and their vision of a postslavery society were radically different from Haynes's.

The report of a Briton who traveled in Vermont in 1794 and visited Rutland suggests that Haynes was secure and valued in the agricultural region in which he ministered. Haynes seems to have enjoyed his New England ideal for about a decade after he settled in Rutland in 1788. J. A. Graham recorded of Rutland, "On the West side of the town, are better husbandmen than those on the East, and raise the best wheat, butter, and cheese; great quantities of wheat they send off to foreign markets. In this place also is a handsome Meeting-house, of which the Rev. Mr. *Haynes,* an African, (from the State of *Connecticut),* is the Minister." Graham's comments suggest that Haynes had found a home in Rutland, where he was recognized as an "excellent Clergyman" whom God recognized as having "the *form,* the *soul,* the *affections,* and the *feelings* of a man," as being a "disinterested friend of mankind" whose *"life* [was] conformable to his *preaching."* The image presented in Graham's travelogue was of a minister surrounded by a loyal body of the faithful who saw Haynes much as the traveler and, indeed, God saw him. Although Graham knew that prejudice existed in the Anglo-American world, he saw no reason to defend Haynes against his congregation; rather, he noticed the congruence between the believers and the black man.[1] Haynes seems to have thrived in Rutland in the late 1780s and 1790s. National political disputes began affecting him in the 1790s, and discord in Rutland began affecting him in the first decade of the new century. National issues and national standards came to matter in Rutland as it became less of a peripheral rural town and more of point in a system with its center of gravity in southern New England. The integration of rural Vermont into a national system led to a reconsideration of the black man's role and to his dismissal in 1818.

Haynes understood the changes in his nation as the product of the ascendency of Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans. Like many of the New Divinity ministers, Haynes became a defender of the Federalist Party. In this role, he was noted—or notorious—throughout New England. Jefferson and James Madison were foremost among his foes in the Democratic-Republican Party, while George Washington and John Adams symbolized sagacious Federalist statesmanship for him. Politics was the lens through which both Haynes and his congregation interpreted the changes occurring around them and within them; Haynes's Federalism ultimately cost him his livelihood. New England was the stronghold of the Federalists until 1816, but the Republican Party was gaining adherents in rural Vermont. Haynes sealed his fate by blessing the Federalist hostility to the Republicans, criticizing Republican policy in the War of 1812, and preaching in New Haven to Federalist luminaries in 1814, the year of the Hartford Convention. His stinging critique of the Republicans and his friendliness to secession—if not exactly

an authorization of it—in the Hartford sermon and other sermons set him at odds with his congregation. After his dismissal in early 1818, he never gained another reliable pulpit.

His affiliation to the Federalist Party challenges those who would understand Haynes more than two hundred years after he first publicized his politics. He was well known as a Federalist in his life and he expressed admiration of political stalwarts like Washington and Adams, yet we know virtually nothing of his relations to Federalists he was likely to encounter in Vermont and in his travels in southern New England and New York. Haynes accepted an invitation to preach before the religious leader of New England Federalism, Timothy Dwight, but surely his loyalty to the Federalists was inspired by connections to some of its lesser lights. This chapter argues for the importance of Haynes's Federalism by tracing his own political commentary and supplementing it in two ways.

First, two voluble white New Englanders who were much concerned with the slave trade, slavery, and race relations in the Revolutionary era and the early republic—Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight—represent the tradition of patrician concern that Haynes believed was embodied in the Federalist Party. Stiles ministered for years to a number of black families in Newport and New Haven; Dwight continued that tradition in New Haven and invited Haynes to preach in his pulpit. Second, Haynes is once again situated in his context in the black Atlantic, here in abolitionist thought about the way in which the slave trade was to be suppressed and the institution of slavery was to be ended. Haynes's generation of black abolitionists had little faith that the slave trade and slavery could be terminated gradually through individual manumissions or through any means in which ordinary white people would take the initiative. Haynes and his peers put their antislavery faith in superordinating governments led by Christian, patrician elites. Some white British abolitionists agreed with them.[2]

The writings of the black abolitionists suggest that their hope in antislavery governance flowed not from the writings and acts of white abolitionists—who often epitomized patrician Christianity—but from the experience of black people in day-to-day social interaction with ordinary white people far removed from the humane elite. From these days arose a conviction that as economic and political opportunities, whether great or small, arose for white people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the freedom and security of blacks was of little concern to whites. Haynes turned to the Federalists, just as Cugoano and Equiano turned to Parliament, for protection against the white people that blacks inevitably met. Freedom, as a more liberal political culture began to understand it around 1800, seemed a kind of nakedness to the black abolitionists, so the appeal to authority and patronage as means of securing freedom made clear sense.

In the 1790s, Haynes entered the American public sphere as he, like many of his contemporaries, discussed politics and nationalism in orations and essays. Moving beyond the more limited audiences of family, parishioners, and fellow ministers he had engaged in the 1770s and 1780s, Haynes began to

address himself explicitly to "the public." Controversial in its time and noted by his contemporaries who recalled him after his death, Haynes's message was the high value of the Federalist Party. The Federalists were, in Haynes's estimation, the only antislavery political force of the years from Washington's presidency to the War of 1812. Haynes praised Washington's manumission of his slaves in his will as exemplary, but he also mounted an argument that Federalist notions of the relationship between individuals and the state were more likely to ensure the abolition of slavery and the advent of racial equality than were the ideas and politics of the Democratic-Republicans. Much like Revolutionary ideology and Edwardsean Calvinism, Federalist politics seemed to Haynes to contain an antislavery covenant that remained unfulfilled in America. Haynes may have overestimated the Federalists, but his optimistic loyalty and his focus on the public sphere should be seen in the light of a Federalist commitment to engaging the public in the 1790s. The Federalists' verve in the 1790s and their "anti-Virginia and antislavery" rhetoric after 1800 do much to explain Haynes's focus on the public and his belief in antislavery Federalism.[3] They also do much to explain his pessimism after 1800.

The Federalists of the 1790s, the decade in which Haynes's political affiliations became evident, gave him confidence and optimism in his approach to the public sphere. During Washington's presidency, Federalist spokesmen vigorously sought to sway public opinion in favor of the ratification of Jay's Treaty (concerning American payment of debts and the withdrawal of British troops from the Northwest Territory) and other causes important to the party. The Federalists successfully mobilized public opinion, not the least by invoking Washington's views in favor of their causes. Yet the Federalists, including Haynes, felt no compunction in announcing that public opinion was at times impertinent, and its suppression legitimate. Successes in the 1790s gave the Federalists confidence in their ability to sway the public, but not, of course, the prescience to understand that the limits they set on legitimate expression of popular opinion would be a major cause of their decline in the new century. The brief period of Federalist verve, in which Haynes first articulated his political interests, flowed from the Federalists' sense that the members of the public were both to be marshaled to support the authority of the state and silenced when they opposed the policies of elected officials.[4]

Haynes matched his Federalist peers in efforts to engage the public sphere in the 1790s. Writing in 1798, which he acknowledged as a year of "civil dissension," Haynes praised "public opinion" as a guide to statesmen. "Public exertions" were necessary, he added, for the maintenance of good government. Even "the *general good,*" he wrote, can be defined only by "the public voice." With the Federalists in office, Haynes asseverated that public opinion could have been justly suppressed when ordinary people criticized their elected officials, though he did allow that government could have been so alienated from the people that resistance was justified—an obvious allusion to Lockean theory and the War of Independence as well as to slave rebellions such as the revolution in St. Domingue. For instance, Haynes supported the Alien and Sedition Acts, claiming a biblical sanction for them. Thus he argued that citi-

zens were to respect their leaders, obey the rules of the state, and avoid criticism of men in office, except in a time of "great . . . defection in a kingdom or commonwealth." "Wickedly to impeach men who are intrusted with affairs of the commonwealth" was, he wrote, "an insult cast upon the political body, tending to enervate the bands of government." Attacks on the Federalists from the Jeffersonian camp in the late 1790s were, he thought, merely such insults, not elements in legitimate political discourse. Legitimate criticisms of political leaders would have been minimized, he wrote, if men of "virtue and patriotism," men like "a *Washington,* and an *Adams,"* were elected.[5] Haynes's writings from 1801 to 1820 (the year he published a farewell address to the congregation that dismissed him because of his Federalist loyalties) defended, even as they were swept from office, the virtuous and patriotic Federalists who, he believed, favored black people over slave owners.

After 1800, Federalists, especially the New Englanders in the party, criticized southern slaveholding, motivated partly by objections to slavery, partly by opposition to Jefferson and other Virginian politicians. Agriculture was, in the New England view, weakened by slavery, which gave laborers on farms no interest in improvements in land and facilities. Slave owners themselves seemed enervated by slavery, unused to labor while habituated to violent relations between masters and slaves. Republican social relations seemed undermined by mastery and ownership of other human beings. Virginia became, in Linda K. Kerber's words, "the epitome of a set of social arrangements and political sentiments which Federalists deplored." Virginia, its political leaders, and its slaveholding so epitomized the Democratic-Republicans that even in 1816 New Englanders saw opposition to the Federalists as devolving from the "Virginia faction."[6] The motivations of the Federalist critique of slaveholding concerned more than slaves. The empowerment of the slave states under the three-fifths clause of the Constitution, the liability slaves presented in war in that they required guards to thwart rebellion or their escape to the enemy, and the notorious Deism of southern leaders like Jefferson were all objectionable to New England Federalists. Yet the antislavery arguments became in the first years of the nineteenth century a staple of Federalist rhetoric, and Haynes assumed the task of articulating those elements of Federalist culture that could best coalesce into an American abolitionism.

Haynes defended the political conditions through which, he believed, the abolitionist and egalitarian potential of the American Revolution would be achieved. Within disputes in the early republic between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans over the legacy of the Revolution, Haynes's role was to articulate the political thought of his day that, in his mind, best opposed slavery and promised blacks a secure position in America. His concern in politics was whether the abolition of slavery and the security of blacks would better be achieved within a New England Federalist vision of a virtuous Christian society, in which vigorous government restrained its citizens, or within a Jeffersonian vision of a free society, in which traditional restraints of church and state had fallen away and left white citizens unimpeded by institutions as the population spread westward across America.

The Edwardsean tradition led Haynes and other New Divinity ministers away from the Jeffersonians and into the Federalists. Edwards had argued, in *Original Sin,* that God had ordained "civil government to keep men from destroying each other." Appropriately, Alan Heimert identifies the Edwardsean ideal as "squirearchical," designed to protect the lowly from the great. Fearing a Jeffersonian war of white against black—the American version of the Hobbesian war of all against all—Haynes cast his lot with the Federalists.[7]

Another black New Englander, Prince Hall, evolved in his view of white Americans in the 1790s. Hall's 1792 charge to the African Lodge optimistically prescribed "love and benevolence to the whole family of mankind," although he did imply that blacks and whites might separate just as had Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13:8–9). However, by 1797, Hall was noting the hostile behavior blacks encountered from whites on "the streets of Boston." Making an appeal to patricians, he wrote that blacks were being harassed by "a mob or horde of shameless, low-lived, envious, spiteful persons, some of them not long since, servants in gentlemen's kitchens, scouring knives, tending horses, and driving chaise. 'Twas said by a gentleman who saw that filthy behaviour in the common, that in all the places he had been in, he never saw so cruel behaviour in all his life, and that a slave in the West-Indies, on Sundays or holidays enjoys himself and friends without molestation." Perhaps invoking the bravery of the patriots in the War of Independence—in 1792 he had noted that blacks and whites "marched soldier to soldier, brother soldier to brother soldier"—he branded whites "cowards" for the "mob" attacks on blacks. Moreover, Hall reminded his audience that the "sympathizing members" of Congress had already freed some captives—the whites held in slavery in North Africa, "among the Algerines."[8] Both Hall and Haynes suggest that in the 1790s leading blacks began to search for a political shield against the forces of racism.

Like many Federalists, Haynes came to the party with a deep-rooted commitment to Revolutionary ideology and to the social and political importance of the clergy, especially the ministers of Congregational churches. Haynes had always supported the clergy's social and political leadership, yet it was the controversy over the Alien and Sedition Acts that led him in 1798 into his first published support of the Federalists. Drawing precedents from the Bible, *The Influence of Civil Government on Religion* expressed Haynes's support for the Alien and Sedition Acts. "If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?" (Ps. 11:3) was Haynes's text. The foundations were, of course, order, religion, and virtue, all seen by Federalists as the essentials of a republic. This 1798 address, like Haynes's other political writings, echoed George Washington's 1796 farewell address. Even Haynes's choice of Psalm 11:3 as his text followed Washington's comment that no friend of free and popular government "can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric."[9]

Just as he had done with the antislavery cause, Haynes used the Bible to speak for Federalism. Haynes saw parallels between the seven verses of Psalm 11 and the conflict between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans. David,

a scriptural prototype for George Washington, was “a man of virtue and religion.” “His competitors” opposed him politically, urging him, in the words Haynes culled from the psalm, *“Flee as a bird to your mountain,”* even as they, “the *wicked,”* determined to “privily shoot at the upright in heart.” As Federalists required of a statesman, David was loyal to “the commonwealth” and supported “the laws and dignity of his country,” even though “designing men” schemed “to enervate the bands of government, assume the reins, and disseminate discord among the people.” Defense of laws was virtuous, criticism of them evil. David defended the “foundations,” which Haynes described as “the civil laws or government,” which were themselves essential to “religion and the good man’s cause.”[10] In these statements, as throughout, *The Influence of Civil Government on Religion* offered a catalogue of key words and phrases from Washington’s farewell address. Yet Haynes offered an apocalypticism that the Deist Washington could not have shared. Psalm 11:4–7 continued the apocalyptic rhetoric that Haynes had used in his Revolutionary antislavery writing: God will ultimately favor the righteous, but “upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest.”

A purely secular government was, Haynes insisted, unrepublican—this followed Washington’s comments as well as the black man’s insistence that New Testament brotherhood be enacted in America. Like liberty itself, government was established, Haynes believed, by God “as a support to virtue” and as a means for the furtherance of divine providence. All men were obliged to support the government prescribed by God, and if they did not God would chastise them and ultimately level the state they had chosen. Indeed, “divine revelation” urged humankind, Haynes noted, “to pursue the best measures” by which “civil government” was able to “secure the rights of men.” The goal of governance was the congruence of “the laws of God” and “the laws of men.” The state defended the life, religion, and property of citizens in order to allow them to be virtuous. For citizens required security in “the rights of men” to be good. “Without our lives and interests are defended,” Haynes queried, “how can we practice piety?” “The rights of men” were “sacred” not because they secured freedom, but because they fostered virtue. Indeed, the support of virtue was, Haynes wrote, the reason that “civil government” was “important.” Thus, a republican government promoted religion and morality in a way that a purely secular state did not, and citizens, when they voted properly, used the “suffrage” in a godly cause. “Ministers of the gospel” were, moreover, to “enforce obedience to the laws of the state” as a way of displaying “a laudable regard for the rights and properties of their hearers.”[11] Haynes had already addressed the right of slaves to be free, and the right of African Americans to citizenship was, in his mind, grounded in Christian unity and expressed in republican virtue.

A Federalist understanding of the relationship between the state and individuals appeared in Haynes’s writings—and was used for antislavery purposes. One task of a republican government was, according to Haynes, keeping its citizens under “restraint” in order to prevent the depredations of some against the “sacred rights” of others. “True freedom does not consist in every

man's doing as he thinks fit, or following the dictates of unruly passions," Haynes asserted, "but in submitting to the easy yoke of good regulations, and in being under the restraint of wholesome laws." He also asserted, "Our lives, liberties and religion" depend on "civil government." Elected leaders were entrusted with the virtue of the citizenry, since they were required to maintain the conditions that allowed liberty and religion to thrive. The alternative to republican government and Christian religion was, in Haynes's eyes, "contempt of the Holy Scriptures, domination, anarchy, and immorality." Politicians in a republic were the guardians both of rights and of faith: "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God" (2 Sam. 33:3). Ministers of churches, too, were required to defend "rights and properties of their hearers" and oppose "tyranny" and "oppression."[12] With these claims Haynes recalled his abolitionist writing and his technique of merging the slaves' cause with another, whether Calvinist, republican, or Federalist. He envisioned a squirearchy become abolitionist.

The Federalists Washington and Adams were exemplary politicians, devoted to "the rights of men," according to Haynes. Washington, in particular, espoused "the contested rights of his country" in a time, the 1790s, of challenges to liberty and to the rights of men as well as of unrepublican internal dissensions. Washington was, Haynes maintained, one of those "instruments qualified and raised up by God for great and peculiar service to mankind." (Nothing in Calvinism required humans as divine instruments to be perfect: Haynes probably knew that Washington was sympathetic to Deism.) Echoing the language of his abolitionist writings of the 1770s, Haynes asserted that he and others among the "freeborn sons of America" would have spilled their blood in combat, clinging to "our rights unless our lives go with them." Like the slaves who perished in the Atlantic trade, "the very ghosts of our brethren, who bled in their country's cause, would haunt our imagination," were Americans to betray the egalitarian promise of the Revolution. Indeed, the French, favored by the Republican party, intended, according to Haynes, "to enslave us." Just as he had in the Revolution, when enslavement to Britain loomed, Haynes argued that God was threatening Americans because of their misuse of liberty. In the Revolution, the flaw was that some Americans were still slaveholders, while in the 1790s they were failing to appreciate "the civil government and independence that God by remarkable interpositions or providence has put into our hands." The threat from France was, then, a threat from divine "Omnipotence" to "our liberties, by letting loose a foreign power upon us."[13] The right response was, Haynes urged, the furtherance of liberty and respect for civil government and religion.

Federalists saw the legacy of the Revolution under attack in the 1790s by those who used a republican vocabulary to endorse an immoral, ungodly society. France was, for Federalists, proof that the republican values of "liberty" and "equality" could have been used hypocritically to justify the "tyrants of the earth." The course of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon proved to Federalists, in Haynes's words, that "republicanism" without virtue degenerated into "libertinism." Tyrants encouraged "infidelity" and

"deism," since in corrupting morals they strengthened "despotism." Again echoing his abolitionist arguments, Haynes branded the French state "Jezebel" and accused it of spilling into the seas "innocent blood . . . which calls for vengeance." The logic that he had applied in 1776 to the slaves' situation was, for Haynes, the logic that applied in 1798 to the Federalists' situation. People may resist "civil authority . . . when it becomes tyrannical and oppressive," but the extirpation of the sin that leads to tyranny and oppression is preferable to rebellion. "Let us repent of our sins, that are the cause of God's controversy with us," Haynes insisted. A "holy union of sentiment and affection in religion" was needful, Haynes asserted, and it "will tend to unite us in other things."[14] Republican brotherhood meant that differences between slave and master, as well as those between Federalist and Republican, could have been overcome.

In 1801, with Jefferson seated in the presidency and the Republicans, as Haynes put it, "crowded" into office, he more explicitly linked the causes of the slave and the Federalist. In *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* Haynes argued that humankind possessed "moral and natural endowments" given by God for individuals to use for themselves and for the "general good." Again he insisted that God defined the "nature" and "design of a free government." Yet some individuals, usurpers of rights, appropriated the "endowments" and "faculties" of others, even to the point of pushing them to rebel. A republican government was required to "defend and secure the natural rights of men" as well as to provide the "law" needed by humankind. Only when all citizens were secure in their rights was there harmony, Haynes proclaimed. One biblical justification for such security and harmony was Acts 17:26, the verse associated with abolitionists, stating that God "hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth." "The Africans, among us," were Haynes's example of people whose rights were not defended by the state, people who were preyed upon by those who took neither benevolence, nor Christianity, nor republicanism to heart. "Oppression, tyranny, and domination," at work in inequality, were undermining "Christ's kingdom." The "immortal Washington" symbolized for Haynes the political will to root out despotism in America and halt the spread of corruption in the new republic. Again articulating the idea that abolitionism was inherent in the laws of the new nation, Haynes asserted that the "independence" of the citizens was to be achieved by the execution of "the wholesome laws of the commonwealth."[15]

The War of 1812 offered Haynes a new opportunity to criticize slavery and to suggest the Federalist remedy. The war was an occasion to praise the New England way by justifying, if not quite endorsing, the secessionist impulses of some of his fellow New Englanders. *Dissimulation Illustrated* took as its text Romans 12:9, "Let love be without dissimulation." Haynes understood this as authorizing the disinterested benevolence of the Edwardsean tradition: "Love and hatred are qualities of the mind, and are expressive of all the moral good and evil in the universe. . . . That holy love, or affection, comprehends all the duty we owe to God and rational beings is evident." The Republicans, seem-

ingly opportunistic warmongers, then failed this Edwardsean test: "We can discern no moral excellency in any thing else[,] such as wisdom, power." "All other attainments, without love, [are] an empty noise." The Republicans embodied, in Haynes's estimation, "power" without "rectitude." *Dissimulation Illustrated* critiqued slavery explicitly several times, but it declared its antislavery sentiments implicitly at the outset with a quotation from Matthew 25:35, which promises that God will favorably judge those who treat "strangers" with charity (Matt. 25:34–36). "Strangers" included, of course, blacks who had been enslaved under a distorted understanding of Scripture. Christian love both fulfilled the law and welcomed strangers, Haynes reminded his audience. The Bible predicted that God's wrath was to fall upon those who had betrayed human brotherhood, particularly if they had done so in God's name, as Haynes noted with an allusion to Isaiah 66, which includes in its fifth verse, "Hear the word of the LORD, ye that tremble at his word; Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the LORD be glorified: but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed."[16]

Dissimulation Illustrated treated the perversion of the Revolution by the Republican Party, including, as Haynes saw it, the breaking of the covenant in which blacks had been promised their freedom in the 1770s. Haynes made the familiar complaint against the Republicans that their party spirit demonstrated not patriotism but a desire for "advantage"—a word Haynes had used to describe the power of the slaveholder over the slave. Federalists took to heart, Haynes claimed, that Americans owe allegiance to the populace, not to the state itself or to politicians. Haynes argued that Romans 13 demonstrated that Christians owed unlimited submission to God, but only limited obedience to civil authorities. The higher law was a law of love, not of any political order. This was evident, Haynes claimed, in the biblical notion that those living under the Pharaoh, such as the midwives of the Israelites, were obliged not to obey him, but to save the lives of the Jews in slavery.[17] The midwives under the Pharaoh had been a republican example of tyranny and the challenge of responding to it. John Adams noted the same passage used in 1776 in support of American independence.[18]

When the state failed in its obligation to do good, Haynes continued, Americans were to resist, unless they had become infected with "the old tory spirit that was among us in our old revolutionary war, that we must not rebel against the king, and the government under which we were placed." The persistence of slavery was just such a failure to do good, whether it was a case of Americans "enslaved" by the British or blacks enslaved in America. "We feel a pity and compassion for our brethren in slavery, and pray for their deliverance and emancipation," Haynes wrote. He noted that American slaves could have risen up and massacred some of the ruling race, but his goal was not to foment insurrection, but to undo the enslavement of blacks. "Partial affection, or distress for some of our fellow-creatures," Haynes wrote, "while others, even under our notice, are wholly disregarded, betrays dissimulation. . . . It is a species of dissimulation, when we justify that in ourselves, which we condemn in others." To emphasize his attack on slavery, he added a scriptural verse commonly used

to criticize slavers, "Rom. 2. . . . Thou that preachest a man should not steal, doest thou steal."[19]

Haynes added criticisms of slavery that recalled his antislavery words of the 1770s. A reference to a supposed French republican regard for Muhammad—Haynes could not quite have imputed that to Americans—recalled black abolitionist critiques of Islam as the religion of slave traders.[20] Another reference to blood—"his blood I will require"—added to Haynes's use, dating back to 1776, of spilled blood to refer to the sufferings and deaths of slaves as well as to divine vengeance against their overseers and murderers. Nehemiah 5:7 made, Haynes noted, a "rebuke" against "oppression"—pointedly a reference to slavery persisting after the Revolution, since Nehemiah was criticizing Israelites who had escaped from bondage but then reduced others to slavery. Again Haynes noted the hypocrisy of American slaveholders, with a reference to Matthew 23: "They bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." The virtue of Washington, an "enemy to slaveholding," was Haynes's remedy. Until the day that Washington's example was followed, American independence and republicanism would always be undermined by hypocrisy and dissimulation. Ministers of the gospel were to recommend Washington's example, since Christ himself was, Haynes asserted, a "political preacher."[21]

The focus on dissembling, hypocrisy, and dissimulation in Haynes's sermon recalled Edwardsean ethics as well as Federalist criticisms of Republicans. Only disinterested benevolence, selfless in nature, was virtuous. Efforts to mimic virtue were sinful and, when they involved social and political matters, dangerous to the polity. Haynes wrote, "Love with dissimulation is commonly of no use to society, but often very detrimental." Indeed, dissemblers were traitors, since dissimulation undermines national peace and unanimity. For individuals, "all our claims of love to God are vain, if we hate our brother, 1 John 4:20." For nations, "providence has . . . connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue." When virtue is merely mimicked, "selfishness" rules, while "affection," "benevolence," and the "general good" are subordinated. For slaves, the response to enslavement was not to be a "massacre [of] their masters," but a form of resistance, aimed at achieving the freedom requisite to worship God properly as well as a place in American society.[22]

In these arguments about virtue and dissimulation was the heart of Haynes's Federalism, which was at once traditionalist and radical. Haynes saw slavery as the willed deeds of slave traders and slaveholders. What counted was a willed repentance—this was a principle of the New Divinity. Jeffersonianism represented to Haynes freedom without restraint, a freedom without an active and willed undoing of the enslavement of blacks, a freedom that in America might paradoxically mean enslavement and oppression of African Americans. Indeed, freedom for white Americans on the Jeffersonian model, as Haynes perceived, could well have entailed slavery for black Americans, since slaveholding might be one of the natural impulses operating in the white population. Insofar as a democratic rhetoric of individual property rights and states' rights was used to justify and protect slaveholding in the nineteenth

century, Haynes was prescient. The Federalist Party represented to Haynes a patrician regard for an ordered society that lacked the Jeffersonian declarations of individual freedom, but, in Haynes's estimation, more than compensated for that by the order and protection it seemed to offer blacks.

In attacking the Jeffersonians, Haynes was responding to what Gordon S. Wood describes as "the democratization of mind" and the initial legitimation of "public opinion" in America.[23] The Federalists perceived that patrician political leadership was under assault in the 1790s. The Alien and Sedition Acts were a response not only to newspaper attacks on Federalists but also to new challenges to the structure of political leadership. The Jeffersonians assumed that opinions about politics were legitimately expressed in many sectors of society, not merely the patrician. This was, in Wood's terms, the beginning of the substitution of public opinion for the elitist intellectual leadership of the Revolutionary generation. Leadership and policies properly arose, in the Jeffersonian view, from the people at large, not from an elite class. From the black man's perspective, the obvious problem was that a commitment to blacks' freedom, citizenship, and security was highly unlikely to arise within the people at large, but, if to exist, would have to be willfully created. Black freedom would have to be intentionally brought into being in America, not left, ironic as it might seem, to the workings of a free society—that much was evident to Haynes by 1812. Larry E. Tise has written that "Jeffersonian thought" and "libertarian ideals" could not have been used "to defend slavery."[24] Yet they protected slavery both as a means of subduing and removing from public life the body of people who seemed to threaten social coherence and virtue and as an exercise of property rights, and moreover they offered little to those, like Haynes, who believed that emancipation would have to be accompanied by a reordering of the sentiments of society. The sentiments of a benevolent republic were incompatible with sentiments of a slave society—a realization that was the fuel of Haynes's career. The abolition of slavery was, Haynes believed, to help Americans restore the benevolent republic, but in the nineteenth century abolitionism helped Americans move in the opposite direction—toward a liberal society.

Here we see the incommensurability of early-nineteenth-century liberal thought and Haynes's abolitionism—and, I shall argue, all early black abolitionism. In Haynes's view, the extirpation of slavery was essential to republican governance. Leaders of the republican state were not only to outlaw the slave trade and slavery but also to ensure that they were not replaced by new forms of oppression. It was obvious in Haynes's time that new forms of oppression loomed, including a virtually forced expatriation. The task of the republican state was at least as much to end oppression as to further democratic rule of society. Through its laws, the state was to create the freedom that all citizens were to share, not to retreat from the public sphere and allow liberty to be articulated by means of the unguided actions of the citizenry. Such a retreat suited the liberal, Jeffersonian state—and it was obvious to Haynes and other black abolitionists that liberty defined and articulated by means of the actions of the white citizenry entailed the persistence, even the

fortification, of slavery. Early African American social thought was republican, not democratic—at least not as democracy was coming to be understood by Americans at large in the early republic. Freedom from oppression was to be realized only through political leadership, which for Haynes could have been provided by the Federalists, not by the Jeffersonians, who would have abandoned the state to democracy and slavery. Concerning the political leadership necessary to end slavery, Haynes used the vocabulary of the republican tradition and appealed for the aid of individual leaders and legislative bodies. Presupposed in this language was a feeling developed in day-to-day interaction with white people that the possibility of black freedom arising spontaneously from the will and deeds of the majority was quite small. In the parlance of the turn of the twenty-first century, white Americans of the early republic were claiming their "whiteness." Haynes saw the implications of a democratic society, as opposed to a republican one, and put his speaking and writing abilities to the service of the patricians who promised to qualify democracy with patronage and protection of the lowly.

Haynes's Federalism inevitably leads us to wonder what made him believe that its traditionalist conceptions of society and governance might lead to the abolition of slavery and to the fair treatment of African Americans. (The slave trade was, of course, outlawed in the years in which he was promoting the Federalists.) Federalism offered a theory of patrician rule, but there was, perhaps, enough of a New England history of elite regard for African Americans to justify Haynes's political commitments. Haynes eschewed the self-congratulations of the New England patricians, yet still believed in the value of their traditions for African Americans. Some notable New England patricians mixed republican love of liberty with charitable concern for African Americans. Ezra Stiles, Congregational minister in Newport and later president of Yale College, died in 1795, so he had little chance to commit himself to one side or the other in the Federalist–Republican debates. But Stiles was an admirer of George Washington, a critic of slavery, and, in the words of a 1794 letter, "an unchanged Son of Liberty."[25] Stiles also exemplified the patrician regard for blacks. He recorded feelings of Christian communion with blacks, determination to help blacks into the church as well as into positions of economic security, and opposition to slavery and concern about the fate of blacks in the Atlantic world. He also understood that black New Englanders were attracted to the New Divinity, though he preferred that they affiliate themselves to his more moderate vision of Calvinism. Stiles represented the moral possibilities that Haynes perceived within patrician New England and that took its political stance in the Federalist Party.

Beginning in Newport around 1770, soon after he commenced keeping a diary, Stiles recorded a series of baptisms and entrances into communion of black men, women, and children, many of them whom he himself propounded for church membership. These diary entries deserve scrutiny because in them Stiles traced a religious and political trajectory from interracial communion to abolitionism that was precisely what Haynes argued was possible in New England culture. Stiles's first record of a black Christian was in 1769, when

he noted that Cæsar was among "Communicants present Nov. 5, 1769," although the diary does not describe how the black man joined the church.[26] Perhaps Cæsar's presence among the faithful deepened Stiles's sense of Christian brotherhood and impelled him to seek to evangelize more vigorously among black Newporters. He began to take notice of black Christians. In 1772 he wrote, "There are six or seven Negroe Communicants in Town, 4 or 5 in the Church of England, seven in my Church and six or seven in Mr. Hopkins' Church: perhaps 26, and not above 30 professors out of Twelve hundred Negroes in Town." In the same year, he recorded the death of "Bosson," with whom he had "often talked," perhaps another event that brought the souls of black Newporters to mind. In the 1770s he added a number of African Americans to his congregation. In 1772, he noted "Charles an Infant of Sister *Dutchess* & her Husband *Quam,* Negroes"; in 1773, "Jack a Negro"and "Prince a negro Infant of Br. Zingo & Sister Phillis . . . Communicants in my Chh"; in 1774, "Jenny a Negro . . . and three of her children," in 1775, Bess, "Judith a Negro servant . . . and two of her Children," and "a negro Infant of Sister Jenny's"; in 1777, Boston; in 1778, Violet (Boston's widow) "for owning the covenant"; and in 1779, two unnamed girls. The 1780s provided a similar harvest. Newborns in the black community began to appear for baptisms as their parents sought to transmit the faith to new generations. For instance, in 1784, Stiles noted "Newport[']s child baptized Abraham by Mr. Whittelsey." In 1786, he recorded that 10 percent of his congregation was black—an advance accomplished in the years he supplied the pulpit.[27]

Stiles passed beyond inducting African American members to his church, actively seeking out black believers, inviting them into his home for prayers, and meeting with them in various locations. In 1770, he wrote, "In the evening I preached to a Meeting of negroes, Jno xvii, 3." In 1772, he wrote, "In the evening religious Meeting of Negroes at my house. I discoursed on Ephes. 1, 5, 6, 7. Very serious and devout. Present 70 or 80." In the same year, he experienced "a very full and serious Meeting of Negroes at my House, perhaps 80 or 90: I discoursed to them on Luke xiv, 16, 17, 18. . . . They sang well. They appeared attentive and much affected, and after I had done, many of them came up to me and thanked me, as they said, for taking so much Care of their souls, and hoped they should remember my Counsels." He articulated his sense of spiritual brotherhood with black Newporters in writing that "three Negro Brethren and three Negro Sisters met in my Study." He preached to black Christians through the 1770s and 1780s. Early in 1773, "Last Evening I had a Religious Meeting of Negroes at my house, when I discoursed on 2 Cor. v, 20, 21"; later in the year, "In the evening I preached to the Negroes at Brother Primus's House on Rom. iii, 24–26." In 1774, "Negroes met at my house. I preached on 2 Cor. viii, 9." In 1783, "I preached an Eveng. Lect. to the Negroes—1 Jno ii, 1–3." In 1784, "I preached an Eveng Lect. to the Negroes 1 Pet i, 17." Evidently, Stiles found evidence of genuine faith and rewards for his efforts among the black members of his community.[28]

Most strikingly, Stiles felt a sense of religious communion with black worshipers—exactly what Haynes claimed came into being when the faith-

ful of different races came together. In 1772, he wrote that when he was among the "Negro Brethren" he experienced a "delightful presence of Jesus." In 1773, he recorded the text from which he sermonized: "In the Evening I preached to the Negroes at Brother Primus's House on Rom. iii, 24–26." For his prayers with black men, women, and children, Stiles seems to have sought out biblical verses that centered on the unity of believers. Romans 3:24–26 offered a scriptural confirmation of the brotherhood felt by Stiles and the black faithful; Romans 3 argues that God cast in a new light the law given to the Israelites so that all the faithful were justified before him (3:26). The law obviously included the former legitimacy of slavery among the Israelites and other ancient peoples, while the law renewed by faith (3:31) confirmed the unity of believers (3:29–30), which implied spiritual unity and equality between black and white and, furthermore, was understood by abolitionists to have undone the apparent legitimacy of the institution under the old dispensation. In short, since Christ died for all sinners (3:23–25), all were equal and united before God. In 1775, Stiles preached "on 2 Cor i, 12, and propounded my Negro Servant Newport to be admitted into full Communion in the Church." Again, Stiles's text dealt with believers united before God, particularly in a time of tribulation, in 1775 meaning, almost certainly, the first stages of the War of Independence, but possibly also the tribulations that separated black believers from white ones. Stiles seems to have taken the brotherhood of believers of different races more seriously over time. In 1784, he wrote, "I preached an Eveng lect. to the Negroes Rev. vii, 9, 10." The text that evening envisioned all "nations"—in the late eighteenth century the favored word for race—standing before God and worshiping him: "All nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb."[29]

Newport, Stiles's slave, benefited in the 1770s from the progress in his master's feelings. Stiles's growing compunction over owning a slave is well known, but scholars have not situated his manumission of Newport in the context of the master's developing religious awareness of the nature of communion between blacks and whites and his growing commitment to the abolition of slavery. From 1775 to 1778, Newport was, under his master's guidance, baptized, admitted to communion, inoculated against smallpox, and, at about age thirty, freed. In 1783, Stiles hired Newport and his wife, Violet; then, in a time of economic hardship for the black family, he took their son, Jacob, then two years old, into an indenture until his twenty-fourth birthday. After Stiles moved to New Haven, Newport followed him there.[30] Surely all of these acts must be understood in the context of Stiles's deepening religious feelings as well in that of his clearer commitment to liberty. Moreover, Stiles's protective attitude toward black families in his patronage of Newport's family and his religious exercises with black men, women, and children surely seemed a blessing in contrast to the destruction of black families that was inherent in the slave trade and plantation slavery and that was notorious everywhere anybody reflected upon slavery and objected to it.

