

*'This whole country have their hands full  
of Blood this day': Transcription and  
Introduction of an Antislavery Sermon  
Manuscript Attributed to the Reverend  
Samuel Hopkins*

JONATHAN D. SASSI

**I**N JANUARY 1789, the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote a letter to Granville Sharp, a leading activist in the English antislavery movement. Hopkins had recently learned of an English project to plant a colony of emancipated slaves on the West African coast at Sierra Leone, and he desired further information because he thought that some American blacks might want to join. Since this was the initial correspondence between the two men, Hopkins began his letter with a brief self-introduction. He recounted the period almost two decades earlier when he had moved from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, to Newport. Shortly after his arrival, Hopkins recalled, his 'attention was soon turned to the *slave trade*, which had been long carried on here, and was still continued.' He reported that he then quickly decided to preach against both the slave trade and slavery, despite the fact that 'this procured to me many enemies.' 'So far as I then knew,' Hopkins recollected, he was in the early 1770s

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'almost alone in my opposition to the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans.'<sup>1</sup>

A manuscript sermon acquired by the American Antiquarian Society in 1998 sheds important new light on the origins of Samuel Hopkins's antislavery stance beyond his well-known publication of 1776, *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans*. Based on Isaiah 1:15, the sermon delivered a full-bore blast against slavery and called for its immediate abolition. He drew on New Divinity Calvinism, revolutionary republicanism, and the writings of Anthony Benezet, the Quaker antislavery activist, among other sources to create a unique and potent synthesis of disparate strands of antislavery argument. The manuscript also helps to illuminate the shift among Jonathan Edwards's disciples from the equivocations of their mentor to an uncompromising antislavery position. In addition, the sermon must be one of the earliest documents to deploy the language of the Declaration of Independence in the cause of abolition. Since no other sermon manuscripts are known to survive from Hopkins's earliest antislavery preaching in the first half of the 1770s, this sermon on Isa. 1:15 reveals the tangled intellectual and social roots of his abolitionism as never before.

The manuscript consists of twenty-eight pages handwritten in ink, which are bound together with string. Its pages measure  $3^{15/16}$  by  $63/8$  inches or 10 by 16.2 centimeters. The penmanship is clean and legible throughout. It is worth remembering, however, that the document was not intended for eyes other than its author's. He meant to preach the sermon and for his audience to hear, rather than read, its message. Although we cannot relive that performance, a reading of the sermon still evokes the powerful rhetorical impact that it must have made. When Hopkins challenged his clerical listeners, for example, by repeating seven times

1. Samuel Hopkins to Granville Sharp, January 15, 1789, reprinted in *The Works of Samuel Hopkins, D.D., First Pastor of the Church in Great Barrington, Mass., afterwards Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, R. I., with a Memoir of His Life and Character*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1854), 1:140. The author of the memoir was Edwards A. Park of Andover Theological Seminary.

the question, 'can we hold our peace?' (22-23), he created an effect that remains stirring.

The manuscript is neither signed nor dated, but comparing it with a selection of others in Hopkins's hand leaves no doubt that he penned this sermon. In a half-dozen autographed items, the formation of individual letters of the alphabet, especially the capitals, is similar to those in the sermon on Isa. 1:15. Sometimes whole words such as 'America,' 'Guinea,' and 'preach' appear in both the sermon and the letters, and the similarity in the handwriting is then made even more apparent. Both also employ the same abbreviations. For instance, in a journal entry for May 5, 1743, Hopkins wrote 'thot' for 'thought,' and this is consistent with the usage at the top of page three of the sermon manuscript. Hopkins filled in missing words and crossed out unwanted phrases identically in both the sermon and letters. Finally, another sermon manuscript from 1746 shows that Hopkins arranged paragraphs and enumerated his points in the same manner thirty years later. For example, he used short horizontal lines from the left-hand side of the page in order to separate paragraphs in 1746, which is exactly the same arrangement found on page three of the sermon on Isa. 1:15. In brief, the manuscript fits within a record of Samuel Hopkins's handwriting that is generally consistent over a span of more than fifty-seven years (figs. 1 and 2).<sup>2</sup>

The precise dating of the sermon's delivery remains more elusive. I was never able to find a reference that would establish exactly when and where Hopkins preached this sermon. Like other clergymen, he was in the habit of recording in his journal the texts

2. Hopkins to Levi Hart, May 28, 1800, and 'A Journal kept by Samuel Hopkins,' particularly entries for January 24, March 25, and May 5, 1743, Hopkins Family Papers, 1745-1930, series III, family papers, box 11, folder 3, Williams College Archives and Special Collections; Hopkins to Mrs. Elisabeth Treat, September 5, 1776, misc. mss. 'H,' box 6, folder 5, AAS; Hopkins to Granville Sharp, January 15, 1789, Park Family Papers, 1715-1903, group 384, series I, box 10, vol. 4, p. 25, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University; Hopkins to Philip Quaque, April 20, 1774, Betts Autograph Collection, group 603, box 2, folder 205, Sterling Memorial Library; Hopkins to Ezra Stiles, November 10, 1779, Ezra Stiles Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Hopkins, 'Sermon on Jer. 17:9-10,' January 30, 1746, Stokes Autograph Collection, group 402, series I, box 4, folder 263, Sterling Memorial Library.

y<sup>e</sup> 3 why is all y<sup>e</sup> ineffectual to procure you  
 God help? nay, why cos a holy God reject  
 all y<sup>e</sup> as abominable to him & such as he  
 could not bear, & absolutely forbid it as y<sup>e</sup> work  
 his soul hated? We are told in y<sup>e</sup> text. Your  
 hands are full of blood. And y<sup>e</sup> Rep<sup>r</sup> to wash  
 & cleanse y<sup>e</sup> fingers from y<sup>e</sup> filthy nap; but tho' to  
 bribe God Almighty by y<sup>e</sup> Devotions to remove  
 his judgements & give y<sup>e</sup> leave to go on in sin.  
 But here I shall cor: 1 w<sup>h</sup> a pp: maybe do  
 to have y<sup>e</sup> hands full of blood, & 2 try y<sup>e</sup> by y<sup>e</sup>  
 character of y<sup>e</sup> pp: of y<sup>e</sup> country.

- 1 a pp: maybe do to have y<sup>e</sup> hands full of blood  
 w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> take away life unjustly, or thro' innocent  
 blood, as Manassah did, & coonive, at it as y<sup>e</sup>  
 pp: of Israel did in his time, by w<sup>h</sup> means it  
 become y<sup>e</sup> sin of y<sup>e</sup> whole land. —
- 2 w<sup>h</sup> pp: are unkind, malicious, cruel hat-  
 ing one another. Murder begins in y<sup>e</sup> heart  
 he y<sup>e</sup> hates his brother is a murderer, Jon 3. 15
- 3 w<sup>h</sup> Extortion & oppression prevail among  
 a pp: y<sup>e</sup> maybe do to have y<sup>e</sup> hands full of  
 blood, & by Extortion y<sup>e</sup> means of life are  
 taken away, w<sup>h</sup> are Expressly called Life  
 Dut. 20. 19 The Tre of fields, mans Life —  
 & it appears from y<sup>e</sup> counsel God gave y<sup>e</sup> pp:  
 of y<sup>e</sup> Jews at y<sup>e</sup> very time as y<sup>e</sup> are charged  
 with having y<sup>e</sup> hands full of blood; y<sup>e</sup> it was  
 Extortion & oppression y<sup>e</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> sin y<sup>e</sup> prevailed  
 among y<sup>e</sup> & upon w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> charge was chiefly  
 founded, See v. 17 Seek judgement, relieve  
 y<sup>e</sup> oppressed, judge, fatherly, plead for y<sup>e</sup> widows
- 4 w<sup>h</sup> a pp: go on in a course of sin as  
 y<sup>e</sup> as y<sup>e</sup> by trample under foot y<sup>e</sup> blood by  
 w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> are sanctified & become guilty of y<sup>e</sup>  
 blood of y<sup>e</sup> Ed. & on y<sup>e</sup> account may be do to  
 have y<sup>e</sup> hands full of blood. —

Fig. 1. Page 3 of the manuscript of the sermon preached on the Isaiah 1:15 text: 'And when ye Spread forth your hands, I will hide mine Ey[e]s from you: Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: Your hands are full of blood.' American Antiquarian Society.

Dear Sir,

Medway, May 29. 1784.

A confidence in your friendship and readiness to promote the interest of the first congregational church in Newport has induced me to send to you a number of Tickets of a lottery granted in our favour, thinking it probable you may have opportunity to dispose of them in the hands of your connexion, and acquaintance in the County of Worcester, or elsewhere, by selling them yourself, or putting some of them into the hands of others whom you consult, to sell. You will please to keep an account of the persons who take them, and of the number of each ticket you dispose of. If any should be unsold, at the time mentioned in the Scheme, you may return them to Mr. Sanford, or to Newport, by some safe hand. The money for the tickets you shall sell, need not to be sent to Newport till the lottery is drawn.

With much respect, I am your obliged friend,

Mr Waters.

and humble servant,

S. Hopkins.

see an account of the tickets on the other side —

Fig. 2. Despite the mundane content (lottery tickets) of a letter written by Hopkins in 1784, a comparison of the handwriting in it with page 3 of the sermon reveals several similarities, including elongated strokes at the end of certain letters. S. Hopkins, Medway, May 29, 1784, to Mr. Waters. American Antiquarian Society.

from which he preached.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, his diary for 1776 appears to be no longer extant. If Hopkins had been keeping a journal that year, it might have gotten lost in the shuffle as he fled Newport before the British invasion in December, or it could have been destroyed when occupying soldiers made a shambles of his meetinghouse and residence. We also know that a fire posthumously destroyed some of his papers.<sup>4</sup> Newport's wartime disruptions certainly explain why the records of Hopkins's First Congregational Church provide no answer, as there are gaps in all of them starting at some point in 1776 and continuing until after the war.<sup>5</sup> Some prominent diarists likewise offer no clues about Hopkins's sermon on Isa. 1:15. The diaries of Sarah Osborn, his parishioner and confidante, are missing for the years from 1774 to 1783 inclusive. The richly detailed diaries of Levi Hart and Ezra Stiles, two of Hopkins's closest friends in the ministry, exist for 1776, but neither mentions the sermon. Finally, three area newspapers, the *Newport Mercury*, the *Providence Gazette; and Country Journal*, and the *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, all fail to mention the sermon in their pages for 1776.<sup>6</sup>

Various clues suggest, however, delivery in the late summer or fall of 1776. Obviously, because the sermon quotes from the Declaration of Independence (8), Hopkins could not have preached it prior to July 1776; the *Newport Mercury* printed the text of the Declaration in its 'extraordinary' issue of July 18. At the other end of the time frame, it makes sense that Hopkins probably delivered

3. See, for example, entries for January 24 and May 22, 1743, in 'Journal.'

4. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:90 and 1:143.

5. The Newport Historical Society houses the records of the First Congregational Church. 'Book 833: Records, 1743-1831' contains an entry for the annual meeting of September 30, 1776, with no mention of this sermon; it just lists the names of those who were elected clerk, moderator, and committee members, and a couple of votes on administrative matters. The next entry is not until June 12, 1780. 'Book 832: Marriages and Baptisms, 1744-1825' has a misleading title, since it also contains the 'Votes and transactions of the church,' which run from 1755 to 1833. However, there are here entries only for January 5, 1776, and February 1, 1782, but nothing in between. 'Book 836 B: Committee Book, 1743-1799,' likewise has an entry for February 6, 1776, and then nothing until July 7, 1782.

6. Sarah Osborn, diaries, Newport Historical Society; Levi Hart, diary, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Sermon Collection, box 6, vol. 2; *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, 3 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1901).

the sermon before December 12 of that year when he reportedly 'escaped from Newport.'<sup>7</sup> Other clues point to an August delivery date in particular, but such a conclusion remains more speculative. In the sermon's penultimate paragraph, Hopkins urged his auditors 'never [to] give your Suffrage for the Election of one to any place of public trust that does enslave his fellow creature, certain it is that he that will Enslave an African would inslave an American if he could' (28). Such a concluding remark may indicate that Hopkins was speaking prior to an election, and in Rhode Island town elections for deputies to the Assembly were held in April and August.<sup>8</sup> The sermon's long closing address to the clergymen in the audience (19–24) suggests more strongly that Hopkins preached this sermon to some ministerial gathering, but when or where that meeting took place remains unknown.<sup>9</sup> According to a letter of September 5, Hopkins had recently returned home from Boston; might he have travelled there to preach this sermon? The reference (26) to the burning of nearby Charlestown, Massachusetts, may also indicate a Boston audience, although the destruction of Charlestown was an event notorious enough that Rhode Islanders too would certainly have been familiar with it.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the reference to British damage to Charlestown instead of, say, New York or Newport, may also indicate that Hopkins was speaking before the British captured both of those cities in the latter part of 1776. In sum, the available evidence suggests that Samuel Hopkins preached this sermon at a clerical gathering during the late summer or autumn of 1776, perhaps in the month of August (fig. 3).

7. *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 2:96.