Unfortunately, we have little evidence of the thoughts and feelings of ordinary black people of the late eighteenth century, such as those to whom Stiles ministered. But we must assume that ordinary black people understood the oppressions of the slave trade and slavery and that they chose religious beliefs and practices as well as other beliefs and practices that made sense to them as antislavery forces, whether for amelioration, otherworldly hopes, or true resistance. Because black New Englanders sought out Stiles, we must infer that he confirmed an antislavery force that they felt rising in their own beings and that he was able to express—we might perhaps say echo—theologically.

The black abolitionists thought systematically, in a grand sweep from Africa to America, from the ancient world to the late eighteenth century, about the enslavement of black people. They did not consider freedom a natural state enjoyed in Africa from which black people had been removed by seizure in the Atlantic slave trade. Rather, they considered freedom possible in its fullness only in a Christian society and, at best around 1800, imperfectly realized in the Atlantic world, whether in its African, European, or American regions. It follows that a view such as the antebellum abolitionists', which saw slaveholding as primarily an individual sin in the here and now, would have been untrue to the black abolitionists' experience and would not have suggested the progress toward freedom that attracted them. They felt that they were in between nations in which those considered strangers were enslaved and a nation in which brotherhood undid the feeling one being had of another that he or she was justly a slave.

Stiles followed his black contemporaries on this point—surely this accounts not only for his views of slavery and freedom but also for his popularity among black New Englanders. The same sweep of thought allowed him to trace black people from their African origins, through New World slavery, Christian faith, and freedom, and to the integration of the races in America. He noted that Bosson was born in Africa and wrote in detail about an African-born woman, Phyllis. "This day died Phyllis a Negro Sister of our Church: I hope she had chosen the better part," he wrote. "Her husband Brother Zingo, upon becoming religious and joyning my Church, had an earnest Concern for his Wife and Children, and labored greatly to bring her into a saving Acquaintance with her Redeemer; and I doubt not his Endeavors and prayers were blessed to her saving Conversion. She was brought hither out of Guinea 1759 æt 13 or 14, and has lived in Gov. Lyndon's Family ever since. She was always free from the common Vices—and especially since her profession has walked soberly and exemplarily. She expressed her Trust in the Merits of the Redeemer, & died with a good hope." He understood that blacks wanted antislavery preaching. He knew that black Newporters were eager for both preaching and pronouncements against the slave trade, while he himself was certain by 1779 that "Enslaving Negroes" was wrong. He followed the horrors of the slave trade, recording that the "annual Import of Negroes into America & the W. Indies" was 60,000, that "Total Importation from Africa" was by 1783 *"Nine Millions of Slaves,"* and that between twelve and eighteen percent of slaves in transport

died in the Middle Passage. In 1792, he noted that "Lately 1200 Refugee Negroes" had fled Nova Scotia for Freetown, Sierra Leone.[31]

This trajectory of thought and understanding led Stiles to abolitionism—precisely the development that Haynes thought was possible within the New England patrician class and what Stiles's black interlocutors, who expressed their preference for antislavery preaching, seem to have expected from him. Beginning in 1780, Stiles traced advances in British abolitionism by reading transcripts of the arguments for James Somerset and abolitionist publications such as, in his words, "the most sensible & excellent letter on the African Slave Trade by the Revd Robert Bucher Nicholls Dean of Middleham in England & Yorkshire dated Oct. 19, 1787." By 1790, Stiles was expressing hope of "future abolitions" through "general Conviction." He noted that there were in "Congress Petitions from Nine Manumission Societies in the U. S. agt Negro slavery," yet he knew that his government lagged behind the British. "March last Mr. Wilberforce advocated a Bill in Parlt for the total abolition of Slavery—amended *gradual* Abolution—passed above 150 Majority. Wonderful. Lately an Insurrect. of 6 or 700 Negroes in Virginia East Shore. Where will this end. In Scotld, Engld, France & the U. S. an increasing Conviction of the Injustice of the Slave Trade, & a Wish for grad. Abolition of Slavery." In 1790, Stiles himself was one of fifteen men who signed a "Constitution" for the *"Abolition of Slavery,"* and he noted throughout the 1790s a series of antislavery addresses and sermons by men like James Dana, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Simeon Baldwin, Noah Webster, and Benjamin Trumbull.[32]

The manumission of two slaves in 1798 in Torrington, Connecticut, where Haynes had preached from 1785 to 1788 suggests the way in which Haynes saw patronage, religion, and political principles working for the cause of black Americans. Abijah Holbrook moved from Massachusetts to Torrington in 1787. He surely knew of Haynes and he established a mill in neighboring Goshen, from which some believers were traveling into Torrington to hear the black minister preach. Holbrook carried with him two slaves who were about seventeen years old. By 1798, Jacob and Ginne Prince were a married couple a few years short of thirty years old and were, according to their owner, "manifesting a great desire to be delivered from slavery and bondage." The statement with which Holbrook freed the two slaves read that "being influenced by motives of humanity and benevolence, believing that all mankind by nature are entitled to equal liberty and freedom," he freed the couple who had served with "faithfulness and fidelity" and who were "in the prime and vigor of life, and . . . well qualified as to understanding and economy to support themselves by their own industry." The couple gained "their liberty and freedom" and their right to "transact business . . . for their own benefit and use" from Holbrook's act.[33]

In Stiles's patronage of blacks and in his efforts to unite members of the black community to his church, as well as in Holbrook's words and act, we can see the attitudes and deeds Haynes believed fostered opposition to slavery and a welcome for African Americans into civil society. From patronage

arose opposition to the slave trade and slavery. For who could have considered black men and black women strangers to either church or nation after having shared a spiritual world with them in the ways that Stiles had? How could Holbrook failed to have recognize the understanding, industry, and desires of Jacob and Ginne Prince? From opposition to the slave trade and slavery were to arise, then, laws and practices to secure the freedom of African Americans. Only the Federalists had, Haynes believed, the capacity to transfer such patrician relations from the private realm to the public sphere. Haynes perhaps overestimated the Federalists, who had at best a modest antislavery record around 1800. But Stiles's successor as president of Yale College, Timothy Dwight, known as "the pope" of Federalism, expressed more publicly than Stiles the way patronage of blacks moved from the private realm to the public sphere.[34] Like Stiles, Dwight prayed privately with New Haven blacks.[35] Yet Dwight participated in larger public discussions about interactions between blacks and whites in the new nation.

Dwight's commentary on race in America began in the 1780s and continued until his last writings in the 1810s, spreading into every medium in which Dwight expressed himself—poetry, sermons, essays, and chronicles of New England life. However, Dwight probably began thinking seriously about race during the early years of the Revolution. The war effort in New England, which disturbed Dwight's tutoring at Yale before he joined the army as a chaplain in late 1777, was linked to an antislavery campaign that resulted in various forms of emancipation, while Samuel Hopkins, the heir-apparent of Dwight's grandfather, Jonathan Edwards, began denouncing slavery in the 1770s.[36] Dwight's concern was charity, particularly the charitable support of the black members of society by its white members. Race and charity came to be intertwined in Dwight's thought just as Haynes believed was possible. Crucial to theology as well as to social thought, charity allowed Dwight to ask radical questions about slavery and race relations.

The early republic saw an explosion in the number of charitable and philanthropic organizations.[37] The benefactors of these organizations and their recipients were mostly white, but charitable and philanthropic organizations were important in black communities. African Americans in cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Providence formed mutual-aid societies and benevolent organizations to support schools and churches, provide financial support for member families after the loss of a breadwinner, and publicize critiques of the slave system as well as injunctions to virtue for their fellow African Americans. Although such black benevolent organizations sought donations from whites and invited white ministers to address their assemblies—white ministers who had preached against the slave trade and slavery were likely candidates—the members of these organizations clearly aimed for an African American identity. Black teachers, for example, were preferred to white ones as instructors for black children in schools run by black benevolent organizations. The names of black societies, schools, and churches suggest an African American identity: the Free African Union Society (New-

port, 1780), the Free African Society (founded in Philadelphia, 1787), Prince Hall's African Lodge No. 459 (Boston, 1787), the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, 1794), the African Evening School (New York, 1797, for adults), the African Benevolent Society (Newport, 1807), the African Free School (Newport, 1808), and the New York African Society for Mutual Relief (New York, 1808).

In 1810 and 1811, Dwight spoke out strongly in favor of charity schools for black girls. Such schools were part of this new wave of charitable organizations. In *The Charitable Blessed,* an 1810 appeal for support of such a school operated by several New Haven "Female Charitable Societies," Dwight expressed a "peculiar interest" in the school "established for the benefit of the female children of the blacks." Dwight singled out for praise "the generous minded persons, who have instituted a school in this town for the female African children."[38] In his chapter on New Haven in the 1811 *Statistical Account of the Towns and Parishes in the State of Connecticut,* Dwight again emphasized the importance of charity schools for black children. Noting the existence of two new schools for black children, one for boys and one for girls, Dwight explained the formation of the girls' school: "There are three Female charitable societies in this city: one in each congregation. Every member pays a cent a week to the society, and furnishes such other voluntary contributions, as she pleases. They also receive benefactions from other sources. On these foundations each society has set up, and maintained for several years, a charity school for the education of poor female children. The Societies, in the two Presbyterian Congregations, have established and, for about two years, supported a school for the education of black female children. In addition to this they have distributed, extensively, clothes and other necessaries to the women and children in poor families. I know of no charitable institutions, in which beneficence has more wisely, or usefully, extended its happy efficacy."[39] When Dwight brought together charity and race at the end of his career—he died in 1817—he was addressing how patronage of African Americans might work in the public sphere.

Patronage of African Americans had to be justified theologically—no black abolitionist doubted this. Much like Stiles, Dwight moved from theological concerns to patrician regard for blacks to actions designed to integrate the races in America. Dwight addressed himself explicitly to "Charity" in one chapter of his *Theology,* prepared in the 1780s and codified as a series of sermons for Yale College students in the 1790s. In addition to "Charity," Dwight's *Theology* contains chapters on "The Effect of Benevolence on Personal Happiness," "Effects of Benevolence on Public Happiness," and "Consistency of Benevolence with Providing Peculiarly for Our Own."[40] Dwight's *Theology* reflects the eighteenth-century Anglo-American notion of charity, which was understood as a gravitational force uniting individuals benevolently in society. According to this gravitational model of human relations, derived from Newtonian science and developed in British moral philosophy, the closer together people are, the stronger the bonds of benevolence and charity are.

People far removed from one another, feeling little or no mutuality, could scarcely have felt themselves in the same society.[41]

This eighteenth-century notion of charity as a gravitational force uniting people in society led to certain questions. "Is charity voluntary or involuntary?" "Is charity active or passive?" "Is charity selfless or self-interested?" "Is charity universal or limited?"[42] The first three of these questions were concerned with distinguishing "true" charity from its counterfeits, while the question about the universality of charity was concerned with defining its proper scope. This last question was arguably the most important of all, for even once an individual was truly charitable, the realization of charity in society remained a problem. Americans of the eighteenth century generally agreed that effective charity was limited to small groups of people with common interests. The charitable organizations of colonial America were generally small-scale mutualistic societies, formed for mutual help and protection and limited in size by the notion that only the familiar feel the bond from which such help and protection flow.[43] Written near the close of the eighteenth century, Dwight's *Theology,* in reviewing the caritative questions of the eighteenth century, offered unoriginal answers. But by the early nineteenth century, Dwight, like many of his contemporaries, was advancing to a new understanding of charity that was to offer new answers to old questions. The freshest answer to the caritative questions of Dwight's earlier career concerned the scope of charity, for in the early republic Americans perceived a much larger social world in which charity effectively acted, a society stretching far beyond the small groups to which their predecessors had confined charity. The clearest expression of Dwight's new understanding of charity appeared in his writings on race—on the education of black Americans, the end of slavery, and the future of race relations in America. The conjunction of race and charity pushed Dwight into new territory.

Greenfield Hill, written in the 1780s, announced the fundamentals of Dwight's approach to race. The poem asserts that although "the Afric infant" was born with the same intelligence and moral nature as a white child, slavery, with its loss of liberty and its degradation, early ruined the intellectual and moral faculties. "Firm is its frame, and vigorous is its mind," Dwight wrote of "the Afric infant," but "slavery's blast bids sense and virtue die." The poem contrasted the "rich enjoyments," "comfort," and "peace and sweet civility" of free, agrarian laborers to the situation of the slave, "below the lot of humankind." Vice was, Dwight wrote, characteristic of a slave's life for two reasons. First, virtue was deadened by lack of education and lack of liberty, causing slaves to turn to "shame." Second, slaves were offered no encouraging and equal place in society, offered neither affection nor motivation:

> No motive warms, with animating beam,
> Nor praise, nor property, nor kind esteem,
> Bless'd independence, on his native ground,
> Nor sweet equality with those around.

Dwight insisted that the blame for such degradation lay with slaveholders. A slave who "meets the voice of power, the eye of scorn," and who "sighs for the blessings of his peers, in vain," was a person inevitably "condition'd as a brute, tho' formed a man."[44]

After *Greenfield Hill,* Dwight addressed race in works such as his *Travels in New England and New York* (posthumous, 1821–22), his statistical report on New Haven, and his late sermons and reviews of the years from 1810 to 1815.[45] These writings on race include information on the number of blacks living in New England communities, historical commentary on black life and gradual emancipation in New England, and a sense that the sins of slavery and the promise of a sinless millennium have tied black and white Americans together. Indeed, in his 1812 discourses on the millennium, Dwight estimated the end of slavery to be an event of the same historical significance as the Reformation and the American Revolution. Claiming to see "reasons for fear" and "reasons for hope," Dwight identified one of the latter as "the final termination of that disgrace to the name of man, that insult to Heaven, *the African slave-trade."* Dwight interpreted the end of the slave trade as a first sign of a "mighty change in human affairs" and a "glorious proof, that God has not forgotten to be gracious to the present generation of mankind." Dwight even surmised that God had allowed the discovery of the smallpox inoculation contemporaneously with the end of the slave traffic as a reward to humankind for its virtue and as a way of preserving alive some 2,000,000 more people per year to experience the dawn of the millennium.[46] It seems likely that Dwight envisioned some of these millions as black, since he probably knew that Stiles had inoculated some black intimates against smallpox and that Cotton Mather had credited Africans with introducing the variolation to white New Englanders.[47]

Dwight himself offered a symbol of the promise of liberty, virtue, and interracial harmony in 1814 when he shared his pulpit in the Yale chapel with Haynes, an ideal model of black virtue and integration. Benjamin Silliman, Dwight's protégé and professor of chemistry at Yale, recorded that the elderly Dwight cried during Haynes's sermon.[48] Some New England churchmen remembered the sermon for decades. According to a local historian, "Twenty years afterward, President Humphrey of Amherst spoke of the sermon as one of the most remarkable ever preached in New England."[49] More than Haynes's orthodoxy and his Federalism recommended him to Dwight, for critics among the black man's contemporaries had apparently considered him an arm of the power of "Pope Dwight" in New England. The black minister was known in some circles as "Priest Haynes."[50]

The significance of Dwight's advocacy of charity schools for black girls cannot be appreciated without understanding the evolution of "charity" into "philanthropy" in the early republic. Dwight himself continued to use the word "charity" while eschewing "philanthropy."[51] Traditionally, charity had been used interchangeably with such terms as benevolence, love, compassion, and beneficence. An Anglican missionary preaching in Connecticut, Samuel

Johnson, defined charity as the "Habit of benevolence," while Jonathan Edwards saw charity as the "sum of all virtues." Haynes argued not only that humankind owes "holy love, or affection," to "God and rational beings," but also that love was to be "acted out" in "charity."[52] The Edwardseans insisted that only the regenerate were truly virtuous and that charity was the essence of their virtue. Samuel Hopkins went so far as to argue that the charity of the unregenerate led not to good, but to evil. "Orthodox Calvinists," in Conrad E. Wright's words, "who strove for absolute consistency in their beliefs and actions felt certain that only the saved could be charitable."[53] Arminianism encouraged in some Americans a higher regard for human striving and a resistance to orthodox notions of predestination and the freedom of the will. For instance, Theodore Clap, Ezra Stiles's predecessor at Yale, argued that human understanding of divine moral perfection included an injunction to be charitable. Regardless of an individual's regeneration or depravity, Clap argued, "The moral Perfections of God" mandate charity.[54]

Despite their doctrinal differences, Calvinists and Arminians both understood charity as the cohesive force of a close, homogeneous society. Whether small bodies like religious congregations or large bodies like nations, societies exhibited charity just as the natural world exhibits gravity. People who were near felt a strong pull of charity, while those far apart felt little. Such feelings led Americans to believe that charity directed to the near, rather than the far, was divinely inspired. Most charitable efforts in eighteenth-century America reflected this idealization of close, coherent societies. Benevolent societies were usually formed by people who knew one another and who joined together out of a common interest. When a person extended charity on an individual basis, the recipient was usually a worthy person known to the donor or possessed of talent that the donor recognized and sought to cultivate.[55]

The national experience of the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century led Americans to reconceptualize charity. The experience of fighting the War of Independence—the organization of the discrete colonies into unified resistance and into a new nation—convinced many Americans that their eighteenth-century predecessors had been mistaken about the scope of charity. Charity was not necessarily limited to the elect or to those who know one another intimately, reasoned many Americans of the Revolutionary years and the early republic. "The war had taught New Englanders how to organize for public service on a large scale. It had demonstrated to them the error of their traditional, resigned apologies for human charitable institutions," argues Conrad Wright.[56]

Dwight bridged the gap between eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century thought about charity. His *Theology* recapitulated the eighteenth-century debate. One question was, "Is charity necessarily voluntary?" Colonial governments often levied taxes to support indigents, so that aid to the less fortunate was a legal obligation. Does such obligatory support of the needy constitute true charity? New Englanders generally agreed that such aid was not charity but a civic obligation, since charity required "a free, willing outpouring of the heart."[57] Accordingly, Dwight was intent upon dismissing all pos-

sible motivations for charity except “disinterested love.” “Charity in the evangelical sense,” Dwight argued, was never motivated by selfish desires for “ostentation” or for freedom from the “importunate applications” of the poor, nor by respect for custom nor “constitutional compassion, or native tenderness.”[58] A second question was, “Must charity include actions as well as benevolent feelings and words?” Like most New Englanders, Dwight insisted that true charity was active: “Nothing is more absurd, nothing is more contemptible, than the charity which evaporates in words and wishes.”[59] A third question was, “Is charity selfless or partly selfish?” In Edwardsean style, Dwight insisted that true charity was completely “disinterested,” a virtuous direction of “the energy of the mind . . . to that which is right, or, in other words, agreeable to the will of God and conducive to the good of the universe, because it is believed to be of this nature.” Dwight wrote, “Charity, in the sense of the Gospel, is disinterested. The design, in every act which is entitled to this name, is to do real good to those who are its objects. The intention of the author of it will invariably be to promote the happiness, or to relieve the distresses of the sufferer; not to advance his own reputation, or promote his own selfish purposes, nor even to prevent the reproaches of his own conscience. In a word, Selfishness, of whatever kind, and in whatever form it may exist, is not Charity.”[60]

Much of Dwight’s discussion of charity was devoted to the last of the caritative questions, “Is charity universal or limited?” Whether Calvinist or Arminian in persuasion, New Englanders generally agreed that although charity was universal in theory, it was limited in practice. New Englanders convinced by the gravitational model of human relations were certain that the charitable bond was strongest among those who were close together and weak to the point of fading away among those who were separate. Although the gravitational model suggested near and far defined in geographical terms, it is clear that culture, as much as geography, defined those terms. Dwight’s *Theology* relied on this gravitational model, in which factors other than sheer distance define those who are close enough to enjoy the bounty of charity and those who are beyond its reach. “It is unanswerably evident,” Dwight wrote, “that all Mankind are included under the word neighbor. This term, of course, extends to all other Intelligent beings, so far as they are capable of being objects of love; or, in other words, so far as they are capable of being happy. . . . That virtuous beings, throughout the universe, are proper objects of this love, will hardly be disputed.”[61] But, in eighteenth-century fashion, he paired this universalism with what Wright calls the “traditional, resigned apologies for human charitable institutions.”[62] Dwight argued “that we are not bound to love all those, included under the word neighbor, in the same degree,” since God did not oblige humankind to do something impossible. “Whenever the conduct proposed is physically impossible,” he advanced, “it cannot be our duty.” He claimed that charity flowed first to family and neighborhood, but he also claimed that charity was owed to the deserving, virtuous people with whom the donor felt empathy. “As objects of your kindness, always select the most deserving,” Dwight wrote. “Let your favorite object

be the honest, the industrious, the sober, the virtuous; and both feel, and relieve, their distresses." "Brotherly love is exercised, and capable of being exercised," he insisted, "only towards virtuous men; and towards them, on account of their virtue only." "We are to do good unto all men as we have opportunity, *but especially to them who are of the household of faith,"* he emphasized. "The poor and suffering, who belong to this household, have the first of all claims to the good which we are able to do."[63]

In the spirit of Enlightenment natural science, the gravitational model of human relations offered geographic distance—in Dwight's formulation foreignness—as a measure of the nearness of people. When this model, borrowed from the European Enlightenment, was used by Americans, it easily became a metaphor for the distance between black and white, a distance not always geographically measurable, but still quite real. As the gravitational model was transferred from Newtonian science to British moral philosophy to American ideology, the concept of distance came to justify the American form of racial separation—not geographical, but civic and cultural separation. One potent tendency in American thought led to the conclusion that benevolence and charity—the cohesive forces of society—did not cross the line separating black and white. Presented forcefully in the writings and actions of men like Thomas Jefferson, St. George Tucker, James Madison, and James Monroe, this conclusion lent its force to the American Colonization Society and to forms of racism less sophisticated than the philosophizing of the affiliates of the American Enlightenment and the sermonizing of the many Christian ministers who supported the American Colonization Society. The American Colonization Society, although quite long-lived (1810s to 1860s), garnered little success in "returning" black Americans to Africa, but it well symbolized the racialistic thinking that presupposed that blacks and whites could never have equally shared the land, institutions, and civil rights of America.[64]

Yet in the 1810s, Dwight urged interracial charity as part of his campaign to insist on the moral value of New England culture and Federalist politics in the new nation. Not only did Dwight extol interracial charity but he also lamented the distance separating black and white Americans and asserted that blacks and whites were to be united in the future millennium. Indeed, the distance between black and white became one of Dwight's major examples of the discord he saw in America, while black and white accord became one of the prominent features of the millennium. The millennium was to sweep away the racial distinctions as well as the selfishness, ambition, and avarice of American society, he argued. In addressing race, Dwight wrote that people were separated by "distance," "mutual ignorance," and "unkind, uncharitable thoughts," but the new age was to be one of "affection" and "tenderness," in which Christians were to realize that they were "one in their character, their life, and their destination."[65] The new age was, he advanced, to conquer "that torpid insensibility to the sufferings of others, which winds its web around the soul, and prevents it from seeing, or feeling, any thing, which is not destined to be its prey." The ideal of charity was to be realized: "In the same manner will unkindness vanish from the habitations of mankind. The fireside

will show *how good, and how pleasant, it is for brethren to dwell together in unity:* and the neighbourhood will be only one great fireside. . . . The stranger will every where find a home; and the wanderer, an asylum. The heart of charity will no longer be icy; nor her hand shut: nor will the cry of suffering plead in vain. Uncharitableness, also, between those, who profess the religion of the Redeemer, will be found no more."[66]

By the 1810s, Dwight saw racial oppression and slavery as major examples of selfishness, while he saw interracial benevolence as the hallmark of the millennium. He invoked an ideal "irresistibly engrossing to every exalted affection of the heart" when he envisioned "distinctions" of "colour" vanishing: "The morning is even now approaching towards the horizon, and at no distant period will actually rise upon this dark world, when all distinctions of party and sect, of name and nation, of civilization and savageness, of climate and colour, will finally vanish."[67] "What a transmutation must man have undergone," Dwight exulted, "when there shall not be a tyrant nor a slave."[68]

The increase in charity and the decrease in distinctions, Dwight was certain, were to be accompanied by the termination of slavery. Dwight noted "the final termination of that disgrace to the nature of man, that insult to Heaven, *the African slave-trade,"* as a sign of divine providence. But he warned that divine providence could still end slavery by violence, without the cooperation of white Americans. "The land cannot be cleansed of the blood, which is shed therein," he warned, "but by the blood of him that shed it."[69] He wrote, "The British are said to have 10,000 black troops, and the Spaniards, with whom we are also contending, 5,000 more, in the West-Indian islands. These men have long been formed into military regiments, and inured to a strict military discipline. Should they be landed in East-Florida, it would be impossible to predict the consequences. He who remembers the state, extent, and feelings of our black population, and calls to mind, that *God is just,* will look at this object with a pained eye, and an aching heart."[70] White Americans were able to redeem themselves, Dwight concluded, only through a repentance that included the termination of slavery. The continuing sin of slavery was, Dwight proclaimed, a "reason for fear," while the possibility of such repentance was a "reason for hope" and a means of entering the millennium in which "mankind will universally become brethren" and "beneficence will go hand in hand with piety."[71]

When Dwight turned to deeds of interracial benevolence such as support of the charity school for black girls in New Haven, he rehearsed the eighteenth-century argument about the limited scope of charity, but committed himself to a brotherhood that crossed, even erased, race lines. He conceded that the proper "extent" of "beneficence" was unclear, while the charitable found it easier to relieve the sufferings of those whom they knew than those they did not.[72] Such a concession recalled traditional apologies for limited charity—and of course Dwight's own Yale theology lectures and sermons. Such a concession was also an implicit acknowledgment of the history of New England racism. Urging his audience beyond the limitations he himself had once espoused, Dwight lamented that "charity often fails of being exercised,

because the necessities of its proper objects are unknown," and reminded his audience that charity, which is "urged more extensively, than any other duty," obliged one "to learn, to feel, and "to relieve [the] distresses" of the needy. In line with new thinking about philanthropy, although he eschewed the word itself, Dwight lamented also that charity was often personal, not organized, a "want [that] will prevent the charity from reaching its most proper objects."[73] Dwight then urged his audience to reach across traditional limitations to support the "Female Charitable Societies" in their operation of a school "established for the benefit of the female children of the blacks." The "performance" of this charitable "duty," Dwight argued, will make "the female African children" into "blessings . . . to society," while "the neglect of it will make them curses, to society." This duty arose, Dwight claimed, not only from charitable obligations but also from the history of the white enslavement of blacks, "this unfortunate race of people . . . in a situation, which particularly demands the efforts of charity, and demands them from *us*."[74]

By the 1810s, the interracial benevolence Dwight urged was one way of fortifying the benevolence, sentiment, and unity he saw as essential to republicanism as well as a way of still insisting that New England held moral authority in the new nation. Dwight despised the liberal ideology of the early nineteenth century and condemned the ambition, avarice, and selfishness he saw as part of liberal individualism. Charity was, he proclaimed, a counter to selfishness, and New England was the natural home of charity. In particular, he stated that interracial charity was a natural development of the New England heritage. Even in slavery the black New Englander was, he argued, "kindly fed, and clothed, and treated," in a region where "law, from vengeful rage, the slave defends," and "the gospel peace on earth extends."[75] In 1810, Dwight urged his audience to delve into their feelings and sentiment, to feel intimately the sufferings of the needy, even of black children. The connection he strove to make between the New Haven charitable societies and local black children exemplified the benevolence he had once seen spreading outward from New England, the benevolence—most dramatically the interracial benevolence—he saw as the hallmark of the millennium.

It remains, then, for us to appreciate Haynes's characteristic strategy applied to his advocacy of the New England Federalists—exegesis of the Bible that merged abolitionism with another cause, here Federalism—even if he had less faith than Dwight that enslaved New Englanders had been kindly treated. Haynes's sermons shared much with Dwight's, ranging from New England leadership in securing black freedom to the millennial significance of the abolition of slavery to the ethos of benevolence. In an 1810 sermon, Haynes wrapped the mantle of Exodus around both Federalism and the cause of black people.[76] His text referred to the verses in Exodus in which Moses challenges the faithful to come to him after the Israelites, under Aaron's leadership, have been worshiping a golden calf. Moses' challenge sets brother against brother, as the Levites slay the worshipers of the idol. Haynes wrote that the same opposition appeared in "political disputes, on which side do you vote" as well as "whether to trade or not"—an obvious reference to the Embargo Act and

Federalist–Republican disputes. Religious faith made Americans choose sides, Haynes wrote, for "Christians should in a good sense be party men." There was little doubt about his political loyalties to the New England Federalists. Haynes's abhorrence of the South and of the Republican Party appeared when he noted that Moses called for "a separation as the only remedy in a case so vastly criminal." Slavery appeared emphatically in the sermon in references to 2 Chronicles 28 (the sins of Judah after David's death, the enslavement of its inhabitants by the Israelites, and the prophet's command to free the captives) and 2 Kings 9:32 (the defeat of Ahab and Jezebel, which Haynes had cast as a type of the defeat of slavers). According to 2 Chronicles 28, the repellent sins of Judah led to its downfall, but Israel itself was obliged to worship God better and, as his representative in a battle with the faithless, was forbidden from enslaving the vanquished. Since Israel was the northern kingdom, and Judah the southern kingdom, of the Jews, the contemporary political import and the antislavery animus of Haynes's sermon were obvious. Only slightly less obvious was, perhaps, the critique of the North as insufficiently godly, even if better than the South.

An 1814 sermon stated that God had created a breach in American society—North versus South, Federalist versus Republican—because the nation had not properly worshiped him.[77] Again Haynes made a link to Exodus, with 39:43, concerning God's satisfaction at proper worship and implying that it was to be achieved only after the national escape from captivity. The parallels he set were between the Revolution and the Mosaic covenant at Mount Sinai, the persistence of slavery in the new nation and the Israelites' worship of the golden calf, and the proper worship of God by building the tabernacle according to his command and the abolition of slavery. On building the tabernacle, which perhaps symbolized the American nation, Haynes wrote, "There is no other way that we can receive the divine blessing or approbation or have success or reward." Another 1814 sermon, delivered in Dwight's New Haven pulpit, suggested his thoughts on the secessionist impulses within the New England Federalist Party. Skirting an explicit endorsement of secession, Haynes drew a parallel, the meaning of which must have been obvious, between his audience's situation and that of the Israelites in Jeremiah 3, which described the southern kingdom, Judah, as more immoral and faithless than the northern kingdom, Israel. Israel had sinned, Jeremiah announced, but had renewed its faith, while "for all this her treacherous sister Judah hath not turned unto me with her whole heart, but feignedly, saith the Lord" (Jer. 3:10). The repentance of the North was surely the sense that New England was destined to follow a course different from that of the southern states. The feigned faith of the South reiterated Haynes's criticism of the Jeffersonians as dissemblers. It also recalled Haynes's abolitionist-minded pronouncements that God will call America to task. As Haynes queried in a pointed reference to Jeremiah 3:5, "Will he reserve his anger for ever? Will he keep it to the end? Behold, thou hast spoken and done evil things as thou couldest."

With this parallel between America and the Hebrew kingdoms in mind, Haynes noted that God had done all he could have, consistent with his own

goodness, for his people. Nothing but southerners' repentance was a remedy, for God had already done all that he would have for them. If even with God's blessings, southerners refused to repent, then northerners were obviously justified in seceding. God had perhaps withheld judgment so far on the South only to avoid destroying the faithful, for "God awaits on sinners as long as is consistent with the general good." The War of 1812 was God's judgment, the "dreadful consequences of barrenness," and perhaps God had further judgments ready to fall because of southern immorality.[78] Haynes urged repentance and renewed faith, of course, but preached that because believers had waited as long as they faithfully could have for southerners to repent, northerners were justified in committing themselves to God on their own, without their "treacherous sister Judah." It is unlikely that any in the New Haven chapel in 1814 misunderstood his thoughts about North and South, Federalists and Jeffersonians, freedom and slavery.

The apocalyptic notion of slavery as part of the sixth vial appeared in Haynes's sermon notes on Revelation 6:17, "For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"[79] The language of Revelation 6, according to which bondmen and free men will be of equal standing in the last days, had already appeared in Haynes's critiques of slavery. Verses 9, 10, and 11 mention the blood of the slain servants of God—language already proven to be full of abolitionist implications for Haynes. Verses 15 and 16 describe "the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man" cowering alike before "the wrath of the Lamb." Underscoring the New Testament view of slaves and masters, Haynes noted that Christ was to be the judge, determining the fate of individuals by Christian, not Israelite, standards. Christ himself, like the faithful slaves, was to display the spiritual reversals of the providential tradition in reappearing "not as the babe of Bethlehem—Or the carpenter's son—or to be arraigned before Pilate's bar . . . Or to be crowned with thorns. But as the Son of God equal with the Father—To be the judge not the prisoner." All "matters of divine providence," the central concern of Haynes's abolitionism, were to be explained to slaves and masters on the day of judgment. God was finally to reveal his holy displeasure against sin, the millennial reversal of slavery. Again Haynes turned to Exodus. The Egyptians, when punished by God for holding the Israelites, suffered merely a foretaste of divine wrath, for many of them were spared, he wrote. At last, however, according to Haynes, the Exodus was to be complete, with slaves triumphant and Egyptians punished for their deeds in the day of judgment. What Haynes recommended to Christians preparing for the day of judgment was just what he had urged on those who should have moved against slavery—to look into their own breasts. "Erect a tribunal in our own breasts and try ourselves by the word or law of God," Haynes insisted. Again referring to the new dispensation that revised the old one, including undoing the former legitimation of slavery, he argued that the faithful were to obey the law as it was understood through the inspiration of faith. "Those who go to law will compare their cause with the statute and see if their cause will stand the test,"

he wrote; then "try it by conscience, if that condemns us surely God will . . . . See the folly of hypocrisy, deceit—Of contending for false schemes." Of course, hypocrisy included slaveholding while having pretensions of faith, and false schemes included the old dispensation as it seemed to have survived into the modern world. The millennial significance and the obligations of the faithful in the early nineteenth century were thus laid open to view.

The New England Federalist record was in the early 1810s less than an abolitionist one, although the abolitionist movement swelled in the region within two decades. Haynes argued for the abolitionist potential within Federalism, but he hardly idealized New England, which he usually cast as merely less sinful than its southern sister. Some degree of the abolitionist potential within New England Federalism was realized after 1830. A number of renowned abolitionists were from Federalist families, while proslavery writers by 1840 were charging that abolitionism was a revival of Federalism.[80] Even as early as 1808 Republicans had charged, "Federalists with Blacks Unite."[81] Yet from 1800 to 1815, as James M. Banner notes, New England Federalists avoided a vigorous antislavery stance, satisfying themselves with the achievement of gradual emancipation in the northern states while fearing the possibility that freedmen would demand social equality as well as freedom. Antisouthern animus was not necessarily problack, since New England Federalists at large did not want southern freedmen to add to southern representation in the Congress. New England Federalists attacked the three-fifths clause of the Constitution, for instance, because it enhanced southern representation, not because it counted a black man as less than a man. "What the Federalists wanted," Banner writes, "and what their assaults upon the three-fifths clause were designed to gain, was not the abolition of slavery but the abolition of Negro representation."[82] Moreover, as Larry E. Tise notes, Federalism served as a seedbed of expatriationist thought.[83] If we are to understand the appeal of Federalism, we need once again to view Haynes in his context in the black Atlantic from 1785 to 1815.

As the leaders of the black Atlantic forged their abolitionism, they came to understand that only national political institutions had the power to move effectively against the slave trade and slavery. Most white Americans who opposed slavery in the post-Revolutionary decades believed in gradual emancipation legislated by individual states or in voluntary manumissions, sometimes followed by expatriation. Several generations before the Civil War, black abolitionists perceived that local or voluntary efforts were never to eradicate the system of slavery. The question for Haynes's generation was what sort of state best promoted the abolitionist cause. The answer from his generation was uniformly a patrician state akin to the Federalist model, not a liberal or libertarian state on the Jeffersonian model.

Richard Allen affords us an opportunity to understand blacks' attraction to a patrician state. Much like Haynes, Allen believed that interracial benevolence was to remedy American race relations. Indeed, Allen should be understood as a major commentator within the age of sentimentalism. Emphasizing the "affection" that ideally flowed between the races, Allen recorded

the "affection" and "hearts" of the whites who aided black churches, while he noted the "affection," "virtue," "humanity [and] real sensibility" with which black Philadelphians served the sick during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Allen lauded "affectionate sympathy," granting that it occurred sometimes even between master and slave, and he recommended "pure and disinterested" "charity," especially as a way of helping slaves. In Allen's formulation, slavery, oppression, and prejudice were violations of benevolence, while his ideal of interracial relations was characterized by "benevolence," "sympathy," "sensibility," "charity," and "love." In his account of the yellow fever epidemic, Allen contrasted the affection of the Philadelphia blacks, who tended the sick, to the selfishness of the white Philadelphians, who not only deceived blacks about a presumed black resistance to infection but also themselves evinced no charity toward the stricken. Allen was enraged that the charitable efforts of black Philadelphians were received with deceit and indifference; blacks had been deceived about a supposed immunity to yellow fever, and their efforts seemed forgotten after the epidemic subsided.[84]

Allen's caritative vocabulary and his outrage that black benevolence remained unrecognized were a testament to the power of ideas about charity and their relevance to race. Allen was a forthright spokesman for black Philadelphians as well as a dedicated worker in the institutions of black life. As Gary B. Nash has written, Allen's "role as a shaper of thought and a builder of institutions was matched by few of his white contemporaries, and what he accomplished was done in the face of obstacles that most of them did not have to overcome."[85] When Allen evaluated the poor state of American race relations with the vocabulary of charity, he was appealing to ideas and values that, in the 1790s, he could have reasonably believed were to serve black interests. Secure black institutions, rooted in faith, families, and trade, were the essentials Allen promoted for African Americans.[86] Yet Allen perceived the value of a superordinating state solicitous of black rights.

In a 1799 eulogy for George Washington, delivered in Philadelphia, Allen expressed his appreciation of a strong statesman who evinced some commitment to black freedom. He credited Washington for freeing his slaves in his will, but made a larger point as well. Allen linked the emancipation of the slaves to Washington's national statesmanship: "the sympathising friend and tender father" first led his country from under "the yoke of British burdens," then achieved national and international stature, and at last transcended local politics and culture—"the popular opinions of the state in which is the memorable Mount Vernon"—to free his slaves. For Allen, Washington's national leadership and his manumission of his slaves as well as African Americans' loyalty to the state were all expressions of citizenship. Here Allen explicitly addressed his African Methodist Episcopal congregation, but it is easy to see that the virtuous citizenship he recommended to them was also recommended to Washington's fellow politicians:

> It is not often necessary, and it is seldom that occasion requires recommending the observance of the laws of the land to you, but at this time it becomes a

> duty; for you cannot honor those who have loved you and been your benefactors more than taking their council and advice. And here let me intreat you always to bear in mind the affectionate farewell advice of the great Washington—"to love your country—to obey its laws—to seek its peace—and to keep yourselves from attachment to any foreign nation." Your observance of these short and comprehensive expressions will make you good citizens—and greatly promote the cause of the oppressed and shew to the world that you hold dear the name of George Washington. May a double portion of his spirit rest on all the officers of government in the United States, and all that say "my father, my father—the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof," which is the whole of the American people.[87]

Not only did Allen appeal to American politicians to emancipate the slaves but he also exercised a brilliant biblical allusion in referring to Elijah's transport into heaven in a fiery chariot and his follower Elisha's desire to possess "a double portion" of the older man's "spirit" (2 Kings 2:9–11). Once Elijah is gone from the earth, Elisha becomes a miracle-worker and a prophet in the service of his people, even when he is insulted and scorned. Allen could hardly have chosen a better allusion to indicate the path he wanted both African Americans and American politicians to follow after Washington's emancipation of his slaves. Allen's former collaborator, Absalom Jones, similarly saw the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade as a further exercise of benevolent statesmanship. In 1808, he preached that blacks must thank God for the abolition of the traffic, yet must not forget either the "benefactors [whose] publications [remonstrated] against the trade in our countrymen" or the "rulers" of the states that had abolished slavery itself.[88]

Since the English government possessed powers broader and deeper than those of the American, it seems appropriate that Afro-Britons like Cugoano and Equiano articulated a more forceful notion of an abolitionist state than did Haynes or Allen. In 1787, Cugoano made a vivid appeal to the Crown, legislature, and men of state to end the slave trade and slavery. Appropriately, he began his call to the British state by casting himself as a citizen concerned with the strength of the empire. "Slavery and oppression . . . in its colonies," he argued, have caused "a world of debt at home" as well as a "long continued heavy annual load of taxes." The slave trade, he continued, was "plunder" and "war," for which "money is wanted [and] the national debt becomes increased." Such debt, he wrote, served only "to the further advantage of those who often occasioned it by their villainy."

The solution, for Cugoano, was the implementation of "one of the finest constitutions in the world," the "British constitution," which in his view was compromised by its protection of slave traders and slaveholders. "There is very much wanted," he wrote, "for regulating the natural rights of mankind, and very much wrong in the present forms of government, as well as much abuse of that which is right." The constitution could be purified, implemented, and restored, Cugoano argued, if the "British legislature" were to proclaim "the unlawfulness of slavery and commerce of the human species" and enforce "a total abolition of slavery" and a "universal emancipation of slaves."

Moreover, Cugoano envisioned a strong role for the British state in the postemancipation period. He advocated a state-designed program for Christianizing and educating freedmen and freedwomen, a British "fleet of some ships of war" to stifle the slave trade on the African coast, the prosecution of the worst of the slave traders ("crocodile settlers," he called them, "that should be called to a particular account for their murders and inhuman barbarities"), and the replacement of the imperial functionaries, facilitators of the slave trade, with "faithful and good men." It was the responsibility of "the noble Britons, and their August Sovereign," to engender and order the postslavery empire, Cugoano asserted. He praised the "worthy and respectful gentlemen" and "the British government" for their protection of the "Black poor about London," and he stated the essential awareness of his generation of black abolitionists: "Black People [of] the wiser sort" desired and envisioned a "plan taking place for their security and safety"—a plan that was feasible only if the "government" declared its power to be used in the cause of freedom.[89] Articulations of a groundswell of abolitionist opinion, Cugoano's arguments were echoed in Parliamentary debate in the early 1790s.[90]

Sierra Leone seemed to Equiano an important point in the Atlantic world where British law, liberties, and protection of blacks were to prevail. Sierra Leone was also the place where some freedmen and freedwomen believed that a strong state solicitous of black rights was to be created. Freetown, Sierra Leone, was the place where some of the black loyalists and, probably, their evangelist John Marrant believed the saving remnant of pious blacks were to create an ideal society. Marrant himself never sailed to Sierra Leone—he died in England in 1791 at the dawn of the exodus—but from 1785 until his death he urged his followers to seek a Zion God had ordained for them.[91]

The history of the black loyalists who emigrated from Nova Scotia suggests a consistent vision of the authority of the state in improving the lot of black people, along with a rapidly evolving conception of the likely location of that state, whether in North America, England, or Sierra Leone. These black families had committed their safety to Lord Dunmore and the British Crown during the Revolution. After the American victory, they found themselves in Nova Scotia with what they believed were promises of freedom and land as recompense for their loyalty. Repeated difficulties with white Nova Scotians, who saw the blacks primarily as a cheap labor force, led to repeated pleas and petitions to the imperial authorities.[92] Some leading figures such as Marrant argued for a Zion that could well have meant a black state in West Africa.[93] Others played practical roles in petitioning for land and transporting the emigrants, but Marrant provided a utopian religious vision of the black state as Paradise rebuilt for black people. Marrant died just at the time of the exodus, but his followers sought to create in Freetown a black-controlled church and black-controlled state—an effort that put them at odds, sometimes violently and once lethally, with the Sierra Leone Company (the organization that founded the colony) and ultimately the Crown (which assumed control after the failure of the Company).[94]

The utopian religion of Marrant's followers stood alongside Equiano's and Cugoano's politics and commercialism in early planning for Sierra Leone. The Nova Scotian settlers themselves synthesized these religious, political, and commercial threads. Cugoano wrote of settlements of freedmen and freedwomen in Africa, for instance, that "should the noble Britons, who have often supported their own liberties with their lives and fortunes, extend their philanthropy to abolish the slavery and oppression of the Africans, they might have settlements and many kingdoms united in a friendly alliance with themselves, which might be made greatly to their own advantage, as well as they might have the happiness of being useful to promoting the prosperity and felicity of others."[95]

The new black state was to be a purified Anglo-American state erected on African foundations, a free and Christian state; in Cugoano's and Equiano's vision, it would trade in the Atlantic economy and reform African societies. Equiano believed that the settlement of Sierra Leone was to lead to a modernization of African societies within and near the colony; he envisioned a black colonial government, the replacement of the slave trade by "legitimate trade," and the entry of ordinary African people into the Atlantic market as producers and consumers.[96] Equiano emphasized that the Sierra Leone venture was a government initiative in which, indeed, he was in "the employment of government."[97] Writing of the empire at large, he stated: "I hope to have the satisfaction of seeing the renovations of liberty and justice resting on the British government, to vindicate the honour of our common nature. These are concerns which do not perhaps belong to any particular office: but, to speak more seriously to every man of sentiment, actions like these are the just and sure foundation of future fame; a reversion, though remote, is coveted by some noble minds as a substantial good. It is upon these grounds that I hope and expect the attention of gentlemen in power. These are designs consonant to the elevation of their rank, and dignity of their stations; they are ends suitable to the nature of a free and generous government; and, connected with views of empire and dominion, suited to the benevolence and solid merit of the legislature."[98] It is abundantly clear from the petitions of the black Nova Scotians in Sierra Leone and from their resistance to the Sierra Leone Company that they believed they were emigrating to West Africa under the imperial ægis to form a new, free black state that was to represent them and protect their property rights and their freedom of worship.[99]

A new state in Sierra Leone was, according to Equiano, to renovate West African culture. Equiano did not praise Igbo culture or cast himself as much of an Igbo (he saw himself as a "Commissary" of the British government), but rather argued that the Igbo state, of which his father had been a member, was "primitive," "uncivilized," and "barbarous." An Igbo "chief," for instance, traded slaves, while the Igbos practiced the "law of retaliation," which indeed caused great misery in that it induced "Africans" to "sell one another." Equiano clearly considered "the apparent inferiority of an African" to be articulated in politics and economics, but not inherent in black people. The best point he made about a "government [of] our chiefs, our judges, our wise men,

and our elders" was the implication that it was a decayed version of the Israelites' rule described in the Old Testament. One major theme of Equiano's *Surprising Narrative* was his move from "primitive" Igbo society to "advanced" British society. In the course of this move, he learned about such essentials of the modern polity as law and lawyers, manufactures and commerce, reading and religion, and even the advanced technology of sailboats and clocks. Even his sexuality changed by means of a new appreciation of "slender women"—a euphemism for white women, one of whom he married. His education in the nature of law was crucial in his autobiography since he attained an understanding of his rights as enforceable by British law as well as of lawyers as the specialists in modern society who helped individuals assert their rights. His enemies among the white men mocked his faith in law and the "law-suit." Appropriately enough, when Equiano put his experiences and ideas into writing, he addressed his text to "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain."[100]

Similarly, Cugoano understood abolition as the duty of both "gentlemen" and the state in "free countries." "Since the last war," he noted, "some mitigation of slavery has been obtained in some respective districts of America." The Africa in which he was seized as a captive seemed, by contrast, to have only a rudimentary state, and, indeed, his own connections with "the great men" of his society did not protect him from slave-trading "ruffians."[101] Abolitionism suffered a signal defeat in British politics in the 1790s; Cugoano and Equiano had presciently understood a decade earlier that slavery would be defeated, albeit in the Anglophone world in the nineteenth century, through the intervention of superordinating states.[102]

The Antiguan slave unrest of 1831 reveals the extent to which some slaves had come to accept the tendency in black abolitionism, by then more than a half century old, to believe that only the directives of a central government effectively challenged slaveholders. The trigger for the action, which included street protests and arson at plantations, was an act by the Antiguan legislature to ban Sunday markets, one of the slaves' traditional prerogatives, with no provision for another day for trading and socializing. The Antiguan legislature, fearing abolitionist forces in Parliament and foreseeing imperial action that was to ban Sunday markets while allowing slaves an alternative market day, abolished the markets in a way that favored the plantocracy—with no other guaranteed day of rest, trade, and socializing for slaves. The slaves themselves not only desired their customary market day but also suspected that Antiguan planters were thwarting British efforts at emancipation. Blacks confronted soldiers on the market grounds and burned some cane fields, but they also demanded a law guaranteeing a weekly market day.[103] As Michael Craton notes, "The slaves resisting the abolition of the Sunday markets by rioting and demonstrating . . . actually stood on a legalistic point that the plantocracy had no right to remove a general statutory provision in favor of a vague promise of a half-day Saturday market which was voluntary to the masters."[104] In their attention to Parliament and to law, as well as in their awareness that local legislatures pursued a program at odds with that of the

central government, Antiguan slaves showed that they had advanced by 1831 into new territory marked out by the leaders of the black Atlantic beginning in the 1780s. Indeed, the slaves were accurate in their understanding of the connection between governance and the abolition of slavery insofar as, Betty Fladeland notes, the isolation of the sugar islands from the mainland new nation "simplified the task of the British government in emancipating slaves in the West Indies because the planters there were not powerful enough alone to oppose successfully imperial policy made in the mother country."[105]

Haynes and his generation perceived a unique antislavery spirit in Christianity and they insisted on the necessity of a Christian government, but they also believed pragmatically that only state power could have been effectively directed both against the slave trade and slavery and for a secure position for black people in the postslavery Atlantic world. Eugene Genovese has argued that slave insurrections around 1800 were designed to destroy the system of slavery.[106] Yet actions like the Antiguan protests suggest, more subtly, that mobs and destruction of property were intended to draw attention to the slaves' belief that their best hope was a superordinating state. The actions of the slaves were like the texts of the black abolitionists; neither act nor word itself was to defeat the slavers, but was to point to a potentially antislavery or problack power.

The coalescence of black abolitionism should be understood as different from the white transition from "gradualism" to "immediatism."[107] Occurring about a generation earlier than the white transition, the black move was an adoption of faith that state power could have been used against slavery and for black men and women.[108] This faith confirmed key elements of the Afro-British and African American experiences of the second half of the eighteenth century. The state had, of course, protected and promoted the slave trade and the slave system, so it seemed reasonable that it might undo what it had in part done. Black people, moreover, were present, whether as soldiers or settlers, at the birth of new states in America, St. Domingue, and Sierra Leone, so it seemed reasonable that new states address blacks' rights, interests, and citizenship. An influential body of white people, furthermore, believed that the state was to play a leading role in the postslavery world since they were arguing for state sponsorship of the colonization of free blacks in the West Indies or West Africa, so it seemed reasonable that the state might do better than dump unwanted blacks in peripheral zones of the Atlantic.[109] And the state embodied a notion of liberty that seemed on the face of it contradictory to slavery, so it made sense to claim some of the authority and power of the state not only against slavery but for the people who had been the slaves of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

5

American Genesis, American Captivity

The abolitionist and egalitarian potential of the American Revolution remained unfulfilled in Haynes's lifetime. The covenant that Haynes and other blacks believed had been made in the 1770s was broken by the citizens and government of the new nation. Haynes died in 1833, shortly after the beginning of the organized abolitionist movement. His last few decades were influenced by two forces in American thought and society. One force was the persistence, indeed the expansion, of slavery in the South. After about 1795, Virginia represented southern slavery in Haynes's mind; around 1820, he added Missouri to its offending older partner.[1] The other force was a new, modern notion of race that weakened the possibility of interracial affection and benevolence. The New England states all abolished slavery, but gradual emancipation and the common insistence that free black men and women be expatriated to colonies in West Africa or the West Indies—the latter previously seen by abolitionists as a hell on earth for blacks—were part of a modern notion of race that cast blacks as unassimilable aliens in America. Both the Revolution and eighteenth-century thought had led Americans to assume that the pressing question about the abolition of slavery was whether blacks and whites could live together affectionately and virtuously in postslavery society. Those who answered in the affirmative, like Richard Allen, Ezra Stiles, and Haynes himself, were integrationists. Those who answered in the negative, like Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Samuel Hopkins, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, were expatriationists. Some, like Levi Hart, straddled the fence. In the last years of Haynes's life, black men like David Walker began to understand slavery and freedom in a way the Calvinist never could have.

Gradual emancipation and colonization, like the more fundamental changes in society that they expressed and fortified, implied a new possibility—that blacks and whites would live in the same nation, yet separately, without the

sentimental ties idealized in eighteenth-century religion and social thought. Gradual emancipation had bound up with it notions of permanent subordination and inferiority. Colonization carried with it, even in its failure to remove large numbers of blacks from America, a notion of blacks and whites as permanently estranged. Colonizationists never separated the races geographically, as was their initial aim, but they did help to reify racial separation in civic and cultural life. Colonization, in its geographical aims, failed but, in a cultural sense, triumphed. Civic and cultural separation became internal colonization—a possibility that neither Haynes nor Jefferson had envisioned.[2] Thought about slavery up to the early nineteenth century had always included the consideration that the enslaved, even if strangers, even if of a different nation, might cease to be strangers, might come to share a life with their masters. This possibility was the driving force of eighteenth-century abolitionism as much as it was a cause of alarm for slaveholders. Colonization began with the assumption that the enslaved were always strangers, and internal colonization made blacks strangers in the land of their birth. Slavery gave Haynes a foe to battle, but modern racism crumbled the ground on which he stood.

The transformation in the use of the word "blood" summarized the changes that had occurred since the Revolution. Acts 17:26, a staple of eighteenth-century abolitionism, had implied that slavery was immoral because God "hath made of one blood all nations of men." Haynes returned again and again to the blood spilled in the slave trade, under slavery, and during the Revolution, arguing that the blood of the slain and the fallen called out to God and to the living. The blood had a right to demand vengeance, he wrote, but it also spoke to the living in gentle but still admonitory tones of the value of an affectionate and united society. Never doubting that blacks and whites shared one lifeblood, Haynes thought that all the blood spilled by the oppressed—by slaves, indentured servants, Revolutionary patriots—cried audibly to Americans. But by 1830, "blood" had come to imply radical differences between blacks and whites; it had come to be the crucial element in what modern scholars call essentialist constructions of race. Blacks and whites had unlike blood, indicating different origins, different qualities, and an inability of the races to coexist in one society.[3]

Haynes felt the changes occurring in the society around him, probably beginning in the 1790s and reaching a crisis point during the War of 1812. As early as 1798 he was lamenting, "What changes are taking place in empires, states, societies, and families. . . . as means of parting friends." He appealed even to the afterlife, to "more intimate access to each other in the world to come," for the standard of human relations.[4] His texts of his last few decades were responses to the social territory he felt shifting under his feet. In the early 1820s, these writings evolved into a partial retreat from the public sphere and a search for a foundation for a benevolent postslavery society less in the American Revolution than in the Puritan origins of the New England settlements. The republican soldier's experience faded from his writings as he brought into focus the trials and the triumphs of the seventeenth-century cap-

tive among the Indians. His insistence on the relevance of the captive experience to race relations was a sign that the times were leaving him behind. However, the captivity narrative did stimulate his literary abilities; in the last decade of his life he produced a text William H. Robinson describes as the first African American fiction.[5]

From 1805 to 1807, he attacked the heresy of Universalism and its notions of sin and salvation, but, as even his major opponent recognized, their debate concerned the legacy of the Revolution. In 1818, he once again invoked Paul for abolitionism, citing not the visionary of 1 Corinthians, whom Haynes had quoted in 1776, but the man, almost at his martyrdom, who was attacked at Jerusalem (Acts 21:24–40) and held captive in a Roman prison (Philem.). Finally, in 1820, bereft of his pulpit and reduced to itinerancy, he passed over the Revolution and returned to the Puritan past, the very genesis, in his view, of American society, offering the experience of captivity and liberation as the paradigm of human relations. Those held captive by others as well as all human beings made captive by their own sin could be liberated and could join a renewed society affectionately, faithfully, and joyously. After 1820, he spent thirteen years as an itinerant preacher, leaving a thin trail of manuscripts never published in his lifetime. Posthumously he became a minor hero of the nascent abolitionist movement of the 1830s, in which, ironically, he was viewed as a black hero who had by himself leaped over the barriers of prejudice to secure a coveted status as minister and author. His message of interracial affection was lost as he served in the 1830s as a prototype of the black individual who freed himself from oppression by means of his own mighty efforts and strength of character. The first posthumous views of Haynes suggest that abolitionists were in fact waiting for their black hero (a role Frederick Douglass would play in the 1840s). Ultimately, Haynes's Calvinism, which was widely acknowledged because of a debate with the Universalist Hosea Ballou that began in 1805, rendered him a poor candidate for that role.

In 1805, Haynes became embroiled in a debate involving his views on sin and salvation. As often in his life, he stood in the Edwardsean tradition. Edwards had steeled himself against Arminianism and honed his arguments against it while Haynes did the same against Universalism. His opponent in this theological paper war between "the Hopkintonian and the Universalist" was Hosea Ballou. Known in 1805 as a dynamic Universalist evangelist, Ballou was invited to preach by some citizens of West Rutland who were apparently restless under the Calvinist orthodoxy that Haynes had represented since 1788. Immediately after Ballou's sermon, Haynes responded to Ballou's invitation to present a Calvinist perspective on the matter at hand. Haynes's response, *Universal Salvation,* was instantly popular and would appear in more than fifty printings and editions before his demise in 1833.[6] The year 1805 was an important one for Ballou's writings, too. By the end of 1805, Ballou had published his first two works, *Notes on the Parables of the New Testament,* a pamphlet of 1804, and *A Treatise on Atonement,* an influential theological argument of 1805 for the doctrine of universal salvation.[7]

Haynes's blast against Universalism became one of the most reprinted American sermons of the nineteenth century, but it was only the most popular of his works of polemical divinity. His disputation with Universalists concerned sin, salvation, and divine judgment, yet this paper war, as Ballou himself recognized, concerned the fulfillment of the Revolution. One of Haynes's concerns in theology was whether slavery would be more likely abolished and blacks more likely accepted as citizens under a Calvinist theology that emphasized the deadly individual and national consequences of sin or under a liberal theology that allowed men and women to pursue individual self-interest without fear of divine judgment. Ballou answered Haynes's *Universal Salvation* in a public letter, *An Epistle to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes,* in 1806. Haynes replied with *A Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou* in 1807. Haynes also announced the publication in 1807 of a book, *The Doctrine of Universal Salvation,* "principally designed as an answer to a Treatise on atonement, by the Rev. Hosea Ballou." Unfortunately, Haynes's book was probably never printed, and whatever manuscript he had at hand did not survive.[8] Still, Haynes's thoughts on sin and salvation constituted one of the deepest engagements with sin in the history of African American religion.

In West Rutland, Ballou preached of "the great love of God toward his creatures," according to Richard Eddy, one of the major chroniclers of the Universalists. Ballou's biblical text is known, but the sermon itself has not been preserved. The text was 1 John 4:10–11, "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought to love one another."[9] God's love for humankind was a mainstay of the Universalist attack on the New Divinity—indeed the pamphlets of 1805 to 1807, along with several later ones in which another Calvinist engaged Ballou, debated the meaning of the sentence, "God is love." Ballou's theological arguments of the early 1800s were aggressive challenges to the New Divinity, a point that Ballou made in naming his opponents "Hopkintonians" and that Haynes acknowledged in quoting Hopkins and referring his audience to the theological authority of "Dr. Hopkins."[10]

Ballou expanded his assault on Haynes to one and all "Hopkintonians" in his 1808 *Doctrinal Controversy Between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist,* in which he called for more debates such as his 1805 meeting with Haynes. "Public meetings," Ballou affirmed, "for the purpose of investigating those tenets in religious faith, in which public preachers disagree, would contribute more to the fund of real instruction, than any other measure that might be adopted."[11] Other New Divinity ministers were not as hardy as Haynes had been three years earlier; none responded to Ballou's new call for a debate before an audience. But a New Hampshire Calvinist, Isaac Robinson, took a position against Ballou's Universalism in 1809 in *A Candid Reply to a Late Publication, Entitled, "A Doctrinal Controversy Between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist."*[12] The engagement with Robinson is important in considering the Haynes–Ballou debate because the New Hampshire Calvinist incited the Universalist to continue attacking Haynes after the black man had become silent and to link their debate to the meaning of the Ameri-

can Revolution. Ballou reviewed his paper war with the New Divinity Calvinists in 1810 in his *Candid Review of a Candid Reply,* then concluded the debate a decade later with a sermon on the new birth and the American Revolution.

Since 1790, itinerant Universalist ministers had evangelized regularly in frontier New England, home to Calvinism and the established Congregational church. In direct opposition to Haynes's New Divinity and its doctrine of limited atonement, the Universalists preached the salvation of all, the regenerate and the unregenerate. Younger than Haynes by eighteen years, Ballou evangelized in frontier New England in the early 1800s, just as Haynes had in the 1780s. By the early 1800s, Universalists were awaiting a codification of their theology, which Ballou provided in his *Treatise on Atonement* and his sermons and essays of the years from 1805 to 1810. As Eddy noted, "by far the most significant event of 1805 was the publication of *A Treatise on Atonement,"* which was "soon adopted" and used by Universalist preachers as "a means of converting hundreds from the errors of the popular theology," that is, Calvinism.[13] Ballou made himself especially popular among Freemasons and saw his career swell after 1810. He preached and published regularly until his theological sway and his seat in the Universalist church made him a major religious leader of the early republic and the antebellum years. Indeed, Sydney E. Ahlstrom judges Ballou a "prophet" of liberal American religion, and Nathan O. Hatch places Universalism in the trajectory of American religion in the early republic, the movement of dissenters toward "respectability."[14]

The Universalists, like other dissenters, threatened Congregational New England for reasons other than the purely theological. Although a New Hampshire judge had ruled in 1802 that Universalists had to pay church taxes for the established Congregational church, Universalists in New England were in fact winning the right not to support the established church. In Vermont, after 1801, a simple declaration of dissent freed an individual from church taxes, whereas previously Vermont dissenters had been obliged to present a statement, endorsed by a church official, certifying membership in a nonestablished denomination. Vermont law set an impediment in the way of dissenters by allowing land rights only to the first ordained minister in a town; Ballou, who had been ordained in 1794 in Massachusetts, stepped easily over that hurdle by a reordination in Barnard, Vermont, in 1803. In New Hampshire, after 1805, Universalists were freed by the legislature from supporting the established church. Thus, the court decisions and legislative action of these years gradually endorsed the Universalists' contention that they constituted a dissenting "sect," separate from Congregationalism. Also, Universalist itinerants were followed closely by their organizations. The Universalist New England Convention met at Swanzey, New Hampshire, in 1801; at Strafford, Vermont, in 1802; and at Winchester, New Hampshire, in 1803, adopting there the official Profession of Universalism. The Universalist Northern Association was formed in 1804 specifically to further the faith in Vermont, New Hampshire, and northern New York. Sensing the winds of change, Walter Ferris, the Universalist minister who served Charlotte, Hinesburg, and Monktown, Vermont, began calling for new Universalist min-

isters in the state. This was the call that pulled Ballou in 1801 from Dana, Massachusetts, to Barnard, where he stayed until he settled in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1807.[15]

Ballou rested Universalist theology on the goodness of God and of the divine plan for humankind. In *A Treatise on Atonement,* Ballou wrote, "It is God's will, according to his eternal purpose, purposed in himself, that *all* men should finally be *holy and happy*."[16] Since God's goodness, like all God's attributes, was infinite, Ballou argued, it produced the utmost good in the universe, including the salvation of all humankind. Infinite good included infinite happiness, Ballou reasoned, and infinite happiness included universal salvation. Anything short of universal salvation revealed God's limitations and was therefore inconsistent with the infinitely powerful deity revealed in the Bible. Ballou's God, moreover, willed the utmost human happiness out of a spirit of divine benevolence. Beyond God's will and benevolence, Ballou addressed himself to the necessities of the divine nature. In *A Treatise on Atonement,* God appeared not only as a benevolent personality—loving and willing—but also as a natural force directed and bound by its own necessities. Ballou argued that divine law was a "law of necessity, and not a law of penalty."[17] The law of necessity meant, in Ballou's theology, that God, far from standing above the creation, was as bound by necessity as were humankind and nature. Ballou presented a benevolent God who *did not* will humankind to damnation but also a God who *could not have* acted against his nature by willing humankind to damnation. The Calvinist God had bound himself with a covenant, while the Universalist God was bound not by his own choice, but by his benevolent nature.

Ballou launched several arguments against the orthodox view that a just God damned sinners. Ballou maintained that because damnation was infinite, it could have been punishment only for infinite sin, yet since no person sinned after death no person sinned infinitely. Thus, there was no damnation, concluded Ballou. In addition, God punished sin not in hell but in the sinner's pangs of conscience. In an adroit effort to upend Calvinism, Ballou argued that Calvinism wrongly taught not only that sin was a pleasure to be resisted but also that morality and religion were unpleasurable. Sin itself was, countered Ballou, without pleasure and without reward. "A consciousness of guilt," wrote Ballou, "destroys all the *expected* comforts, and pleasures of sin." In Ballou's theology, sin tormented not in hell but on earth. Last, Ballou argued that God saved humankind not "in" sin but "from" sin. God's "law," "the *governing power* of the heavenly nature," wrote Ballou, "delivers the soul from the bondage of sin." Death was, in Ballou's theology, not the moment of divine judgment but the moment of release from the propensity to sin. Sensitive to the Calvinist objection that "a God all *mercy* is a God *unjust,"* Ballou sought to demonstrate the justice and mercy of universal salvation.[18] The Crucifixion became the act of universal atonement, the act in which all were saved "from" sin. With divine justice satisfied in the Crucifixion, reasoned Ballou, divine mercy opened the gates of universal salvation. "The salvation of all men is just," concluded Ballou.[19]

In his rejoinder, *Universal Salvation,* Haynes argued that the promise of universal salvation was actually the promise of the devil, first offered to Eve. Echoing his arguments against slavery, Haynes asserted that "liberty" was a divine gift, contingent upon obedience to God. Perhaps Haynes alluded to slave traders when he preached that the devil crossed "state and continental lines," making "use of a Bible" and mixing "truth with error." While God promised salvation for the regenerate and damnation for all others (the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement), the devil claimed that none were to be damned. Universalism seemed to Calvinists to obviate the need to worship God and to strive to act in accordance with divine providence. Haynes was especially opposed to Ballou's claim that the pangs of conscience were the punishment for sin, accusing that Universalism blends "crime and punishment together."[20] After years of denouncing the sins of trading and holding slaves, Haynes could well have been expected to be sensitive to the implications of Ballou's arguments for the abolition of slavery. Just as Arminianism had once implied to Edwards religion without morality, so Universalism implied to Haynes religion without opposition to oppression. Haynes's choice of a biblical touchstone for his reply indeed suggests that slavery was on his mind in his dispute with Ballou. The text was Genesis 3:4, "And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die." Haynes knew, of course, that this sentence was echoed in a verse that used the language of his own condemnations of the slave trade and slaveholding, Ezekiel 3:18: "When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; and thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life; the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand."

In *An Epistle to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes,* his reply to *Universal Salvation,* Ballou pinpointed the doctrinal difference between himself and Haynes. Ballou accurately noted that he and Haynes were arguing over the meaning of "eternal death," over whether eternal death meant damnation or merely the death of the body along with the "carnal" propensity to sin. Ballou reiterated the Universalist doctrine that salvation was "universal salvation from all sin and moral death." The vicious and the unrepentant were, he asserted, to be cleansed of moral defilement before they entered heaven.[21] *A Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou* furthered Haynes's effort to make the fine distinctions that Ballou seemed unwilling to recognize. Haynes argued that Ballou had not properly distinguished among sin, "moral death," and "eternal death"; Ballou wrongly separated sin from "moral death," situating the latter at the moment of physical death and claiming that the Atonement released humankind from such "moral death," that is, from damnation. Asserting that sin itself *was* "moral death," Haynes concluded that those who lived in "moral death" were to pass unto "eternal death." The Atonement was, in Haynes's view, an offer of moral life through faith in Christ but not, as in Ballou's view, a universal reprieve from the eternal consequences of sin.[22]

Beginning in 1808, the Hopkintonian–Universalist paper war shifted its arena to New Hampshire, where both Ballou and Isaac Robinson, his new opponent, were then settled. Although the Robinson–Ballou exchanges seem

not to have generated the same degree of public interest as had the Haynes–Ballou debates, Robinson was a worthy opponent who incited Ballou to a further statement of central Universalist tenets and probably spurred him to continue to refute Haynes in writings published over the next decade. Robinson again outlined the orthodox views that God justly and wisely ordained suffering and damnation and that Universalism was morally flawed since it was a theology of "the unconverted." Responding to Ballou's claim that only Universalism provided an "altogether acceptable" view of God, Robinson argued, "If universalism is pleasing and 'altogether acceptable' to natural men, and calculated to quiet and soothe their consciences, then may we not rest assured, that this doctrine was never taught by the prophets, and Christ, and his Apostles; since their preaching was so uniformly displeasing to the unconverted?" "Our judgment," Robinson continued, "is never to be consecrated as a standard of truth, unless our judgment correspond with the scripture."[23]

To counter Robinson's orthodox view of suffering and damnation, Ballou simply stated that since God was benevolent—a point on which Calvinists and Universalists agreed—then he aimed for the good of creation. "The best good of the whole," Ballou declared, "would be the best good of every individual."[24] In answer to the orthodox claim that the unconverted lacked the regenerated moral faculty that allowed the converted to comprehend the divine plan, Ballou again set forth his view of God as bound not by a covenant, but by the nature of his attributes. A just deity did not enforce justice, but rather created it. In Edwardsean terms, the nature of the *work* of redemption was radically revised in Universalism—not a work in the sense of an embattled process, but rather in the sense of a perfect and uncontested divine creation. Neither sin nor the attacks of the demonic in the last days before the millennium mattered in the divine work as the Universalists understood it. "If," Ballou argued, "justice requires all men to love God, it cannot, it will not be denied, that justice requires the reconciliation of all the unreconciled."[25] Ballou understood divine law as a set of statements true in a rationalistic sense—if all were obliged to God, then God fashioned the universe so all did ultimately love him—not as a set of commands violated by human beings at their peril. The Hopkintonian–Universalist paper war ended in a stalemate. The New Divinity God remained at once awesome, glorious, and benevolent—an omnipotent, omniscient deity that visited judgment upon the heads of humankind yet ordered all things for the highest happiness of the universe. The Universalist God maintained his control over the universe but lost his sovereign power in that he became obliged to follow out the necessity of justice and benevolence to the point of redeeming both saint and sinner.

After the Congregationalists and the Universalists alike claimed victory in the Haynes–Ballou controversy, the debate was swept up into the folklife and the printing presses of New England. *Universal Salvation* was reissued without Haynes's authorization within a year of its publication, then reprinted for decades. The notorious sermon continued to attract attention, with several attempted refutations by liberals other than Ballou published in 1821.[26]

Ballou's sermons were regularly published by small presses throughout New England, and he carried his liberal faith to Boston, one of the strongholds of American liberal Christianity. Still, Ballou continued the battle even after the New Divinity men ceased to resist. In 1821, in a sermon entitled *The New Birth,* Ballou developed an anti-Calvinist interpretation of John 3:3, which was not only a New Divinity touchstone but also the text of Haynes's first sermon, in 1776.[27] Even as late as 1834, a year after Haynes's death and twenty-nine years after their first encounter, Ballou found himself refuting Haynes's arguments.[28]

Ballou's notions of sin, punishment, atonement, and salvation were relevant to Haynes's concerns in two ways. Universalist views were not only an assault on New Divinity theology but also an attack on the views of race, slavery, and oppression that the black Calvinist had developed from 1776 to 1805. The sinfulness of enslaving and oppressing black Americans had preoccupied Haynes in the thirty years before he encountered Ballou. Since 1776, Haynes had been certain that the sins of enslavement and oppression threatened to draw God's wrath upon the sinful nation as well as the sinning individual. As Ballou stripped sin of its fearful consequences—fearful for both the individual and the nation—he attacked the foundation of Haynes's arguments in favor of racial accord and equality.