8. Patrick T. Conley, *Democracy in Decline: Rhode Island's Constitutional Development, 1776–1841* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1977), 51.

9. It is possible that these ministers were assembled for an ordination. Harry S. Stout informs me that Hopkins's closing address 'to the Congregation present' (25) was typical for an ordination sermon. Stout cited in Kenneth Minkema, e-mail to the author, August 23, 2002.

10. Hopkins to Mrs. Treat, September 5, 1776. Charlestown burned on June 17, 1775, as a result of British cannon fire during the Battle of Bunker Hill; see James F. Hunnewell, *A Century of Town Life: A History of Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1775–1887* (Boston, 1888), 2, and Richard Frothingham, Jr., *The History of Charlestown, Massachusetts* (Charlestown and Boston, 1845–49), 367–68.



Fig. 3. 'Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.,' drawn and engraved by Abner Reed, May 1803. *Sketches of the life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport written by himself, interspersed with marginal notes extracted from his private diary; to which is added, a dialogue, by the same hand, on the nature and extent of the Christian submission; also, a serious address to professing Christians, closed by Dr. Hart's sermon at his funeral; with an introduction to the whole by the editor* (Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin, 1805), frontispiece. American Antiquarian Society.



The outline of the Hopkins sermon divides into five parts. Hopkins began (1-4) in the conventional form of the New England sermon with an explication of his chosen text, Isa. 1:15. As he explained, the text depicted biblical Israel at a time when that nation was near ruin and abounding with sinfulness. Nothing that the Israelites undertook to placate God, such as prayer or sacrifices, was in any way efficacious, because 'their hands [were] full of Blood' (3). This was so especially on account of their murder of innocents, their malice with which murder begins in the heart, and their extortion, which takes away the means of life. Hopkins argued that the United States had blood on its hands in exactly the same way because of the slave trade and slavery. Contemporary America, therefore, confronted a situation of divine wrath that paralleled that experienced by the Israelites in Isaiah's time.

In part two (5-8) Hopkins detailed other evils of slavery. Slavery debased 'the image of God' (5) that is imprinted on every person, including the slave. It made a mockery of baptism and marriage, since slaves could not voluntarily present themselves for either, and it made a cruel joke of the brotherly love that was supposed to prevail at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Slavery also misrepresented God as the author of slavery rather than as a merciful and loving Father. This distortion sapped the strength of 'Family Religion' (7), because God could not appear in a true light. As a result, a freshet of sin that inundated the land invited God's wrath. Finally, Hopkins noted, slavery contradicted the Declaration of Independence and its assertion of natural rights.

Having exhibited slavery's many evils, Hopkins turned in the third part (9-16) to refute some conventional defenses of the institution. He denied for a variety of reasons that Abraham, the biblical patriarch, provided any precedent for slavery. The most important of these reasons was that since Abraham had circumcised his servants, they could not truly have been slaves, since slaves were not entitled to undergo the rite. Likewise, Hopkins contended that the biblical Israelites' enslavement of certain peoples gave no warrant for modern slavery, since their action was

authorized only by God's express command. In other words, the Israelites' example created no general principle that could justify anyone else in the practice of slavery. The hoary argument of Gen. 9:25 that the Africans were under the 'curse of Ham' Hopkins summarily brushed aside as erroneous.<sup>11</sup>

Moving beyond biblical exegesis, Hopkins also tackled more secular justifications of slavery. These held that slavery was actually beneficial to Africans by removing them from the continent's uncivilized state, endemic warfare, and pagan darkness. Hopkins parried these by citing the evidence of African and West Indian travel narratives and natural histories, which portrayed Africa and Africans in positive lights. These books at least attributed Africans' degradation to the effects of slavery and European depredations, rather than any inherent inferiority. Hopkins also scorned the notion that many African Americans were likely to come to civilization or Christianity while enslaved, even in his own supposedly pious New England.

In a brief fourth section (17-18), Hopkins drew 'a few inferences' (17). Only 'a reformation' (17) could save America from God's impending wrath, and by that he specifically meant abolition. American religion, government, and slave merchants were all particularly odious in God's sight for their complicity with slavery.

In part five (19-28), Hopkins ended by speaking to his audience in a way that was conventional for a sermon delivered on a public occasion such as the annual fast or anniversary election days. He devoted most of his remarks to the clergymen present, exhorting them to fulfill their sacred duty to speak out prophetically against slavery, despite the opposition they would surely have to confront. He further called on clergy to exclude slaveholders from 'all Special privileges in the house of God' (24). He turned to the 'congregation present' and closed by reiterating his opening

11. According to Stephen R. Haynes, 'by the 1670s the "curse of Ham" was being employed as a sanction for black enslavement' in colonial America (*Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002], 8).

arguments that the Africans were not made for slavery and that its abolition alone would appease God. This abolitionist stance he linked explicitly to the American Revolution then recently commenced, calling on his audience to 'Exert yourselves for universal Liberty' (28).

Readers familiar with Hopkins's *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans* will recognize several themes in common with the sermon on Isa. 1:15. For example, in the *Dialogue's* opening dedication to the Continental Congress, Hopkins remarked, 'May you . . . be the happy instruments of procuring and establishing universal LIBERTY to white and black, to be transmitted down to the latest posterity!' The *Dialogue* also argued that since slavery was 'a sin of a crimson dye,' only an immediate 'reformation' would assuage God's wrath; that was essentially the sermon's thesis as well.<sup>12</sup> The *Dialogue* refuted some of the same common justifications for slavery. As in the sermon, Hopkins wrote in the *Dialogue* that slaveholders could not give a positive representation of Christianity to their slaves; that the slavery practiced by the Israelites set no precedent for anyone else; and that it was wrong to say that 'Negroes' were 'fit for nothing but slaves.'<sup>13</sup> Finally, both works proceeded from the conviction that in publishing their arguments they were shedding further 'light' on an important subject, about which 'ministers of the gospel [could not] hold their peace, and not testify against this great and public iniquity.'<sup>14</sup>

The sermon on Isa. 1:15, however, is not merely a précis of the earlier *Dialogue*. The most obvious difference is the form of each document. The manuscript is a sermon and proceeds from a cho-

12. [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. With an Address to the owners of such Slaves. Dedicated to the Honourable the Continental Congress. To which is prefixed, the Institution of the Society, in New-York, for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been, or may be, liberated* (New York, 1785; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 10, 39. As noted on p. 8, 'the first edition of this dialogue was published [at Norwich, Conn.] early in the year 1776, before the declaration of our Independence.'

13. [Hopkins], *Dialogue*, 18, 28-30, 41, quotation on 41.

14. [Hopkins], *Dialogue*, 57, 38.

sen text and its explication to applications and closing remarks. The *Dialogue* is a fictitious conversation between a slaveholder and one opposed to slavery, in which the latter explains why none of the former's reasoning in defense of slavery holds water. The different audiences for each text dictated in part those differing literary forms. Hopkins aimed the *Dialogue* at two groups: political figures, whom he wanted to take further action against slavery, and slave masters, who still needed to be convinced of the peculiar institution's iniquity. The sermon, in turn, would have been the conventionally appropriate form for a minister to employ in addressing a gathering of his clerical brethren. Each audience likewise called for a different emphasis and content. The sermon packed in more theology and biblical exegesis. For instance, while the *Dialogue* also mentioned the problem of having master and slave together at the Lord's table, the sermon analyzed the situation in greater depth.<sup>15</sup> It also laid out a more extended discussion of the duty of ministers to speak out against slavery, regardless of the opposition. Moreover, since the *Dialogue* had been published in early 1776, the sermon could extend its argument by incorporating the language of the Declaration of Independence. Thus, the sermon on Isa. 1:15 offers a fuller insight into the wide-ranging arguments that Samuel Hopkins brought to bear against slavery than does his *Dialogue* alone.

What were the roots of Hopkins's various arguments? If the shock of confronting the Newport slave trade had initially turned him into an abolitionist operating 'almost alone' in the early 1770s, as he recalled for Granville Sharp, by the time of this sermon in 1776 Hopkins was absorbing a wide array of antislavery influences. The sermon represents the synthesis of his New Divinity Calvinism, personal experiences over the past half-dozen years spent in Newport, and wider reading and correspondence, all of which he applied to the problem of slavery.

Although Samuel Hopkins's indictment of slavery cannot be understood apart from his New Divinity Calvinism, everything in

15. [Hopkins], *Dialogue*, 67-68.

the sermon should not be reduced to some outworking of that theological perspective. Like countless antislavery polemicists before and after him, Hopkins cited (4) the Golden Rule of Matt. 7:12 as proof of slavery's injustice.<sup>16</sup> He also voiced a high opinion of the ministry's responsibility for public morality that would have been familiar to Congregational clergy whatever their theological stripe. The established clergy in eighteenth-century New England typically invoked the example of 'Moses and Aaron' as a scriptural precedent for the cooperation of magistrate and minister.<sup>17</sup> Hopkins employed this model when he stated, 'Rulers and M[inisters] lay under the greatest guilt of any men in the Country this Day' (18) for not taking vigorous action against slavery. Furthermore, he reached back to New England's seventeenth-century foundations and cast his sermon as a classic jeremiad, 'a lament for the loss of virtue and a warning of divine displeasure and desolation to come.'<sup>18</sup> 'Can we wonder that Religion is gon[e] to decay in our Land, that vice and profan[e]ness have overspre[a]d the whole Land,' he thundered, 'when the Ever glorious God has been blasphemed openly in the practice of Slavery among us for So long a time? or can we wonder that God is . . . obliged for the Glory of his own name now to destroy us from being any Longer a people if we will not reforme' (7). None of these three critiques that Hopkins launched against slaveholding depended on his New Divinity Calvinism. Elsewhere in the sermon, however, examples abound of New Divinity doctrines creatively brought to bear against slavery.

The New Divinity was the theology promulgated by such lead-

16. For instance, three-quarters of a century earlier Samuel Sewall had also cited Matt. 7:12 in opposition to slavery; see *The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial* (Boston, 1700; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969).

17. T. H. Breen, *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 37-43; Jonathan D. Sassi, *A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 60-66.

18. Edmund S. Morgan, 'The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 24 (1967): 6. See also Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 62-63; David S. Lovejoy, 'Samuel Hopkins: Religion, Slavery, and the Revolution,' *New England Quarterly* 40 (1967): 236-41.

ing students of Jonathan Edwards as Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins. They and the students that they subsequently trained worked to propagate and elaborate Edwards's theological legacy. They defended such core Calvinist tenets as human sinfulness, divine sovereignty, and the role of grace in regeneration from the aspersions of theological liberals.<sup>19</sup> Hopkins studied with Edwards for a total of about eight months during the two years following his graduation from Yale in 1741. During the 1750s, the two 'lived nearly seven years within seven miles' of each other, while Edwards was minister of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and Hopkins was pastor of the church in Housatonic (incorporated in 1761 as the town of Great Barrington).<sup>20</sup> Hopkins became a leading exponent of Edwardsean Calvinism during the second half of the eighteenth century. Before writing the sermon on Isa. 1:15, he had published three important theological treatises. Each caused a stir, because, as Edwards A. Park phrased matters, Hopkins tended to give 'an unusual prominence to the more difficult parts of theology.'<sup>21</sup> In *Sin, thro' Divine Interposition, an advantage to the Universe* (1759), Hopkins argued that God not only permitted sin to happen, but actually intended it for some positive purpose. He continued to stake out controversial ground in *An Inquiry into the Promises of the Gospel* (1765), in which he contended that an oblivious sinner was less irritating to God than one who had become aware of his sinfulness, but failed to experience conversion. In

19. During the 1980s and 1990s, a number of scholars worked to rescue the New Divinity from obscurity and scholarly misunderstanding. The most important works include 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.: Christian University Press, 1981); William Breitenbach, 'Unregenerate Doings: Selflessness and Selfishness in New Divinity Theology,' *American Quarterly* 34 (1982): 479-502; idem, 'The Consistent Calvinism of the New Divinity Movement,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 41 (1984): 241-64; David W. Kling, *A Field of Divine Wonders: The New Divinity and Village Revivals in Northwestern Connecticut, 1792-1822* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

20. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:19-24, 51, quotation on 51; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 9 vols. (New York, 1857-69), 1:429.

21. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:170. Each of the three works is conveniently summarized in Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 65-67, 69-70, and 117-20.

1773 Hopkins published *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness*. In it he laid out his doctrine of 'disinterested benevolence' and what Joseph A. Conforti deems 'the most famous tenet of his theological system: a regenerate person must be willing to be damned for the glory of God.'<sup>22</sup>

As a result of these provocative interpretations, Hopkins's critics charged that he should not be considered an orthodox Calvinist at all, but the creator of a 'New Divinity.' Thus, the theological movement of Edwards's successors acquired a name. Hopkins, not one to shrink from controversy, embraced the epithet. He reasoned that just as contemporary science continually made new discoveries, so too theologians should not be afraid to publish new insights of their own.<sup>23</sup> Hopkins also applied this line of reasoning to the subject of slavery. He noted that acceptance of slavery was like religious orthodoxy, inasmuch as it was taken by many to be an unquestioned article of belief. However, he quoted the English divine, Isaac Watts, to point out that 'there are many Learned presumptions, many Synodical and National mistakes, many Establis[h]ed fals[e]hoods, as well as many vulgar Errors wherein multitudes of men have followed one another for whole ages almost blindfold' (8). In brief, Hopkins's background in the New Divinity movement, where he creatively and controversially extended Jonathan Edwards's brand of New England Calvinism, imbued him with a similar willingness to challenge received opinions about slavery.