By 1776, Haynes had applied some of the central themes of late-eighteenth-century thought to American race relations. First, Haynes echoed the New Divinity jeremiads asserting that the imperial crisis and the rigors of war were God's punishment for American slavery. Certain of the sinfulness of slavery and oppression, Haynes asserted that "tyrony had its Origin from the infernal regions." He promised slaveholders that the blood of slaves "shall Bleed affresh, and testify against you, in the Day when God shall Deal with Sinners." "Opression" and "Slave-keeping," he insisted, were among the greatest of "those sins, that are the procureing Caus of those signal Judgements, which God is pleas'd to bring upon the Children of men." Second, Haynes spoke in the mixed tones of republicanism and the New Divinity. Haynes applied "natural rights" directly to the situation of black Americans: "An African, or, in other terms, . . . a Negro, may Justly Chalenge, and has an undeniable right to his Liberty. Consequently, the practice of Slave-keeping, which so much abounds in this land is illicit." The selfishness condemned by the New Divinity, Haynes was certain, was the cause of slavery. He saw slavery as rooted in "avarice . . . pride, Luxury, and idleness" and urged "Disinterested Benevolence" as a remedy for slavery and other social ills. "Let the oppressed go free," Haynes demanded in his 1776 essay.[29]

Haynes's thoughts on slavery and oppression prepared him to resist Ballou's thoughts on sin and punishment. *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* for example, offered a view of sin, slavery, and oppression that could never have been squared with Ballou's argument that sin had no earthly rewards but only the burden of a guilty conscience. The New Divinity and republican ideology gave Haynes a vocabulary to characterize the mundane benefits some people gained by oppressing others. These were the benefits of "superiority," "ambition," "selfish motives," and "being able to

tyrannize over others." The New Divinity suggested that those who enjoyed these benefits in life were to reap their rewards of sin in hell, while republicanism suggested that those who enjoy such benefits contributed to the decay of society. For Haynes reiterated one of the principles of Revolutionary republicanism, the idea that a society that violated natural law in stripping individuals of their natural rights was not long to survive. According to republican principles, corruption and decay followed the persistent violation of natural law. An abandonment of "equal rights," "genuine republicanism," and "true independence," asserted Haynes, "would invert the order of nature, and the constitution of heaven, and destroy the beauty and harmony of the natural and moral worlds." When "the laws of nature" were violated, "sickness and death are inevitable."[30] The New Divinity encouraged Haynes to believe that natural law was a divine command and the violation of natural law was a sin that drew God's wrath. Republicanism encouraged him to believe that natural law was violated at the risk of the enervation and dissolution of society. Slavery and oppression came under attack in Haynes's writings as just such sinful, dangerous violations of natural law and natural rights. Haynes never accepted the Universalist view that oppressors did not benefit from their sins but rather suffered a guilty conscience. In republican terms, the worldly benefits of power, whether of monarchs or slaveholders, were evident beyond dispute.

Like Haynes, Ballou commented on Revolutionary ideology and its application to post-Revolutionary America. While Haynes claimed that the persistence of slavery and oppression meant that America was not true to its Revolutionary ideology, Ballou exulted that the problems of slavery and oppression had already been solved in the course of the Revolution. "Americans," urged Ballou, "ye have fought a good fight; ye have kept the political faith, and the crown of glory is placed on your head. Liberty and independence are yours." Slavery occurred, declared Ballou, under kings and tyrants; but Americans, possessing "liberty and equal rights," suffered "no submission to power over which we have no control." Having defeated the "monarchical lion of oppression," Americans enjoyed liberty without oppression.[31] Ballou argued not only that "liberty and independence" had been secured in the Revolution but also that "slavery and oppression" were "false" in comparison to the cosmos. For Ballou, sin became "false" before the "Beauty" of the cosmos, whereas Calvinists saw sin as all too real, even if ultimately overruled by God. "Beauty" and "pleasure without alloy" transcended, Ballou preached, "the contention of potent powers," "the calamities of war," "the dire consequences produced by the rage of enemies, [and] the sufferings of the oppressed with absolute power." Further concern with "slavery and oppression," Ballou asseverated, would have distracted Americans from their grand opportunities. To his audience, Ballou stated, "You are . . . invited to behold" the "Beauty" of the cosmos. "The sun, rising in its brightness, invites you to behold the sacred Temple, where celestial virtues dwell, and the only habitation of God on earth." Ballou abandoned the stern Calvinist God for a "kind Protector" who ensured human happiness on earth: "On what side

soever we cast our eyes, the radient smiles of our kind Protector appear as the garment which nature wears. Ten thousand streams and living rills of goodness, curiously tempered to please our tastes, and remove our wants, invite us to a perpetual banquet."[32]

The comparison of a sermon by Haynes and one by Ballou on the same text reveals how important the American Revolution was for Ballou's revision of Haynes's orthodoxy. Ballou's 1821 sermon *The New Birth* addressed the same text as had Haynes's first sermon, delivered in 1776, John 3:3, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." *The New Birth* alluded to the argument of Haynes's *Universal Salvation*, and Ballou admitted early in the sermon that he was in Calvinist territory in John 3:3—just as he had entered Calvinist territory in Haynes's parish sixteen years before.[33]

In 1776, Haynes, preaching that John 3:3 described the necessity of individual conversion, offered a gloss on the connection between the "man . . . born again" and "the kingdom of God." The regenerated individual was, wrote Haynes, obliged to join "the spiritual kingdom of Christ here in this world" with a feeling of "universal benevolence." Universal benevolence was, in New Divinity theology, the distinguishing characteristic of the regenerate. Having transcended selfishness through the conversion experience, the benevolent person acted in a spirit of disinterested selflessness. It was precisely this universal benevolence that Haynes claimed should have motivated white Americans to improve the lot of black Americans, ending slavery and accepting blacks as citizens of the new nation. Haynes later lauded the achievements of white Americans in the Revolution, but he also called for the "holy temper" and the "new affections" that were to extend republican liberty to black Americans.[34]

Ballou's interpretation of John 3:3 evinced not only a doctrinal revolution but also a departure from Haynes's thoughts on the Revolution and the obligations of the regenerate. In 1821, Ballou understood John 3:3 to mean that God did not require individuals to undergo "a radical change of nature" as a condition of salvation. Rather, Ballou understood his text to refer to a national and political experience that had *already* occurred in America in the Revolution. He read "the inspired statement, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,'" to mean that in the Revolution "unless [Americans] were born again they could not enter into the system of liberty." The Revolution was "a political regeneration" already achieved. Americans would not have possessed the liberty they so clearly enjoyed in 1821, reasoned Ballou, unless the Revolution itself had been the regeneration to which John 3:3 alluded: "What an amazing change was effected in the minds of people in the times to which we allude. This change may very justly be called a political regeneration. The sentiments of men were changed, their habits broken up, their minds became enlightened, and the country emerged from political darkness to light, and from the power and dominion of monarchy to the system of rational liberty and independence."[35] For Haynes, because slavery and oppression had persisted, the Revolution had failed as regeneration.

Haynes represented one strain of Revolutionary republicanism.[36] A son of the Revolution, Haynes advocated liberty and equality within the compass of individual virtue and benevolence. His writings constituted a textbook of Revolutionary republicanism as understood by many Americans of the early republic, including the adherents of the New Divinity who supported the Federalist Party as ardently as they had once supported the Revolutionary cause.[37] Haynes believed human relations were properly defined by "affection," "benevolence," "charity," "compassion," "friendship," and "holy union." Only a united society, Haynes was convinced, was a strong one, as "discord," "domination," "selfishness," and "superiority" disrupted "the bands of society." Benevolence, liberty, and a strong society were found together, just as were selfishness, oppression, and social disarray. "Friendship," Haynes declared, "should always distinguish a free people."[38] Haynes's approach to benevolence crossed even the grave. "That it will be possible to hold equal communion with all the saints, especially at one time, in the invisible world, perhaps is not admissible," he wrote. "It is more than possible that the righteous who have lived together in this life, will have a more intimate access to each other in the world to come."[39] Of course, the essential feature of Haynes's black republicanism was his insistence that both liberty and benevolence must cross race lines if the republic were to thrive.

Ballou represented the liberal ideology of individual freedom, toleration, democracy, and competition that was developing in the early republic. Vermont was, Randolph Roth argues, a seedbed for the growth of a liberal ideology among ordinary people, including the humble people whom Universalists attracted.[40] Ballou provided a theology to accord with the new liberal thinking of the early republic. Dismissing selflessness and disinterested benevolence, which Haynes and other Edwardseans had insisted formed the standard of virtue, Ballou offered an explicit justification of the pursuit of self-interest.[41] Individuals legitimately pursued self-interest, Ballou argued, since God had ordained human strivings as elements in his benevolent plan for universal good. Benevolence was, for Ballou, not an ideal toward which human beings reached across the impediment of selfishness, but a ruling principle of God so pervasive and immutable that he had planted self-love in humankind as part of his benevolent plan. God had mandated that "created beings love, because of influential objects" and that individual selves had prior "influence . . . upon their [own] minds and passions."[42] Just as God followed the imperatives of divine nature, so humans were justified in following the imperatives of human nature—in the pursuit of self-interest. Thus Ballou defined self-love as a necessary part of the benevolent divine plan.

Moreover, Ballou recast New Divinity teachings on divine providence and the freedom of the will as a doctrine that the divine plan erased the ultimate difference between virtue and vice. Unable to effect evil despite misdeeds that appeared to be evil, each individual merely played a small role in a rule-bound system that by its nature was good. No sin was ultimately evil, although each one displeased God and sinner alike. Ballou did not argue that virtue and vice were indistinguishable. Such a crude point would have marginalized him in

nineteenth-century America, home of perfectionism, evangelical Christianity, benevolent crusades, and the genteel religion Ballou himself would embody as minister of the Boston Second Universalist Society. Rather, Ballou maintained that virtue and vice shared the same ultimate cause, even though they resulted from different human impulses. "The immediate causes of sin are found in our natural constitution," wrote Ballou, "and the most *distant* of those *immediate* causes are the same as the most *distant* of the *immediate* causes of our *virtues* but the most immediate causes of our virtues and our vices are extremely different."[43]

Ballou offered a striking revision of the Calvinist view that divine benevolence aimed at the good of the universe. The Calvinist view encompassed the whole of creation, which benefited from divine benevolence even as some individuals were damned. Ballou insisted that each individual benefited from divine benevolence, regardless of any individual's holiness or malfeasance. Ballou transformed the New Divinity doctrine that God overruled sin, while still justly condemning the sinner, into a notion that God allowed individuals to sin for their own good, not merely for the good of the universe. "God loved his creatures when he suffered them to sin," advanced Ballou in discussing the story of Joseph, one of the central texts of the black abolitionists. "Was it not sin in Joseph's brethren to sell their brother? None will doubt it," he expostulated. "Did they not undergo great affliction in consequence of that sin? They surely did. Did not God see how the whole world finally issues in the benefit of those who sold their brother? Certainly he did, and so effected it at last."[44]

Ballou never promoted sin and vice, but rather he provided a model of individualism free from traditional fears of self-interest. Ballou added his part to the cultural transformations of the early republic: the fragmentation of the cohesive human order, maintained by the heavy hand of God, that informed the New Divinity and New England Federalism, and the growing irrelevance of the strain of Revolutionary republicanism that set benevolence as a standard of human relations. At bottom, Ballou told his audience that God rewarded the pursuit of self-interest and that the happiest and holiest individuals had shed older strictures and come to understand the value of the self and its prerogatives. Ballou summed up his own theology as well as the nascent liberalism of the early republic when he wrote in 1810, "The highest happiness of *each individual,* and the highest happiness of the *universe,* are the same."[45]

If liberal thought about self-interest was bred in places like Vermont in the post-Revolutionary years, so was liberal thought about individual freedom of belief—not just in the limited sense of choosing one's religion or politics but in a radical sense of democratizing thought. Ballou prophetically defined liberty as the freedom to believe as one chose—as a liberty of mind inherent in all people, a modern form of liberty, the claim of the individual, against society, to intellectual and personal freedom. Just as all were to be saved, advanced Ballou, all were able to find their own individual truths. Ballou was an early spokesman for Christian pluralism, the existence of differ-

ent Christian professions without a sense that one was absolutely right. Since "Christ may justly claim all men as his," preached Ballou, Christ had no concern for a "system of faith," no need of "creed" or "form."[46] Ballou offered a liberal alternative to "religious disputes" in the abandonment of the notion that if one side was "individually right" the others were "individually wrong."[47] Ballou earned Haynes's scorn by explicitly urging this liberal tolerance of differences within Christianity upon the older man, who could not comprehend that truth, revealed differently in different persons, arose piecemeal within the population.[48]

Ballou showed how far his liberalism had advanced by 1810 in criticizing the notion that humankind judged right and wrong and knew even that God preferred certain behavior to other behavior.[49] Such liberalism and tolerationism cut the heart out of Haynes's abolitionist theology, since they belittled the sinfulness of oppression and implied the possibility of toleration of religion that supported slaveholding. Much like Jeffersonian libertarianism, Universalist tolerationism seemed on the surface to fortify individual freedom, but in substance had little power to deal with individuals who exerted their freedom by crushing that of others. Like all the early black abolitionists, Haynes saw and feared this face of liberalism.

Ballou thus hammered out among his audience of New Englanders the salient ideological developments of the early republic: a new view of society in which each individual played a role in a great, law-bound system, in which self-interest led to the greatest good for all; the legitimation of a Christian nation of many denominations; and a new sense that truth was not an absolute system or creed, but rather public opinion formulated by ordinary people and spread out among them.[50] Furthered by Ballou's impressive voice, his ability to attract the humble people of frontier New England, and, eventually, his respectable Boston pulpit, the growth of liberalism was accompanied by the demise of the Revolutionary republicanism to which Haynes had given a cogent, challenging black voice. The challenge that Haynes had made to the Jeffersonians was the same he made to the Universalists: liberty unrestrained by superior forces, whether civic or divine, would almost certainly mean a freedom in the white population to own black slaves. Liberty for some never implied liberty for all. Haynes represented an older American tradition fearful of self-interest and attracted by the equilibrium of liberty and community. Haynes maintained this tradition in urging black liberty forged in a society of benevolence, affection, friendship, and virtue.

Haynes's stiff-necked Calvinism and Federalism cost him his livelihood in 1818, for both religious and political liberalism were ascendant in western Vermont in the early nineteenth century.[51] "Bonds" was the keynote of his farewell sermon, delivered in May 1818, as he contrasted the bonds of the slave to the bonds that united an ideal society. Yet over all social circumstances, even the hostility of his congregation and the sufferings of the enslaved, he set the bonds of faith; if faith did not free the slaves, it was to triumph at last, whether in the afterlife or the millennium. Paul exemplified the slave under bondage in the way that he denied the bonds of society yet willingly accepted

those of faith. Facing unemployment, Haynes drew a parallel between himself and Paul at Miletus with Acts 20:22–23: "And now behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there; Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me." Haynes emphasized Paul's separation from Judaism and the violent attack on him by the Jews of Jerusalem (Acts 21:27–40). Like Christ and like American slaves, Paul was betrayed by "false brethren," subjected to labor, stripe, and prison, and left with "the scars of the whip on his back." Despite his "affliction," Paul was destined to enjoy God's favor, with "no more stripes or imprisonment." The persistence of Judaism and Paul's sufferings at the hands of the Jews signified, of course, the inability of those committed to Old Testament religion to comprehend the new dispensation, inaugurated by Christ, in which slavery was forbidden. Haynes insisted upon abandonment of the traditional notion used to justify slavery, that a slave was a "stranger." And he insisted that in the division of the good from the evil in the last days described in the Book of Revelation no one race would monopolize the worship of God, much less would in itself claim holiness, and cited Revelation 15:4: "Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest." The millennial hopes of Christians were, Haynes thus noted, dependent upon "all nations" recognizing God's works.[52]

Haynes's 1776 critique of slavery had relied on Paul's argument that all Christians should strive for the highest states—for African Americans that was freedom, including the freedom to worship God properly—even as the social world sometimes made acceptance of unfreedom necessary. This Pauline message, both inspiring and forbidding insofar as it assured slaves that God was on their side without ascertaining that he would destroy the worldly institution of slavery, appeared again in Haynes's farewell sermon in his invocation of Onesimus. Philemon and Paul's commentary on Onesimus had already been marshaled for the abolitionist cause in 1787 by Thomas Clarkson.[53] Onesimus was the courier of the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, written while Paul was captive in a Roman prison. The slave, who seems to have stolen something of value from his master's household, then encountered Paul and other Christians and became a convert. In accordance with Roman law, Paul instructs Onesimus to return to his master and, indeed, to carry the letter which became part of the New Testament. Yet Paul's command could not be considered, in the terms of early abolitionism, a justification of slavery, for the apostle declares his love of Onesimus and his intimacy with him (Philem. 10–12) and his certainty that Onesimus could help him in his ministry (Philem. 13). Philemon is asked to accept Onesimus, "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, . . . both in the flesh, and in the Lord" (Philem. 16). Paul asks Philemon to accept Onesimus "willingly" (Philem. 14) as a brother—an abolitionist request, in Haynes's terms, inspiring in that it suggested the possibility of brotherhood, yet forbidding in that it required the slave to trust in his master's heart. Onesimus apparently believed, for the letter appears in the Bible.

Moreover, Haynes invoked Paul's other letter written from prison, Philippians. He quoted Philippians 4:13, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me," in a paragraph arguing that faithful ministers go to Jesus for assistance. Perhaps he was recalling his many years of service and his production of theological essays, for Philippians also states that believers should have the "mind" of Christ, who "made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant" (Phil. 2:5–7). Haynes acknowledged that the application of Pauline morality to American slavery would promote, but not guarantee, the abolition of slavery in writing that whatever the faithful suffered on earth, whatever scourgings, bonds, prisons, and scars, Paul and Onesimus would be united in "reciprocal joy" in heaven. Both Paul's position and his own were antislavery, Haynes was convinced.[54]

After his dismissal from his Rutland parish, Haynes was invited to preach in Manchester, another town in western Vermont that had experienced chronic troubles in attracting ministers. This new invitation was offered in the summer of 1818, after Haynes had preached successfully at revival meetings there. Haynes arrived in 1819 and stayed until 1822, when the Manchester congregation indicated its intention to seek another minister. From 1818 to 1822, Manchester residents relied on Haynes for spiritual guidance, funeral sermons, and preaching of the heart. Blackness continued to define both Haynes's public life and his writings. His contemporaries noted his race, and Haynes responded with thoughts about slavery, the relations of blacks and whites, and his own role as a black man preaching God's word.

All the remembrances of Haynes by Manchester residents noted his blackness, typically to make it clear that he was a holy man despite his skin but also, less explicitly, to make it evident that he never could have ignored his race. One "friend," for instance, recalled the acquaintance with Haynes he developed in Manchester beginning in 1819. Aware of Haynes's reputation as the scourge of Universalism, Reverend Peters, assigned to preach in a neighboring parish, visited the black man. The black preacher and the white one soon came to share the "intimacies of Christian friendship." Peters described Haynes as a member of "the African race in this country." Although most black were degraded, Peters argued, Haynes served as an example of one who had overcome "the embarrassments of their condition" and attained "intellectual and moral culture." Haynes thus suggested that "the oppressed may go free," Peters advanced. Moreover, he argued that Haynes's blackness made him a more effective evangelist. The "very colour, which marks the neglect and servitude of his race in this country, associated . . . with his high qualifications to entertain and instruct, became the means of increasing his celebrity and enlarging the sphere of his influence." Curiosity about the black preacher attracted strangers, who then could be led to conversion by Haynes's preaching, claimed Peters. "Shapen in iniquity," as Peters phrased it, by the fornication of a black man and a white woman, Haynes still preached in the service of God. Another contemporary from Manchester, Mrs. Richard Skinner, summarized the local view by noting that Haynes advanced "the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom" despite the "stain upon his skin."[55]

Haynes's writings and activities from 1818 to 1822 suggest a complexity unnoticed by his white contemporaries. Whites noted his strong social sentiments but apparently could not countenance or even comprehend his belief that he and other blacks had not been accepted affectionately and benevolently into American society. Whites also noted his orthodoxy but not his use of orthodoxy to challenge American slavery and racial inequality. Haynes insisted that one providential design, divine in its origins and execution, revealed in Scripture, and treated in theology in Calvinism, united blacks and whites. Providence, in the Calvinist tradition, carried grandeur and solemnity, but Haynes's late writings were especially heightened by his contemplations on death. He recorded details of a number of funeral sermons, he saw his daughter die after a long illness, and he came to countenance his own death. Behind all such personal experience of death lay his conviction that the deaths of blacks in the slave trade and under slavery carried a divine message for American society, but one that his contemporaries were unwilling to hear. An extraordinary incident in Manchester gave Haynes a vehicle to address these elements of blacks' experiences and whites' experiences, slavery and divine providence, and his own role as a black man preaching the word of God.

In 1819, in Manchester, Stephen and Jesse Boorn were condemned to death by hanging for the murder of their sister's husband, Russell Colvin, who had vanished in 1813 after years of mental instability. The jury considered evidence of some of Colvin's possessions apparently hidden near the Boorns' fields as well as an account of a violent quarrel between Colvin and Stephen Boorn on the day of Colvin's disappearance. Barred from the trial but widely discussed in public was the discovery of human toenails and some pulverized bones inside a stump near the Boorns' fields, as well as the public remembrance that the Boorns had ignited a bonfire near their fields in 1813, in which Colvin's corpse could have been consumed. Moreover, early examinations into the possibility of murder had yielded a statement by Jesse Boorn implicating his brother Stephen. Taken into custody without the awareness of Stephen, who had moved in 1817 to Denmark, New York, Jesse endured about ten days of confinement and examination before claiming that his brother had broken Colvin's skull during a quarrel and disposed of the corpse. The hanging of Stephen Boorn was to take place on January 28, 1820—Jesse's sentence was commuted—but on December 22, 1819, Colvin reappeared, so deranged that he failed to recognize his wife but coherent enough to say to Stephen Boorn, taken in his jailhouse chains to see his brother-in-law, "You never hurt me." Freed from his confinement in the Manchester prison house, Stephen Boorn returned immediately to his family, while Jesse, kept since late October at the state prison at Windsor, awaited his own release.[56]

While Stephen and Jesse Boorn were prisoners together in Manchester and as Stephen counted the days until his execution, Haynes visited them daily. During his jailhouse visits, Haynes prayed with the prisoners and urged them to repent, but after close communion with Stephen Boorn came to believe

that they were not guilty of Colvin's murder.[57] In 1820, Haynes published a small book, *Mystery Developed,* about the Boorns' trial, their days in prison, and their liberation. Opening with a "Narrative" of the Boorns' ordeal, Haynes's book devoted its longest part to his sermon of January 9, 1820, "The Prisoner Released," a sermon "on the remarkable interposition of Divine Providence in the deliverance of Stephen and Jesse Boorn." *Mystery Developed* closed with a record of the most important testimony used in the conviction of the Boorns, a record legitimizing the Vermont trial procedure and vindicating the state for its part in the condemnation of innocent men.

Like other incidents in Haynes's life, his relationship with the Boorns earned him a posthumous renown in antiquarian histories of New England. L. E. Chittenden's *Personal Reminiscences* noted Haynes as the "colored clergyman" who took up the Boorns' cause. The black man had faith in the innocent when "belief in their guilt was universal. Every succeeding visitor advised them to confess as the only means of saving their lives. Good men knelt with them and prayed the Lord to lead them to confession." However, the good minister said to himself, "This poor creature may be an innocent man," and suffered the ridicule of Manchester for spending his own money on a newspaper advertisement pleading for news about Colvin that would "save the life of an innocent man." Colvin's reappearance vindicated Haynes's faith and expenditures and earned him Chittenden's regard as an "excellent clergyman."[58]

In *Mystery Developed,* Haynes mapped his account of the Boorns' ordeal onto the coordinates and language of a prominent American literary genre, the Puritan captivity narrative. Like the Puritans seized by the Indians, the suffering captive, Stephen Boorn, was reduced to deep despair and repentance before his deliverance and return to society. Like the families of the seized Puritans, the parents and siblings of the Boorns fell into anguish because of the captivity of their loved ones. Seeing the captivity of the jailed Boorns as well as that of Puritans among the Indians as a symbol of the enslavement of American blacks, Haynes merged the language of the captivity narrative with the language of slavery and emancipation. In retelling the captivity narrative, Haynes paralleled the captivity and deliverance of the Boorns with the captivity and hoped-for deliverance of American slaves. Haynes's retelling retained much of the captivity narrative, but it inverted one essential element, the nature of the captors. In the Puritan captivity narrative, the captors were Indians operating outside the authority and legal codes of white society, while in Haynes's captivity narrative the captors were representatives of white society and executors of its laws. This inversion of the nature of the captors allowed Haynes to focus the Puritan captivity narrative on the enslavement of black Americans, yet one of the themes of his sermon was the wisdom of imagining the future in which the captors and released captives must live together rather than mourning the injustices of the past.

The captive experience had long been at hand in America as both an emblem of suffering and a reason for hope. It recalled, of course, the Old Testament, as when Samuel Hopkins wrote, "The captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and their return from it, is typical of the afflicted, suffering state of the church

during the reign of antichrist, and the deliverance of it from this state on the fall of antichrist, and in the Millennium."[59] When Haynes roused the Puritan captive experience, including its echoes of the Israelite captivity, he was passing over the Revolution and returning to more fundamental elements of the Christian and American histories. In his last decade and a half, his hope in the promise of the Revolution seems to have diminished. Hence he sought older and more fundamental formative events—a process of searching that he shared with some of his contemporaries as the legacy of the Revolution came to be seen by traditionalists as too riotous or too challenging for antebellum Americans.[60]

Still, the Puritan captivity narrative offered Haynes a subtle way of facing the future while still recognizing the past and the present. In particular, the most famous Puritan captivity narrative, Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God,* well known in Haynes's time, offered an example of acknowledging, in Puritan terms, the justice and benevolence of divine providence, while still mourning the means God had used in the fulfillment of the divine plan. Haynes even adopted Rowlandson's habit, found nowhere else in his writings, of describing the afflictions of the past captivity in the present tense. The captivity narrative provided Haynes with an illuminating metaphor for the travails of black Americans in the early republic, a metaphor that cast enslavement as part of divine providence and emancipation as a return of captives to society, but still let flow an undercurrent of mourning for the past and the present.[61]

Haynes appropriated the guiding principle of the Puritan captivity narrative for "The Prisoner Released": divine providence exhibited itself in the captive's suffering and liberation, since God justly inflicted suffering on the seized individual and the individual's family as a lesson to the captive and captive's society. After abasing the sinner in captivity, God benevolently offered the chance of release. The social import of the suffering and deliverance was God's warning that the terms of the covenant made with him must be kept if America was to avoid his wrath. The captivity narrative, a jeremiad as well as a tale of individual deliverance, was thus a civic document concerned with the virtue of the commonwealth. In Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark's precise summarization, "Captivity was God's punishment; redemption was His mercy; and New England must heed the message or suffer anew."[62] Seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century captivity narratives, sometimes written by the freed captives and sometimes by ministers who shaped the events into what Vaughan and Clark call sermons "in the guise of adventure stories," reminded their readers of their covenant with God and the consequences of flouting their obligations under it.[63] The captive's suffering was divine retribution for sin, while the captive's deliverance suggested the holy state, the Zion, into which Americans would enter if they kept the covenant. In reinforcing the view that the smallest beneficence of the captivity as well as its greatest traumas were elements in God's design, the providential approach to the captivity and release of Puritans seized by the Indians set the captives' experience in the context of Calvinist theology and the Puritan understanding of ultimate causes.

"The Prisoner Released" asserted that the Boorns' captivity and deliverance had indeed been planned by God as a display of divine power, justice, and benevolence. Through the Boorns' ordeal, Haynes preached, "We are clearly taught that there is a superintending providence that directs all events; that the works of God are great and marvellous, and past finding out. The goodness of the Almighty is plainly illustrated. While he is one that will by no means clear the guilty, yet he will deliver the innocent in his own time and way. 'God will execute the judgment for the oppressed—give food for the hungry: the Lord looseth the prisoners: He heareth the groaning of prisoners, to loose those who are appointed to death.'" Haynes also associated the release of the Boorns with the covenant between God and Americans, noting that Isaiah 49:8, the verse immediately preceding the text for "The Prisoner Released," described God's offer of a covenant: "In a day of salvation have I helped thee: and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth." "This deliverance of sinners"—not only the Boorns but all sinners—"is consistent with the law of God, and dignity of divine government. It is by the blood of the covenant that prisoners are sent out of the pit wherein there is no water. . . . It cannot be admitted in any other way." True to the tradition of the jeremiad, Haynes urged onto his listeners remorse for their sins and fulfillment of the covenant. "Few . . . obey the heavenly mandate," Haynes warned, but "the great searcher of hearts cannot be deceived!" Yet, God had exhibited his mercy in the deliverance of the Boorns, Haynes preached, and "this display of Divine goodness should lead you to repentance."[64] Captives were party to the covenant as well as were free people, and the release of prisoners revived the compact between God and his people; the import of such ideas for a Christian, slaveholding nation was staggering.

Haynes paralleled the anguish of the captive and the anguish of the slave by mentioning slavery several times in "The Prisoner Released" as one of the forms of captivity. Indeed, the sermon was suffused with the language of enslavement and emancipation. Slavery and bondage were used a number of times to describe sinfulness as well as to turn the thoughts of his audience to American slavery. "Divine interposition," Haynes preached, interested "those among us who have lately been remarkably emancipated from bondage, slavery, and death." Haynes seems to have been intent upon reminding his audience of American slavery—not a difficult task during the Missouri Crisis—as well as associating himself with slaves. Haynes also invoked several of the emblems of slavery that came easily to mind in 1820—chains, whippings, confinement, and forced labor—while he offered another allusion to slavery in the travails of captives in Islamic societies and in ancient Rome. Furthermore, Haynes spoke of Christ's message of salvation in terms of liberty and emancipation. "Christ," Haynes preached, "is anointed to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." The truncated legal status of slaves was also invoked in "The Prisoner Released" when Haynes noted that only liberation made a captive a "fellow citizen."[65]

Haynes's other writings similarly suggest that slavery was on his mind when he wrote about the Boorns, since his descriptions of the condemned

under affliction repeated his earlier descriptions of slaves under affliction. Often Haynes used the words and phrases to describe the Boorns that he had earlier used in antislavery essays. At the moment of their sentencing, the Boorns fell into "anguish" and a "convulsion of nature." In condemning slavery, Haynes had earlier mentioned the "anguish" of those taken captive as well as the "convulsion in nature" that occurs when a natural right such as liberty is violated. The suffering of the Boorns' family, recalling an important theme in Puritan captivity narratives, was presented in "The Prisoner Released" in virtually the same words Haynes had earlier used to describe the sufferings of slaves' families. Stephen and Jesse Boorn's "anguish" was matched by the "bitter reflections," "mingled sorrows," "grief," "mourning," and "embittered" state of their family. Stephen and Jesse Boorn's "tender parents," who saw their children "bound in chains," could have fallen "with sorrow to the grave" had their sons been hanged. The Boorns' siblings suffered "while every tender feeling of the heart swells the tide of anguish and distress." Earlier, describing the sufferings of slaves' families, Haynes wrote, using the same terms: "What must be the plaintive noats that the tend[er] parents must assume for the Loss of their Exiled *Child*? . . . Let me ask them what would be their Distress[,] Should one of their Dearest *Children* be snatch'd from them. . . . Would it not embitter all your Domestic Comforts, would he not Be Ever on your mind? . . . And is not their many ready to say, (unless void of natural Effections) that it would not fail to Bring them Down with sorrow to the grave?" Haynes also used the same word in "The Prisoner Released" to describe prisoners as he had used in *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism* to describe slaves: "despised." Haynes depicted Stephen Boorn, condemned to death, "with his heavy chains on his hands and legs, being also chained to the floor," just as the black man had earlier described slaves. "There are generally many hundred slaves put on board a vessel," Haynes had written, "and they are Shackkled together, two by two, wors than Criminals going to the place of Execution." Like many of Haynes's writings, "The Prisoner Released" found the mark of sin in blood, the blood of the murdered and the blood of slaves, that called to the living to repent. "God makes inquisition for blood," he wrote; "Is it not more than probable that the blood of a husband, a wife, a brother, a sister, a child, is crying from a repository of the dead against you, with accents not less severe and significant than the blood of the murdered Abel?"[66]

Moreover, in 1821, Haynes referred to the Missouri Crisis in a poem he read at the funeral of a black Vermonter, Lucy Terry Prince, often considered one of the first black authors.[67] "Shall drear Missouri's melancholy cell," Haynes queried, "Caress the demon, emigrant of hell?" Again Haynes contrasted "union" to "slav'ry," "despots," and "bondage and disgrace." Those who disdain "Ethiopia's murder'd race," justified in their minds by "fairer skin," Haynes predicted, were to "sink beneath" the "feet" of the black woman, falling "where vaunting tyrants and oppressors meet."[68] Known throughout his adult life as a wit, Haynes probably intended "feet" to refer to Terry's poetry as well as to her moral presence above slavers.[69] Her poem, "Bars

Fight," was transmitted orally until its print publication in 1855, and she was well known in Vermont in her lifetime as an orator. She defended herself and her husband in court against a false claim upon their land, and she sought to persuade the trustees of Williams College to admit her son. The first bid was successful, the second not. Probably her oratorical skills impressed Haynes and confirmed his sense that sometimes blacks could use language to their advantage, yet sometimes not.

The use of the language of slavery, the repetition of phrases Haynes had earlier used in condemning slavery, and his 1821 reference to Missouri leave little doubt that slavery was on his mind as he presented the Boorns' captivity. In 1820, Haynes's language as well as his black skin almost certainly elicited thoughts of slavery. Indeed, "The Prisoner Released" itself suggested that its hearers and readers must press slightly beyond it to another significance, that surface meanings were incomplete. Haynes preached that "hieroglyphical illustrations" were apt in religious discourse, because "the wretched and forlorn state of mankind is set forth by metaphors." "The emancipation of the Jews from a long and distressing captivity," Haynes wrote, was "emblematical." For Haynes's generation, it was emblematic of the release of American slaves. Haynes's parallels between the Boorns' captivity and slavery communicated an obvious message. Just as the Boorns were innocent men held captive and finally delivered, so were American slaves innocent people held captive and deserving of deliverance. Of prisoners, Haynes wrote, for example, "When they hear the news of their emancipation, How do they leap to lose their chains": the ready inference was that slaves would have done the same.[70]

Haynes preached "The Prisoner Released" in Vermont, a state that had outlawed slavery in 1777 and held only a small black population in 1820.[71] Haynes's sense of his audience requires examination, since Vermont residents were often proud of their state's early constitutional stand against slavery. Haynes addressed a local audience that, he apparently believed, had not allowed their black neighbors to advance to full citizenship. In *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* Haynes lamented the "present pitiful, abject state" of "the poor Africans, among us" and suggested that "the effects of despotism" persisted even beyond slavery.[72] Black Vermonters in the early decades of the nineteenth century were usually servants without access to credit from large landholders, which was usually the means white Vermont men used to procure land and begin a trade. Moreover, Vermont's constitutional ban on slavery sometimes led to disastrous situations for blacks. After 1777, some slaveholders simply shipped their slaves to the South for sale—a practice that continued until the General Assembly of Vermont banned it in 1786. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, superannuated blacks who had once been slaves became pawns in court battles between their ex-owners and the state about the source of the support of elderly, indigent blacks. For example, the former owner of Dinah, an ex-slave who had become blind and indigent, testified that he need not support her in her infirmity since although she had once worked for his family, she had been induced by "the syren songs of liberty and equality" to leave his home for another.[73]

Haynes clearly also addressed an American audience that tolerated slavery in its land. In *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* for instance, Haynes reminded his audience of the 1777 Vermont Constitution, but he knew as well as any Vermonter that its section barring slavery included a virtual quotation of the phrases from the Declaration of Independence about humankind's inalienable rights.[74] Moreover, Haynes addressed a future audience in an effort to suggest that black Americans and white Americans had the resources to live together peaceably once rid of slavery and oppression. This hopeful rhetoric, which *Mystery Developed* shared with the Puritan captivity narrative, flowed from Haynes's personal life as the husband of a white woman, father to mixed-race children, and revivalist aiming for the conversion of white as well as black New Englanders.

In "The Prisoner Released," Haynes returned to his lifelong theme of black-and-white community and its possibilities for a future America by repeating one of the most important themes of the Puritan captivity narrative: the unity that captives achieve in common worship.[75] Haynes reported that he visited Stephen Boorn daily, praying with him, receiving the confession of his sins, sharing his desperation, and, indeed, coming in his visits to believe in Boorn's innocence. To Boorn, who was in the audience when "The Prisoner Released" was delivered, Haynes said, "I can never forget those many solitary hours I have spent with you amid that dismal habitation. I have in some sense been a kind of companion with you in tribulation."[76] The intimacy Haynes achieved with Stephen Boorn implied that blacks and whites shared a capacity to unite in common experiences at the profoundest levels.

Haynes offered the Boorns a prescription for their future, a prescription with direct implications for race relations in the future America. Noting that "the prisoners will be under peculiar temptations to indulge a hard and bitter spirit towards some who have appeared in evidence against them," Haynes urged the Boorns, "Avenge not yourselves." In earlier writings, Haynes had not only urged white Americans to accept black Americans as full republican citizens but also predicted that black Americans would add to "progress in arts" and to the defense of liberty. Liberation made the captive a "fellow citizen," Haynes aptly noted. Again the point of the parallel in "The Prisoner Released" was clear: just as the unjustly condemned captives rejoined society without rancor, so could blacks join society affectionately and benevolently once rid of slavery and oppression and accepted into a republican society. Haynes recalled the day of Stephen Boorn's deliverance and also proposed a future black-and-white America to his audience's political imagination when he wrote, "All seemed anxious to drink deep with you in the cup of your deliverance."[77]

The Puritan captivity narrative provided Haynes with an illuminating instrument for comprehending the captivity of the Boorns and of black slaves. Divine providence, affliction, intimacy, and liberation were the themes defining both the captivity narrative and Haynes's view of American race relations. Yet there was a deeper reason that Haynes chose well when he chose the framework of the captivity narrative. The ambivalence of the most famous

Puritan captivity narrative, Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God,* resonated in Haynes's insistence that the past should not be mourned overmuch. In recording the afflictions of her captivity, including the death of her six-year-old daughter in her arms, Rowlandson fit her sufferings into providence. Perhaps with the urging of her husband's compatriot Increase Mather, Rowlandson offered herself and her sufferings as an example of divine justice and benevolence. Mitchell Robert Breitwieser argues that Rowlandson's narrative subordinated mourning to the jeremiad for the sake of recalling society to virtue and the ways of God. Puritanism was, argues Breitwieser, "in large measure an attempt to sublimate mourning, to block and then redirect its vigor to various social purposes." The central motif of Rowlandson's narrative, argues Breitwieser, was her renunciation of "mourning," one of the "orders of remembering," for the sake of "exemplarism," the other of the "orders of remembering."[78]

Haynes emulated Rowlandson's refusal to mourn as well as her exemplarism, passing from mourning's remembrance to exemplarism's. "But why should I harrow up the soul by too minute a detail," queried Haynes, "or dwell too long on those days of tribulation?" "They are passed and gone. God has turned your mourning into dancing. Although weeping endured for a long and wearisome night, yet joy came in the morning. Let Jehovah-jireh, the Lord will see and provide, be written on the posts of your door, and on the fleshly tables of your hearts. Let this motto be inscribed in legible and indelible characters, on all your deportment, that he may run that readeth—*The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.*"[79] "Jehovah-jireh" was spoken by Abraham (Gen. 22:14) after he had been spared from sacrificing his son Isaac. The allusion recalled Haynes's 1805 commentary about Abraham's abandonment of the covenant through his rejection of Ishmael, his son with his bondwoman. The restoration of the covenant relied upon, of course, the integration of slaves into free society. The allusion also paralleled Abraham's two sons, Ishmael and Isaac, implying perhaps that if the unfree son were accepted, the free son would be spared. By 1820, many Americans felt that sectional conflict over slavery would be ended only with violence, and Haynes's allusion to Abraham before God, with the living son at his father's side, may have been intended to warn his audience about the fate of the sons of America.

When Haynes refused to "dwell too long on those days of tribulation," when he cautioned the Boorns against vengeance, he was invoking a crucial element in the race relations of his imagined future America. Haynes was suggesting, with himself as an example, that black Americans were able to join a free society without mourning the past afflictions of slavery. The example Haynes offered of himself was both the black man intimate with the white prisoner in jail and the black man sermonizing in public about virtue, renunciation of vengeance, and "the safety of the commonwealth." Visiting Boorn "with sympathy and grief," Haynes answered Boorn's concern about the future of his wife and children with the advice to trust in divine providence: "I told him God would take care of them." When Boorn requested spiritual

guidance from Haynes, they prayed together as Boorn stood "with his heavy chains on his hands and legs, being also chained to the floor," and "with deep and bitter sighings."[80] It was also represented in the role Haynes had enacted as a patriot soldier in the Revolution, a defender of New Divinity orthodoxy, a revivalist among the white souls of rural New England, and, as he delivered "The Prisoner Released" in Manchester in 1820, a minister addressing the reintegration of the Boorns into the society whose state had condemned them. Haynes summarized his own life in this example of the black man affectionately and benevolently united with the white man under the sacred canopy of divine providence.

Haynes aptly noted the unity created in Manchester and its environs by the Boorns' release. "Every countenance expressed gladness, and every tongue hailed the auspicious day," Haynes exulted. "Shouts and rejoicing resounded from house to house, and from town to town. . . . I trust this and the neighbouring towns have, in a degree, by their conduct exemplified that inspired injunction, 'Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.'" This sense of unity among the Boorns and their white compatriots was prefigured in the intimacy Haynes and Stephen Boorn reached in the jail cell. Haynes, the exemplar, was careful to note that the "sympathy and grief" he felt for Boorn in jail prefigured the "joy and sympathy" the public felt upon Boorn's release.[81] Haynes's exemplarism suggested not only that such black-white intimacy was possible but also that future black-white relations could replicate the unity of the Manchester community.

A comparison of Haynes's writings and Rowlandson's captivity narrative suggests a deeper level to Haynes's refusal to mourn the afflictions of the past and his belief in divine providence. Rowlandson described the death of her daughter, at first wounded by the Indians by a bullet "through the bowels and hand." "My sweet babe like a lamb departed this life on Feb. 18, 1675 [1676], it being about six years and five months old. It was nine days from the first wounding in this miserable condition without any refreshing of one nature or other except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed; I must and could lie down by my dead babe side by side all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me in preserving me in the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life." Breitwieser argues that although the jeremiad tradition and the Puritan belief in divine providence required Rowlandson's renunciation of mourning, her own descriptions belied her claim that her afflictions were properly understood as part of God's benevolent design. For her grief persisted in her language: "I left that child in the wilderness and must commit it and myself in this wilderness condition to Him who is above all." God "wounded me with one hand," but "healed me with another," Rowlandson stated.[82] Yet the mournful language of her narrative indicated the inadequacy of the healing.

Never a slave, but rather an indentured servant bound out after his abandonment at birth, Haynes nonetheless mourned slavery much as Rowlandson

had mourned her sufferings and the death of her daughter. Haynes utilized the providential argument required by the New Divinity—God had planned slavery and its forced ignorance in order to fortify liberty and enlightenment—but Haynes's approach seems to have faltered in the undercurrents of his writing. By 1820, Haynes, then in his sixties, seems to have been well able, in Breitwieser's terms, to displace mourning with exemplarism, to sublimate mourning for a social purpose. But Haynes's earlier language suggested his pain as he struggled to understand slavery as part of divine providence. Slaves are "despised," Haynes noted, while free blacks and slaves alike are in a "pitiful, abject state." Haynes understood the slave trade to include "the most cruel tortures, and deaths as human art could inflict," while he understood "the miseries of a slave" to include "being under the absolute controul of another, subject to continual Embarisments, fatiuges, and corrections at the will of a master." Black children were reared, Haynes understood, "under a partial Discipilne, their white masters haveing Little, or no Effection for them. So that we may suppose, that the abuses that they recieve from the hands of their masters are often very considerable; their parents Being placed in such a Situation as not being able to perform relative Deutys."[83] Still, Haynes sought to displace mourning with exemplarism, insisting that slavery was part of divine providence and offering himself as a prophet of the interracial harmony he believed could prevail in a truly free United States.

The pain evident in Haynes's descriptions of slave life suggests that Haynes underwent a difficult process of adjusting his understanding and experience to the New Divinity and republican ideology, much as Rowlandson adjusted her experience of her daughter's death to Puritanism. Haynes's writings may hold in American theology and political philosophy a place close to that Breitwieser assigns Rowlandson's captivity narrative in American literature: a place "among the more intense and unremitting representations of experience as a collision between cultural ideology and the real in American literature."[84] The New Divinity readied Haynes to believe that God planned every event, even instances of sin, as part of a benevolent design for humankind, while republican ideology readied Haynes to believe that only affection, benevolence, and sentiment could unite a society in pursuit of the virtue that would guarantee liberty. In *Mystery Developed,* Haynes explicitly addressed "the commonwealth" while implicitly addressing what he understood as the only possibility for a free United States: affection, benevolence, and sentiment across race lines. *Mystery Developed*, Haynes's last publication, was a sublimation, for the sake of the commonwealth, of the mourning so evident in his 1776 "Liberty Further Extended." Cruelty, fatigue, abuse, embarrassment, and bondage: all these Haynes was willing to sublimate for the sake of the republic, but his writing suggests—to borrow scriptural words he so often used—that his blood was crying.

The last two decades of Haynes's life coincided with two trends indicating that American thought about race—here represented by antislavery blacks as well as by colonizationists—was rapidly leaving the eighteenth-century abolitionists behind. Between 1810 and 1820, black authors began expressing

an understanding of the slave trade and slavery informed not by Calvinist providentialism, but by free-will evangelicalism. The slave trade appeared not as an ancient sin in which African elites and traders had long been involved, but as a modern European and American depravity alien to Africa. Africa itself appeared no longer as a land under the sway of the Old Testament and the Qur'an, but as a natural paradise that had been disrupted by greedy European slave traders. Slavery seemed no longer integral to providential history as a scourge with which God chastised his favorite people, but rather a disruption of freedom caused by whites in blacks' lives. The covenant between God and his chosen people receded from view. The hand of the predestining God disappeared from the slave trade and slavery. Freedom seemed already to have been achieved in Africa and needed not to be *created* in the Atlantic world—as the eighteenth-century abolitionists had believed—but rather restored to the blacks from whom it had been stolen.

These new views of the slave trade and slavery began appearing in speeches and writings of black authors between 1810 and 1820. William Hamilton, writing in 1815, cast slavery as the "ultimate . . . degradation," pressed upon Africans, "an industrious, honest, peaceable people," by the "low, sly, wicked, cunning, peculiar to Europeans." Russell Parrott, William Miller, and Peter Williams all expressed the idea that an African paradise had been corrupted in recent centuries by the slave trade.[85] David Walker signified the changes that had taken place in black abolitionism in the early nineteenth century. Walker perceived neither continuities between ancient and modern slavery nor God's hand punishing Africans as a prelude to restoring them to his favor as his chosen people. African American slaves were a people without precedent in history, in Walker's view.[86] None of these black opponents of slavery who wrote at the advent of the antebellum period evinced the systematic historicism of the first black abolitionists, who saw slaves and the trade in them throughout the Atlantic littoral and who saw ordinary Africans as wronged, but not Africa as a paradise spoiled by Europeans and Americans. The abandonment of this historical vision entailed a new understanding of the postslavery society all abolitionists were pledged to help create.

Views of the slave trade and slavery as uniquely European and American and of freedom as a natural state that could be reestablished in the lives of black men and black women encouraged an understanding of postslavery society that lacked the patrician concern for freedmen and freedwomen that the eighteenth-century abolitionists had considered essential. The views of a new generation of black men were important in the formation of an abolitionist consciousness in a critical number of Americans and, indeed, were probably essential to the abolition of slavery. But their views would have been anathema to Haynes on two counts.

First, Haynes and his peers believed that liberty was a natural right, but they never accepted that any society, African or American, was naturally free. Rather, freedom existed only when defended, and paradisiacal images of Africa would have struck them as naive. Africa had tyrants and sinners among its powerful. Second, the shift in religious assumptions from Calvinist to free-

will would have implied a cost to the first black abolitionists—though perhaps what they saw as a cost their successors saw as a benefit. In dissolving the providential design, the new black abolitionists tore down the canopy under which their predecessors had insisted blacks and whites were united and under which blacks and whites were to live in a postslavery society. Slaves and captives were, in Haynes's mind, divine instruments in furthering freedom precisely because God commanded that the unfree be made members of free society. The first black abolitionists were as much postslavery as they were antislavery thinkers, and they always worried about protection in the future for the newly freed. Their loyalist or Federalist politics flowed from such worries. Liberal religion and politics—freedom of the will and atomistic social relations—would have struck Haynes and his peers not only as sinful but also as dangerous when accepted by abolitionists. Indeed, insofar as the first black abolitionists comprehended liberal religion and politics—Haynes's encounters with Jeffersonianism and Universalism are the clearest examples—they did consider them evil and parlous for blacks.

Like liberal religion and politics, proposals for the expatriation of African Americans countered everything for which Haynes had stood since 1776. An outburst of colonizationist activity included the establishment of the American Colonization Society in 1817 and the initial emigration of African Americans to Liberia in 1822. Colonization is usually viewed as a false start for abolitionism, something from which abolitionists had to separate themselves.[87] Colonization, however, created a vision of blacks and for blacks—markedly different from that of Haynes and his peers—that was assumed in abolitionism after 1830.[88] It was a vision of black men as independent not only in the sense of being free but also in the sense of being separate from whites, living in a black nation in Africa or in a black nation within the American nation, not united in a larger community of affection, benevolence, and virtue. The sentimental ideal was never realized, of course, but it ceased to influence thought about slavery and freedom after about 1830. If we examine colonizationist discourse from 1816 to 1833, we can see a new vision being created. And during this time we can see both Haynes posthumously interpreted in the mid-1830s to fit this vision that differed so markedly from his own and the disappearance of the ideals of eighteenth-century black abolitionism.

The proponents of colonization began to offer a view of black men and black women that contrasted sharply with Haynes's. Haynes had argued that not only the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery but also the acceptance of blacks into society was a measure of the progress of virtue in America. Black men had shown their virtue in the Revolution, and he himself evinced black virtue as a preacher and father. Slavery extinguished virtue in the slave, of course, while slaveholders were vicious, both in a personal sense and in a national sense in which they threatened the republic with disruption. Haynes's solution was the sentimental absorption of blacks into civil and religious societies. In Christian terms, his solution involved outward signs, or works, in acceptance of blacks as social equals, and inner states, or spirit, in brotherly love felt regardless of race and in stepping closer to the divine will as well as

to the terms of the covenant. Colonization commenced with opposite assumptions—that blacks in America are necessarily vicious and that whites would evince their own "enthusiasm of virtue" in ridding their nation of the scourge of blacks, at first free blacks, but ultimately all blacks. The colonizationist solution was not the maximization of virtue and minimization of vice in America, but the expatriation of free blacks, whether born free or manumitted. Free blacks came to be cast in colonizationist speeches and writing as a "foul . . . blot," "diseases of the body politic," and "danger[s] to our republican institutions." America was to "be cleared of them" as blacks migrated to an overseas colony.[89] If they did not emigrate voluntarily, they were to be forced to leave America, even if this required them buying their freedom from their owners before migrating.

The corollary of belief that free blacks threatened America was the feeling that blacks and whites were strangers in America. Colonizationists saw free blacks as necessarily deranged while in America. Freedom was at best licentiousness for them, for although "their bodies are free, their minds [are] enslaved." A leading New England colonizationist, Leonard Bacon, expressed this new sense that blacks are aliens in the land when he wrote, "We can conceive indeed of stripes, and corporal endurance, and long days of burning toil; but how can we conceive of that bondage of the heart, that captivity of the soul, which makes the slave a wretch indeed? His intellect is a blank . . . and his being is a wreck." Haynes had noted his virtuous service in the War of Independence, but colonizationists turned his argument upside down in writing that free blacks were "a hostile army," worse for America "than the British oppression was before the Revolution." Haynes, like other early abolitionists, saw the Joseph story as illuminating the travails of slaves and divine providence at work in their lives, but the colonizationists inverted this interpretation by claiming that free blacks were "like the lean kine of Egypt" that consumed "the fat of the land." Such notions and feelings led to a reconceptualization of the nature of black men and black women in America. "They are emphatically a separate people," wrote one colonizationist. By 1827, blacks themselves were articulating such notions. The leading colonizationist publication, *The African Repository,* noted triumphantly that the "Free People of Colour of Baltimore" had announced, "We reside among you, and yet are strangers." Black men, northern and southern, found that they could gain the patronage of well-to-do white men by expressing a desire to emigrate to West Africa.[90]

Colonization also served to revise the nature of the religious challenge presented by slavery. The early abolitionists like Benezet, Clarkson, Equiano, and Haynes had presented the slave trade and slavery as ancient sins, persisting in the modern world because remnants of Judaism and Islam lingered in the shadows and extremities of the Christian world. The abolitionist cause was, in part, fear of "the Jew within" or "the Turk within"—potent fears, therefore potent antislavery tools, in early modern Europe and America. But colonizationist rhetoric released slaveholders from any stigma of the Israelite or the Turk within, for Muslims were cast not as a lurking presence within the Anglo-American soul, but as a people in West Africa whose designs were

to be fought in Africa, not in the American nation or the American soul. Haynes had mentioned "eastern captivity" in *Mystery Developed* as a way of suggesting to his compatriots that such forms still survived in America. Colonizationists, however, were certain that Muslims were securely African and threatened no contamination of America. The relevant battle seemed to be between Muslims and Christians for the souls of Africans who followed indigenous traditions, not for the American soul itself.

The "Moors" had migrated to West Africa, explained *The African Repository,* and were "scarcely indistinguishable at present from negroes. . . . They have made a change in this part of Africa, by introducing their language, customs, and religion; and in their turn that have suffered a similar change from the climate." Their business was, of course, the slave trade. Muslims and Christians were inevitably at odds. "Among the negroes of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande," for example, "that religion [i.e., Islam] has taken so deep root, that a christian colony of negroes would be extirpated in obedience to the sanguinary precepts of the Koran." Muslims had, it seemed, converted many Africans who had previously followed indigenous traditions since the latter were scarcely religions at all and no match for the proselytizing of monotheists. As Jehudi Ashmun, agent of the American Colonization Society in Liberia, explained in 1825, those with "no belief of their own" readily accepted the "great truth" of monotheism, worshiping Allah if the Christian God was not presented to them. The religion of Africans was a "blank" if not Muslim. The goal of the American freed blacks who emigrated to West Africa was to reach those who had not yet been converted to Islam and to bring them into the Christian fold. East and south of Liberia "the nations are pagan," *The African Repository* noted. "These simple children of nature, with their religion of the *fetische,* present the most engaging objects to the Christian and the philanthropist. Through them alone, can South Africa ever be civilized; for, if the Mohammedan religion penetrate those countries, it will diffuse its fanaticism and its unsocial character." Indeed, some Muslims themselves were converting to Christianity, the colonizationists believed.[91]

Colonizationists revised even the meaning of the American national holiday, the Fourth of July. Ordinary African Americans as well as an educated and literate man like Haynes believed, in the post-Revolutionary decades, that the national holiday should be a day to protest against slavery, whether in street events or sermons. In the mid-1820s, the Fourth of July became a contest between blacks who were celebrating state emancipations or protesting against the persistence of slavery in the South and colonizationists who were attempting to remake the holiday as a day to promote the expatriation of free blacks and to collect donations to fund it. In 1832, William Lloyd Garrison objected to the use of the national holiday for colonizationist purposes, but he did not note the abolitionist use of the day in previous decades.[92] In 1825, colonizationists promulgated that the fiftieth anniversary of American freedom, July 4, 1826, should be honored by the removal of free blacks. A July 4, 1827, sermon violated the originating principle of black abolitionism by an-

nouncing that American slaves cannot speak for themselves, so the colonizationists must. The preacher denounced Islam, urged the commemoration of American liberty by the removal of free blacks, and opined that in fifty years there might be a liberty tree erected in Africa. "An Essay for the Fourth of July" for 1827 noted that the "colonization object had long been regarded with fond desire by those, who looked forward to the permanent glory of our thriving Republic." By 1830, a number of speakers each year were linking colonization and the Fourth of July, even stating, as was noted in the *Vermont Chronicle* in 1829, that the removal of free blacks depended on funds collected from patriots and Christians who showed by donations their philanthropy and loyalty on the national holiday.[93]

Colonization, insofar as it was an effort to expatriate free blacks because of their seeming vice, seems an unlikely source of ideas about African Americans that could ultimately be put to the service of the abolition of slavery in America. Yet a new image of African Americans was crafted in colonizationist rhetoric, an image of blacks as men who could be accepted in a postslavery American society in a way that Haynes never could have been. Colonization credited blacks with the ability to forge and to enjoy their independence in a separate nation, parallel to the American one in partaking of its values and its commerce but sharing none of the affection and benevolence that Haynes had insisted were necessary in a reformed America.

In Liberia, as in America, commerce and civilization were to thrive and black men were to become like white men, yet geographically separate from their former masters. Once in West Africa, freedmen would form a new society, "its strength, and its ability to render its commerce an object of consideration." Colonizationist Henry Clay wrote, "Will they [i.e., blacks] not be actuated by the same motives of interest and ambition, which influence other men?" Expatriation was to transform blacks into agents of commerce and civilization. Clay wrote, "Of all classes in our population the most vicious is that of the free colored," yet he also wrote, "Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions." Liberia could be recommended, another colonizationist exulted, "to the free people of colour in Virginia, as a proper asylum for them and their children; and as holding forth to them, a fair prospect of that wealth, respectability, and moral improvement, which in the United States they can never attain."

Liberia informed Americans about the civic competence of black men. An 1828 "Address by the Citizens of Monrovia, to the Free Coloured People of the United States," which was probably written by a white person, elaborated on this point.[94] The Americo-Liberian settlers claimed to have migrated voluntarily in search of "liberty, in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word:—not a licentious liberty—nor a liberty without government . . . . But that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguished the free, enfranchised citizens of a free state." Lacking liberty, property, suffrage, and other rights in America, the settlers emigrated and created their own government and laws and gained their own "community," "commerce," "soil,"

and "resources" in Liberia. Without the "debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America," the settlers have reached "moral emancipation[,] . . . liberation of the mind." Understandably, the address continued, "the white man" could never associate with slaves and freedmen and freedwomen in America "on terms of equality." But "which is the white man who would decline such association with one of our number [i.e., the settlers], whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? . . . There is no such white man." The "industrious and virtuous" can achieve "independence and plenty and happiness," can rule themselves, and can establish "Christian worship . . . in a land of brooding pagan darkness" by removing to Liberia. Such ideas were continually reiterated in American publications in both the North and South.[95] There was little doubt that the civic advances of the settlers were paving the way for a bright future. One traveler, the Reverend William B. Hoyt, wrote that although recently freed blacks were uncivilized, in Liberia "the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty by the parents results in a marked mental improvement in their offspring."[96]

In 1828, New England minister J. M. Wainwright argued for educating black missionaries for Africa. "To make colonization effectual, it is not sufficient that the arts of civilized society be carried to a new country: the Gospel is also needed," he began. "Now where is Africa, dark, degraded, ignorant Africa; where is it to obtain this blessed gift? How shall they hear without a preacher? . . . But . . . we cannot obtain missionaries." Christian missionaries already in Africa were, Wainwright continued, "stating that they looked anxiously to this country for missionaries, catechists and schoolmasters—they wished for pious, intelligent, and active men of colour for this purpose, and stood prepared to give them an ample support . . . . The call then is loud for African Missionaries throughout the christian world." Education of black missionaries was to include "the first principles of the useful sciences and arts; viz., botany, mineralogy, surveying, civil and municipal law, and political economy."[97]

In envisioning the society African Americans were to create in Liberia, Wainwright explicitly renounced the benevolentist ideals Haynes had always expressed. Wainwright dismissed "the doctrine of human perfectibility" and "benevolent fantasies" as unrealistic. Scripture, he claimed, promised not "dreams and speculations," but rather a "happier and better condition." "Perfection" was thus an irrelevant goal. Humankind was better off obeying the "sublime principle of political economy, that the happiness and prosperity of each tends to the advantage of the whole." The arc of human improvement, he argued, was gauged not by great accomplishments in the arts and philosophy (or else the classical and medieval worlds would be supreme), but by the erosion of "inequality, and contrasted opulence and wretchedness among men." Today, "these would not be tolerated" because of faith in "the rights of man." In the modern, mercantile era, one was able to envisage the possibility of "demand" for commodities that "proceeds without any assignable term." "Merchants" were continually acting to better the "balance of the agricultural, the manufacturing, and commercial interests of nations." Blacks

were hamstrung in America, Wainwright argued, because they "have never been accustomed to provide for themselves." But educated and "useful" black missionaries were to create a commercial and civilized nation in Liberia, where they could thrive.[98]

Paradoxically, the Americo-Liberian settlers came to understand themselves as more American—more the agents of commerce and civilization—once they were in Africa. They wrote themselves into American history by describing the first ship that carried black expatriates to Africa as the Mayflower, and they found parallels with the colonial and early national history of America, including the subjugation of natives (Indian or African), declaration of independence, and ratification of a national constitution—even the mustering of the militia and the Fourth of July.[99] All this suggested that the Americo-Liberians were "pioneers of civilization."[100]

Discussions of African Americans in Liberia laid the groundwork for antebellum abolitionism, despite the abolitionists' scorn of colonization. Colonization allowed Americans to understand that if race relations were modeled on commerce, not on republican or sentimental ideals, then blacks could be free in America as members of a nation within a nation, a shadow of America within America, an internal colony. With the failure of colonization because of the impracticability of expatriating all free black Americans to Liberia, the African colony was transmuted into an inner colony. The essence of this internal colony was that it was not to unite sentimentally with the larger society. The rights and freedoms of this internal colony would be subject to dispute and negotiation later in American history, but black independence—independence of whites, of claims on the hearts of the larger community, in short a modern independence and one easily joined to racism—was articulated by 1830 in colonizationist discourse. Indeed, southern slaveholders who objected to colonization were right that the colonizationists were undermining slavery, despite their claims to respect property in slaves. For the colonizationists were envisioning blacks as free individuals, even if of another state—which, by nineteenth-century standards of travel, was not far from America.

Colonization and new ways of thinking about race, slavery, and postslavery society influenced abolitionists' use of the Bible after 1830. Biblically inspired arguments have always been seen as crucial in antebellum abolitionism, but rarely has a reader wondered how they relate to earlier antislavery uses of the Bible. The first decade of the organized abolitionist movement was characterized by a reliance on the Bible that differed utterly from that of Haynes and his peers. Instead of admitting, as had the black abolitionists, that slavery had once seemed legitimate but then had been revealed by a new dispensation to be unlawful, the antebellum abolitionists engaged proslavery advocates in a battle over whether the Bible endorsed slavery or not.[101] This ahistorical approach left abolitionists befuddled over the authorizations of slavery in the Old Testament and pushed them beyond the New Testament into a "broad" extratextual view that "slavery was prohibited by the spirit of Christianity."[102] The abolitionists ultimately led the federal state against slav-

ery, of course, but their use of the Bible wrote slavery and slaves out of providential history in a way that Haynes and his peers would have found alarming. If slavery and freedom were parts of divine providence, as Haynes believed, then slaves and their liberation were, too. Yet, as Joanne Pope Melish argues, as slavery became anomalous—whether that meant an aberration in the march of progress or an institution that existed in history but not in God's design—then blacks themselves became an anomaly in American society.[103] This modernization of the ancient notion of the stranger, prone, in a free society, not to slavery but to exclusion, undid all of eighteenth-century abolitionism.

Soon after his death, Haynes received some minor attention as an exemplary black man. Yet the individual his admirers took him to be was more the black man of colonizationism and antebellum abolitionism than of Revolutionary republicanism and the New Divinity. *Mystery Developed* was published in 1835 in a truncated edition, *The Supposed Murderers Proved Innocent by Wonderful Discoveries.*[104] In this edition, Haynes's providentialism was excised and the Boorns' tale came to the fore. Since the lesson Haynes wanted Americans to learn from the divine providence of slavery was the necessity of ending enslavement and accepting blacks into society, this excision radically altered the meaning of the book; his religious message concerning slavery and freedom, race and sentiment, was gone.[105] In 1837, a New Yorker, Joseph I. Foot, reviewed Haynes's life and described him as a black man who would exercise his natural birthright of liberty while making no demands on white society. Haynes was, Foot proclaimed, "A SELF-MADE MAN," a *"worthy* African" who had taken advantage of "the means of arriving at an elevated rank among our citizens." Many of "our citizens," that is, white Americans, were, Foot insisted, willing to see blacks go free. "Colour is no obstacle" and "no prejudice against it exists, in the descendants of Europe," so a *"worthy* African" can succeed in America, Foot wrote. Haynes was worthy because he was a model, Foot wrote further, "for all, who desire to know *how* a 'self-made man' is made."[106]

The Colored American printed some brief articles on Haynes in March and April, 1837. Printed from 1837 to 1841, *The Colored American*, which took as a motto "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation," published black views on slavery, colonization, and abolition. Again Haynes was presented as a man who made "almost unassisted efforts" to gain an education and a career. He was the "only man of *known* African descent," according to *The Colored American,* "who has ever succeeded in overpowering the system of American *caste."* The commentary in the newspaper on Haynes's life emphasized his energy in self-advancement, described his writing only by noting that one sermon was "short, plain and very good," and advanced that his color was no more "objection" to him than it should be to "any man." Alongside one of its articles on Haynes, *The Colored American* printed another notice of a black man as a self-made man. "John Barry Meachum, a free man of color," stated the article, "was born a slave, obtained his liberty by his own industry." He purchased various family members, began a carpentry business in St. Louis with a three dollar stake, and preached in a Baptist church there. He encouraged liberty by buy-

ing slaves, instructing them in "habits of industry and economy," and allowing them to purchase themselves. He announced himself for temperance and he was "worth about $25,000."[107]

Black men like Meachum and like Haynes, as he was cast posthumously, were free in a manner esteemed by abolitionists. "Real freedom" for the abolitionists, Ronald G. Walters writes, "meant the absence, as much as possible, of external restraints on one's behavior."[108] Haynes had promoted "external restraints," civic, divine, and sentimental, as essential to the abolition of slavery and the creation of a postslavery republic. Republicanism and Calvinism both constrained Americans in ways that abolitionism did not—and among those constraints were sentimental ideals of affection and harmony between blacks and whites. In the decade of his death and of the birth of the national abolitionist movement, Haynes himself was reinvented as the black man prized by abolitionists—a man who exercised his freedom independently and made no demands on the white population or the American state. Liberty in nineteenth-century America meant not only freedom for the slaves but also freedom for whites from blacks. This was a freedom first articulated in colonization, which undermined everything for which Haynes had stood from 1776 to his last decade, which saw also the spurt of colonizationist activity and the birth of organized abolitionism. It was also a freedom that Haynes would not have understood, except that in jettisoning republican and New Divinity notions of sentiment and unity, it threatened his vision of a black-and-white Christian republic.

The displacement of the sentimental ideals of eighteenth-century republicanism and Calvinism with nineteenth-century notions of freedom and individualism worked within abolitionism and probably allowed it to become a major force in the antebellum period. In the early 1830s, as Haynes passed away, William Lloyd Garrison laid the intellectual and moral groundwork for antebellum abolitionism. We must understand that Garrison's vision of a free society was the opposite of Haynes's. The white abolitionist never imagined that republican and Christian values could conquer the impulses that had led to the enslavement of blacks, much less, in conquering them, unite blacks and whites in society. In short, Garrison was no sentimentalist. He never expected to uproot "selfish motives," but rather assumed that they were to be tolerated in a necessary compromise, however unpleasant. He wrote, "I am persuaded that robbery,—well contrived, deliberately executed robbery,—is perpetrated in every community among ourselves, without any due estimate of its moral turpitude, by reputable merchants and traders upon their customers, to a larger extent than all the avowed and heinous thefts collectively, which are committed against society." Free black men would, at best, come to follow the "dishonest conduct" of their white counterparts. His ideal of a postslavery society was not a close-knit community united in sentiment, but an expansive nation pushing individuals out into a greater world. He wrote, "I believe the time is swiftly approaching when empires and continents shall as freely commingle their population as do states and neighborhoods. To limit or obstruct this intercourse, is to impoverish and circumscribe human happi-

ness."[109] One remarkable feature of Garrison's writing was his use of language to describe God that would have been familiar to Haynes—God overruled, worked providentially, threatened vengeance—without a word of the sentimental union of believers that the black abolitionist thought was a part of true Christianity, true republicanism, and true freedom. Abolitionism could almost certainly not have spread in the American population in the middle of the nineteenth century without Garrison's individualistic vision. Haynes's ideals threatened not just slavery but also civic and cultural—even personal—separation between blacks and whites. Haynes's ideals also implied a postslavery society quite different from the standard of the last third of the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth century.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M., For Many Years Pastor of a Church in Rutland, Vt., and Late in Granville, New-York* (1837; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 28–29. Cooley's book is summarized in W. H. Morse, "Lemuel Haynes," *The Journal of Negro History* 4 (1919): 22–32. For a contemporary's report on prejudice against Haynes, see Ebenezer Baldwin, *Observations on the Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Qualities of Our Colored Population: With Remarks on the Subject of Emancipation and Colonization* (New Haven, Conn.: L. H. Young, 1834), pp. 45–46, discussed in Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 244.

2. William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 13–18, discusses the concentration of black New Englanders in cities and towns along waterways. Rita Roberts also notes the significant concentration of blacks near Haynes's birthplace; Roberts, "Patriotism and Political Criticism: The Evolution of Political Consciousness in the Mind of a Black Revolutionary Soldier," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27 (1994): 569–88; see esp. p. 576. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York: Collier Books, 1964), p. 41, takes a more general approach, noting that in 1755 blacks were about 10 percent of the Rhode Island population and at most 3 percent of that of other New England colonies.

3. Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 27–29. Hayneses were among the first settlers of Hartford; some were leaders in Connecticut politics in the seventeenth century, others became Congregational ministers. The newborn Lemuel may have been sheltered by John Haynes (1724–1796), a descendant of the first governor of Connecticut, John Haynes, who was elected governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635 and of Connecticut in 1639. He served until his death in 1654 and was eulogized in Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England;*

From Its First Planting, in the Year 1620, unto the Year of Our Lord 1698 (1852; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), 1:135–36. G. H. Hollister, *The History of Connecticut, from the First Settlement to the Adoption of the Present Constitution* (New Haven, Conn.: Durrie and Peck, 1855), 1:182. Ruth Bogin also notes that information on the circumstances of Haynes's birth cannot be substantiated; See Bogin, "'Liberty Further Extended': An Antislavery Manuscript by Lemuel Haynes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 40 (1983): 85–105, esp. fn. 1. "Liberty Further Extended: Or free thoughts on the illegality of Slave-keeping; Wherein those arguments that Are used in its vindication Are plainly confuted. Together with an humble Address to such as are Concearned in the practise," is published in Lemuel Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America: The Collected Writings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774–1833*, ed. Richard Newman (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1990), pp. 17–30. In this study, the first publication of each of Haynes's published works is cited, but the 1990 edition is used, except as indicated, for page references.

4. Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 30–31. An alternative scenario, which would contradict the reports of Haynes's acquaintances and his first biographer but is nonetheless plausible, is that Haynes was the son of a white New England man and a black woman and that the circumstances of his birth were fabricated so as not to inconvenience his father.

5. Hollister, *History of Connecticut*, 1:453.

6. Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 31–38.