Historians have connected Samuel Hopkins's antislavery to his doctrine of disinterested benevolence in particular.<sup>24</sup> This was 'the principle, that one must sacrifice all his interests, in this and the other world, if one can thereby promote the welfare of "being in general."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, there are instances in the sermon on Isa. 1:15 where Hopkins applied the concept of disinterested benevolence, in order to show that slavery represented its antithesis. For

22. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 120.

23. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:177-78, 184.

24. Lovejoy, 'Samuel Hopkins,' 232-34; Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 128-29 passim.

25. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:116.

example, under slavery, he pointed out, 'what Mallice and hatred do we discover in the Unparelled cruelty, Ba[r]barity and inhumanity practised by us to hundreds of thousands of our Brethren' (4). Such malicious motives were the opposite of the love to all mankind demanded of the individual of genuinely disinterested benevolence. Likewise, 'Hopkins maintained that God was not a self-centered Deity but a benevolent governor whose glory depended upon the happiness of mankind.'<sup>26</sup> Therefore, he argued that slavery misrepresented God as one who uncaringly condoned its gross injustices, rather than as the 'Benevolent Father of all mankind' (6). As a result, Hopkins concluded that because of the distorted way that slaveholders' households encountered God, 'tis their duty to hate him to Eternity' (7). He used the concepts of disinterestedness and self-interest in yet another way (12-13) when he dismissed those who denigrated Africa for its purported barbarism. Such defamers of Africa, Hopkins explained, were motivated by their own self-interested desire to advance the slave trade. More disinterested commentators, 'men of Honour and integrity who have had the best advantages of knowing' (13), he observed instead, depicted the continent as a naturally abundant land inhabited by decent human beings.

The sermon further adds to our understanding of Hopkins's position, as he deployed a range of other New Divinity principles against slaveholding. In response to liberal criticisms of Calvinism's supposedly arbitrary God, New Divinity thinkers had turned to the image of the law in order to explain the normal mode of God's interaction with the world. For example, instead of a covenant with a particular people, the New Divinity men joined Enlightenment thinkers in emphasizing the justice, rationality, and universality of the law.<sup>27</sup> Hopkins used this legalistic line of reasoning against slavery when he repudiated the example of the Israelites having enslaved some of their surrounding nations

26. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 117-18.

27. Valeri, *Law and Providence*, 49-50; Christopher Grasso, *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 128-43.



as a justification for American slavery. 'By what Law were they enslaved?' he asked rhetorically, 'not by the Law of nature, for it was against that Law' (10). The Israelites, in other words, had acted in accordance with a special divine decree, not a general law that modern people could appeal to in defense of slavery.

Second, as David W. Kling has written, 'from the New Divinity perspective, potential converts needed to grasp correct theology before manifesting true religious affections.'<sup>28</sup> Slavery interfered with this scheme of things, because it made the presentation of such 'correct theology' impossible. As Hopkins explained: 'True Religion depends on Just notions of the Deity, but the master is daily giving his Slaves, and whole House false notions of God. . . . [He] represent[s] God as cruel, unmerciful and unkind, having mad[e] creatur[e]s to make them misserable, which is a character worse then the Devil[']s.' Therefore, he concluded, 'Slavery Shuts up the K[ing] of heaven against men, and destroys all religion out of the world, and opens the Door for all manner of wickedness' (7). This was a damning indictment of slavery, coming from one who had been converted himself through the preaching of George Whitefield during the Great Awakening at Yale in 1740.<sup>29</sup>

As a third example of a New Divinity tenet enlisted in the battle against slavery, Hopkins applied his belief in strict standards for communion against slaveholders. He excoriated the idea of having master and slave together at communion, saying 'a greater absurdity, groser Hypocrisy or a more open profanation of Sacred things cannot be' (6). In the sermon's closing remarks to the clergymen present, Hopkins warned 'wo be to us if we Suffer those Blasphemous wretches who inslave their fellow creatur[e]s to enjoy the Special privileges of his House. Let us therefore See to it, other means failing to reform these men, that we forthwith Suspend them from all Special privileges in the house of God' (24).

28. Kling, *A Field of Divine Wonders*, 4-5.

29. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 25-27.

And, as a matter of fact, Hopkins's actions matched his words. When his church reassembled after its wartime dispersal, it voted to work to terminate slaveholding among its membership.<sup>30</sup>

Fourth, Hopkins drew another argument against slavery from his controversial proposition, noted above, that the 'awakened' yet unconverted sinner was actually worse off in God's sight than the completely ignorant one. This was one of those New Divinity planks that moderates and liberals could not abide. As Ezra Stiles scathingly wrote in his diary, according to Hopkins's view, 'an Unconverted Man had better be killing his father & mother than praying for convert<sup>s</sup> Grace.'<sup>31</sup> Regardless of this doctrine's unpopularity, Hopkins used it to illustrate further the evils of slavery. In his point of view, America was like the awakened sinner, now aware of slavery's iniquity, but not yet brought to the point of conversion to do anything to repent from its sin. As he explained: 'God had rather men were Ston[e] cold than Luke warm. Warm Enough to profess Religion, but not hot Enough to practise it makes a people the most guilty of any in the world. . . . For if we Say that we love God while we hate our brother we lie' (18). In these four ways, Samuel Hopkins extended his New Divinity theology to oppose slavery beyond just his better-known employment of the doctrine of disinterested benevolence.

The sermon on Isa. 1:15 also provides scholars a better measure of the distance that Samuel Hopkins had travelled from his mentor, Jonathan Edwards, on the subject of slavery. As Edwards A. Park noted, Hopkins 'seems to have agreed with President Edwards, as long as the President lived, with regard to slavery.' About the same time that Hopkins was studying under Edwards and living in his house, Edwards was engaged in a local dispute over a neighboring minister's slaveholding. It is not hard to imagine that Hopkins imbibed Edwards's opinions about slavery along

30. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:157-58. 'He was regarded as a champion for the unpopular doctrine, that persons exhibiting no evidence of a renewed heart should not be admitted to the Lord's supper, and that persons not coming to the Lord's supper should not offer their children for baptism' (1:64).

31. *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 2:505.

with the rest of the master's doctrines. Indeed, in the manuscript sermon, Hopkins advanced a few criticisms of slavery that resemble arguments that Edwards had included in a letter written about the time of Hopkins's residence with him. As Hopkins was to argue in the sermon (10-11), Edwards denied that any particular Old Testament example of the Israelites' taking slaves could justify eighteenth-century slave traders. Hopkins also shared with Edwards an expansive millennialism, of which the conversion of Africa formed a significant dimension. Thus, both Edwards and Hopkins (15) keenly felt how counterproductive the incursions of nominally Christian slave traders were to the project of sending missionaries to Africa. Nonetheless, neither man considered it improper or contradictory for even a New England minister to own slaves, as they both thought at times before the late 1760s.<sup>32</sup>

Hopkins moved, however, beyond Edwards's views on slavery, as he did in several other areas of his mature theology as well. Edwards had 'espoused the conventional view that holding slaves was permissible as long as they were treated humanely (as Massachusetts law required) and encouraged to become Christians.'<sup>33</sup> Throughout the sermon on Isa. 1:15, Hopkins utterly rejected these defenses. The 'humane' treatment of slaves he repeatedly dismissed as pure fiction, and the Christianization of the slaves he thought highly improbable, even in New England. 'Some will Say they are better treated in N[ew] England,' Hopkins wrote, perhaps with Edwards in mind. 'True they are Som[e]times permitted to attend publick worship,' he admitted, 'but what is to be Expected from that without private instruction which God knows they have not, nor indeed can ~~not~~ have; their Master continually Blaspheming the Ever blessed God before them' (15-16).

Had it not been for his relocation from Great Barrington to

32. *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:114. On the subject of Edwards's thoughts on slavery, this paragraph and the next rely on Kenneth P. Minkema, 'Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (1997): 823-34.

33. Minkema, 'Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade,' 825. For other instances of Hopkins's outgrowing Edwards's theological formulations, see Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 161-67.

Newport in 1769, it is widely recognized that Samuel Hopkins might never have moved beyond the stance that Edwards had taken on slavery and the slave trade.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, in his 1789 letter to Granville Sharp, Hopkins himself attributed his antislavery conversion to his confrontation with the Newport slave trade. His experiences of living in the city and befriending some of its residents, especially African Americans, led Hopkins to become an outspoken opponent of the slave trade and slavery. Thus, Hopkins's residence in Newport over the previous half-dozen years was a second key element in the maturation of his antislavery thought, in addition to his theological background in the New Divinity movement.

Newport, Rhode Island, was a city that had grown up around its commerce with the Atlantic world. Trade had made many of Newport's people rich, cosmopolitan, and tolerant of their city's ethnic and religious diversity, if perhaps also materialistic and self-indulgent. The culture clash experienced by the country pastor in worldly Newport may, in part, have precipitated his hostility to slavery, inasmuch as slavery epitomized the kinds of acquisitiveness, luxury, and hierarchy that he had not known heretofore on such a dramatic scale.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, Newport exerted 'hegemony in the colonial slave trade,' as the leading historian of the subject has concluded. Hopkins's years in the city prior to his sermon on Isa. 1:15 coincided with the peak of the colonial trade, with Rhode Island merchants making a colonial-era high of twenty-nine voyages in 1772. Only the intervention of the Continental Congress cut off the trade at the end of 1774. As Hopkins observed in a letter of late December 1774, 'The Continental Congress agreeing to put a stop to this trade, falls heaviest on this Town: is greatly hurtful to their worldly interest; and sorely

34. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 126-28. Hopkins began preaching in Newport in July 1769, and he was installed as pastor of the First Church on April 11, 1770 (*Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 1:17, 46).

35. James D. Essig, *The Bonds of Wickedness: American Evangelicals Against Slavery, 1770-1808* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 89. On life in eighteenth-century colonial Newport, see Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 115-21.

against the inclination of many.<sup>36</sup> Hopkins, in short, witnessed the wealth and vitality of the slave trade up close in Newport during the first half of the 1770s. He could also appreciate, therefore, the entrenched interests that supported it and the resentment they would feel to opposition. As he warned his fellow clergymen in 1776, 'tis Sad for Christian m[inisters] when they have to confront old wicked costoms, and Especially So when these old wicked Costoms are Esteemed very profitable' (21).

Hopkins did not metamorphose into an abolitionist on account of his solitary observations of the slave trade alone. Rather, personal acquaintance with certain individual residents proved just as critical. Probably no one was more important to Hopkins's ministry in Newport or the evolution of his thought during those years than Sarah Osborn. Osborn was a longstanding member of Hopkins's First Church, who had been instrumental in arranging for his call there. As Ezra Stiles, the minister of Newport's Second Congregational Church at the time, noted in his diary, 'Mrs. Osborn & the Sorority of her Meeting are violently engaged and had great Influence' in Hopkins's favor. The 'Sorority' that Stiles referred to was a women's religious society that she had organized. After his installation, Hopkins and Osborn remained fast friends and correspondents; he would ultimately publish a memoir of her life in 1799, depicting her as a paragon of piety and godly service. He also met with congregants gathered in her home, as he did on January 1, 1772, when he preached at a New Year's fast observance being held there. Most important for the present purpose, Osborn provided her pastor with an entree to the city's African Americans, some of whom she had led to Christ, nurtured spiritually in a small group that met at her house, and brought into the First Church.<sup>37</sup>

36. Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 25-37, quotation on 36; The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hopkins to Dr. John Erskine, December 28, 1774, Gratz Collection: American Colonial Clergy, case 8, box 23.

37. *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 1:44, 195, quotation on 44; *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:30; Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, 'The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Sarah Osborn (1714-1796),' *Church History* 61 (1992): 408-21; Sheryl Anne Kujawa, "'A Precious Season at the

Hopkins's relationship with Newport's black community had some important consequences for both parties. By 1774, blacks numbered 1,246 in Newport, accounting for just under 14 percent of the city's total population. Of this number, the vast majority—87 percent by one estimate—were enslaved. In this urban context, African Americans toiled as household servants as well as laborers and artisans throughout the seaport's economy. Hopkins, therefore, had many opportunities for interaction with them. He knew blacks as members of his own church, through the meetings that he and they participated in at Osborn's, and doubtless also as a result of his daily life and work in the city.<sup>38</sup> Accordingly, he described himself as speaking from 'my own knowledg[e]' (16) in the manuscript sermon when he rejected that blithe justification for slavery that held that Africans would thereby become familiar with Christianity. They might 'Som[e]times [be] permitted to attend publick worship,' he admitted, 'but what is to be Expected from that without private instruction which God knows they have not' (15). Hopkins knew, in other words, that his own 'private instruction' of some Newport blacks was far from standard practice even in New England, so he could dismiss this convenient apology for slavery.