7. Piersen, *Black Yankees*, p. 37.

8. Ibid., pp. 43–48.

9. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981), p. 156. *The Oxford Companion to African American Literature*, ed. William L. Andrews, Frances Smith Foster, and Trudier Harris (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); see "Wheatley, Phillis."

10. Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, with a new preface by Benjamin Quarles (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 100–123.

11. *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 1:521, 525; 2:269, 272; 3:50–51, 104, 116; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 310, 452.

12. Cooley, *Haynes*, p. 30.

13. Daniel Farrand, *Redemption from Death: A Sermon Delivered at the Funeral of Mrs. Sarah Gold* (Hartford, Conn.: Thomas Greene, 1766), pp. 14–15, italics in original. Farrand also insisted on the propriety of evangelizing among native Americans; Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 60–63; Hollister, *History of Connecticut*, 1:470.

14. Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1973), pp. 66–67.

15. Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, pp. 11–41.

16. Phillip M. Richards, "Phillis Wheatley and Literary Americanization," *American Quarterly* 44 (1992): 163–91, quotations p. 169.

17. Cooley, *Haynes*, p. 31. For hiring out of slave labor in eighteenth-century New England, see Greene, *Negro in Colonial New England*, pp. 120–22.

18. Cooley, *Haynes*, p. 34.

19. Ibid., p. 36.

20. Ruth Bogin, "'The Battle of Lexington': A Patriotic Ballad by Lemuel Haynes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 42 (1985): 499–506, in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America*, pp. 9–15.

21. Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 39–40, 48–49.
22. Ibid., pp. 32–34.
23. Ibid., pp. 35, 39.
24. Ibid., pp. 34, 38–39.
25. Ibid., pp. 39–40. Haynes's identification with the "Hopkintonians" is discussed in John Saillant, "'A Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist': Religion, Race, and Ideology in Post-Revolutionary Vermont," *Vermont History* 61 (1993): 197–216. For the founding of "Separate" churches in mid-eighteenth-century New England, see William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607–1977*, Chicago History of American Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 63–67.
26. Cooley, *Haynes*, p. 41.
27. Job Swift, *Discourses on Religious Subjects, by the Late Rev. Job Swift, D.D., To Which Are Prefixed, Sketches of His life and Character, and a Sermon, Preached at West-Rutland, on the Occasion of His Death, by the Rev. Lemuel Haynes* (Middlebury, Vt.: Huntington and Fitch, 1805), pp. vi–vii. Haynes should be seen as at least a collaborator in the authorship of Swift's sermons, since the deceased man's manuscripts were only notes, not full or even abbreviated texts. Swift's son implicitly attributed the *Discourses* to Haynes, writing that the elder Swift did not write out his sermons "because the people to whom he preached, had a prejudice against written discourse. . . . Some of these were published, in a small volume, after his death, but they were by no means the sermons which he preached." William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit; Or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, from the Early Settlement to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1866) 1:643.
28. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 158–62, 304–5.
29. Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 42–45.
30. Bogin, "'Liberty Further Extended,'" p. 86. For black New Englanders who used the Revolution to reach for freedom, see McManus, *Black Bondage in the North*, pp. 160–70.
31. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 17–30.
32. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 17.
33. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 17.
34. Ibid., p. 18. Since he echoed some of its arguments and since its author was suitably orthodox, Haynes was probably aware of the existence of Samuel Sewall, *The Selling of Joseph, A Memorial* (Boston: Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1700).
35. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 18, 23.
36. Ibid., pp. 18–19.
37. Ibid., pp. 18–20.
38. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
39. Anthony Benezet, *Some Historical Account of Guinea: Its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of Its Inhabitants, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, Its Nature and Lamentable Effects. Also a Republication of the Sentiments of Several Authors of Note on This Interesting Subject, Particularly an Extract of a Treatise by Granville Sharp* (Philadelphia: J. Crukshank, 1771).

40. Benezet, *Historical Account*, title page. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 19. The translations of Acts 17:26 in both the Geneva Bible and the Tyndale's New Testament, either one of which Haynes could have read, are much further from the King James Version than is Benezet's and Haynes's slight misquotation, so it seems likely that Haynes followed Benezet, not a different English translation of Scripture. See *The Geneva Bible, A Facsimile of the 1650 Edition*, with an introduction by Lloyd E. Berry (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 63 (New Testament), and *The New Testament Translated by William Tyndale 1534, A Reprint of the Edition of 1534 with the Translator's Prefaces and Notes and the Variants of the Edition of 1525*, ed. N. Hardy Wallis (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 268.

41. Jonathan Edwards, *Notes on Scripture*, ed. Stephen J. Stein, vol. 15 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 369.

42. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself*, in *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin, 1995), pp. 2–236; see pp. 241, fn. 43, 244, fn. 62; James Walvin, *An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745–1797* (New York: Cassell, 1998), pp. 129–30, 179–81; Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery; Or, the Nature of Servitude as Admitted by the Law of God, Compared to the Modern Slavery of the Africans in the West-Indies; In an Answer to the Advocates for Slavery and Oppression. Addressed to the Sons of Africa, by a Native* (1791), in *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Other Writings*, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), pp. 113–43; quotation p. 119. Benezet had a similar influence on John Wesley, but there is no evidence that Haynes read Wesley's antislavery or theological writings. Wesley's Arminianism and his diatribe against Calvinism would have offended Haynes. For Wesley's borrowings from Benezet, with whom he corresponded, see John Wesley, *Thoughts upon Slavery*, 3d ed. (London: R. Hawes, 1774), pp. 5–12.

43. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 61–62; Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 21.

44. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 61–62; Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 21.

45. Benezet, *Historical Account*, p. 62; Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 21.

46. Benezet, *Historical Account*, p. 61; Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 21.

47. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 61, 96–98, 103–4; Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 21.

48. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. i–iv.

49. As Adam Potkay notes, Equiano and his generation of black writers were concerned with origins, not only of themselves but also of the slave trade and slavery; Potkay, "Olaudah Equiano and the Art of Spiritual Autobiography," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27 (1994): 677–92.

50. Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. 17.

51. Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African, Translated from a Latin Dissertation, which Was Honored with the First Prize, in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785, with Additions*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1787), p. 37.

52. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 122–32; Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 21–22.

53. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 19–32; Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 57–73.

54. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 22–24.

55. Benezet, *Historical Account*, p. 51.

56. Benezet, *Historical Account*, appendix, p. 26.

57. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 22.

58. Prince Hall, *A Charge, Delivered to the African Lodge, June, 24, 1797, at Menotomy. By the Right Worshipful Prince Hall. Published by the Desire of the Members of Said Lodge* (Boston: Benjamin Edes, 1797); reprinted in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1900*, ed. Philip S. Foner and Robert James Branham (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), pp. 45–52; quotations p. 46.

59. I have consulted an American edition of the translation first published in England. *The Koran, Commonly Called the Alcoran of Mahomet. Translated from the Original Arabick into French, by the Sieur de Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and President of the French at Alexandria. The Whole Now Faithfully Translated into English. First American Edition* (Springfield, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas, 1806). This edition is based on André du Ryer, *The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated out of the Arabick into French. . . .* (London: R. Taylor, 1688). A prior English translation of the Qur'an, but not of du Ryer's edition, had appeared in 1649. For comments implying the justness of slavery, see the 1806 edition, pp. 63, 66, 67, 74, 151–52, 279, 454–55. For slavery in the *Thousand and One Nights*, known in the English-speaking world since 1703 and hence another possible source of information about slavery in Islamic societies, see Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 167–75.

60. Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 23–31; Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 12–13, 24–25, 37–38, 41.

61. Robert J. Allison, *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World, 1776–1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 35–59.

62. Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, by Ottobah Cugoano, a Native of Africa* (1787), in *Thoughts and Sentiments*, pp. 1–111, quotation pp. 92–93. Prince Hall, *A Charge Delivered to the Brethren of the African Lodge on the 25th of June, 1792. At the Hall of Brother William Smith, in Charlestown. By the Right Worshipful Master Prince Hall. Printed at the Request of the Lodge* (Boston: T. and J. Fleet, 1792); reprinted in *Lift Every Voice*, pp. 38–44, quotation p. 43.

63. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 6–7, Melville J. Herkovits, *The Human Factor in Changing Africa* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 104–5, notes that the name "Guinea Coast" was once more inclusive than it is now and that "Arabized Islamic people to the north" have influenced the societies to their south.

64. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 10–12.

65. Ibid., pp. 8–13.

66. Ibid., pp. 43–44; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts* (1705; New

York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 210. Similarly, John Wesley attributed slavery to the Israelites, Greeks, and Romans, noting, like Benezet, that Christianity could help abolish slavery while Islam apparently could not help Africans refrain from trading one another into the Atlantic slave system. Wesley, *Thoughts upon Slavery*, pp. 4–7, 10–12. A Methodist antislavery agitator, Samuel Bradburn, also wrote that the "Jewish dispensation" could never justify slavery in a Christian society, since the New Testament religion abolished "national distinctions." Bradburn, *An Address to the People Called Methodists; Concerning the Evil of Encouraging the Slave Trade* (Manchester, England: T. Harper, 1792), pp. 2–19.

67. Anthony Benezet, *A Short Account of that Part of Africa, Inhabited by the Negroes, . . . the Third Edition* (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1762; London: W. Baker and J. W. Galabin, 1763), pp. 73–75, including footnote. Since Haynes referred to a recently published edition of Benezet's pamphlet and quoted material that is in the 1771 printing, but not the 1762 printing, I infer that he read the 1771 edition. For Equiano's reliance on early editions of Benezet's pamphlet, see *The Interesting Narrative*, p. 244, fn. 62, in which Carretta hypothesizes that Equiano was familiar with a 1762 second edition. Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, to Which Is Added an Account of the Present State of Medicine among Them*, 2d ed. (1803; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), 1:231.

68. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 38–39.

69. Ibid., p. 22; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 182–84.

70. Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), p. 178; Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 28–29, 50–51; Ronald Oliver, *The African Experience: Major Themes in African History from Earliest Times to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), pp. 116–19.

71. Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 58, 68, 87, 91, 98–100.

72. Ibid., p. 99.

73. John Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Polemics over Race and Slavery in North and West Africa (16th–19th Century)," *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 7 (1999): 43–68.

74. David Brion Davis, "The Culmination of Racial Polarities and Prejudice," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 575–775, see p. 761; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (New York: Verso, 1997), pp. 79–82; James H. Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 54 (1997): 143–66, see pp. 145–50. Benjamin Braude argues that a fifteenth-century text implies that Muslims then distinguished between Muslim blacks, who were not to be enslaved, and non-Muslim blacks, who could be enslaved; Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 54 (1997): 102–42, see p. 134.

75. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 5–6; David Richardson, "Shipboard Revolts, African Authority, and the Atlantic Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 58 (2001): 83; David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 58 (2001): 33–34; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, pp. 58–59; Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 24–25.

76. Michael A. Gomez, *Pragmatism in the Age of the Jihad: The Precolonial State of Bundu* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 26–28, 52–53, 58–59. Bundu was known in the early nineteenth century in England and America as a slave-trading state. See "Review of Gray's Travels in Western Africa," *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* 1 (1826): 270–72.

77. Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, pp. 12, 37–38.

78. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*, ed. David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Two queries were submitted: (1) time=1751–1775, region= where slaves embarked/Senegambia; (2) time=1776–1800, region=where slaves embarked/Senegambia. Summaries of the results show 49,096 slaves embarked in Senegambia and disembarked in the following points that Equiano inhabited or visited: Barbados, the Carolinas, Georgia, Grenada, Jamaica, Martinique, Montserrat, New York, Pennsylvania (the database combines Pennsylvania with Delaware and New Jersey), St. Kitts, and Virginia. A figure of 283 slaves who embarked in Senegambia and disembarked in New England is yielded by the same queries. For Equiano's travels in the New World, see Walvin, *An African's Life*, pp. 16–121. Phillis Wheatley, living in New England in 1774, identified herself as having been born in the Gambia. See "Phillis's Reply to the Answer," in *The Collected Works of Phillis Wheatley*, ed. John Shields (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 143–45.

79. Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 2–6; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 631–40.

80. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, p. 635.

81. *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who Was a Slave about Two Years in Maryland; And Afterwards Being Brought to England, Was Set Free, and Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734*, ed. Thomas Bluett (London: Richard Ford, 1734). The best analyses are Philip D. Curtin, "Ayuba Suleiman Diallo of Bondo," in *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. Philip D. Curtin (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 17–34, and Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 51–62.

82. Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 15, 75.

83. Lemuel Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated. A Sermon Delivered at Brandon, Vermont, February 22, 1813, before the Washington Benevolent Society, It Being the Anniversary of Gen. Washington's Birthday* (Rutland, Vt.: Fay and Davison, 1814), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America*, pp. 149–69, quotation p. 157.

84. For the West African Muslim resistance to the slave trade, see Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, p. 86, and Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 394.

85. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 2, 10–12.

86. Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, p. 107.

87. *The Proceedings of the Free African Union Society and the African Benevolent Society, Newport, Rhode Island, 1780–1824*, ed. William H. Robinson (Providence: The Urban League of Rhode Island, 1976), pp. 86–87.

88. Prince Hall, *A Charge*, p. 50.

89. Benezet, *Historical Account*, pp. 9–13, 26–31, 60–72.

90. On the radicalism of Hutcheson's critique of the slave trade and slavery, see Wylie Sypher, "Hutcheson and the 'Classical' Theory of Slavery," *The Journal of Negro History* 24 (1939): 263–80.

91. Benezet, *Historical Account*, appendix, pp. 40–42.

92. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 26–27.

93. Benezet, *Historical Account*, appendix, pp. 36–37.

94. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 24.

95. Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, pp. 40–45. Equiano's claim to have recognized remnants of Old Testament culture in Igbo territory seems unaccountable since the region was little affected by Islam, which was thought to be the conduit of Judaism to West Africa. However, recent research suggests that Equiano was born in the New World; see Vincent Carretta, "Olaudah Equiano or Gustavas Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity," *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Societies* 20 (1999): 96–105. If this is so, one reasonable conjecture is that at least some of Equiano's informants were Senegambian while he cast himself as an Igbo without accounting for the variety of religion and culture in West Africa. Such a tactic would have followed from eighteenth-century abolitionists' assumptions, both in the connection to the Old Testament and Islam and in the generalizing about West Africa.

96. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, p. 16.

97. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 24–25.

98. Ibid., pp. 19, 26–29.

99. Ibid., p. 24.

100. Benezet, *Historical Account*, appendix, p. 40.

101. Quoted in Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Polemics," pp. 50–51.

102. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 24–25.

103. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, pp. 42–43. Cugoano found the point important enough to repeat four years later, writing of Old Testament slavery that "the great thing imported by it, and what is chiefly to be deduced from it in this respect, is, that so far as the law concerning bondservants, and that establishment of servitude, as admitted in the Mosiacal institution, was set forth, it was thereby intended to prefigure and point out, that spiritual subjection and bondage to sin, that all mankind, by their original transgression, were fallen into." Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, in *Thoughts and Sentiments*, p. 131.

104. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, p. 86; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 43; see also Ephesians 6:5.

105. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 21, 25–26.

106. Samuel Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave Trade and the Slavery of the Africans* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter, 1793), pp. 14–21; Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered July 23, 1812, on the Public Fast, in the Chapel at Yale College* (New Haven: Howe and Defrost, 1812), p. 44; Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered August 20, 1812, on the National Fast* (New York: J. Seymour, 1812), p. 4; Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement*, pp. 143–48. The prominence of eschatology in the Puritan tradition is noted in M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 376–77.

107. Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption*, ed. John F. Wilson, vol. 9 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 463, see also pp. 410, 415, 469, 524; and Job Swift, *Discourses*, pp. 275–82.

108. Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium. Showing from Scripture Prophecy, That It Is Yet to Come; When It Will Come; In What It Will Consist; and the Events Which Are First to Take Place, Introductory to It* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Adams, 1793), pp. 107, 146.

109. For this eschatological notion and its transfer to British Protestantism, including that of seventeenth-century New England, see Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 153–54, 158–60, 162–63, 171, 176, 181.

110. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, p. 93.

111. Ibid., p. 67.

112. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 27.

113. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments*, p. 85.

114. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 27–28.

115. Ibid., pp. 24, 28.

116. Ibid., pp. 27–28.

117. Ibid., p. 28.

118. The relevant comparison is with antebellum abolitionism, which lost most of the sweep and historicism of eighteenth-century black abolitionism insofar as abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison emphasized slavery as an individual sin committed by slaveholders at the moment, not as part of an ancient and, by the eighteenth century, transatlantic form of oppression. See, for example, William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: Or an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the Resolutions, Addresses and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832), p. 20.

119. Haynes, [A Sermon on John 3:3,] in Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 49–58, and Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America*, pp. 31–38. A number of Haynes's writings survive as autographs for which he never provided a title. In citing these works, I have used a descriptive title and placed it in square brackets.

120. Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 4–26.

121. For example, compare Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption,* pp. 410–11, to Jonathan Edwards, *Sermons and Discourses, 1723–1729*, ed. Kenneth P. Minkema, vol. 14 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 462.

122. Haynes, [A Sermon,] pp. 31–32.

123. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. J. K. Elliott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 164–204.

124. Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995).

125. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 28.

126. Haynes, [A Sermon on John 3:3,] pp. 33–38.

127. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 17.

128. Ibid., pp. 17–18.

129. Ibid., pp. 17–18.
130. Ibid., pp. 21–22, 24, 26.
131. Ibid., p. 27.
132. Ibid., p. 29.
133. Ibid., p. 30.
134. Cooley, *Haynes*, pp. 272–73.
135. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 28–29.

Chapter Two

1. For the Somerset case, see James Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1994), p. 305. For Dunmore and the offer of freedom to slaves of patriots, see Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 57–73. For Clinton, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 278. For the early discussions of abolition in Parliament, see David Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 29. For the black loyalists in transit to Sierra Leone, see James W. St. George Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (New York: Dalhousie University Press, 1976), pp. 18–32, 64–71. For the link between loyalism and Afro-British abolitionism see John Saillant, "Antiguan Methodism and Antislavery Activity: Anne and Elizabeth Hart in the Eighteenth-Century Black Atlantic," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 69 (2000): 86–115. For the legacy of the Revolution in antebellum abolitionism, see, for an example of the primary sources, William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: Or an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the Resolutions, Addresses and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832), pp. 12–14, and, for an example of the scholarly analysis, Maggie Montesinos Sales, *The Slumbering Volcano: American Slave Ship Revolts and the Production of Rebellious Masculinity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 17.

2. For Islam understood as a despotic religion in the era of the American Revolution, see, for example, *The Algerine Spy in Pennsylvania: Or, Letters Written by a Native of Algiers on the Affairs of the United States of America, from the Close of the Year 1783 to the Meeting of the Convention* (Philadelphia: Prichard and Hall, 1787), esp. pp. 73–77. See Cecilia M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 12 (1955): 3–43, for animadversions in the context of discussions of the proposed constitutions on Muslims as despots.

3. Lemuel Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended: Or free thoughts on the illegality of Slave-keeping; Wherein those arguments that Are used in its vindication Are plainly confuted. Together with an humble Address to such as are Concearned in the practise," in Lemuel Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America: The Collected Writings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774–1833,* ed. Richard Newman (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1990), pp. 17–30.

4. For a parallel argument about Thomas Paine, see Gregory Claeys, *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 49–50.

5. Haynes's biographer noted that he never forgot the War of Independence. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Rev. Lemuel Haynes,*

A.M., For Many Years Pastor of a Church in Rutland, Vt., and Late in Granville, New-York (1837; New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 45–47. At least until 1820, Haynes never sought to displace the Revolution with "less problematic formative events in the colonial past." See Joseph A. Conforti, "The Invention of the Great Awakening, 1795–1842," *Early American Literature* 26 (1992): 99–118, quotation p. 102.

6. Lemuel Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism: With a Few Suggestions Favorable to Independence. A Discourse, Delivered at Rutland, (Vermont,) The Fourth of July, 1801.—It Being the 25th Anniversary of American Independence* (Rutland, Vt.: William Fay, 1801), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 77–88.

7. African American responses to the colonization movement are noted in Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization, 1787–1863* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); and David E. Swift, *Black Prophets of Justice: Activist Clergy before the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), pp. 24–46.

8. Colonizationist efforts are analyzed in P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Robert McColley, *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia,* 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973); John Chester Miller, *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (New York: Free Press, 1977); and Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987).

9. D. Sherman, *Sketches of New England Divines* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1860), p. 273.

10. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 17.

11. Lemuel Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated. A Sermon Delivered at Brandon, Vermont, February 22, 1813, before the Washington Benevolent Society, it Being the Anniversary of Gen. Washington's Birth-Day*, in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 149–69.

12. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 24.

13. Anthony Benezet, *Some Historical Account of Guinea Its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of Its Inhabitants, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, Its Nature and Lamentable Effects. Also a Republication of the Sentiments of Several Authors of Note on This Interesting Subject, Particularly an Extract of a Treatise by Granville Sharp* (Philadelphia: J. Crukshank, 1771), pp. 72–73.

14. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 29.

15. Ruth Bogin, "'The Battle of Lexington': A Patriotic Ballad by Lemuel Haynes," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series 42 (1985): 499–506; Lemuel Haynes, "The Battle of Lexington," in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 9–15. Ruth Bogin surmises that the poem was written in mid-1775, when Haynes, with forty-one other minutemen from Granville, Massachusetts, was stationed at Roxbury in order to contain the British troops in Boston. Here I follow her edition of the poem by adding in angle brackets words Haynes crossed out and that were deleted from the edition in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America.*

16. The 1767 edition was James Lyon, *Urania, or a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns, from the Most Approved Authors . . .* (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1767).

17. Bogin, "'The Battle of Lexington,'" pp. 501–6. Crossed-out words in the original are presented here in angle brackets. It is probably evidence of Haynes's literary precocity that his meter and rhyme were finalized, at the latest, in one of his intermediate drafts, so that all his revisions conformed to the hymn prosody he was following.

18. See Lois E. Horton, "From Class to Race in Early America: Northern Post-Emancipation, Radical Reconstruction," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 629–49, and James Brewer Stewart, "Modernizing 'Difference': The Political Meanings of Color in the Free States, 1776–1840," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 691–712, esp. p. 693.

19. Paul A. Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 32.

20. Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 232–39.

21. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 24–25.

22. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language,* 4th ed. (Dublin: T. Ewing, 1775); see "bondservant," "despotick," "enslave," "free" (v.a.), "freeborn," "freedom," "freely," "liberty," and "slave," and, for comparison, "asiento" and "foot," which contains an attestation from Addison condemning English attitudes toward blacks.

23. Thomas J. Davis, "Emancipation Rhetoric, Natural Rights, and Revolutionary New England: A Note on Four Black Petitions in Massachusetts, 1773–1777, *New England Quarterly* 62 (1989): 248–63.

24. Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 94–138.

25. Samuel Johnson, *Taxation No Tyranny,* in Samuel Johnson, *Political Writings: The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson,* ed. Donald J. Greene (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 10:401–55. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 3, notes that the irony of the American Revolution was immediately recognized.

26. James Duane, Speech to the Committee on Rights, September 8, 1774, Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976), 1:53–54.

27. Richard Henry Lee, Draft Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:178–179.

28. Joseph Galloway to Samuel Kerplanck?, December 30, 1774, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:289.

29. Samuel Ward to Samuel Ward, Jr., May 26, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:411; Richard Henry Lee to Gouverneur Morris, May 28, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:415 ; Fragment of a Speech in Congress (author unknown), May, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:426–29; Samuel Adams to James Warren, December 26, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, 2:520–21.

30. George Washington to George William Fairfax, May 31, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:425.

31. John Hancock to Certain Colonies, June 4, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:137.

32. John Adams to William Heath, October 5, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 2:112.

33. Samuel Adams to Arthur Lee, March 4, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:320.

34. Thomas Lynch to Ralph Izard [occasionally spelled "Izzard"], November 19, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 2:363.

35. Thomas Lynch to George Washington, November 13, 1775, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 2:339. "Wood cutters" was possibly a reference to the Hivites, dwellers in Canaan who were enslaved by the Israelites (Joshua 9:7–27; 1 Kings 9:20–22).

36. John Dickinson's Draft Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, October 19–21[?], 1774, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 1:214.

37. Benjamin Franklin to Anthony Todd, March 29, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 3:463.

38. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 68–110.

39. Benjamin Quarles, "The Revolutionary War as a Black Declaration of Independence," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution,* ed. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 291.

40. Frey, *Water from the Rock,* p. 45.

41. Ibid., pp. 148, 173–93.

42. John Adams's Notes of Debate, July 30, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4: 568–69. Such comments about the hazards of slavery echoed the antislave-trade petition of the Virginia House of Burgesses to the king in 1772. See Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. 22.

43. Francis Lightfoot Lee to Landon Carter, July 16, 1776, in fn. 1, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:472.

44. John Adams's Notes of Debates, August 1, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:592.

45. Thomas Burke's Notes of Debates, February 25, 1777, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 6:356–60.

46. Walvin, *Black Ivory,* pp. 14–15, 305.

47. Some brief and valuable comments on slavery, Jefferson, and the Declaration of Independence appear in Allen Jayne, *Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: Origins, Philosophy and Theology* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), pp. 123–25.

48. Ibid., pp. 123–24.

49. John Witherspoon's Speech in Congress, July 30, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:585. See also David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture,* p. 47.

50. Thomas Jefferson's Notes of Proceedings in Congress, July 12, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:442.

51. Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 70–79, includes Cooley's transcription of Haynes's journal kept on a preaching tour of Vermont in 1785. Haynes recorded a number of biblical verses from which he preached, but he did not copy down his sermons. Moreover, it is possible that some of Haynes's sermons that survive in autographs, most without a date of composition, were first preached in these years. Newman dates one in 1780: Lemuel Haynes, [A Sermon on Psalm 96:1,] in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 39–41.

52. Luke 22:26 echoes Matthew 23:8–12, which Haynes paraphrased elsewhere. Matthew 23 attacks those who would be "masters" and prophesies the triumph of the "servant" and the "abased." If Haynes intended his audience to think of Matthew while

he preached from Luke, he would have been criticizing slavery and inequality in the allusive way he often did.

53. David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 311–15.

54. Ibid., p. 325.

55. "Account of the Celebration of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," *American Yeoman,* July 22, 1817, 1:3.

56. Melish, *Disowning Slavery,* pp. 163–83.

57. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* p. 77.

58. Ibid., pp. 80–81.

59. Ibid., p. 81.

60. Ibid., p. 80.

61. Ibid., p. 80. In arguing that slavery threatened republican society and that thus blacks should have been free and equal to whites, Haynes fit George A. Levesque's assertion that black Americans in the early republic had "strategic possibilities" beyond assimilation into white America or separation from it. George A. Levesque, "Interpreting Early Black Ideology: A Reappraisal of Historical Consensus," *Journal of the Early Republic* 1 (1981): 269–87, quotation p. 281.

62. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* p. 81.

63. Randolph A. Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1792–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 1.

64. Ibid., p. 14.

65. Ibid., p. 40.

66. Gary J. Aichele, "Making the Vermont Constitution, 1777–1824," *Vermont History* 56 (1988): 166–90, quotation p. 182.

67. *Manual of the First Congregational Church, West Rutland,* (Rutland, Vt.: Globe Paper Company, 1877), p. 8.

68. *Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Rutland, Vt., October 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th, 1870, including the Addresses, Historical Papers, Poems, Responses at the Dinner Table, Etc.,* compiled by Chauncy K. Williams (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle and Company, 1870), pp. 29–30.

69. P. Jeffrey Potash, *Vermont's Burned-Over District: Patterns of Community Development and Religious Activity, 1761–1850* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1991), pp. 129–34, quotation p. 132.

70. Stephen A. Freeman, "Puritans in Rutland, Vermont, 1770–1818," *Vermont History* 33 (1965): 342–48.

71. H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, *History of Rutland County, Vermont, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason and Company, 1886), p. 55.

72. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* pp. 82–83.

73. Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium. Showing from Scripture Prophecy, That It Will Come; When It Will Come; In What It Is to Consist; and the Events which Are First to Take Place, Introductory to It* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793), pp. 81–82.

74. Samuel Adams to Joseph Hawley, April 15, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 3:528.

75. John Adams to Abigail Adams, May 17, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:17.

76. John Adams to Abigail Adams, August 14, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:678–79.

77. John Adams to James Warren, February 17, 1777; Elias Boudinot to Hannah Boudinot, July 26, 1778, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 6:307; 10:352.

78. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* pp. 80, 83–85.

79. Ibid., pp. 77–78, 81, 85, 87.

80. Ibid., p. 78.

81. Ibid., pp. 79–80, 82, 85.

82. Ibid., p. 86.

83. John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* (Bristol, England: William Pine, 1765) 3:2257, commentary on Jeremiah 50:38: "This phrase has a plain reference to *Cyrus'*s stratagem used in the surprize of *Babylon;* one part of it was fortified by the great river *Euphrates,* which *Cyrus* had diverted by cutting several channels, 'till he had drained it so low, that it became passable to his enemies." *Explanatory Notes* 3:2259–63 continued Wesley's commentary on the connection between the draining of the Euphrates and the liberation of the Jews from Babylon. See also Jonathan Edwards, *Notes on Scripture,* ed. Stephen J. Stein, vol. 15 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 315–16, including fn 9, for a similar view and Edwards's link to Islam.

84. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* pp. 79, 85, 86, 88.

85. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* p. 189.

86. Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes,* p. 257.

87. Haynes drew on a tradition of Edwardsean concern with hypocrisy, extending it here from theology to social thought. See Ava Chamberlain, "Jonathan Edwards on the Relation between Hypocrisy and the Religious Life," in *Perspectives on American Religion and Culture,* ed. Peter W. Williams (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 336–52.

88. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* pp. 154, 167.

89. Ibid., pp. 149–50.

90. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself,* in *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings,* ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 3. Allen's address was printed in the *Philadelphia Gazette,* December 31, 1799, the *New York Spectator,* January 8, 1800, and the *Boston Independent Chronicle,* January 13–16, 1800. A modern reprinting appears in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1900,* ed. Philip S. Foner and Robert James Branham (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), pp. 56–58.

91. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* p. 151.

92. Ibid., p. 157.

93. Ibid., p. 157.

94. Ibid., p. 166.

95. Ibid., p. 158.

96. John Adams to Abigail Adams, May 17, 1776, Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* 4:17.

97. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* p. 153.

98. Benjamin Quarles writes that black Americans at large were loyal to republican principles but not to the people who claimed to embody them but refused to take a firm stand against slavery. Quarles, "The Revolutionary War as a Black Declaration of Independence," pp. 292–93.

99. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* p. 153.

100. [Lemuel Haynes,] *A POEM, Occasioned by the Sudden and Surprising Death of Mr. ASA BURT, of Granville; Who Was Mortally Wounded by Falling a Tree, on the 28th of January, 1774, in the 37th Year of His Age, and Expired a Few Hours after He Received the Wound* (published c. 1774 as a broadside), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 3–8.

101. Lemuel Haynes, [A Sermon on Hebrews 12:23,] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 17.

102. *Morning Ray,* November 21, December 20, 1791.

103. *Morning Ray,* March 6, May 22, 1792.

104. *Herald of Vermont,* July 9, July 23, September 3, 1792.

105. *The Farmer's Library, Or Vermont Political and Historical Register,* May 6, August 26, September 23, 1793.

106. *Rutland Herald,* February 9, February 16, March 9, March 23, April 13, May 4, 1795; October 17, 1796; March 20, May 14, 1797; February 19, November 5, 1798.

107. *Vergennes* [Vt.] *Gazette,* October 11, October 18, December 12, 1798; January 31, September 12, 1799; February 27, April 17, 1800.

108. *Vermont Mercury,* March 29, May 10, 1802.

109. *Middlebury Mercury,* March 24, July 21, 1802; January 5, June 6, 1803.

110. *The Post Boy,* January 15, 1805.

111. Stanley L. Engerman, "Slavery at Different Times and Places," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 480–84, quotation p. 483.

112. Peter S. Onuf, "Reflections on the Founding: Constitutional Historiography in Bicentennial Perspective," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series 46 (1989): 341–74, quotation p. 344.

113. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense,* in *The Writings of Thomas Paine,* ed. Moncure Daniel Conway (1902; New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 1:69; Claeys, *Thomas Paine,* pp. 76, 92–94.

114. James T. Kloppenberg, "Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History* 74 (1987): 358–59; Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern,* p. 617.

115. Garry Wills, *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1978), esp. pp. 287–88; A. Owen Aldridge, *Thomas Paine's American Ideology,* pp. 47–62. The British background of sentimentalism is well discussed in John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), esp. pp. 25–26. Here I follow the approach developed in two articles: John Saillant, "Lemuel Haynes's Black Republicanism and the American Republican Tradition, 1775–1820," *Journal of the Early Republic* 14 (1994): 293–324; and John Saillant, "The American Enlightenment in Africa: Jefferson's Colonizationism and Black Virginians' Migration to Liberia, 1776–1840," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31 (1998): 261–82.

116. Thomas Jefferson to Governor John Tyler, May 26, 1810, in Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh (Washington, D.C.: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1903), 12:393–94. Richard K. Matthews, *The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson: A Revisionist View* (Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1984), pp. 81–89. A fine study situating Dwight in the republican era is Kenneth Silverman, *Timothy Dwight* (New York: Twayne, 1969).

117. Conrad Edick Wright, *The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), pp. 26–28.

118. Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992), pp. 20–45.

119. Duncan J. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race, and the American Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 78–85.

120. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Query VII, "The Number of Its Inhabitants?" in Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 2:120–21.

121. Thomas Jefferson to John Banister, Jr., October 15, 1785, in Thomas Jefferson, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* edited by Julian P. Boyd et al. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950–2000), 8:637.

122. Thomas Jefferson to Monsieur d'Ivernois, February 6, 1795, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 9:299–300. For a trenchant brief discussion of the distance between Jefferson and Madison, see Matthews, *The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson,* pp. 23–24.

123. Thomas Jefferson, "Autobiography," in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 1:81–82, 116–19.

124. Thomas Jefferson to John Tyler, May 26, 1810, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 12:393–94; Matthews, *The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson,* pp. 81–89; "Thomas Jefferson's Design for His State University—The Rockfish Gap Report (1818)," in *Theories of Education in Early America, 1655–1819,* edited by Wilson Smith (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), pp. 322–29.

125. Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, August 8, 1810; Thomas Jefferson to Nathaniel Burwell, March 14, 1818; Thomas Jefferson to William Short, October 31, 1819; Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, March 14, 1820, in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 12:401–3, 15:166, 219, 240. Charles A. Miller, *Jefferson and Nature: An Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), p. 35.

126. Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, October 12, 1786; Thomas Jefferson to Peter Carr, August 10, 1787, in *Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* 10:449–50, 12:17.

127. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Query XIV, "The Administration of Justice and the Description of the Laws?" in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 2:199, 201; Garrett Ward Sheldon, *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 133–34.

128. Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, July 14, 1793; Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* Query VIII, "The Number of Its Inhabitants?" in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 9:164–65, 2:124.

129. Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, November 24, 1801; Thomas Jefferson to Rufus King, July 13, 1802; Thomas Jefferson to Doctor Thomas Humphreys, February 8, 1817, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 10:294–97, 326–29, 15:102–3.

130. Quoted in Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement,* pp. 171–72.

131. Jefferson, "Autobiography," in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 1:72–73. See also Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern,* pp. 619, 636–37, 648; and Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Times: The Sage of Monticello* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), pp. 341–42.

132. Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 10.

133. Thomas Paine, "African Slavery in America," in *The Writings of Thomas Paine,* 1:2–9. An argument against the inclusion in the Paine canon of the antislavery essay advocating the use of blacks as a buffer against the Indians appears in Aldridge, *Thomas Paine's American Ideology,* pp. 289–91.

134. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution,* p. 81.

135. "Liberty and Slavery," *The Religious Intelligencer for the Year Ending May,*

1826. Containing the Principal Transactions of the Various Bible and Missionary Societies, with Particular Accounts of Revivals of Religion 10 (1825): 30.

136. Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), p. 102.

137. Gary B. Nash, *Race and Revolution* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1990), pp. 26–29.

138. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution,* p. 257.

139. C. B. McPherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 17–20.

140. Anne M. Cohler, *Montesquieu's Comparative Politics and the Spirit of American Constitutionalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), p. 95; see also pp. 99–101 for the conditions under which the good of society justified the curtailment of liberty.