Hopkins's ministry to the Newport black community brought him not only these insights and acquaintances, but also the hostility of some whites. Shortly after his return to the city following the British evacuation, a group of African Americans approached him about holding a Sunday evening service for them in the meetinghouse, which he did. 'This, I expect, will make me many enemies, and be the occasion of my falling under much reproach,' he wrote to his fellow New Divinity minister, Stephen West. Nonetheless, he continued, 'a persuasion that I am in the way of duty, and the hope that I may be the means of some good to the poor

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Throne of Grace": Sarah Haggart Wheaton Osborn, 1714-1796' (Ph.D. diss., Boston College, 1993), 254-66; Kujawa, "'The Path of Duty Plain": Samuel Hopkins, Sarah Osborn, and Revolutionary Newport,' *Rhode Island History* 58 (2000): 74-89.

38. Elaine Forman Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island, in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 76-82.

blacks, I hope will be sufficient to support me, whatever obloquy or suffering may be the consequence.' Perhaps a similar reaction to his work with the black community before the war led him to expect opposition again. Likewise, when in the early 1770s he felt 'obliged, in duty, to condemn [the slave trade] in public and preach against it,' Hopkins recalled, 'this procured to me many enemies.'<sup>39</sup> In both instances, Hopkins claimed, a high sense of his ministerial 'duty' impelled him to act and fortified him against opposition. These experiences provided the background to his call in the manuscript sermon for his clerical listeners to stand up and do their own duty in speaking out against slavery, despite whatever scorn might come their way: 'What need have we of courage to appear on the Lord[']s Side against the common Enemy, to go against the presumptions of the Great and Stand alone in the Defence of truth? What fortitude do we need to Stand the Shock of calumny and popular Odium, while in the faithful discharge of our duty to God and the Souls of men?' (20). Thus, Hopkins's antislavery stand brought rebuke, not elevated status. Historian James D. Essig has speculated that this gave him a psychic benefit by way of creating 'an outlet for his intense concern about humility, a way of showing his "unconnected" station in the world.' Be that as it may, there can be no question that Newport's black community appreciated Hopkins's self-sacrificing service to them. Many joined his church, and when he published his *System of Doctrines* in 1793, seventeen blacks from Newport and Providence subscribed.<sup>40</sup>

Hopkins's relationship with blacks in Newport also led to his plan to prepare some of them as missionaries to return to Guinea. It turned out that two members of his congregation, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma, retained knowledge of their original West

39. Hopkins to Stephen West, June 23, 1780, quoted in *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:166; Hopkins to Sharp, January 15, 1789.

40. Essig, *Bonds of Wickedness*, 51; *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:166. In Sprague, *Annals*, 1:433-34, the Reverend B. H. Pitman remembered that as a boy who sometimes attended Hopkins's church, he noticed that 'there were also a large number of colored people, owing, no doubt, to the extraordinary efforts that he put forth in behalf of the African race.'

African languages, which gave Hopkins the idea to use them as evangelists to their native lands. He sought to raise money for their theological education and the establishment of their mission. The project was well known at the time, due in no small part to Hopkins's 1773 publication with Ezra Stiles of a circular that described the project and appealed for financial support. (They also reissued the circular three years later.) Phillis Wheatley was an enthusiastic proponent when she learned of the scheme. 'Methinks Rev'd Sir,' she wrote to Hopkins, 'this is the beginning of that happy period foretold by the Prophets, when all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest.' And she concluded, 'I hope that which the divine royal Psalmist [68:31] says by inspiration is now on the point of being accomplish'd, namely, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands Unto God.'<sup>41</sup> It was perhaps because of this project that Hopkins had familiarized himself with some of the published literature about Africa. This he cited in the sermon on Isa. 1:15 (13-15), in order to refute the stereotype that 'in Africa there is nothing but brutal Stupidity and Savage barbarity; with perpetual insecurity, arising from the State of hostility and war that forever rages in those inhospitable climes' (12). In all these ways, then, through the African missionary project, the sense of duty in the face of opposition that he developed, and his personal ministrations, Samuel Hopkins's relationship with the Newport black community shaped his antislavery position. The experience of living in the seaport and getting to know its people transformed the New Divinity theologian into an articulate opponent of first the slave trade then slavery *in toto*.

41. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 142-58; *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 1:363-65; [Samuel Hopkins], 'A Narrative of the rise & progress of a proposal and attempt to send the gospel to Guinea, by educating, and sending two negroes there to attempt to christianize their brethren' [handwritten mss., 1774; 1784], The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection: American Colonial Clergy, case 8, box 23; The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phillis Wheatley to Hopkins, February 9, 1774, Gratz Collection: American Poets, case 7, box 10. The circular is reprinted in *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:131-32. The story of Hopkins's missionary project contributes almost as much as his antislavery work or theological writings to his lasting fame. The dislocations of the Revolutionary War prevented this missionary endeavor from progressing any further after 1776, although Hopkins tried to revive the project in the 1780s, as witnessed by his 1789 letter to Granville Sharp.



The Stiles-Hopkins missionary circular circulated widely. In this and his extensive epistolary correspondence, Hopkins took advantage of the relative ease of communicating with the rest of the Atlantic world that Newport's location and trade contacts provided.<sup>42</sup> For instance, in 1773 and 1774, he and the Reverend John Erskine of Edinburgh wrote back and forth, discussing the African missionary plan and exchanging pamphlets. As a result of reading the circular, the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, with which Erskine was affiliated, donated £30 to the project.<sup>43</sup> Hopkins also tapped into Newporters' extensive contacts and knowledge of the West African coast in order to begin a correspondence with Philip Quaque, the African-born and English-educated Anglican chaplain at Cape Coast Castle. Hopkins sent Quaque a copy of the circular too and wanted to discuss with him the feasibility of the missionary scheme that it described. Quaque, as it turned out, was rather skeptical of the whole idea.<sup>44</sup>

The sermon on Isa. 1:15 exhibits the influence of this far-flung correspondence and Hopkins's reading of other antislavery writers from New England and the middle colonies. It illuminates in new ways how his antislavery position developed at the confluence of other authors' arguments. Hopkins's antislavery did not germinate independently, but his was an original synthesis. As with his applications of New Divinity Calvinism and his experiences of

42. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 143-46, develops this same idea.

43. Hopkins to Erskine, December 28, 1774; The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hopkins to Joseph Bellamy, June 6, 1774, Gratz Collection: American Clergy, case 9, box 10; *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:134. [Hopkins], 'A Narrative of the rise & progress of a proposal and attempt to send the gospel to Guinea,' 12-14, contains copies of two 1774 letters from and to James Forrest, the secretary of the Scottish society, which detail the reception of the circular and the resulting £30 contribution.

44. Coughtry, *Notorious Triangle*, 50, 126-27; *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:134; Margaret Priestley, 'Philip Quaque of Cape Coast,' in *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. Philip D. Curtin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 99-112; The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection: American Clergy, case 9, box 16, Philip Quaque to Hopkins, May 19, 1773, and Hopkins to Quaque, December 10, 1773; Hopkins to Quaque, April 20, 1774. The letters in the Gratz Collection mention that a 'Captain John Toman' carried the correspondence from Newport to Cape Coast and back.

living in Newport, scholars have been unable to appreciate fully these interconnections without access to this manuscript sermon.

From this side of the Atlantic, Hopkins was apparently familiar with the 1773 *Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements, on the Slavery of the Negroes in America* by the Philadelphia doctor, Benjamin Rush. Hopkins's sermon contains seven brief passages that are identical to ones in Rush's work. Some of these could conceivably have resulted from pure coincidence. For example, both quoted the same sentence from volume 15 of *An Universal History* about the emperor Constantine's edict of emancipation; both repeated the same three sentences about the slave's misery from book 15, section 12, of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*; and both cited the warning of Amos 8:6–8 to those who exploited the poor.<sup>45</sup> One might attribute these quotations to a shared reliance on well-known texts. Likewise, in a couple of places, similar wording may not definitely prove that Hopkins was drawing on Rush's pamphlet. Both referred to slavery as a 'Hydra sin.' Rush also had written, 'Rouse up and espouse the cause of Humanity and general Liberty,' which sounds like Hopkins's concluding remark, 'Rouse up then my brethren and assert the Right of universal liberty' (28). What puts the question of Hopkins's knowledge of Rush's *Address* beyond doubt, however, are additional instances in which Rush's language appears in Hopkins's sermon almost verbatim. It was Rush who in 1773 had written: 'Slavery is an engine as little fitted for that purpose [of propagating Christianity] as Fire or the Sword. A Christian Slave is a contradiction in terms.' Hopkins quoted this (16) virtually word-for-word in his sermon.<sup>46</sup> Taken together, these instances demonstrate that Hopkins had

45. [Benjamin Rush], *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements, on the Slavery of the Negroes in America*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1773; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 13, 25, 27–28. The corresponding pages in Hopkins's sermon are 23, 16, and 22.

46. [Rush], *Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements*, 26, 15. The other example is where Rush wrote, 'It has been said that we do a kindness to the Negroes by bringing them to America, as we thereby save their lives, which had been forfeited by their being conquered in war' (17). Compare this to Hopkins's statement, 'By bringing the negroes into this country many Lives have been saved which were forfeited by their being conqu[er]ed In War' (12).

Benjamin Rush's *Address* at hand when he composed his sermon on Isa. 1:15 in 1776.

Hopkins borrowed much more substantively from a second anonymous pamphlet of 1773, *A Forensic Dispute on The Legality of enslaving Africans*. Indeed, almost everything in the manuscript sermon from the last two paragraphs on page 12 through page 15 and parts of page 16 is Hopkins's condensation of material taken directly from *A Forensic Dispute*.<sup>47</sup> These four pages of the manuscript contain the refutation of the idea that alleged African savagery and paganism legitimated the forced relocation of enslaved persons to nominally Christian lands in the New World. Having dispatched various biblical proslavery rationales, Hopkins apparently thought it worthwhile to counter those grounded in negative stereotypes of African society. Much of the material that Hopkins took from *A Forensic Dispute* had, in turn, been quoted from Anthony Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea*. In this 1771 publication, Benezet, a Philadelphia Quaker schoolteacher and humanitarian reformer, had compiled excerpts from a range of travellers' and naturalists' accounts from the 'canon of West African knowledge.' These passages depicted Africa as a generally peaceful and well-cultivated place and its people like the rest of mankind in natural abilities and disposition.<sup>48</sup> While it is conceivable that Hopkins could himself have consulted either *Some Historical Account of Guinea* or the original travel narratives themselves, the presence of additional identical language establishes

47. [Theodore Parsons and Eliphalet Pearson], *A Forensic Dispute on The Legality of enslaving the Africans, held At the public Commencement in Cambridge, New-England, July 21st, 1773. By Two Candidates For the Bachelor's Degree* (Boston, 1773), 25-27, 36-38, 40-45, 48. For further discussion of this pamphlet and its background, see Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 30-32, 378-79, no. 26.

48. 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*, 2d ed., Cass Library of African Studies, Slavery Series, no. 2 (London, 1788; reprint, London: Cass, 1968). The first edition of Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea* was published at Philadelphia in 1771. See also Roger Bruns, 'Anthony Benezet's Assertion of Negro Equality,' *Journal of Negro History* 56 (1971): 230-38. The phrase, 'a canon of West African knowledge,' comes from Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 11-18, quotation on 11; I thank Prof. Joseph C. Miller for this reference.

beyond doubt that Hopkins's source for all of this was *A Forensic Dispute*.<sup>49</sup> Thus, this pamphlet constitutes a bridge between Hopkins's developing antislavery position and that of Benezet and other middle-colony Quakers. Such a connection has heretofore gone unrecognized in the Hopkins literature. Typically, the Quaker antislavery movement and Hopkins's opposition to slavery are seen as autonomous developments that only resulted in collaboration after the Revolution.<sup>50</sup> Benezet's pre-1776 writings, however, clearly informed Hopkins's position too.<sup>51</sup>

How a copy of *A Forensic Dispute* came into Hopkins's hands remains unknown. Perhaps the pamphlet was circulating among the network of New England Congregational clergy. Another intriguing possibility is that Rhode Island Quakers introduced Hopkins to the work. In the years 1774 to 1776, Moses Brown, a Providence Quaker and zealous antislavery activist, was writing newspaper essays and letters to drum up the requisite political support in Rhode Island for the legislature to cut off the colony's participation in the slave trade. It is not hard to imagine that Hopkins became acquainted with the pamphlet through Brown's activism, although that remains a matter of speculation. A tantalizing clue is a letter that John Quamine, Hopkins's missionary-in-training and a member of his First Church, wrote to Brown in June 1776 to thank him for his good work in the fight against slavery. After the Revolution, it is certain that Hopkins and Brown collaborated closely and publicly in the fight against slavery and the slave trade, and as part of that collaboration Brown was mail-

49. See especially Hopkins's page 14 with *A Forensic Dispute*, 41. According to George Champlin Mason, *Annals of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport, R. I.* (Newport, R.I.: Redwood Library, 1891), 56, Hopkins had been made an honorary member of the Redwood Library in 1770, the year of his installation as pastor of the First Church. In that collection, he would have been able to consult at least Griffith Hughes, *The Natural History of Barbados*; Francis Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*; and William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea*; see Marcus A. McCorison, ed., *The 1764 Catalogue of the Redwood Library Company at Newport, Rhode Island* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 36, 70.

50. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 133-41; Mack Thompson, *Moses Brown: Reluctant Reformer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 176-96.

51. In his *Dialogue*, 20-21, Hopkins also drew on Benezet's writing, citing *A short account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes* (Philadelphia, 1762). Nowhere in the secondary literature have I seen this connection explored, however.

ing Hopkins Quaker abolitionist literature in 1786. Hopkins did not hesitate to credit the Quakers for their activism. 'The Friends have set a laudable example in bearing testimony against the slave trade, and exerting themselves to suppress the slavery of the Africans; and, I must say, have acted more like Christians, in this important article, than any other denomination of Christians among us,' he wrote in 1784. Of Moses Brown in particular he noted in 1787, he 'is a man of a respectable character, as an honest, sensible man. . . . He thinks it his duty to do all in his power to put a stop to this traffic, and an end to the slavery of Africans, and to assist them to obtain their freedom, in all the ways he can. And he is active and unwearied in his endeavors to promote these ends.' The manuscript sermon may contain a further example of a Quaker influence on Hopkins's evolving thought. As already noted with reference to his New Divinity strict communion principles, Hopkins called on his clerical brethren (24) to exclude slaveholders from their churches. The Quakers had already done so; meeting in Newport in 1774, the New England Yearly Meeting culminated a fifteen-year growth in antislavery sentiment by forbidding slaveholding among its membership. Perhaps this inspired Hopkins's similar exhortation in the sermon on Isa. 1:15.<sup>52</sup>

A third author who stimulated Hopkins's developing antislavery thought was his fellow Congregational clergyman and longtime friend, Levi Hart of Preston, Connecticut. If the connections between Hopkins and the Rhode Island Quakers prior to the 1780s remain speculative, there is abundant documentary evidence of Hopkins's close relationship with Hart. Levi Hart was a fellow professor of the New Divinity, having studied under Joseph Bellamy after graduating from Yale in 1760. At Hopkins's installation over the First Church in Newport in April 1770, Hart was there

52. Thompson, *Moses Brown*, 81, 92-106; The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hopkins to Levi Hart, February 10, 1786, Gratz Collection: American Colonial Clergy, case 8, box 23; Hopkins to Moses Brown, April 29, 1784, reprinted in *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:120; Hopkins to Hart, November 27, 1787, reprinted in *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:123. Quamine's letter to Brown, which is currently missing from the Moses Brown Papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society, is excerpted in Thompson, *Moses Brown*, 105.

to offer him the right hand of fellowship and to make the closing prayer. As Sprague noted, 'They not only kept up a constant correspondence through a long course of years, but frequently exchanged visits.' Many of those letters are extant today, especially in the Gratz Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, among other repositories. The letters reveal that Hart and Hopkins were close, both professionally and personally. In the end, when Hopkins died in December 1803, it was Levi Hart who preached the funeral sermon.<sup>53</sup>

Hopkins would most likely, therefore, have been familiar with the antislavery sermon that Hart preached in September 1774 and published the following year as *Liberty described and recommended*. The first half of the sermon offered a conventional discussion and analysis of 'liberty,' in which Hart noted that New England's founders, various British and classical writers, as well as the Scriptures, all praised and cherished the concept. As he summarized, 'the sacred cause of liberty ever hath been, and ever will be venerable in every part of the world where knowledge and learning flourish, and men are suffered to think and speak for themselves.' In standard fashion, he also briefly sketched four varieties of liberty, namely 'civil'; 'religious,' by which he meant freedom of conscience; 'ecclesiastical,' or the independence of church government; and 'spiritual,' or the freedom from sin's bondage. Upon this foundation, Hart then built his critique of the slave trade in the second half of the sermon. None of these ideas was unique to Levi Hart; rather, most of them were typical of the ubiquitous liberal and republican discourse of the 1770s.<sup>54</sup> Still, certain passages of *Liberty described and recommended* parallel those

53. Sprague, *Annals*, 1:590-92; *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 1:46.

54. 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., 1775), 8, 13-15. For discussions of just how typical Hart's statements were for their time, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 61-65, 72-96; Barry Alan Shain, *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 158-81.

found in Hopkins's sermon on Isa. 1:15, which suggests that Hart's sermon may have influenced Hopkins's thinking. For example, when Hopkins denounced slavery as 'an open violation of the Great Eternal Law of nature' (8), it recalled language used by Hart, who exclaimed: 'Could it be thought then that such a palpable violation of the law of nature, and of the fundamental principles of society, would be practised [*sic*] by individuals & connived at, & tolerated by the public in British America!' Likewise, Hart concluded, 'With what a very ill grace can we plead for slavery when *we* are the tyrants, when we are engaged in one united struggle for the enjoyment of liberty; what inconsistency and self-contradiction is this!'<sup>55</sup> This foreshadowed Hopkins's similar closing words to his audience: 'You assert your own Right to be free in opposition to the Tyrant of Britain; come be honest men and assert the Right of the Africans to be free in opposition to the Tyrants of America. We cry up Liberty but know it the Negros have as good a Right to be free as we can pretend to' (28).

In addition to such parallels, hard evidence exists to prove that Hopkins was reading and mulling over Hart's writing. Sometime in 1774, Hart drafted a manuscript plan for the gradual abolition of slavery in Connecticut. In it he briefly dispatched some of the same justifications for slavery as Hopkins did, such as the Israelites' example and the curse of Ham. He then turned to a detailed explanation of his emancipation scheme, whereby owners would be compensated out of public funds for freeing their slaves over a period of twelve and a half years at a price to be prorated according to the slaves' age. He closed the text with a statement that again finds an echo in Hopkins's jeremiad: 'The hand of heaven is stretched out against our land at this day for our sins & threatens us with the loss of our invaluable liberties by the hand of our king & the british parliament . . . & it is highly probable this evil is coming on us as a punishment for oppressing the injured Africans [*sic*] who have as good a title to freedom as ourselves.'

55. Hart, *Liberty described and recommended*, 16, 20.

Whether Hopkins borrowed these common points from Hart cannot be determined for sure, but we know that he pondered Hart's manuscript. In a letter of January 25, 1775, Hopkins gave Hart his feedback. He generally praised Hart's scheme, although he argued that the emancipation should be immediate, rather than gradual, and at full market value, instead of discounting for age as Hart proposed. He closed his letter by writing: 'On the whole, I am glad you have turned your attention to this subject; and hope you will pursue it, till it shall be fit to make its appearance in public. But as many condemn the slave trade, who have not attended to the injustice of keeping these slaves, who have been made so by this trade, in perpetual slavery, perhaps something more particularly ought to be said, on this head.'<sup>56</sup>

In 1776 Hopkins would take his opportunities to say 'something more particularly' about slavery. In the early part of that year, he published his *Dialogue*, and sometime after mid-July he delivered the sermon on Isa. 1:15. The further advance of the Revolutionary movement and the publication of the Declaration of Independence enabled Hopkins to go beyond Levi Hart's prior formulations. Perhaps he had been in attendance at the ceremony on July 20, at which the Declaration was publicly proclaimed in Newport. On that afternoon, a brigade of patriot troops 'drew up in two columns on each side of the parade before the State house door,' lining the pathway upon which the governor and assemblymen processed into the building. Soon after, the assembly's secretary emerged and read its resolution that endorsed the Declaration of Independence. The text of the Declaration was also then read aloud. In reply, the troops at Fort Liberty fired thirteen cannons, and the soldiers before the statehouse divided into thirteen companies to salute the United States with an equal number

56. Both Hart's manuscript and Hopkins's letter are in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Society. They have been republished as "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," by Levi Hart, with a Response from Samuel Hopkins,' ed. John Saillant, *New England Quarterly* 75 (2002): 107-28, quotations on 125, 128.



of musket volleys. According to a newspaper account, 'The Declaration was received with joy and applause by all ranks.'<sup>57</sup> Whether he had been there that day or read the Declaration in the newspaper, Hopkins seized on its language right away. He recognized that Jefferson's expansive liberalism could be used against slavery. 'But however clear it is to me and all that have turn'd their minds upon it, that enslaving of Fellow creatur[e]s as these American States do, is a most abominable wickedness; and equally against the Law of Nature and the Law of Christ,' Hopkins noted, 'Tis self Evident, as the Honorable Continental Congress ob[served]: "that all men are created equal, and alike endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, as Life, Liberty the persute of hap[p]iness &c"' (8). The sermon on Isa. 1:15, therefore, must be one of the earliest invocations of the language of the Declaration of Independence in the cause of anti-slavery. Already in 1776, Samuel Hopkins was articulating what would become a staple argument of nineteenth-century abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass.<sup>58</sup>

For this and a variety of other reasons, Hopkins's sermon on Isa. 1:15 constitutes a significant addition to scholarly knowledge. It confirms the conclusion of Joseph A. Conforti, that 'The importance of Hopkins's antislavery stand . . . originates in the comprehensiveness of his arguments against the slave trade and slavery, their derivation from New Divinity theology and social criticism, and their linkage to the republican political thought of

57. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, July 29, 1776.

58. According to David Brion Davis, 'the Declaration of Independence was the touchstone, the sacred scripture for later American abolitionists, for blacks like David Walker as well as for whites like Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison' ('American Slavery and the American Revolution,' in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, ed. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983], 276). Moreover, Davis adds, 'Historians have too often slighted the clerical founding fathers who established a prophetic tradition that later American abolitionists, both black and white, revived and reformulated to suit their needs' (277). In turn, Douglass would invoke Isa. 1:15, in order to denounce America's pro-slavery churches; see Frederick Douglass, 'The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro, speech at Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852,' in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 3 vols. (New York: International Publishers, 1950), 2:198.

the Revolution.<sup>59</sup> It extends that conclusion by showing that Hopkins's position went beyond his well-known *Dialogue*; that additional aspects of New Divinity theology fueled his attack; that the experience of living in Newport informed his position; and that his reading of other authors contributed to his development in ways heretofore unrecognized. By 1776, Hopkins was certainly no longer 'almost alone' in his 'opposition to the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans,' as he recalled his initial involvement in the cause for Granville Sharp. But Hopkins alone had been prepared to draft this sermon manuscript by the preceding half-dozen years of his residence in Newport combined with his career-long explorations in consistent Calvinism and his wide-ranging reading and correspondence.

#### A NOTE ON MY EDITORIAL PRACTICES

In the following transcript, I have tried to replicate the manuscript as closely as possible with only minimal interventions for the sake of readability. The biggest difference is that I have spelled out Hopkins's numerous abbreviations. Where these were common and obvious (for example, 'yr' for 'there' or 'Ld' for 'Lord'), I have spelled them out silently. Where the spelling out of an abbreviation called for more of an act of judgment, I have indicated my textual interventions in brackets. So, for example, on the bottom of p. 16, where Hopkins wrote 'obj<sup>n</sup>' I have transcribed this as 'obj[ectio]n[s]' based on the context of the sentence. In a couple of places where doubts linger in my mind as to the complete accuracy of my judgment, I have noted such with a question mark. Thus, on p. 6, where Hopkins wrote 'coo.<sup>t</sup>' I have transcribed this as '[cooperate?],' in order to mark this as my best educated guess.

I have made no effort to modernize Hopkins's irregular spelling. For the sake of clarity and readability, I have replaced some letters or apostrophes that Hopkins dropped. These additions are always denoted by brackets. Likewise, his capitalization is ren-

59. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 128.

dered as is. Only at the beginning of a sentence have I sometimes silently capitalized a word.

In the same vein I have tried to be faithful to Hopkins's punctuation and paragraphing. I have here and there silently added periods to the ends of sentences. Other punctuation marks I have added in brackets, but I have done so sparingly so as not to clutter the text. There remain places in the text that might obviously call for a comma, for instance, but I have done so only when in my judgment the gain in readability outweighed the obtrusiveness of another bracketed insertion. Hopkins's intended paragraphing is easier to decipher. A short stroke of the pen starting at the left-hand margin and placed between two lines of text usually indicated a paragraph break, as did a long pen stroke at the end of a sentence. Short lines at the end of sentences, however, I have rendered as either periods or em dashes.

Finally, I have also indicated the revisions that were made during the drafting of this handwritten manuscript. When Hopkins crossed something out, I have noted such by a line through that portion of text. When he added something that had been left out, he wrote the insertion in the space above the line and placed a caret in the space below. I have indicated these additions by placing the word or number in angled brackets, as in '<condition>' on p. 1.

#### THE TRANSCRIPT

Isa. 1. 15 And when ye Spread forth your hands, I will hide mine Ey[e]s from you: Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: Your hands are full of blood.

In discoursing on these words, I shall enquire into the Condition of the Jewish nation at the time when this prophecy was delivered; the Course they took for Redress of their grievances; and why the Same was ineffectual.

1 as to the Condition of the Jewish nation at that time tis Set forth in a most Striking manner in the 7. 8. 9. v[erses] "Your coun-

try is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire, your Land, Strangers devoure it in your presence; and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the Daughter of Zion is Left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a Lodge in a garden of Cucumbers, as a besi[e]ged city. Except the Lord of hoasts had Left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been Like unto Gomorrah." Strip these v[erses] a little of their H[e]brasism and we may Read them thusly and they will be better understood by English men unacquainted with the Hebrew Idiom. Your country round about is in a measure <condition> desolate. Many of your Towns are burnt with fire by the Enemy and much of your Land is in their hands who take the profits of it to themselves, in your Sight, and you quite unable to prevent it. And the City Jerusalem dear to God as a daughter, and related to Zion the holy place, the Temple of God as a daughter to a mother, being Left of all her viliges, the whole country round being in the Enemies hand appears Like a cottage in a vineyard deserted and useless after the vintage is over; or like a lodge in a garden of Cucumbers Strip'd of all its vines that used to adorn it, yea tis as a besi[e]ged city that Everyone would be glad to Remove from, that used to be the Joy of the Earth. [end of p. 1]

Yea So near Extinction, that your country is almost Like Sodom and Gommorrah in respect both of Sin and ruin. Grown almost So bad that there could not be found 10 Rig[h]t[eous],<sup>1</sup> and almost So miserable that none had been Left alive, but the whole country turned into a Sulphureous Lake. This gives us a doleful view of the Sad condition that the Jewish nation was in when the p[rophe]t preached this Sermon oppressed by its Enemi[e]s on Every Sid[e], and unable to help it Self.

2 But what course did this afflicted oppressed people now take? We are tould in the preceding v[erses].<sup>2</sup>—That they brought a

1. Gen. 18:32

2. Verses 11-14.

multitude of sacrifices, not to the Alters of false Gods, they are not charged with that, but to the Alter of the God of Israel, they brought as many sacr[i]fic[e]s, and Rather more than the Law required, and not only peace offerings which they themselves had their share of, but Burnt-offerings which were wholly consumed to the honor of God. Nor did they bring the torn the Lambe and Sick, but fed beasts, and the fat of them, the best of the kind. They did not Send others to offer their Sacrifices for them but came themselves to appear before the Lord. They ob[served] the instituted places, not in high places Groves but in God[']s own courts, and Likewise the instituted time the New-Moons and Sab[baths] and appointed feasts, none of which they omitted. Nay, it Seems they Called Extraordinary assemblies, and hild Solomn meetings for Religious worship besides those that God had appointed. Nor was this all, for they applied themselves to God not only with Ceremonial Observances, but with the moral instances of Devotion, for they pray'd they pray'd often, made many prayers, nay, they were fervent and importunate in prayer, they Spread forth their hands, a metaphor taken from men a swim[m]ing, who most Earnestly Exert themselves. This course they took under their troubles, and is not this as much or more than we do this Day of our troubles, nay, what could a people do more? [end of p. 2]

Therefore 3 why is all this ineffectual to procure them God[']s help? Nay, why do[e]s a holy God reject all this as abominable to him and such as he could not bare, and abs[o]lutely forbid it as that which his Soul hated? We are tould in the text. Your hands are full of Blood. And they Refused to wash and Clense themselves from their filthy ness, but thot to bribe God Almighty by their Devotions to remove his Judgements and give them Leave to go on in Sin.

But here I shall con[sider] 1 when a people maybe said to have their hands full of Blood, and 2 try thereby the character of the people of this country.

1 a people maybe Sed to have their hands full of blood when they take away Life unjustly, or Shed innocent blood, as Manasah did connive at it as the people of Israel did in his time,<sup>3</sup> by which means it become the Sin of the Whole Land.

2 when people are Unkind, Malicious, cruel hating one another. Murder begins in the heart he that hates his Brother is a Murderer 1 Jon 3. 15.

3 when Extortion and oppression prevail among a people they may be said to have their hands full of Blood, for by Extortion the means of Life are taken away, which are Expres[s]ly Called Life Dut. 20. 19 The Tree of the field is man[']s Life—and it appears from the council God gave the people of the Jews at this very time when they are charged with having their hands full of Blood; that it was Extortion and oppression that was the Sin that prevail[e]d among them and upon which the Charge was Chiefly founded, See v[erse] 17 Seek Judgement, relieve the oppressed, Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

4 when a people go on in a course of Sin against the G[ospel] as they thereby trample under foot<sup>4</sup> that Blood by which they are Sanctified,<sup>5</sup> become guilty of the blood of the Lord Jesus and on this account may be said to have their hands full of Blood. [end of p. 3]

By what we have now heard Let us in the second place con[sider] and Compare our own character as a people. And is it true that those may be sa[i]d to have their hands full of Blood, who take away the Lives of others unjustly, or connive there at[?] Than this whole country have their hands full of Blood this day. While the Blood of Millions who have perished by means of the accursed Slave trad[e] Long practised by these States is crying to heaven for venjance on them and tho' Everyone has not had an Equal

3. 2 Kings 24:3-4

4. Matt. 7:6

5. Heb. 13:12

Share in this wickedness, not having been actually guilty of Enslaving his brother, yet by a general connivance it is become now the Sin of the Land.

2 is he that hateth his Brother a murderer, and may those that are malicious, Cruel, and hating one another be said to have their hands full of Blood Than are our hands full of Blood this day from what Malice and hatred do we discover in the Unparalleled cruelty, Ba[r]barity and inhumanity practised by us to hundreds of thousands of our Brethren, Rob[b]ing them of all the Rights of humanity and Bowing them to our will.

3 may a people &c—when Extortion and oppression prevail and do[e]s not the worst kind of Extortion prevail in this Land, I mean that of taking away the Liberty of men.

4 do[e]s a cou[r]se of sin against the G[ospel] make a people guilty of Blood, we are afully so at this time. Since nothing can be more contrary to the G[ospel] than the Slavery this country practise towards fellow-creatur[e]s, it being built upon the Ruins of that Law of our Saviour Do as ye would be done by which is the Bases of all Morality amon[g] men.<sup>6</sup> [end of p. 4]

This sin is a Hydra <sin> it involves us in all mannar of sin and wickedness. for instance

1 by enslaving our fellow creatur[e]s we deface the immagine of God in them, and Set up in ourselves the immagine of the Devil the Great destroyer of men. Man is a creatur[e] dear to his creator, he Stampt his immagine upon him in his first creation,<sup>7</sup> and Such remains of God[']s immagine are Still upon fallen man that this is urged as a reason why venjance Should be taken on a Murderer Gen. 9. 6.—but Slavery degrad[e]s men turns them into beasts of burden and destroys the immagine of God in them and Sets up in opposition hereto the hateful immagine of the Great Tyrant of Hell

6. Luke 6:31, Matt. 7:12

7. Gen. 1:26-27

who goes about Seeking whom he may devour.<sup>8</sup> Nothing more assimilates a man to a beast than living among free men himself a Slave. Says Mon[tesquieu].<sup>9</sup>

2 by Slavery the Ordinences of God are profaned among us.— 1 Marriage which is God[s] ordinance is often profaned by being administ[e]red to Slaves who have no right to dispose of themselves.

2 Baptism is often profaned by being administ[e]red to Slaves, who have no right to any institutions. as Mon[tesquieu] ob[served]: because they belong to no Society under Heaven Either civil or Religious.<sup>10</sup> That the ordinance of Baptism is not more profaned when administ[e]red to Bells, than when administ[e]red to Slaves.

3 the holy Supper of the Lord has been afully profaned by means of the Slavery among us, and our connivance at it. And that 2 ways viz: 1 by admitting Extortioners, and of the worst kind, Even such as enslave their brethren to the Lord[s] Table. Extortioners we may not Eat with at a common Table much Less at the Lord[s] table 1 Cor. 5.11—as they Evidently belong to another Master and Lord, to admit them to the Lord[']s Table, is to do what in us lies [**end of p. 5**]

to make x [Christ's] Table and the Devil[']s one.

2 by admitting Slaves as well as their Master Som[e]times to the holy Table. Than which a greater absurdity, groser Hypocrisy or

8. 1 Pet. 5:8

9. Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. Thomas Nugent, 2 vols. in 1 (New York: Hafner, 1966), bk. 15, sec. 12, 1:243. According to Paul Merrill Spurlin (*Montesquieu in America, 1760–1801* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940; New York: Octagon Books, 1969], 4–5, n. 5), Nugent's English translation first appeared in a London edition of 1750. By 1773 five editions had been published there. The first American edition, however, was published only in 1802 by Isaiah Thomas, Jr., at Worcester, Massachusetts.

10. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, bk. 15, sec. 12, 1:243. 'He sees the happiness of a society, of which he is not so much as a member; he sees the security of others fenced by laws, himself without any protection. He perceives that his master has a soul, capable of enlarging itself; while his own labors under a continual depression.'



a more open profanation of Sacred things cannot be. What! Master and Slave coo.<sup>t</sup> [cooperate?] together at the Lord[']s Table and yet Slavery continued! What! Those Robbed by us of Every thing dear to men and hild in a condition which Renders them Unca-  
pable of becoming members of any Society under Heaven admitted to privileges in the 1 [first] Society in the world! What! Those whom we continue in a State of war, to Sit with us at the Lord[']s Table, where Love and friendship are Expressed in the Strongest terms! is it possible that there can be a greater profanation of sacred things?

3 by Slavery God is blasphemed and a false character given of him to the world. The master means that his Slave Should believe nothing more firmly than that the Great God made him to be his Slave and vassal, mad[e] him to be miserable, mad[e] him to be tyrianized over and Robbed of all the Rights of humanity, and degraded to a beast of Burden. And he will be as re[a]dy as the old tyrant of Hell to press Scripture into his Service<sup>11</sup> and tell his Slave that God his maker has com[mande]d him to obey in all things<sup>12</sup> and will damn him if he don't.

Thus the Ever glorious God, the Father, the Friend, the Lover of men, whose tender mercies are over all his works,<sup>13</sup> who never made a creature to be miserable, but delights in the hap[p]iness of all his creatur[e]s, has given his dear Son to die for all, and freely offers Life and mercy to all,<sup>14</sup> and is Loth that any Should perish, never afflicts willingly nor grieves the Children of men, accounts Judgem[en]t his Strang[e] work<sup>15</sup> and Enters upon it with Lothness how Shall I give thee up &c.<sup>16</sup>—Thus I say is this Benevolent Father of all mankind Blasp[h]eemed Reproached belied and Sland[er]ed before his creatur[e]s. **[end of p. 6]**

11. Matt. 4:6, e.g.

12. Eph. 6:5

13. Ps. 145:9

14. Rom. 3:21-26

15. Isa. 28:17-21

16. Hos. 11:8

The neces[s]ary Consequence of which is that Family Religion is wholly destroy'd by Slavery, no Master of Slaves can be a Religious Hous[e]holder, he can[']t Serve God with his House, nor walk before them with a perfect h[e]art, because he is continually blaspheming God before them. True Religion depends on Just notions of the Deity, but the master is daily giving his Slaves, and whole House false notions of God. 'tis the care of every Religious Householder to represent God to his Household as infinitely kind gracious and merciful, full of good will to them and Loth that they Should be miserable,<sup>17</sup> and persuade them by the Mercies of God to present their bodies a living Sacrifice holy acceptable &c<sup>18</sup>—but Master represent[s] God as cruel, unmerciful and unkind, having mad[e] creatur[e]s to make them misserable, which is a character worse then the Devil[']s—The Family therefore of such a blasphemer if they believe him ought not to Love God, they not only cannot but they ought not—but tis their duty to hate him to Eternity.—Thus Slavery Shuts up the K[ing] of heaven against men, and destroys all religion out of the world, and opens the Door for all manner of wickedness. Can we wonder that Religion is gon[e] to decay in our Land, that vice and profan[e]ness have overspre[a]d the whole Land, when the Ever glorious God has been blasphemed openly in the practice of Slavery among us for So long a time? or can we wonder that God is now breaking of us down and plucking of us up,<sup>19</sup> and thretning Soon to make us no people who have So long blasphemed his holy name that it Seases now to be any longer a refuge for us, affords no plea in our favour, but is really against us, God being obliged for the Glory of his own name now to destroy us from being any Longer a people if we will not reforme. [end of p. 7]

But however clear it is to me and all that have turn'd their minds upon it, that enslaving of Fellow creatur[e]s as these American States do, is a most abominable wickedness; and equally against

17. Neh. 9:17, Joel 2:13

18. Rom. 12:1

19. Jer. 18:7

the Law of Nature and the Law of Christ. Tis self Evident, as the Honorable Continental Congress ob[served]: “that all men are created equal, and alike endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, as Life, Liberty the persute of hap[p]iness &c” That Slavery is an open violation of the Great Eternal Law of nature, and Since the Saviour has tould us that he came not to destroy this Law but to fulfill it,<sup>20</sup> Slavery must be equally against Every page of the G[ospel]. I Say however clear and plain this is to the unbiassed mind when contemplated, yet there may be many in the Country who have never turned their thots upon it, nor once considered but that they might as Lawfully buy a Negro, as a Horse and had as good a right to the one as to the other, this most horrid Extortion having been so long practised, and by the Chief men in the Country that it is now become innosent, or rather never suspected of being otherwise. For as Dr. Watts well ob[served]: “there are many Learned presumptions, many Synodical and National mistakes, many Establis[h]ed fals[e]hoods, as well as many vulgar Errors wherein multitudes of men have followed one another for whole ages almost blindfold.”<sup>21</sup> How far a gracious God will overlook sins of Ignorance is not for me to Determine, I heartily wish those that Sin through Ignorance a most merciful allowance but nevertheless think it my duty to endeavour to Enlighten as much as may be the mind of all those under mistakes, for this End came Christ into the world [end of p. 8]

that he might Enlighten it.<sup>22</sup> And perhaps there are some here that would be glad for their own fuller satisfaction to hear an answer given to those the j[ustificatio]n[s] and Reasonings of wicked men who enslave the Africans among us, by which they Endeavour to put out their own and others Ey[e]s, and bolster themselves up in their Sin. I Shall therefore before I procede to the Improvement attempt this with as much brevity as possible.