141. Ibid., pp. 8–9; see also p. 55 for the limited spirit of republicanism versus the universalist spirit of Christianity.

142. James Madison to Lafayette, February 1, 1830, in James Madison, *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison: Fourth President of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1865), 4:60; Drew R. McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 252, 277–310, quotation p. 303.

143. "Speeches in the Virginia Convention, June 5th to 24th [1788]," James Madison, *The Writings of James Madison,* ed. Galliard Hunt (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 5:233.

144. Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern,* pp. 617–48; McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers,* pp. 39–46.

145. Lance Banning, "Some Second Thoughts on Virtue and the Course of Revolutionary Thinking," in *Conceptual Change and the Constitution,* ed. Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), pp. 206–7. The way in which the Federalist papers recast "traditional republican concern for social homogeneity" into an "emphasis on patriotism" requiring loyalty to the extended republic, but not unity and a sense of shared interests, is discussed in David F. Ericson, *The Shaping of American Liberalism: The Debates over Ratification, Nullification, and Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 61–72.

146. Staughton Lynd, "The Abolitionist Critique of the United States Constitution," in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*, ed. Martin Duberman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 209–39, quotations pp. 224, 235.

147. Quoted in McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers,* p. 108.

148. Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization,* pp. 1–38, quotations p. 9.

Chapter Three

1. Mark Valeri, "The New Divinity and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series 46 (1989): 741–69, esp. pp. 742–43.

2. "Joseph Bellamy, D. D.," and "Samuel Hopkins, D. D.," in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1866), 1:404–12 (406 on Bellamy's son's death in 1776 from smallpox contracted while in military service), 428–35 (430 on Hopkins's brother's death in 1776 from a "fever" contracted while in a military camp). Entries on leading New Divinity ministers like Levi Hart

(1:590–94), Joseph Dana (1:597–602), Ebenezer Baldwin (1:635–40), Nathaniel Emmons (1:693–706), and Nathan Strong (2:34–41) emphasize their patriotism. For the military experience of other New Divinity ministers and Jonathan Edwards's grandson, Timothy Dwight, see Charles E. Cunningham, *Timothy Dwight, 1751–1817, A Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 64–92. Two superb studies of the New Divinity ministers' adherence to the republican cause are Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), and Donald Weber, *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), which notes the patriotism of Jonathan Edwards, Jr., p. 69. A similarly superb guide to Edwardsean social thought is Gerald R. McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society: The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

3. William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: Or an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the Resolutions, Addresses and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832), pp. 17–19.

4. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M., For Many Years Pastor of a Church in Rutland, Vt., and Late in Granville, New York* (1837; New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 59.

5. Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 60–62. For Farrand's hyper-Calvinism and association with Samuel Hopkins, see Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.,* ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 2:395.

6. The only one of Haynes's early associates who published extensively, Ebenezer Bradford (1746–1801), left a record of strict adherence to the New Divinity. Ezra Stiles made several dismissive comments about Bradford's itinerancy and inability to retain a pulpit. See Stiles, *Literary Diary,* 2:403, 451.

7. Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 62–63. Stiles, *Literary Diary,* 3:202: "Wedny Nov. 9, at Granville the Rev. Lemuel Haynes was ordained by Rev. Joshua Knapp of Winchester, Rev. Daniel Farrand of Canaan who preached 2 Sam. vii, 18, Revd Amos Thompson of No Canaan, Rev. Jeremiah Hallock of West Symsbury made concludg Prayer."

8. Lemuel Haynes, [A Sermon on John 3:3,] in Lemuel Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America: The Collected Writings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774–1833,* ed. Richard Newman (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1990), p. 32. The arguments that appeared in Haynes's sermon had been made in Samuel Hopkins, *An Enquiry Concerning the Promises of the Gospel* (Boston: W. McAlpine and J. Fleeming, 1765), Samuel Hopkins, *Two Discourses. I. On the Necessity of the Knowledge of the Law of God, in Order to the Knowledge of Sin. II. A Particular and Critical Inquiry into the Cause, Nature and Means of That Change in Which Men Are Born of God* (Boston: William M'Alpine, 1768), and Samuel Hopkins, *The True State and Character of the Unregenerate, Stripped of All Misrepresentation and Disguise* (New Haven: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1769).

9. Haynes, [A Sermon on John 3:3,] pp. 35–36. Monroe Fordham notes that one "important doctrine which characterized revivalist as well as black religious thought was the doctrine that those who have grace are characterized by disinterested benevolence." Monroe Fordham, *Major Themes in Northern Black Religious Thought* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1975), p. 15.

10. Haynes, [A Sermon on John 3:3,] p. 36

11. Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 63–65. The claim that belief in the freedom of the will was in itself a sign of unbelief had been made in the sixteenth century by some English Puritans and continued in the eighteenth century to influence Anglo-Americans

in the Calvinist tradition. M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 368–69.

12. Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington, Connecticut, from Its First Settlement in 1737, with Biographies and Genealogies* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1878), pp. 31–36.

13. Norman Fiering, "The Rationalistic Foundations of Jonathan Edwards's Metaphysics," *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience,* ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 78. William Breitenbach, "Piety *and* Moralism: Edwards and the New Divinity," *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience,* p. 186. Joseph Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932), pp. 16–17. Here I follow the argument developed in "Slavery and Divine Providence in New England Calvinism: The New Divinity and a Black Protest, 1775–1805," *New England Quarterly* 68 (1995): 584–608.

14. Breitenbach, "Piety *and* Moralism," p. 188; Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism,* pp. 43–44, 72–74; Stephen Garrard Post, "Love and Eudaemonism: A Study in the Thought of Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago Divinity School, 1983), pp. 43–45.

15. Breitenbach, "Piety *and* Moralism," p. 189.

16. Fiering, "The Rationalistic Foundations of Jonathan Edwards's Metaphysics," p. 85.

17. Job Swift, *Discourses on Religious Subjects, by the Late Rev. Job Swift, D.D. To Which Are Prefixed, Sketches of His Life and Character, and a Sermon, Preached at West-Rutland, on the Occasion of His Death, by the Rev. Lemuel Haynes* (Middlebury, Vt.: Huntington and Fitch, 1805), p. 238.

18. Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism,* pp. 39–40; Samuel Hopkins, *Sin, thro' Divine Interposition, an Advantage to the Universe* (Boston: Daniel and John Kneeland, 1759). Hopkins developed his thoughts on virtue and benevolence in *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness* (Newport, R.I.: Solomon Southwick, 1773).

19. Hopkins, *Sin,* pp. 9, 45, 52, 59–60; Post, "Love and Eudaemonism," pp. 39–40.

20. Hopkins, *Sin,* pp. ii, 11; Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism,* pp. 31–40. Hopkins reiterated these points in his *System of Doctrines,* which Haynes considered a definitive statement. Samuel Hopkins, *The System of Doctrines, Contained in Divine Revelation, Explained and Defended, Shewing Their Consistence and Connexion with Each Other. To Which Is Added, A Treatise on the Millennium,* 2d ed. (Boston: Lincoln and Edmonds, 1811), esp. 1:131–41, 202–6. Citations in this chapter are to this edition of the *System*.

21. Phillip Richards, "The 'Joseph Story' as Slave Narrative: On Genesis and Exodus as Prototypes for Early Black Anglophone Writing," in *African Americans and the Bible: Sacred Texts and Social Textures,* ed. Vincent L. Wimbush (New York: Continuum, 2000), pp. 221–35.

22. See, for example, Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great Britain by Ottobah Cugoano, a Native of Africa,* in *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery,* ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 17; Absalom Jones, "An Account of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade [January 1, 1808]," in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1900,* ed. Philip S. Foner and Robert James Branham (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), p. 78; and David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in*

Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, But in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America, Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829, ed. Peter P. Hinks (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 10–11. A likely source of the references to Joseph, or a corroboration of the relevance of his story, was Samuel Sewall, *The Selling of Joseph, A Memorial* (Boston: Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1700). It seems likely that the authors discussed in this chapter had either read Sewall's pamphlet or heard about it, although none of them mentioned it.

23. Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium. Showing from Scripture Prophecy, That It Is Yet to Come; When It Will Come; In What It Will Consist; and the Events Which Are First to Take Place, Introductory to It* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793), pp. 150–51.

24. Hopkins, *Sin,* pp. 5–8.

25. Knappen describes "the corruption of the understanding," as conceptualized in sixteenth-century British Puritanism, in which God remained ultimately inscrutable to humankind. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism,* p. 373. Perry Miller describes the seventeenth-century understanding of God's overruling, according to which "man proposes and God disposes, and . . . sometimes He demands of His creatures what they themselves would think incompatible with His own interests. Through his inscrutable providence He so ordained events in the early seventeenth century that there arose out of the reformed confessions heresies as reprehensible as the Popery against which the confessions had been framed, and thus He demanded certain extensions of orthodoxy in order that it might counteract new errors. This, after all, was a way in which He frequently worked; 'though the being of heresies be a great evil,' He sometimes uses them for His own ends." Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 366. Robert W. Jenson describes Edwards's view that God's overruling activity was not "wholly unknowable." Robert W. Jenson, *America's Theologian: A Recommendation of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 48.

26. Hopkins, *Sin,* pp. 31, 42.

27. Steven M. Dworetz, *The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), pp. 147–54. See also Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism,* pp. 82–83.

28. Hopkins, *Sin,* p. 52.

29. Ibid., p. ii.

30. Samuel Hopkins, *The Life of the Late Reverend, Learned and Pious Mr. Jonathan Edwards* (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1765), p. 25.

31. Weber, *Rhetoric and History,* p. 69.

32. Stiles, *Literary Diary,* 1:364–65 (footnote 1 to entry of April 8, 1773).

33. Haroutunian, *Piety versus Moralism,* pp. 51–53, 134–43; Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981), pp. 59–63, 76; Ernest Cassara, *Hosea Ballou: The Challenge to Orthodoxy* (1961; reprint, Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), pp. 58–71.

34. Lemuel Haynes, *Divine Decrees, an Encouragement to the Use of Means* (Rutland, Vt.: William Fay, 1805), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 89–104; Lemuel Haynes, *Universal Salvation, a Very Ancient Doctrine: with Some Account of the Life and Character of its Author. A Sermon Delivered at Rutland, West-Parish, in the Year 1805* (Rutland, Vt.: William Fay, 1806), in Haynes, *Black Preacher*

to White America, pp. 105–11; Lemuel Haynes, *A Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou, Being a Reply to his Epistle to the Author; or His Attempt to Vindicate the Old Universal Preacher* (Rutland, Vt.: William Fay, 1807), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 129–42.

35. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* p. 89.

36. Ibid., pp. 92–93.

37. Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered July 23, 1812, on the Public Fast, in the Chapel at Yale College* (New Haven, Conn.: Howe and Defrost, 1812), p. 44; Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered August 20, 1812, on the National Fast* (New York: J. Seymour, 1812), p. 4.

38. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* p. 92. See Hopkins, *System of Doctrines,* 1:134: "Moral evil could not exist, unless it were the will of God, and his choice, that it should exist, rather than not. And from this it is certain, that it is wisest and best, in his view, that sin should exist. And in thus willing what was wisest and best, and from foreordaining that it should come to pass, God exercised his wisdom and goodness; and in this view and sense, is really the origin and cause of moral evil."

39. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* pp. 91–93, 97; Lemuel Haynes, [Outline of a Sermon on Acts 26:22,] in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* p. 234. See Hopkins, *System of Doctrines,* 1:202–4: "Divine providence consists in preserving, directing and governing all creatures and things which are made; or in taking the most wise and effectual care of them, so as to make them answer the end for which they are created. . . . Divine power . . . is the proper efficient cause of every event. . . . Were there no settled order or fixed connection in things and events . . . man would be involved in total darkness and uncertainty."

40. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* pp. 90, 93–96, 98, 102. In the early nineteenth century, many young men in schools like Middlebury College (founded 1802) relied on charity as they pursued their studies. The American Education Society was formed in 1815 to aid indigent young men in attending college, while throughout New England and New York from 1810 to 1820 local associations formed for charitable support of college education. Haynes was seeking to link such efforts to missionary work in Africa. See David F. Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), pp. 9–12, 54. For Haynes's support of missionary work, see Cooley, *Haynes,* p. 210.

41. Haynes, *A Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou,* p. 136. Haynes was a subscriber to the 1793 edition of Samuel Hopkins's *System of Doctrines, Contained in Divine Revelation, Explained and Defended. Showing Their Consistence and Connection with Each Other. To Which Is Added a Treatise on the Millennium.* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793); see p. xv for "Rev. Lemuel Haynes, Rutland," under "Subscribers' Names, Vermont."

42. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* p. 102.

43. Lemuel Haynes, *The Sufferings, Support, and Reward of Faithful Ministers, Illustrated. Being the Substance of Two Valedictory Addresses, Delivered at Rutland, West Parish, May 24th, A.D. 1818* (Bennington, Vt.: Darius Clark, 1820), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 175–201, quotation p. 179.

44. Lemuel Haynes, [A Sermon on Hebrews 12:23,] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 17.

45. Hosea Ballou, *An Epistle to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes; Containing a Brief Reply to His Sermon Delivered at West Rutland, June, 1805, Designed to Refute the Doctrine of Universalism* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1806); Hosea Ballou, *A Can-*

did Review of a Pamphlet Entitled a Candid Reply: The Whole Being a Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist (Portsmouth, N.H.: William Weeks, 1810). "Hopkintonians," "hated by arminians," were, according to Hopkins himself, "the most sound, consistent, and thorough calvinists." *Sketches of the Life of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.,* ed. Stephen West (Hartford, Conn.: Hudson and Goodwin, 1805), p. 97.

46. Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 42, 294, 317. So intent was Cooley on linking the black man with Hopkins that even the title of the 1837 biography, *Sketches of the Life of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.,* recalls *Sketches of the Life of the Late, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D. Early American Imprints, Second Series, 1801–1819* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1964) lists only six other biographical works with similar titles. One is a broadside, while none has a minister as its subject.

47. Weber, *Rhetoric and History,* p. 13.

48. The essay discussed is Levi Hart, "Some Thoughts on the Subject of freeing the Negro Slaves in the Colony of Connecticut, humbly offered to the Consideration of all friends to liberty & Justice," miscellaneous manuscripts, Connecticut Historical Society. I give no pagination because Hart composed the essay on several sheets of paper and then revised it by adding new material in various places with asterisks indicating where additions were to be made to the first draft. Deletions from the draft manuscript are included here in angle brackets. Hart sent a copy (probably a finished draft, not extant) to Samuel Hopkins in Newport, who acknowledged the plan in a letter of January 25, 1775 (letter held at the Connecticut Historical Society). The published essay is Levi Hart, *Liberty Described and Recommended; in a Sermon, Preached to the Corporation of Freemen in Farmington, at Their Meeting on Tuesday, September 20, 1774, and Published at Their Desire* (Hartford, Conn.: Ebenezer Watson, 1775). Manuscript material is quoted with the permission of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut. For Hart at camp in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in mid-1775, see "Levi Hart," in *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 1:591. For Haynes in the same location, see Ruth Bogin, "'The Battle of Lexington': A Patriotic Ballad by Lemuel Haynes," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 42 (1985): 499–506.

49. See Lois E. Horton, "From Class to Race in Early America: Northern Post-Emancipation, Radical Reconstruction," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 629–49, in which she argues (pp. 639–40) that the benefit of whites was the overriding goal of gradual emancipation and of compensation for former masters.

50. Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Souls in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of the County of Hampshire, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England,* and *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God,* ed. C. C. Goen, vol. 4 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 159, 330; Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption,* ed. John F. Wilson, vol. 9 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 480 (quotation); Kenneth P. Minkema, "Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series 54 (1997): 823–35.

51. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement,* pp. 123–26.

52. Ibid., pp. 128–38; Samuel Hopkins, *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans; Shewing It to Be the Duty and Interest of the American States to Emancipate All Their African Slaves,* 2d ed. (1776; reprint, New York: Robert Hodge, 1785), p. 11; Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cam-

bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 232–45; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 295–99.

53. Hopkins, *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans,* p. 71.

54. Jonathan Edwards, Jr., *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade, and of the Slavery of the Africans* (Providence: John Carter, 1792), pp. 12–13.

55. Hopkins, *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans,* pp. 14, 46–47.

56. Edwards, Jr., *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade,* p. 11.

57. David Brion Davis, "The Culmination of Racial Polarities and Prejudice," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 772.

58. Hart, *Liberty Described and Recommended,* pp. 18–19.

59. Edwards, Jr., *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade,* p. 6.

60. Hart, *Liberty Described and Recommended,* pp. 10–16.

61. Edwards, Jr., *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade,* p. 22.

62. Ibid., pp. 31–32.

63. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement,* pp. 143–52.

64. Samuel Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave Trade and the Slavery of the Africans* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter, 1793), pp. 18–19.

65. Ibid., p. 21; Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement,* p. 123.

66. Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave-Trade,* pp. 14–15. On Edwardsean postmillennialism, see Jenson, *America's Theologian*, pp. 130–33.

67. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement,* pp. 143–48.

68. Hopkins, *Sin,* p. 31.

69. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement,* pp. 150–58.

70. Edwards, Jr., *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade,* p. 35–37.

71. Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave Trade,* p. 25.

72. Edwards, Jr., *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-Trade,* pp. 35–37.

73. Lemuel Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended: Or free thoughts on the illegality of Slave-keeping; Wherein those arguments that Are useed in its vindication Are plainly confuted. Together with an humble Address to such as are Concearned in the practise," in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 17–19.

74. Ibid., pp. 22–24.

75. Ibid., pp. 26–27.

76. Hopkins, *System of Doctrines,* 1:157.

77. Lemuel Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism, with a Few Suggestions Favorable to Independence: A Discourse Delivered at Rutland (Vermont) the Fourth of July 1801, It Being the 25th Anniversary of American Independence*, in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 77–88.

78. For Haynes's life, writings, and role in revivals in these years, see Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 87–166, and Stephen A. Freeman, "Puritans in Rutland, Vermont 1770–1818," *Vermont History* 33 (1965): 342–48. For New England federalism, see Weber, *Rhetoric and History,* pp. 103–111, and James M. Banner, Jr., *To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815* (New York: Knopf, 1970), esp. pp. 40–54.

79. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* pp. 81–85.

80. Ibid., p. 82.

81. Haynes, *The Sufferings, Support, and Reward of Faithful Ministers,* pp. 188–89.

82. Hopkins, *System of Doctrines,* 1:141.

83. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* p. 102.

84. Jonathan Edwards, *Sermons and Discourses, 1723–1829,* ed. Kenneth P. Minkema, vol. 14 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 549; Jonathan Edwards, *Notes on Scripture,* ed. Stephen J. Stein, vol. 15 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* ed. Harry S. Stout (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 58.

85. Haynes, *Divine Decrees,* p. 102.

86. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* p. 82.

87. Hopkins, *An Enquiry Concerning the Promises of the Gospel,* p. 129.

88. Jonathan Edwards to a correspondent in Scotland, November 20, 1745, printed initially in *The Christian Monthly History* 8 (1745): 234–54, in Jonathan Edwards, *Apocalyptic Writings,* ed. Stephen J. Stein, vol. 5 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 446.

89. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* pp. 86–88.

90. Lemuel Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated: A Sermon Delivered at Brandon, Vermont, February 22, 1813, before the Washington Benevolent Society*, in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* quotations pp. 167–69.

91. Cooley, *Haynes,* p. 46.

92. Hopkins, *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness,* p. 14.

93. Lemuel Haynes, *The Important Concerns of Ministers and the People of Their Charge* (Rutland, Vt.: n.p., 1798), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* quotation on p. 57. The New Divinity ministers were sometimes reviled for their “metaphysical” slant; Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement,* p. 10.

94. One of the associates of Haynes’s young manhood, Ebenezer Bradford, similarly sought to balance divine providence and “sentiments of unfeigned friendship.” Ebenezer Bradford, *Preaching the Unsearchable Riches of Christ—Illustrated* (Salem, Mass.: S. Hall, 1785), p. 38.

95. Hopkins, *The Life of the Late Reverend, Learned and Pious Mr. Jonathan Edwards,* p. 30.

96. Hopkins, *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness,* pp. 11–12.

97. Samuel Hopkins, *Twenty-One Sermons, on a Variety of Interesting Subjects, Sentimental and Practical* (Salem, Mass.: Joshua Cushing, 1803), p. 47.

98. Ibid., p. 48.

99. Ibid., pp. 61–62.

100. Hopkins, *An Enquiry Concerning the Promises of the Gospel,* p. 129; Samuel Hopkins, *Rare Observations; or, Some Remarks on Several Points Rarely Considered* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter, 1770), p. 29; Dana D. Nelson, in *The Word in Black and White: Reading “Race” in American Literature, 1638–1867* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 24–29, discusses a similar ambivalence in Cotton Mather’s comments on religious instruction of blacks.

101. Hopkins, *Twenty-One Sermons,* p. 104.

102. Ibid., p. 89.

103. Ibid., pp. 131, 383–84.

104. *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn, who Died at Newport, Rhode Island on the Second Day of August, 1796, in the Eighty Third Year of Her Age,* ed. Samuel Hopkins (Worcester, Mass.: Leonard Worcester, 1799), pp. 76–82; Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, “The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Sarah Osborn (1714–1796),” *Church History* 61 (1992): 408–21, esp. pp. 419–20.

105. Richard Allen, *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Rich-*

ard Allen, To Which Is Annexed The Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Containing a Narrative of the Yellow Fever in the Year of Our Lord 1793, With an Address to the People of Color in the United States, Written by Himself and Published by His Request (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 20.

106. Ibid., pp. 19–26.

107. Ibid., pp. 18–20, 35, 49–51, 62–63, 72, 75–89.

108. Haynes, [A Sermon on Hebrews 12:23.]

109. Haynes's announcement of the publication of "The Doctrine of Universal Salvation, brought to the law, and the testimony, and proved to have no light in it. The infinite evil of sin, the accountability of man to an infinite law, and the eternal punishment of those who die in their sin,—examined and supported:—Being principally designed as an answer to a Treatise on atonement, by the Rev. Hosea Ballou," is noted in Richard Newman, *Lemuel Haynes: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Lambeth Press, 1984), p. 37.

110. Swift, *Discourses,* p. vii.

111. Ibid., pp. vi, vii; Weber, *Rhetoric and History,* pp. 21–26, analyzes the history of the sermon fragments favored by the New Divinity ministers.

112. "Job Swift," in *Annals of the American Pulpit,* 1:640.

113. Richard D. Brown, "'Not Only Extreme Poverty, But the Worst Kind of Orphanage': Lemuel Haynes and the Boundaries of Racial Tolerance on the Yankee Frontier, 1770–1820," *New England Quarterly* 61 (1988): 502–18, quotation p. 508.

114. Swift, *Discourses,* p. 78.

115. Ibid., pp. 49–50.

116. Ibid., pp. 14–17.

117. Ibid., p. 66.

118. Ibid., p. 94. For the covenant with Abraham in seventeenth-century Puritanism, see Miller, *The New England Mind,* pp. 374–78.

119. Swift, *Discourses,* pp. 176–77.

120. Ibid., p. 143.

121. Ibid., p. 280.

122. Ibid., p. 103.

123. Ibid., p. 77.

124. Ibid., p. 52.

125. Ibid., p. 222.

126. Ibid., pp. 82, 278.

127. Ibid., pp. 145–51.

128. Ibid., pp. 120–22, 124–26, 135.

129. Ibid., p. 87.

130. Ibid., p. 129.

131. Ibid., p. 157.

132. Ibid., pp. 275–76, 278, 282.

133. Ibid., pp. 266, 268, 274.

134. Ibid., p. 50.

135. Ibid., p. 292.

136. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution,* pp. 297–99.

137. McDermott, *One Holy and Happy Society,* pp. viii, 41. See also Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind,* pp. 348–50, for a clear articulation of the way in which the Edwardsean tradition encouraged social criticism, not complacency.

138. Samuel Hopkins, *The Importance and Necessity of Christians Considering Jesus Christ in the Extent of His High and Glorious Character* (Boston: Kneeland and Adams, 1768), p. v.

139. Swift, *Discourses,* p. 283.

140. Hopkins, *System of Doctrines,* 1:206–7.

141. Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind,* pp. 454–56.

142. Lemuel Haynes, "Sinners, Make Haste [A Sermon on Luke 19:5]," in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* p. 230.

143. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 26.

144. On God's successive covenants with humankind as interpreted in the Edwardsean tradition, see Jenson, *America's Theologian,* pp. 136–37.

Chapter Four

1. J. A. Graham, *A Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont. One of the United States of America.* (London: Henry Fry, 1797), pp. 8 (on the author's trip to Vermont), 70–71 (on Haynes in Rutland and prejudice against blacks).

2. Christopher L. Brown, "Empire without Slaves: British Concepts of Emancipation in the Age of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series 56 (1999): 273–306, especially pp. 298–306.

3. The phrase "anti-Virginia and antislavery" is borrowed from Linda K. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 22–66.

4. Modern notions of the public sphere are used to analyze the Federalists of the 1790s in Todd Estes, "Shaping the Politics of Public Opinion: Federalists and the Jay Treaty Debate," *Journal of the Early Republic* 20 (2000): 393–422.

5. Lemuel Haynes, *The Influence of Civil Government on Religion. A Sermon Delivered at Rutland, West Parish, September 4, 1798. At the Annual Freemen's Meeting* (Rutland, Vt.: John Walker, 1798), in Lemuel Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America: The Collected Writings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774–1833,* ed. Richard Newman (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1990), pp. 65–76, quotations pp. 65, 66, 72, 73.

6. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent,* pp. 31–32.

7. Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 303–4, quotes Edwards and refers to Hobbes's notion of the war of all against all.

8. Prince Hall, *A Charge Delivered to the Brethren of the African Lodge on the 25th of June, 1792. At the Hall of Brother William Smith, in Charlestown. By the Right Worshipful Master Prince Hall. Printed at the Request of the Lodge* (Boston: T. and J. Fleet, 1792); Prince Hall, *A Charge, Delivered to the African Lodge, June, 24, 1797, at Menotomy. By the Right Worshipful Prince Hall. Published by the desire of the members of said Lodge* (Boston: Benjamin Edes, 1797). Both texts are reprinted in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1900,* ed. Philip S. Foner and Robert James Branham (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), pp. 38–52, quotations pp. 40–41, 44, 48–49, 51.

9. George Washington, "Farewell Address," in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799,* ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940), 35:214–38, quotation p. 230.

10. Haynes, *The Influence of Civil Government on Religion,* p. 66.

11. Ibid., pp. 67, 70, 72.

12. Ibid., pp. 68, 71–73, 75.

13. Ibid., pp. 73–75.

14. Ibid., pp. 69, 75–76.

15. Lemuel Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism: With a Few Suggestions Favorable to Independence. A Discourse, Delivered at Rutland, (Vermont,) The Fourth of July, 1801.—It Being the 25th Anniversary of American Independence,* in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 78–80, 82–84, 86.

16. Lemuel Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated. A Sermon Delivered at Brandon, Vermont, February 22, 1813, before the Washington Benevolent Society, It Being the Anniversary of Gen. Washington's Birthday,* in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 149–50.

17. Ibid., pp. 152–53.

18. John Adams to Abigail Adams, May 17, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress,* ed. Paul H. Smith (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1979), 4:17.

19. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* pp. 155, 157.

20. Ibid., p. 162. Napoleon's opportunistic profession that he was a Muslim is described in Louis Martin Sears, *George Washington and the French Revolution* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1960), p. 287.

21. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* pp. 165–68.

22. Ibid., pp. 150–51, 154, 162–63.

23. Gordon S. Wood. "The Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution," in *Leadership in the American Revolution,* Library of Congress Symposium on the American Revolution (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1974), pp. 81–83.

24. Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), p. 356.

25. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 451–57, quotation p. 457.

26. Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.,* ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 1:28.

27. Ibid., 1: 207, 208–9, 213–14, 412, 441, 447, 534, 542; 2:236, 255, 376; 3:116, 219.

28. Ibid., 1:39, 204, 213, 247–48, 355, 415, 436; 3:78, 102.

29. Ibid., 1:247–48, 415, 521; 3:104.

30. Ibid., 1:521, 525; 2:269, 272; 3:50–51. Morgan, *Gentle Puritan,* pp. 308–10.

31. Ibid., 1:174; 2:395; 3:100–101, 204.

32. Ibid., 2:410; 3:307, 381, 400, 402, 431, 437, 449, 456, 494, 504.

33. Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington, Connecticut, from Its First Settlement in 1737, with Biographies and Genealogies* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1878), pp. 35, 77–78, 212; quotations p. 212.

34. A good discussion is Robert J. Imholt, "Timothy Dwight, Federalist Pope of Connecticut," *The New England Quarterly* 73 (2000): 386–411.

35. Charles Cunningham, *Timothy Dwight, 1751–1817, A Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 316–17.

36. Samuel Hopkins, *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans; Shewing It to Be the Duty and Interest of the American States to Emancipate All Their African Slaves* (1776; reprint, New York: Robert Hodge, 1785); Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 232–39; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 287–99.

37. Here I follow the argument developed in "Black, White, and 'the Charitable Blessed': Race and Philanthropy in the American Early Republic," *Essays on Philanthropy,* Number 8 (Indianapolis: Indiana University Center on Philanthropy, 1993).

38. Timothy Dwight, *The Charitable Blessed: A Sermon, Preached in the First Church in New-Haven, August 8, 1810* (New Haven, Conn.: Sidney's Press, 1810), pp. 19–23.

39. Timothy Dwight, "A Statistical Account of the City of New-Haven," in *A Statistical Account of the Towns and Parishes in the State of Connecticut, Published by the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* (New Haven, Conn.: Walter and Steele, 1811), 1:77–78.

40. Timothy Dwight, *Theology: Explained and Defended in a Series of Sermons* (New Haven: T. Dwight and Son, 1839). The genesis of the work is discussed in the "Memoir," 1:26. The sermons mentioned appear in 2 and 3.

41. Garry Wills, *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1978), pp. 287–88; Conrad Edick Wright, *The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), pp. 26–28. Newton's powerful influence on Dwight is discussed in Cunningham, *Timothy Dwight,* pp. 42–43.

42. Conrad Edick Wright, "Christian Compassion and Corporate Beneficence: The Institutionalization of Charity in New England, 1720–1810," (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1980), p. 11; Wright, *The Transformation of Charity,* pp. 16–23.

43. Wright, *The Transformation of Charity,* pp. 52–55.

44. Timothy Dwight, *Greenfield Hill: A Poem in Seven Parts,* in *The Major Poems of Timothy Dwight,* ed. William J. McTaggart and William K. Bottorff (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints), pp. 402–7. Cunningham observes that Dwight believed that since all people possessed the same intellect, many actual differences among people were to be explained by differences in motivation. Cunningman, *Timothy Dwight,* p. 338. A similar emphasis on motivation appears in Annabelle S. Wenzke, *Timothy Dwight (1752–1817)* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), p. 137.

45. Cunningham, *Timothy Dwight,* pp. 177, 310–12, 316–17, 335; Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered July 23, 1812, on the Public Fast, in the Chapel at Yale College* (New Haven, Conn.: Howe and Defrost, 1812); Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered August 20, 1812, on the National Fast* (New York: J. Seymour, 1812); Timothy Dwight, *A Sermon, Delivered in Boston, Sept. 15, 1813, before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at their Fourth Annual Meeting* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1813); Timothy Dwight, *Remarks on the Review of Inchinquin's Letters, Published in the Quarterly Review; Addressed to the Right Honorable George Canning, Esquire—By an Inhabitant of New England* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1815); Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York,* ed. Barbara Miller Solomon (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

46. Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered August 20, 1812,* p. 4; Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered July 23, 1812,* p. 44.

47. William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 40, 99.

48. William H. Siebert, *Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record* (Columbus, Ohio: Spahr and Glenn Co., 1937), p. 8; Richard Newman, *Lemuel Haynes: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Lambeth Press, 1984), p. 14.

49. Howard E. Short, *History of West Granville Parish* (West Granville, Mass.: West Granville Church, 1931), p. 11.

50. Edward Lowe Temple, *Old Rutland: Side Lights on Her Honorable and Notable Story during One Hundred and Sixty Years, A.D. 1761–A.D. 1922* (Rutland, Vt.: Edward Lowe Temple, 1923), p. 9.

51. Wright notes the new "vogue for the term 'philanthropy'" at the end of the eighteenth century. Wright, *The Transformation of Charity,* pp. 7, 120–21. In defending "our duty to *provide for our own; especially for those of our own households,"* Dwight contrasted "benevolence" and "philanthropy." "Infinitely different from the cold philanthropy of modern philosophers," Dwight wrote, is the "benevolence" employed "in solid and useful acts of kindness." "This philanthropy overlooks the objects which are around it, and within its reach," Dwight continued, "and exhausts itself in pitying sufferers in foreign lands, and distant ages: sufferers, so distant, as to be incapable of receiving relief from any supposable beneficence." Dwight, *Theology,* 3:116–17.

52. Haynes, *Dissimulation Illustrated,* pp. 149–51.

53. Wright, "Christian Compassion and Corporate Beneficence," p. 22; Wright, *The Transformation of Charity,* pp. 42–47. Such notions dated from the origins of English Puritanism. See M. M. Knapp, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 392.

54. Wright, "Christian Compassion and Corporate Beneficence," p. 39; William Breitenbach, "Unregenerate Doings: Selflessness and Selfishness in New Divinity Theology," *American Quarterly,* 34 (1982): 479–502, emphasizes that Hopkins considered the moral faculty, but not the intellectual faculty, corrupted by the Fall. Although one understood divine benevolence and order intellectually, Hopkins reasoned, one did not act morally, as an expression of disinterested benevolence, without regeneration.

55. Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992), pp. 71–75; David F. Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), pp. 45–78.

56. Wright, "Christian Compassion and Corporate Beneficence," p. 148.

57. Ibid., p. 12.

58. Dwight, *Theology,* 3:537–38.

59. Ibid., 3:542.

60. Ibid., 3:539.

61. Ibid., 3:116.

62. Wright, "Christian Compassion and Corporate Beneficence," p. 148.

63. Dwight, *Theology,* 3:111, 134.

64. Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638–1938* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 287–88, and Robert Austin Warner, *New Haven Negroes: A Social History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 40–47, note the strength of colonizationist sentiment in New Haven near the end of Dwight's life.

65. Dwight, *A Sermon, Delivered in Boston, Sept. 15, 1813,* p. 6.

66. Ibid., p. 17.

67. Ibid., pp. 7–9.

68. Ibid., p. 27.

69. Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered July 23, 1812,* p. 48.

70. Ibid., p. 50.

71. Dwight, *A Discourse, in Two Parts, Delivered August 20, 1812,* p. 26.

72. Dwight, *The Charitable Blessed,* p. 6.

73. Ibid., p. 11.

74. Ibid., p. 23.

75. Dwight, *The Major Poems of Timothy Dwight,* p. 403.

76. Lemuel Haynes, [Sermon on Exodus 32:26,] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 17.

77. Lemuel Haynes, [Sermon on 1 Chronicles 15:13,] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 17.

78. Lemuel Haynes, [Outline of a Sermon on Isaiah 5:4,] in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 171–74.

79. Lemuel Haynes, [Sermon on Revelation 6:17,] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 17.

80. James M. Banner, Jr., *To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815* (New York: Knopf, 1970), pp. 108–9.

81. Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1973), pp. 185–86.

82. Banner, *To the Hartford Convention,* pp. 104–9, quotation p. 107.

83. Tise, *Proslavery,* pp. 230–31.

84. Richard Allen, *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen, to Which Is Annexed The Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Containing a Narrative of the Yellow Fever in the Year of Our Lord 1793, with an Address to the People of Color in the United States. Written by Himself and Published by His Request* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), pp. 17–20, 26, 48–64, 72–89.

85. Gary B. Nash, "New Light on Richard Allen: The Early Years of Freedom," *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series 46 (1989): 332.

86. Many authors have noted Allen's intention of providing secure institutions and a fit religion for African Americans; see Albert J. Raboteau, "The Slave Church in the Era of the American Revolution," *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution,* ed. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 211; Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 116–34.

87. Allen's address was printed in *The Spectator* (New York), 8 January 1800, and *The Independent Chronicle* (Boston), 13–16 January 1800: 1.

88. Absalom Jones, *A Thanksgiving Sermon Preached January 1, 1808, in St. Thomas's, or the African Episcopal Church, Philadelphia: On Account of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade on That Day, by the Congress of the United States* (Philadelphia: Fry and Kammerer, 1808), reprinted in *Lift Every Voice,* pp. 73–79, quotations pp. 77, 78.

89. Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Humbly Submitted to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, by Ottobah Cugoano, a Native of Africa* (1787), in *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Other Writings,* ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), pp. 1–111, quotations pp. 68–104.

90. David Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 29.

91. For Marrant's death, see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 31–32. The clearest view of the ideas and values of the Nova Scotian émigrés appears in *"Our Children Free and Happy": Letters from Black Settlers in Africa in the 1790s,* ed. Christopher Fyfe (Edinburgh, U.K.: Edinburgh University Press, 1991). The best social history of the émigrés is James W. St. George Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870,* Dalhousie African Studies Series (New York: Africana Publishing and Dalhousie University Press, 1976).

92. Walker, *Black Loyalists,* pp. 18–32, 64–71 ; Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), pp. 92–101.

93. Gary B. Nash, "Thomas Peters: Millwright and Deliverer," in *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America,* ed. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 69–85. Peters's petition appears in *Sierra Leone Inheritance,* ed. Christopher Fyfe (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 118–19. Marrant never mentioned Sierra Leone in writing, but he did, beginning in 1785, preach that blacks were not at home in America, that at least some blacks should create a pious community in Africa, and that momentous happenings were imminent for his auditors. These comments are analyzed for their colonizationist import in John Saillant, "'Wipe away All Tears from Their Eyes': John Marrant's Theology in the Black Atlantic, 1785–1808," *Journal of Millennial Studies* 1 (1999): http://www.mille.org/jrnlwin99.htm.

94. John Peterson, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone, 1787–1870* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969), pp. 29–39.

95. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments,* p. 100.

96. Olaudah Equiano to the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, March 13, 1788, London, in *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings,* ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 333–34; see also pp. 233–35. For "legitimate" versus "illegitimate" trade, see Robin Law, "The Historiography of the Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa," in *African Historiography: Essays in Honor of Jacob Ade Ajayi,* ed. Toyin Falola (Harlow, U.K.: Longman, 1993), pp. 91–115.

97. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavas Vassa, the African. Written by Himself,* in *The Interesting Narrative,* pp. 2–236, quotation p. 227.

98. Ibid., p. 232.

99. Their writings are collected in Fyfe, *"Our Children Free and Happy."*

100. Equiano, *Interesting Narrative,* pp. 7, 38–45, 226. Equiano's writings were an extended response to a fact noted by James Walvin: "The campaign against slavery really began in the English law courts." Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1994), p. 305.

101. Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments,* pp. 9–12.

102. For abolitionist petitions to Parliament and the failure of proposed abolitionist legislation, see Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (New York: Verso, 1988), pp. 133–58.

103. An excellent analysis of the Sunday-market controversy is David Barry Gaspar, "Slavery, Amelioration, and Sunday Markets," *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Societies* 9 (1989): 1–28. Confirmation of the West Indian plantocracy's suspicion of Parliament appears in Turley, *Culture of English*

Antislavery, p. 31. The importance of the market for slaves is emphasized in Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650–1838* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 46–50.

104. Michael Craton, *Empire, Enslavement, and Freedom in the Caribbean* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1997), p. 197.

105. Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 29–30.

106. Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the New World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 1–4. However, Genovese modifies this claim by arguing that insofar as slave insurrections were backward-looking, or "restorationist," they merely "helped to establish the claims of the people against their oppressors and against those who would use them as pawns even in a historically progressive cause" (pp. 82–83).

107. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 333–35; James Brewer Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), pp. 33–96.

108. Louis S. Gerteis, Daniel J. McInerney, and James Oakes have recently emphasized abolitionists' efforts to seize control of the state. Louis S. Gerteis, *Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp. xii–xvi, 4; Daniel J. McInerney, "'A Faith for Freedom': The Political Gospel of Abolitionism," *Journal of the Early Republic* 11 (1991): 371–93; James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom: An Interpretation of the Old South* (New York: Knopf, 1990), pp. 54–79. My argument here is that blacks began promoting the effort around 1780 and thus were at least a generation in advance of whites.

109. Duncan J. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 79–85. Douglas R. Egerton, "'Its Origin Not a Little Curious': A New Look at the American Colonization Society," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (1985): 463–80, emphasizes that early colonizationist efforts were imposed on African Americans, but here I want to emphasize that the Sierra Leone project had some support among Afro-Britons and black loyalists and provided a model for the way state power could have been used, for better or worse, in a society marked by interracial conflict.

Chapter Five

1. Lemuel Haynes, [Poem,] *Vermont Gazette* (Bennington), 12, August 14, 1821: 3.

2. Lois E. Horton, "From Class to Race in Early America: Northern Post-Emancipation Racial Reconstruction," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 643–45; Duncan J. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 8–12, 78–79, 183; Joanne Pope Melish, "The 'Condition' Debate and Racial Discourse in the Antebellum North," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 654–55; James Brewer Stewart, "Modernizing 'Difference': The Political Meanings of Color in the Free States, 1776–1840," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 692–93.

3. Melish, "The 'Condition' Debate," p. 665.

4. Lemuel Haynes, *The Important Concerns of Ministers and the People of Their Charge,* in Lemuel Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America: The Collected Writ-*

ings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774–1833, ed. Richard Newman (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1990), pp. 55–64, quotations pp. 56, 60.

5. A claim that Haynes's one and only book should be considered the first short story written by an African American appears in William H. Robinson, "Earlier Black New England: The Literature of the Black I Am," in *American Literature: The New England Heritage,* ed. James Nagel and Richard Astro (New York: Garland, 1981), pp. 81–99.

6. Richard Newman, *Lemuel Haynes: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Lambeth Press, 1984), p. 13.

7. Hosea Ballou, *Notes on the Parables of the New Testament* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1804); Hosea Ballou, *A Treatise on Atonement, In Which The Finite Nature of Sin Is Argued, Its Cause and Consequences As Such; The Necessity and Nature of Atonement; And Its Glorious Consequences, In The Final Reconciliation Of All Men To Holiness and Happiness* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1805).

8. Hosea Ballou, *An Epistle to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes; Containing a Brief Reply to His Sermon Delivered at West Rutland, June, 1805, Designed to Refute the Doctrine of Universalism* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1806). Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M., for Many Years Pastor of a Church in Rutland, Vt., and Late in Granville, New York* (1837; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), contains Haynes's *Universal Salvation, a Very Ancient Doctrine: With Some Account of the Life and Character of its Author. A Sermon Delivered at Rutland, West-Parish, in the Year 1805,* as well as his *Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou, Being a Reply to His Epistle to the Author; Or His Attempt to Vindicate the Old Universal Preacher (1807).* I benefited from reading Haynes's autograph manuscript of *Universal Salvation,* held by Randall Burkett and stored at the American Antiquarian Society. The announcement of the publication of "The Doctrine of Universal Salvation, brought to the law, and the testimony, and proved to have no light in it. The infinite evil of sin, the accountability of man to an infinite law, and the eternal punishment of those who die in their sins,—examined and supported—Being principally designed as an answer to a Treatise on atonement, by the Rev. Hosea Ballou," is noted in Newman, *Lemuel Haynes,* p. 37.

9. Richard Eddy, *Universalism in America: A History* (Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1886), 2:109–10.

10. Hosea Ballou, *A Candid Review of a Pamphlet Entitled a Candid Reply: The Whole Being a Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist* (Portsmouth, N.H.: William Weeks, 1810); Lemuel Haynes, *A Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou,* in Cooley, *Sketches,* p. 114; David Robinson, *The Unitarians and the Universalists* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. 61.

11. Hosea Ballou, *A Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1808), p. 21.

12. Isaac Robinson, *A Candid Reply to a Late Publication, Entitled, "A Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist"* (Keene, N.H.: John Prentiss, 1809).

13. Eddy, *Universalism,* 2:287.

14. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People,* 2d ed., (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1975), 1:583; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 16, 40, 125–26. A similar point about Ballou's Universalism appears in Randolph A. Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 64.

Ballou's theological importance is discussed in David Robinson, *The Unitarians and the Universalists,* pp. 56–62. The standard study of Ballou is Ernest Cassara, *Hosea Ballou: The Challenge to Orthodoxy* (1961; Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982).

15. Eddy, *Universalism,* 1:25–64.

16. Hosea Ballou, *Treatise on Atonement,* p. 200.

17. Ibid., pp. viii, 87.

18. Ibid., pp. 53–55, 87–88, 137; Roth, *Democratic Dilemma,* p. 64; Maturin M. Ballou, *Biography of Rev. Hosea Ballou* (Boston: Abel Tompkins, 1852), p. 113. John Coleman Adams writes, "Ballou's contention [concerning sin and punishment] was twofold: first, that punishment is contemporaneous with sin, begins with it, continues to accompany it; second, that the changes in environment and condition at death will so influence the soul as to overcome its revolt and rebelliousness and bring it into quick penitence." Adams, *Hosea Ballou and the Gospel Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1903), pp. 17–18.

19. Hosea Ballou, *Candid Review,* p. 73.

20. Haynes, *Universal Salvation,* in Cooley, *Sketches,* pp. 99–100.

21. Hosea Ballou, *Treatise on Atonement,* pp. 32–33, 87–88; Hosea Ballou, *Epistle to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes,* pp. 5–11.

22. Haynes, *Letter to the Reverend Hosea Ballou,* in Cooley, *Sketches,* pp. 105–21.

23. Isaac Robinson, *Candid Reply,* pp. 20–22, 39.

24. Hosea Ballou, *Candid Review,* p. 62.

25. Hosea Ballou, *Doctrinal Controversy,* pp. 47–48.

26. Joseph H. Ellis, *A Reply to Haynes's Sermon* (n.p.: W. Murphy, 1821), and David Pickering, *A Calm Address to the Believers and Advocates of Endless Misery* (Hudson, N.Y.: Ashbel Stoddard, 1821).

27. Hosea Ballou, *The New Birth* (Boston: Henry Bowen, 1821).

28. Cassara, *Hosea Ballou,* p. 46. The other Universalists who leaped into the fray insulted Haynes by associating his black skin with Satan's color and by claiming that since a black man could not write anything original, he must be representing a white man's work as his own. In *A Reply to Haynes's Sermon* Ellis wrote, "In God there is no dark spot" (p. 5). In *A Calm Address* Pickering wrote, "I cannot but deeply regret that you should so far lose sight of the dignity of the Christian character, as to be employed in retailing the slander of a man, between the shade of whose mind, and external surface, there exists such a striking similarity" (p. 5). See Richard Newman, "'The Presence of the Lord': An Unpublished Sermon by Lemuel Haynes," *Bulletin of the Congregational Library* 32 (1980): 6; Eddy, *Universalism,* 2:110–13.

29. Lemuel Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended: Or Free Thoughts on the Illegality of Slave-keeping; Wherein those arguments that Are used in its vindication Are plainly confuted. Together with an humble Address to such as are Concearned in the practice," from Ruth Bogin, "'Liberty Further Extended': A 1776 Antislavery Manuscript by Lemuel Haynes," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983): 85–105, quotations pp. 94–102, 105.

30. Lemuel Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 77–88, quotations pp. 77–78, 80–81, 84–86.

31. Hosea Ballou, *An Oration Pronounced at the Meeting House in Hartland on the Fourth of July, 1807* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1807), pp. 2–11.

32. Hosea Ballou, *A Sermon Delivered at Wilmington before the Mount Moriah Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons* (Randolph, Vt.: Brother S. Wright, 1805),

pp. 3–4, 9–10. Ballou's son Maturin emphasized his father's religious view of nature; see Maturin Ballou, *Biography of Rev. Hosea Ballou,* pp. 14–15, 259–61.

33. Hosea Ballou, *New Birth,* pp. 3, 16.

34. Lemuel Haynes, [A Sermon on John 3:3,] in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 31–38, quotations pp. 31, 36–37.

35. Hosea Ballou, *New Birth,* pp. 12–13.

36. For the different strands of republican thought, see James T. Kloppenberg, "The Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History* 74 (1987): 29; and Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1992), pp. 189–92, 215–24.

37. Donald Weber, *Rhetoric and History in Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 63.

38. Haynes, *Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* p. 84.

39. Lemuel Haynes, *The Important Concerns of Ministers and the People of Their Charge at the Day of Judgment* (Rutland, Vt., n.pub., 1798), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 55–64, quotation p. 60.

40. "On the frontier [Universalism] frequently found favor. . . . It bore the marks of its sectarian origins, especially in New England, where it began as a revolt from the standing order by humble, unlettered people rather than by intellectual and social leaders." Ahlstrom, *Religious History,* 1:584. See Roth, *Democratic Dilemma,* pp. 48–65 ; Cassara, *Hosea Ballou,* p. 52.

41. David Robinson, *Unitarians and Universalists,* p. 65.

42. Hosea Ballou, *Treatise on Atonement,* pp. 43–44.

43. Ibid., pp. 39–40.

44. Hosea Ballou, *Candid Review,* p. 60.

45. Ibid., p. 63.

46. Hosea Ballou, *A Sermon Delivered at Langdon, (N.H.) on the 30th Oct. 1805* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1806), pp. 3–9.

47. Hosea Ballou, *Treatise on Atonement,* pp. 48–49.

48. Hosea Ballou, *Epistle to Lemuel Haynes,* p. 12; Haynes, *Letter to Hosea Ballou,* in Cooley, *Sketches,* pp. 106–8. The high value liberal Christians set on tolerance of diversity in belief in the decades after the Haynes–Ballou debate is discussed in Conrad Wright, "Unitarian Beginnings in Western Massachusetts," *Proceedings of the Unitarian Universalist Society* 21 (1989): 28–29.

49. Hosea Ballou, *Candid Review,* p. 173.

50. For the legitimation of the liberal notion of public opinion, see Gordon S. Wood, "The Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution," Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution, *Leadership in the American Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1974), pp. 81–83. The religious dimension of public opinion is discussed in Hatch, *Democratization,* especially p. 162.

51. It is worth noting that after Haynes's Calvinism ceased to satisfy the members of his Rutland congregation, they proved unable to satisfy themselves in the choice of a minister. The orthodox Benajah Roots served from 1773 to his death in 1787, and Haynes from 1788 to 1818. The next minister, Amos Drury, was ordained in 1819 and dismissed in 1829 ; his successor, Lucius Linsey Tilden, settled in Rutland in 1830 and was dismissed in 1839. H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, *History of Rutland County, Vermont, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason and Company, 1886), pp. 320, 364–65.

52. Lemuel Haynes, *The Sufferings, Support, and Reward of Faithful Ministers,* in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 175–201, quotations pp. 180, 182, 184, 186–88.

53. Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African, Translated from a Latin Dissertation, which Was Honored with the First Prize, in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785, with Additions,* 3d ed. (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1787), pp. 149–50. Haynes may have known that Cotton Mather owned a slave named Onesimus, given to him by his congregation in 1706. See Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), pp. 264–65.

54. Haynes, *The Sufferings, Support, and Reward of Faithful Ministers,* pp. 178, 189.

55. Cooley, *Haynes,* pp. 213–14, 315–19.

56. Lemuel Haynes, *Mystery Developed; or, Russell Colvin, (Supposed to Be Murdered,) in Full Life: and Stephen and Jesse Boorn, (His Convicted Murderers,) Rescued from Ignominious Death by Wonderful Discoveries. Containing, I. A Narrative of the Whole Transaction, by Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A. M. II. Rev. Mr. Haynes' Sermon, upon the Development of the Mystery. III. A Succinct Account of the Indictment, Trial and Conviction of Stephen and Jesse Boorn* (Hartford, Conn.: William S. Marsh, 1820), in Haynes, *Black Preacher to White America,* pp. 203–28, see pp. 203–11.

57. A modern study of the trial reaches the opposite conclusion. See Gerald W. McFarland, *The "Counterfeit Man": The True Story of the Boorn–Colvin Murder Case* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990).

58. L. E. Chittenden, *Personal Reminiscences, 1840–1890, including Some Not Hitherto Published of Lincoln and the War* (New York: Richmond, Croscup and Co., 1893), pp. 333–38.

59. Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium. Showing from Scripture Prophecy, That It Is Yet to Come; When It Will Come; In What It Will Consist; and the Events Which Are First to Take Place, Introductory to It* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793), p. 136.

60. Joseph A. Conforti, "The Invention of the Great Awakening, 1795–1842," *Early American Literature* 26 (1992): 99–118. Michelle Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), pp. 69–70, argues that parallels among the relations between slaves and masters, children and parents, and captives and captors were set in the 1770s. This may be, but Haynes seems to have been searching for antislavery implications in originating events older and deeper than the Revolution in his last writings. The captivity narratives seem to be the source he chose at last.

61. For the influence of the captivity narratives on the literary expression of African Americans, see Benilde Montgomery, "Recapturing John Marrant," in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America,* ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 105–15; John Saillant, "'Remarkably Emancipated from Bondage, Slavery, and Death': An African American Retelling of the Puritan Captivity Narrative, 1820," *Early American Literature* 29 (1994): 122–40; John Sekora, "Red, White, and Black: Indian Captivities, Colonial Printers, and the Early African-American Narrative," in *A Mixed Race,* pp. 92–104; and Rafia Zafar, "Capturing the Captivity: African Americans among the Puritans," *MELUS* 17 (1992): 19–35.

62. Alden T. Vaughan and Edward T. Clark, "Cups of Common Calamity: Puritan Captivity Narratives as Literature and History," introduction to *Puritans among*

the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724, ed. Vaughan and Clark (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 1.

63. Ibid., p. 6.

64. Haynes, *Mystery Developed,* pp. 217–18, 223–24.

65. Ibid., pp. 213, 215, 219, 223.

66. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," pp. 97–99; Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* p. 82 ; Haynes, *Mystery Developed,* pp. 208–9, 215, 226.

67. *The Oxford Companion to African American Literature,* ed. William L. Andrews, Frances Smith Foster, and Trudier Harris (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), see "Terry, Lucy." See also Ann Allen Shockley, *Afro-American Women Writers, 1746–1933: An Anthology and Critical Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988), pp. 13–16.

68. Lemuel Haynes, [Poem,] p. 3.

69. Cooley described Haynes's "free indulgence in wit" as an expression of piety and an effective means of inspiring "the ranks of infidelity with alarm at his approach." Cooley, *Haynes,* p. 122.

70. Haynes, *Mystery Developed,* pp. 214, 220.

71. Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma,* pp. 13, 23–24.

72. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* p. 82.

73. Wilbur H. Siebert, *Vermont's Antislavery and Underground Railroad Record* (Columbus, Ohio: Spahr and Glenn, 1937), p. 4.

74. Haynes, *The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism,* pp. 80–81.

75. Vaughan and Clark, "Cups of Common Calamity," p. 13.

76. Haynes, *Mystery Developed,* p. 224.

77. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 102; Haynes, *Mystery Developed,* pp. 219, 225.

78. Mitchell Robert Breitwieser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning: Religion, Grief, and Ethnology in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 8–9, 57.

79. Haynes, *Mystery Developed,* pp. 226–27.

80. Ibid., pp. 209, 214.

81. Ibid., pp. 210, 225–27.

82. Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together, with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson,* in Vaughan and Clark, eds., *Puritans among the Indians,* pp. 31–75, quotations pp. 34, 38–39.

83. Haynes, "Liberty Further Extended," p. 99.

84. Breitwieser, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning,* p. 4.

85. Peter Williams, *An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Delivered in the African Church, in the City of New-York, January 1, 1808* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1808); William Miller, *A Sermon on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Delivered in the African Church, New-York on the First of January, 1810* (New York: J. C. Totten, 1810); Russell Parrott, *An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade; Delivered on the First of January, 1812, at the African Church of St. Thomas* (Philadelphia: James Maxwell, 1812); William Hamilton, *An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Delivered in the Episcopal Asbury African Church, in Elizabeth-St. New York, January 2, 1815* (New York: C. W. Bunce, 1815), which is reprinted in *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787–1900,* ed. Philip S. Foner and Robert James

Branham (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), pp. 91–97, quotations pp. 92–95. Richard Newman, Patrick Rael, and Philip Lapsansky describe these writers as utilizing a burgeoning print culture to promote black autonomy and black pride. See their introduction to *Pamphlets of Protest: An Anthology of Early African-American Protest Literature, 1790–1860* (New York: Routledge, 2001), ed. Newman, Rael, and Lapsansky, pp. 1–31, especially pp. 3–9.

86. *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World,* ed. Peter P. Hinks (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 9–20.

87. Lawrence J. Friedman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830–1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 14–23.

88. For the formation of the American Colonization Society as one of the first acts by evangelical Arminians who had abandoned Calvinism, see William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607–1978,* Chicago History of American Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 112–13.

89. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* 1 (1825): 2, 39–40, 67, 177, 259; 2 (1826–27): 188–89.

90. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* 1 (1825): 68–69, 161, 169–73 (quotations from Leonard Bacon on p. 173), 246, 277, 343; 2 (1826–27): 293–95; 5 (1829–30): 222. A detailed examination of the patronage of one black emigrant by whites appears in John Saillant, "'Circular Addressed to the Colored Brethren and Friends in America': An Unpublished Essay by Lott Cary, Sent from Liberia to Virginia, 1827," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (1996): 481–504.

91. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* 1 (1825): 5, 20, 32, 53, 72, 80, 111, 119, 152, 166, 195, 228–32, 269, 270–71, 293–300, 305, 322, 328; 2 (1826–27): 273, 299–300, 366; 3 (1827–28): 160–66, 362–66, 293, 354; 5 (1829–30): 340; 6 (1830–31): 122, 235. As these references imply, concern with Islam was virtually a constant in colonizationist thought of the 1820s and early 1830s.

92. William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: Or an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the Resolutions, Addresses and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832), pp. 4, 20.

93. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* 1 (1825): 149; 2 (1826–27): 129; 3 (1827–28): 30, 154, 179–82, 372–76; 4 (1828–29): 93–94, 142–43; 5 (1829–30): 87–91, 177–79, 216, 382–83; 6 (1830–31): 62.

94. The text examined here appeared in *The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Colonization Society* (1828): 88–94. It is reprinted in "Documents—Letters, Addresses, and the Like Throwing Light on the Career of Lott Cary," ed. Miles Mark Fisher, *The Journal of Negro History* 7 (1922): 427–48. On Henry Clay and other colonizationists, see the speech by Clay recorded in *A View of Exertions Lately Made for the Purpose of Colonizing the Free People of Colour, in the United States, in Africa, or Elsewhere* (Washington, D.C.: Jonathan Elliott, 1817), p. 6; Charles S. Johnson, *Bitter Canaan: The Story of the Negro Republic,* Black Classics of Social Science (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987), p. 19; and Philip J. Slaughter, *The Virginian History of African Colonization* (Richmond, Va.: Macfarlane and Fergusson, 1855), p. 23.

95. For example, see Joseph Tracy, *Natural Equality: A Sermon before the Vermont Colonization Society, October, 1833* (Windsor, Vt.: Chronicle Press, 1833); Robert Walsh, *African Colonization* (Fredericksburg, Va.: The Arena Office, 1829), pp. 14–21.

96. Rev. William B. Hoyt, *Reminiscences of Liberia and Cape Palmas, with Incidents of the Voyage* (Hartford, Conn.: Henry J. Fox and Wm. B. Hoyt, 1852), pp. 22, 68.

97. J. M. Wainwright, *A Discourse, on the Occasion of Forming the African Mission School Society, Delivered in Christ Church, in Hartford, Connecticut* (Hartford, Conn.: H. F. J. Huntington, 1828), pp. 20–21.

98. Wainwright, *Discourse,* pp. 5–20.

99. *African Repository and Colonial Journal* 25 (1849): 116; Charles Henry Huberich, *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia* (New York: Central Book Company, 1947), 1:827–44.

100. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* 2 (1826–27): 245.

101. The best overview of antebellum antislavery and proslavery exegeses remains Caroline L. Shanks, "The Biblical Anti-Slavery Argument of the Decade 1830–1840," *The Journal of Negro History* 16 (1931): 132–57. Eugene D. Genovese, in *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), pp. 3–7, mentions the exegeses and assumes *"arguendo,* that the Bible does sanction slavery" (p. 5), but does not note that the antebellum biblical arguments for and against slavery took place outside a tradition in which a strong biblically inspired antislavery had already been articulated.

102. Shanks, "The Biblical Anti-Slavery Argument," p. 154.

103. This is a summation of Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998).

104. *The Supposed Murderers Proved Innocent by Wonderful Discoveries: Or, Stephen and Jesse Boorn, Who Were Found Guilty of the Murder of Russell Colvin, by a Jury of Their Country, Saved from Death. Compiled from the statements of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, and Putnam Waldo, Esq., of Manchester, Vermont* (New York: Luther Pratt and Son, 1835).

105. Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative* went through the same process of excision of the providential material beginning about 1830. See James Walvin, *An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745–1797* (New York: Cassell, 1998), pp. 190–91. Walvin believes that as Equiano "began to appear in abstracted, edited form in collections devoted to the achievements of 'men of colour'" he lost his relevance to the abolitionist cause. In reality, it was individual black men of high achievement that attracted the antebellum abolitionists, and Equiano had to be stripped by 1830 or so of his providentialism in order to be relevant.

106. Joseph I. Foot, "Review of the Memoir of L. Haynes," *Literary and Theological Review* 15 (1837): 429–45, quotations pp. 430, 440, 443.

107. *The Colored American 1*, March 11, 1837: 4; April 8, 1837: 1–2.

108. Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), p. 82.

109. William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization,* pp. 31–32, 36.

Index

abolitionism, 15–26, 36–39, 47–50, 119, 133, 154
  Garrisonian, 81, 184–87
  See also Benezet, Anthony; Cugoano, Quobna Ottobah; Haynes, Lemuel; slavery
Acts of the Apostles, 17–18, 62, 113, 125, 153–54, 166
Adams, John, 56, 64–65, 70, 118–19, 121, 124
Adams, Samuel, 56, 64
Africa, 39–40, 96, 98–100
  missions in, 91–92, 104–5, 181
  romantic views of, 178
  slave trade and slavery in, 17–19, 23–31
The African Repository, 180–82
Alien and Sedition Acts, 120–22, 128
Allen, Richard, 53, 69, 107–8, 145–47
amalgamation (interracial sexual intercourse), 96, 100–1
American Colonization Society, 49, 74, 77, 79, 140, 179
  See also colonization; Jefferson, Thomas
Amos, 36
Antigua, 150–51

Bacon, Leonard, 180
Ballou, Hosea, 154–65
"The Battle of Lexington" (Haynes), 51–52
Bellamy, Joseph, 14, 83, 109
benevolence, 12–13, 72–88, 106–112, 127, 163
  divine, 87, 164
  See also sentiment
Benezet, Anthony, 17–25, 28–30, 50
  See also abolitionism; "Liberty Further Extended" (Haynes)
Benin, 25, 31
black loyalists, 20, 133, 148–49
  in the Ethiopian Regiment, 57
Boorn, Stephen, 168–69, 171–76
Bundu, 26
Burke, Thomas, 58–59

Calvinism, 14, 83–84, 104, 115–16, 129, 154–58, 170
  vs. Arminian religion, 178–79
  See also millennium; New Divinity; Universalism
captivity, 33–34, 170
  of Mary Rowlandson, 170, 174–77
  of Stephen Boorn, 168–69, 171–72

charity, 71, 134–42
Chronicles, Second Book of the, 143
Clarkson, Thomas, 19, 166
Clay, Henry, 77, 182
Clinton, Sir Henry, 47
colonization, 49, 74–80, 92, 98–101, 152–53, 179–84
  See also American Colonization Society; Jefferson, Thomas
The Colored American, 185–86
Connecticut, 9–10, 12, 84–86, 92–96, 118, 129–30, 133–34
  charity school for black children in, 135, 141–42
constitution, British, 55, 147
Constitution of the United States of America, 80
Continental Congress, 15, 54–60, 75
Corinthians, First and Second Epistles to the, 34–35, 42, 130–31, 154
covenant, 110, 120, 171
  with Abraham, 110–11, 115–16
  Half-Way Covenant, 14, 85–86
Cugoano, Quobna Ottobah, 18, 23–24, 31–34, 47, 147–59
curse upon Canaan, 26, 30–33, 44, 93

Daniel, Book of, 70
Declaration of Independence, 15, 40, 44–45, 49, 50, 61, 113, 174
  and slavery, 57, 59
Deism, 13–14, 63
Deuteronomy, 22
Discourses on Religious Subjects (Haynes and Job Swift), 109–14
Dissimulation Illustrated (Haynes), 68–71, 106–7, 125–27
Divine Decrees (Haynes), 89–91, 104
Dunmore, Lord (John Murray), 47, 57, 148
Dwight, Timothy, 74, 84, 119, 134–42
  See also charity

Edwards, Jonathan, 15, 17–18, 41, 86, 105
Edwards, Jr., Jonathan, 86, 89, 96–101, 133
Enlightenment, 73–74, 140, 143
Ephesians, Epistle to the, 112, 130
Equiano, Olaudah, 27, 31, 33, 47, 149–50
Ethiopia, 107
Exodus, 63–64, 70, 142–45
Ezekiel, Book of the Prophet, 158

Farrand, Daniel, 12, 84
Federal Convention, 79–80
Federalist Party, 118–21, 127–29, 143–45
Fourth of July, 60, 181–82, 184
Franklin, Benjamin, 57–58, 65
French Revolution, 124–25

Gardner, Newport, 11
Garrison, William Lloyd, 81–82, 186–87
Genesis, 21–22, 110–11, 122, 158, 175
  Joseph story, 19, 87, 89, 99, 164, 180
George III, 56, 64
Gospel of Nicodemus, 42
governance, 47–49, 66, 70–71, 122–25, 150–51
gradual emancipation, 94–95, 114, 152–53
gradualism (form of antislavery), 151
Gronniosaw, James Albert Ukasaw, 18

Haiti (St. Domingue), 120, 151
Hall, Prince, 22–24, 29, 122
Hart, Levi, 91–98
Hartford Convention, 118–19, 143–44
Haynes, Lemuel
  assignment to pulpits, 63, 84–85
  death, 152
  early life, 9–14
  education, 11–14, 83–84
  life in Manchester, Vermont, 167–69
  life in Rutland, Vermont, 118, 165
  manuscripts, 15
  marriage, 60
  military service, 15
  politics, 118–19, 143, 179
  preaching, 13, 40, 43
  racial identity, 1–2, 13, 20, 167
  See also abolitionism; New Divinity; *titles of works by Haynes*
Hopkins, Samuel, 14, 20, 35, 64, 83–84, 96, 103, 105, 114, 155, 170
  A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans, 97–100
  A Discourse upon the Slave Trade and the Slavery of the Africans, 99–100

An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness, 106
Sin, 87–89, 91, 98
System of Doctrines, 91
A Treatise on the Millennium, 64, 88, 170
Twenty-One Sermons, 106–7
See also New Divinity
Hosea, 70
Hutcheson, Francis, 17, 30

immediatism (form of antislavery), 151
The Important Concerns of Ministers (Haynes), 106
indenture, 12, 52
Haynes's, 10–13
The Influence of Civil Government on Religion (Haynes), 122–25
insurrection, slave, 70, 126
Isaiah, Book of the Prophet, 68–69, 107, 171
Islam, 18, 23–30, 35–36, 111–12, 180–82
See also Africa; slavery
Israel, 19, 23–24, 31, 42, 93, 111, 143

Jallo, Job Ben Solomon, 28
Jefferson, Thomas, 49, 60, 74–78
See also colonization; Declaration of Independence; Enlightenment; republicanism
Jeremiah, Book of the Prophet, 67, 113, 143–44
John, First and Second Epistles of, 68–69, 127, 130, 155
John, Gospel according to St., 40–42, 111–12, 130, 160, 162
Jones, Absalom, 108, 147
Judges, Book of, 22
jurisprudence of slavery, 23, 30, 47
Christian, 31–35, 112
Islamic, 26, 32
Mosaic, 30–34, 93

Kings, First and Second Books of the, 36–39, 143, 147

Letter to the Rev. Hosea Ballou (Haynes), 155, 158
liberalism, 115, 117–19, 127–29, 142, 163–65
Liberia, 11, 182–84
"Liberty Further Extended" (Haynes), 15–23, 42–46, 101–2, 160
Luke, Gospel according to St., 42, 60, 62–67, 116, 130

Madison, James, 49, 68, 77, 79–81
manumission of slaves, 133–34
Massachusetts, 9, 15, 83–84, 92, 109, 122, 156
Matthew, Gospel according to St., 42, 68–70, 104–5, 110, 126–27
Middle Passage, 18–19, 23, 26
Middlebury College, 72
millennium, 35, 88, 99, 104, 113, 137, 140–41, 144–45
Missouri, 152, 171, 172
Montesquieu, Baron (Charles-Louis de Secondat), 50, 75, 78–79
Mystery Developed (Haynes), 169–77
abridged edition, 185

The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism (Haynes), 60–68, 103, 105–6, 125, 160–61
Nehemiah, 127
New Divinity, 14–15, 83–89, 96, 106, 109, 129
See also Edwards, Jr., Jonathan; Hart, Levi; Haynes, Lemuel; Hopkins, Samuel
Newport (slave and freedman), 12, 130–31
Numbers, 22

Paine, Thomas, 73, 77
Parliament, 15–16, 53, 119, 147–48, 150–51
patronage, 133–35, 141–42
Peter, First Epistle of, 130
Philippians, Epistle to the, 167
Philomen, Epistle to, 154, 166
Proverbs, 10–11
providence, 86–90, 99–104, 106, 114, 127, 141, 144–51
Psalms, Book of, 122–23
Puritanism, 153–54, 169–77

racism, 20, 43, 52, 63, 107, 146, 153
Republican Party, 119–20, 124–26, 143

republicanism, 15, 47–57, 61–67, 72–81
Revelation of St. John the Divine, 22–24, 38–39, 67, 99, 113, 131, 144, 166
Rhode Island, 9–10, 12, 97, 119, 127, 134–35
Rhode Island Free African Union Society, 29
Robinson, Isaac, 155–56, 158–59
Romans, Epistle to the, 70–71, 116, 125–27, 130–31
Rose family, 12–15, 21
Rowlandson, Mary, 170–77

Samuel, Second Book of, 124
selfishness, 65, 86, 101, 115, 127, 162
Senegambia, 24–27
sentiment, 12–13, 74–80, 106–9, 145–46
  See also benevolence
Sermon on 1 Chronicles 15:13 (Haynes), 143–44
Sermon on Exodus 32:26 (Haynes), 142–43
Sermon on Hebrews 12:23 (Haynes), 101, 108–9
Sermon on Isaiah 5:4 (Haynes), 144
Sermon on John 3:3 (Haynes), 40–43, 84–85
Sermon on Psalm 46:1 (Haynes), 84–85
Sermon on Revelation 6:17 (Haynes), 144–45
Sharpe, Granville, 22
Sierra Leone, 47, 77, 148–49, 151
slavery, 31, 33–35, 52–60, 66, 70, 92–94, 97–98, 136–37
  slave trade, 18–30, 35–36, 48, 97–99, 132–33, 141, 178
Somerset, James, 47, 58–59
Stiles, Ezra, 89, 129–34
The Sufferings, Rewards, and Support of Faithful Ministers (Haynes), 165–67
Swift, Job, 14, 84, 109–10
  See also Discourses (Haynes and Job Swift)

Terry Prince, Lucy, 172–73
typology, 33–34, 64

Universal Salvation (Haynes), 154–55, 158
Universalism, 63, 89–91, 154–60

Vermont, 49, 60–63, 71–72, 86, 118–19, 155–57, 167–69, 172–74
Virginia, 20, 47, 69–70, 109, 120–21, 152

Wainwright, J. M., 183–84
Walker, David, 178
War of 1812, 48, 68–70, 153
War of Independence, 15–17, 20, 48–49, 51–52, 54–59, 64, 106, 161–62
Washington, George, 50, 56, 68, 118, 120, 124, 127
Wheatley, Phillis, 11–13, 51
Whitefield, George, 13, 40
will, 90–91
Winterbottom, Thomas, 25
Witherspoon, James, 59–60

Yale College, 84. 129, 134, 137–38, 141