20. Matt. 5:17

21. I[saac] Watts, *The Improvement of the Mind: or, a Supplement to the Art of Logick: Containing a Variety of Remarks and Rules for the Attainment and Communication of Useful Knowledge, in Religion, in the Sciences, and in Common Life* (London, 1741), 200.

22. John 12:46

And 1 they say that Abraham the father of the faithful had 318 Servants &c<sup>23</sup>—the Difference between a Servant and a Slave I suppose is generally understood. A Servant is one who is so by compact or agreement, made by himself or others for him with his Master between home [whom] there are mutual obligations. But a Slave is one who is in absolute bondage to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, Arbit[r]ary will of another man. Now that Abraham had this number of Servants is granted, but that these were his Slaves is denied for these Reasons

1 their number &c

2 we have no account of their Going with his Soc[iety?] to Egypt.

3 he was a Religious man in his House—But a Master of Slaves can[']t be so—therefore all the Difficulty is of the Minor, which appears plain for true Religion is founded in a belief of the devine goodness, Love and mercy of God toward us—but the contrary of this a Master of Slaves must inculcate or Else he can[']t maintain Slavery.

4 That which puts it beyond all doubt that Abraham[']s Servants were not Slaves is that they were ord[e]red by God to be Circumsised See Gen. 17<sup>24</sup>—they Could not therefore be Slaves, for

1 circumcision mad[e] men debtors to the whole law<sup>25</sup> and the Service of God then was very costly, and none might offer that which was another[']s or cost them nothing, it must be their own, but the Slave has no own would therefore by Circumcision <be> bound to that which he could not performe.

2 Circumcision put Abraham[']s Servants upon a Leavel with him in all Respects both Civil and Ecclesiastical as is plain from many passages [**end of p. 9**]

23. Gen. 14:14

24. Verse 13.

25. Gal. 5:3

of Scripture See Exod. 12. 48. 49 a Stranger Circumcised Shall be as one born in the Land, one Law Shall be unto him that is home born and to the Stranger. God was K[ing] of the Jews, the Laws he gave them Respected no other people in the world but the Jews only. But as there was then Room for prosolites to be added, and the only term was Circumcision which when Strangers of other nations consented to they were incorporated with the people of God and had the privilige of all their Laws. Accordingly Moses Dut 1.16 charges the Judges to hear the Causes and Judge Rig[h]t[eously] not only between the Jews that were brethren but the Stranger &c. Abraham[']s Servants were So far therefore from being his Slaves that they were in all respects his Equals, Except what differance compact made. If it should be said that Abraham[']s Servants were Some of them bought with his mon[e]y and therefore must be his Slaves. I deny the inferance. It was common among the Jews and other Eastern nations for parents to Sell their Children for a Limited time, and the Laws that God gave the Jews have Special Respect to Such Sails See Ex 21<sup>26</sup>—but this is no more than what is practised among us—very diffira[n]t from Slavery

2 'tis said that God allowed his people of old, to buy men and maids of the heathen round about them, that he gave them these to possess and Leave for an inheritance to their children.<sup>27</sup> True; and these were in Every Respect Slaves.

But 1 by what Law were they enslaved? not by the Law of nature, for it was against that Law—it were therefore a positive Law or order that God gave that people concerning Some of the Devoted heathen nations round them was therefore a punishment which the Right[eous] Judge of all saw fit to inflict upon them. God the Great proprietor of all may punish wicked people how, when & by home [whom] he pleases without being accountable to m[en].

26. Verses 2–10.

27. Lev. 25:44–46

He orders Moses to Kill the Egyptian,<sup>28</sup> Jael, to Kill Sisera,<sup>29</sup> Ehud to Kill Eglon,<sup>30</sup> Phinehas, to Kill Zimri and Cozbi.<sup>31</sup> But for us to Kill as these did and plead these instances [end of p. 10]

to Justify ourselv[e]s would be to Blaspheme God, and make him patronize the worst of villanies; and tis the ~~with~~ Same as to Slavery as we have no orders to enslave any.

2 con[sider] who those were that Israel might enslave

1 it was not any of the 7 nations of Canaan, so called from Canaan Son of Noah from whom they Desended. For these were utterly to be destroy'd, no cov[enan]t was to be made with them nor mercy Shewn to them See Dut. 7.<sup>32</sup> The Land posses[s]ed by these 7 nations is described by Moses Gen 10.19 the border of the cana[a]nit[e]s was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza, as thou goest unto Sodom and Gamorrah, Even unto ~~Lakesh~~ Lashah. Here the 4 angels [angles] of the Land are accurately described. <2> but Moses tells us v[erse] 18 that after word the family of the Cana[a]nit[e]s Spread abroad. i.e. when these Limits became 2 [too] Strait for them they Settled themselves without them but Isra[e]l had no right to invade any beyond these Lines, so that there remain[e]d of Canaan[']s posterity in the Neighbourhood of the Jews allways. 3 Moses in 23 Dut.<sup>33</sup> Expres[s]ly forbids an Ammonite or a Moabite Ent[e]ring into the ~~House~~ <congregation> of the Lord for Ever, tells israel that they Shall not Seek their peace nor prosperity for Ever these also were Neighbours to the Jews. Now these 2 last mentioned were the people whom Israel might Enslave, whom they were never to Shew mercy to, whose peace prosperity and good they were never to Seek, and who might never come into the congregation of the Lord. i.e. be admitted as other procellites to the priviliges of God[']s people.

28. Exod. 2:12

29. Judg. 4:21

30. Judg. 3:16-26

31. Num. 25

32. Verses 1-2.

33. Verse 3.

This Shews us the mistake of those who fetch an argument from Abraham[']s bei[n]g ord[e]red to Circumsise those bought with his mon[e]y, to prove that Negro Slaves among us ought to be  
[end of p. 11]

Bap[t]ised. tis not uncommon for the Master of Slaves among us to ask for Baptism for their Negroes, and say they have a right thereto because it comes in the Room of Circumcision, and Abraham the Father of the faithful was com[mande]d to C[i]rcumcise his Servents &c. Now the fact is true, but Abr[aha]m[']s Servants were not slaves, nor were any that Israel were allowed to Enslave, Ever allowed to come into the congregation of the Lord or enjoy any of the privileges of God[']s people. That the truth is if the Masters among us have Right to Enslave their Negroes their Negroes have no right to Baptism or if they have a right to Baptism they have no Right to Enslave them. For none enslaved among the Jews had right to circumcision, or might be incorporated with God[']s Israel, nor none Circumcised Ever Enslaved.

3 tis said that the negroes are the posterity of ham and under a curse of slavery by Noah.<sup>34</sup>

But who is so well acquainted with their geneology as to know this? Further that curse was pronounced against Canaan the Son of Ham, and was accordingly Executed by Joshua 800 years after.

4 Tis said that con[sider] that in Africa there is nothing but brutal Stupidity and Savage barbarity; with perpetual insecurity, arising from the State of hostility and war that forever rages in those inhospitable climes; where the people are necessarily ignorant of the principles of Religion: and that by bringing the negros into this country many Lives have been saved which were forfeited by their being conqu[e]red In War; and they here enjoying the privileges of philosophy Religion and peace are much hap[p]ior than in their own country. to Enslave them † therefore as we do is not Reprehensible.

34. Gen. 9:25

ans[wer]: 1 I Know the Africans are represented Stupid Savage and Barbarous. But who pray is it by? [end of p. 12]

Those who would Justify themselves in enslaving of them only[;] men of Honour and integrity who have had the best advantages of knowing tell us the Contrary. Mr. Adanson who was 4 years in their country making natural and philosophical ob[servations] Says "which way Soever I turned my Eyes on this plesent Spot, I beheld a perfect immage of pure nature; an agreeable Solitude, bounded on every Side by charming Landscapes, the rural Situation of cottages in the midst of trees; the Ease and indolence of the negros reclining under the Shade of their Spreading fol[i]age; the Simplicity of their Dress and mannars; the whole revived in my mind the idea of our 1 [first] parents, and I Seemed to contemplate the world in its primative State. They are generally Speaking very good natured Sociable and obliging. I was not a Little pleased with this my 1 [first] Reseption; it convin[c]ed me, that there ought to be a considerable abatement made in the accounts I had read and heard of the Savage character of the Africans[?]" See Adanson's Voyage p 54.<sup>35</sup> Another Says their form of govern[m]ent goes on Easy, because the people are of a good quiet disposition, and so well instructed with what is Right, that the man who do[e]s ill is the abomination of all, and none will Sup[p]ort him against the Chief. if any of their people are known to be made Slaves all Join to redeem him, that they are rarely angry, that he never heard them abuse Each other. See Moors Travels in Africa p 21.<sup>36</sup> Others Say that it is one of the most delightful

35. M[ichel] Adanson, *Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Goree, and the River Gambia* (London, 1759), 54, 58.

36. Francis Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa: Containing a Description of the Several Nations for the space of Six Hundred Miles up the River Gambia; their Trade, Habits, Customs, Language, Manners, Religion and Government; the Power, Disposition and Characters of some Negro Princes; with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pfoley, who was in England in the Year 1733, and known by the Name of African. To which is added, Capt. Stibbs's Voyage up the Gambia in the Year 1723, to make Discoveries; with An Accurate Map of that River taken on the Spot: And many other Copper Plates. Also Extracts from the Nubian's Geography, Leo the African, and other Authors antient and modern, concerning the Niger, Nile, or Gambia, and Observations thereon* (London, 1738), 30-33. Moore, a onetime factor of the Royal African Company, wrote, 'In every Kingdom and Country on each Side of the River there are some



countries in the world. That the natives were kind and ob[li]gging, and So industrious, that no place which was thot fertile was Left uncultivated. See Smiths Voyage to Guinea p. 149<sup>37</sup> and Bosmans descr[i]ption of Guinea p: 316.<sup>38</sup> I could were it worth while mention others who give Like accounts. From hence it appears that they are not so barbarous a people as their destroyers would represent them but allowing that we are much happier in this country, where the useful Sciences and the Liberal arts are patronized and flourish, and what Ever of this kind is necessary to butify and adorne a Rational [end of p. 13]

nature cultivated. What is all this to the poor Slaves among us? What is our bo[a]sted acquaintance with Science and the politer arts to these miserable creatur[e]s who by their citation have little more concern in these matters than their brethren in the Regions of Africa, and which knowledge could they obtain it

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People of a tawny Colour, call'd *Pholeys*, much like the *Arabs*; which Language they most of them speak, being to them as the *Latin* is in *Europe*, for it is taught in Schools, and their Law, the *Alcoran*, is in that Language. . . . They have Chiefs of their own, who rule with so much Moderation, that every Act of Government seems rather an Act of the People than of one Man. This Form of Government goes on easily, because the People are of a good and quiet Disposition, and so well instructed in what is just and right, that a Man who does ill, is the Abomination of all, and none will support him against the Chief' (30). He continued, 'As their Humanity extends to all, they are doubly kind to People of their own Race, insomuch that if they know of one of them being made a Slave, all the *Pholeys* will redeem him' (32). And, 'They are very rarely angry, and I never heard them abuse each other' (33).

37. William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea: Describing the Customs, Manners, Soil, Climate, Habits, Buildings, Education, Manual Arts, Agriculture, Trade, Employments, Languages, Ranks of Distinction, Habitations, Diversions, Marriages, and whatever else is memorable among the Inhabitants. Likewise, An Account of their Animals, Minerals, &c. With great Variety of entertaining Incidents, worthy of Observation, that happen'd during the Author's Travels in that large Country. Illustrated with Cutts, engrav'd from Drawings taken from Life. With an Alphabetical Index*, Cass Library of African Studies, Travels and Narratives, no. 22 (London, 1744; reprint, London: Cass, 1967). Smith was another employee of the Royal African Company. Describing Whydah, he wrote, 'All who have ever been here, allow this to be one of the most delightful Countries in the World' (194). He added, 'Before the King of *Dabomey* conquer'd this Place, the Natives were so industrious that no Place which was thought fertile could escape being planted' (199).

38. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into The Gold, The Slave, and The Ivory Coasts* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967). In his introduction, John Ralph Willis notes (p. xix) that the original version was published at Utrecht in 1704 as *Nauwkeurige Beschryving van de Guinese Goud-, Tand-, en Slave-Kust*; English translations followed in 1705 and 1721.

could only serve to increase their misery? What a blessing for Example would a knowledge of the principles of civil liberty be to a person perpetually doomed to a State of the Most abject Slavery? Here they are in a state of absolute dependance upon the will of others, and this reflection so opposite to the Strong Sense of Liberty implanted in the heart of Every Son of Adam, must necessarily mar the happiness of Every gratification, effectually chill the Sense of pleasure, and Stop Every natural Source of felicity. A Keen Excruciating Sense of Liberty forever lost must Still p[ro]ponderate, till the Spirit broken by the fatigue of incessant distress; they Sink into a State of Lifeless insensibility and then for Sooth we are presently desposed to tax them with natural Stupidity, and make the very thing that our Un[n]atural treatment has occasioned the Ground of our Justification. It is well known that Stupidity is by no means the natural Characteristic of these people. Mr. Huges in his natural history of Barbadoes Says that the capacities of their minds in the common affairs of Life are but Little infer[i]or, if at all to the Europeans. If they fail in some arts he Says it may be owing more to the depression of their Spirits, by Slavery, than to any want of natural ability.<sup>39</sup>

2 as to the plea for Slavery taken from Saving the lives of So many Captives taken in war. I would Say tis Surprising that here as in the former case, the very Evil that this practise has occasioned Should be alledged in Excuse of it! One must have a favourable oppinion of that Cause which needs the Suppo[r]t of Such arguments! The Truth is these people are naturally [end of p. 14]

peaceable, and Less inclined to acts of hostility than the generality of mankind. This though long Smothered is now a truth will known, the nature of their Climate disposing rather to the softer pleasur[e]s, than the fi[er]cer passions. Mr. Smith who was 10 years in Africa tells us that the Deserving natives account it their

39. Griffith Hughes, *The Natural History of Barbados* (London, 1750; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972), 16.

greatest unhap[p]iness that they were ever visited by the Europeans that we Christians introduced the traffic of Slaves, and that before our coming they Lived in perfect peace. See p 266<sup>40</sup>

3 as to the argument for slavery taken from the Necessaty the Africans are under in their own country of being ignorant of the the [*sic*] principals of our holy Religion: I would <say> tis confessedly true that they are so but 1 we may not do Evil that good may come.<sup>41</sup>

2 before an argument can from hence be derived in favour of their Removil to this Country, it must be shown that the advantages they hear enjoy are greater, but if we Examine perhaps it will be found otherwise. Mr. Sloane in his natural history of Jamaica, tells us [“]of a poor Negro having at his own request prevailed on a Clergyman to administer Baptism to him, on his returne home the Br<u>ish overseer took him to task, giving him to understand that that was no Sunday[']s work for those of his complexion, that he had other business for him, the neglect of which should cost him an afternoon[']s Baptism in Blood, as he in the morning had rec[eive]d a Baptism in water, which he accordingly made good, of which the Negro complain[e]d to the m[inister] and he to the Govener, nevertheless the poor miserable creature was Ever after so unmercifully treated by that inhuman wretch, the overseer, that to avoid his cruelty, betaking himself to the woods, he there perished.[”]<sup>42</sup> These the advantages they get for their

40. Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea*, 266. In point of fact, it was not William Smith who had spent ten years in Africa, but one of his sources, a man named Charles Wheeler. On p. 266, Smith was recounting Wheeler's observations. See p. 242, where Smith wrote, 'What contributed in a great Measure to my Satisfaction, was the Company of Mr. Charles Wheeler, who had been a Factor to the Royal African Company for Ten Years in Guinea, and was now returning Home in our Ship.'

41. Rom. 3:8

42. Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church: or A Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in our Plantations. Shewing, That as the compliance therewith can prejudice no Mans just Interest; So the wilful Neglecting and Opposing of it, is no less than a manifest Apostacy from the Christian Faith. To which is added, A brief Account of Religion in Virginia* (London, 1680), 111–12. Hopkins's reference is to Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects,*

Souls by being brought to America, but Some will Say they are better treated in N[ew] England. True they are Som[e]times permitted to attend publick worship but what is to be Expected from that without private instruction which God knows they have not, nor indeed can ~~not~~ have; their Master continually Blaspheming the [end of p. 15]

Ever blessed God before them.

I was in company with a Gentleman Som[e]time ago, who upon my ob[servation] to him what I took notice of in his Negro, replied he is a foolish fellow but the better servant. I would never choose one that was witty for in such a country as ours they will get some knowledge and that Spoils them for Servants. This man makes a high profession of Religion, and Speak the meaning of his heart, and the Sense of the people of N[ew] E[ngland]. I can Speak this of my own knowledg[e].

It was always Surprising to me to hear people Speak of the advantages that the Negros in N[ew] E[ngland] had for Religion, why Slavery is an engine as little fitted for that purpose as fire or sword, a Christian Slave is a contradiction in terms.<sup>43</sup> If we con[sider] their fixed prejudices against a Religion whose professors they naturally con[sider] as avowedly violating one of the plainest Laws of nature, with the Strong temptations they are under, from the nature of their condition to every Species of iniquity we can[']t Expect to find in them more of the Spirit [of] Christianity than is to be found in those that never heard the G[ospel]. What Mon[tesquieu] Says of a Slave is true "He sees, says he, the happiness of a society of which he is not so much as a member, he sees the security of others fenced by Laws, himself without any protection. He perceives that his Master has a Soul

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*Reptiles, &c. of the last of those Islands; To which is prefix'd An Introduction, Wherein is an Account of the Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, &c of that Place, with some Relations concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and Islands of America*, 2 vols. (London, 1707, 1725).

43. [Benjamin Rush], *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements, on the Slavery of the Negroes in America*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1773; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 15.

capable of Enlarging itself, while his own labours under a continual depression, nothing more assimilats a man to a beast than Living among free men himself a Slave.”<sup>44</sup> That I verily believe that the Negroes in Africa Stand a better chance for heaven than those in N[ew] E[ngland] do.

These are the principal arguments for Slavery that ever I have heard, and thus easily are they overset.

I Know there are obj[ectio]n[s] to Releasing them and tis not Strang[e] for the wicked are always held in the cords of their sins. They are 1 Saf[e]ty of the public / 2 Justice to owners / 3 benefit to themselves. [end of p. 16]

I Shall now make a few inferences and then Close with an address or 2.

1 we Learn from what we have heard that tis impossible for God to save America this Day without a reformation. But as our hands are full of Blood his holiness and Justice oblige him to destroy us unless we wash ourselves by reformation. God has often wrought for his name Sake, and his people in their Destress have pleaded thus for Deliverance, [“]for your name Sake O Lord help us, abhor us not for your name Sake[”]<sup>45</sup> but this affords no argument now in our favour but is really against us, God is obliged for the Glory of his own name to destroy Such a bloody people. Except we reforme we may and ought to despare of his merciful help.

2 That tis impossible for this Land to be reformed Untill Slavery be abolished, tis on account of this that our hands are this day full of Blood. Should we reforme in other perticulars it would not avail Either to our temporal or Eternal Salvation. Should Family prayer be revived—Should Closet prayer be revived—Sab[baths] Sanctified—Sacrements attended—public worship yea, and solomn fasts devoutly attended and frequanted, Should we pray free-

44. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, bk. 15, sec. 12, 1:243.

45. Jer. 14:21

quantly abundantly and fearvently we Should do as much as the Jews in Isaiah[']s time but they were abominable to God for all this and So Should we be. Tis folly to talk of reformation till the yoke of oppression be broken, and the oppressed Let to go free.<sup>46</sup> This is what God requ[i]r[e]s, and what must be don[e] or we Shall be destroy'd notwithstanding all other reformations: to urge reformation therefore in other things while this Remains is Futile. [end of p. 17]

3 That the Religion of this country is more abominable to God this day than all the open profaneness that do[e]s abound in it. God had rather men were Ston[e] cold than Luke warm. Warm Enough to profess Religion, but not hot Enough to practise it makes a people the most guilty of any in the world. The Jews in Isaiah[']s time were Strict in ob[serving] all duties of piety But they were abominable [to] God—because they neglected those of Charity, and so were but a perfect piece of mock[e]ry. For if we Say that we love God while we hate our brother we lie. How should we Esteem of shews of friendship from one who was all the time destroying our children? God will treat us as we treat men.

4 That Rulers and M[inisters] lay under the greatest guilt of any men in the Country this Day. Rulers for Bearing the Sword in vain,<sup>47</sup> and Suffering this horrible Extortion to be practised in the Land when they had power in their hands and were in duty bound to Stop it. M[inisters] in not crying against this Sin as they ought to have done—but instead thereof allowing the holy things of Christ's House to be profaned by giving them to the worst kind of Extortioners by which means Religion has been disgraced and brought into contempt; the holy discipline of Christ's House destroy'd and all mannar of wickedness encouraged in the Land.

5 That what ever pretentions to religion those Men make that are actually guilty of enslaving their fellow creatur[e]s, and will

46. Isa. 58:6

47. Rom. 13:4

not Let this eniqu[i]ty go they are really abominable to God, as being profaners of sacred things, Blasphemers of his holy name, Factors for the Devil his Enemy and Destroyers of men. And however they may Escape Judgement in this world (which they are not now like to do) they cannot Escape God[s] wrath and curse in that which is to come. [end of p. 18]

I shall now close with an address or two. And 1 To the m[inisters] of the G[ospel] here present, Rev[eren]d Sirs, Has the Lord Jesus counted us faithful put[t]ing of us into the M[inistry]? is the inesteamable treasure of the G[ospel] committed to our trust? has the great Shephard committed his Sheep to us to feed Lead and go before them and tread out the Steps they are to take heaven wards?<sup>48</sup> have we to do with Souls, and must we watch for them as those that must give an account?<sup>49</sup> have we it in charge to warne the wicked that Death will be the End of his way, and if the wicked die in their iniquity without being warned by us will their blood [*sic*] be required at our hands?<sup>50</sup> are we to set ourselves with all our Might by D[eath] and practic[e] to oppose and Descourage Every way of sin, and to promote and encourage the contrary vertues? Great and Difficult then is our work and aful will our account be if we are found <un>faithful when the Great Shephard Shall appear. Our work is difficult, for in the discharge of our high trust we have always to oppose ourselves to the Great adversary to God and Man who goes about like a roeing Lion Seeking whom he may devour;<sup>51</sup> and as he is the God of this world, who Rules in the hearts of the Children of Disobedience, we may Expect in the Discharge of our duty oftentimes to find ourselves among briers and Thorns, yea, among Scorpions,<sup>52</sup> who will be re[a]dy to turn againe and Rend us from our fidelity to Christ and them, our office is Dangerous as well as difficult, often

48. Matt. 10

49. Heb. 13:17

50. Ezek. 3:18

51. 1 Pet. 5:8

52. Ezek. 2:6

times if we keep our post as Watchmen and Centinels<sup>53</sup> [**end of p. 19**]

we are in peril of Death from the Enemy, but we may not quit it on pain of Death from our general, Such a Dilemma are the ch[urch] Watchmen often in, Men will curse them if they are faithful and God will curse them if they be false. O! Who is Suff[i]cient for these things? What need have we of the whole armour of God that we maybe able to Stand? Who wrastle not against flesh and Blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the Rulers of the Darkness of this world, against Spiritual wickedness in high places.<sup>54</sup> What need have we of courage to appear on the Lord[']s Side against the common Enemy, to go against the presumptions of the Great and Stand alone in the Defence of truth? What fortitude do we need to Stand the Shock of calumny and popular Odium, while in the faithful discharge of our duty to God and the Souls of men? And as we live in a day when wickedness of all kinds abounds, we can Expect no other but to prophesy in sackcloth. The wicked we must warn of their Danger Let the Consequence to ourselves be what it will. And when wicked men are reprov'd by us they will either fall out with themselves or with the word or with us. And such as are determin'd to hold their Sins (which seemes the Case with the Greatest part at this Day) they will always fall out with the Reprover, and if we are faithful we shall soon find ourselves among briars and Thorns, as God tells the p[rophet] Eze[kiel] c[hapter] 2. And they will devise devises [devices] against us; as against Jer[emiah]<sup>55</sup>—and it will be Especially so when we are called to oppose ourselves to old customs that are grown gray with usage. The Desease that is inveterate is generally thot incurable. Those that have been long accostomed to sin, have Shaken off[f] the Restraints of fear and Shame; their Consc[i]ences [**end of p. 20**]

53. Ezek. 3:17-21

54. Eph. 6:11-12

55. Jer. 18:18



are Scar'd, the habits of Sin are confirmed, they will plead prescription and old usage to Justify themselves and will not Let iniquity go. Hear how the p[rophet] Jer[emiah] c[hapter] 13 v[erse] 23 Speaks of Such[:] Can the Ethiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots? Then may ye also do good that are accostomed to do Evil. 'tis Sad for Christian m[inisters] when they have to confront old wicked costoms, and Especially So when these old wicked Costoms are Esteemed very profitable. Then to oppose them will most certainly raise a Storm Like that Exper[i]enc[e]d by Paul and Silas upon curing the Damsel possessed with a Spirit of Divination, to the Loss of all her Masters['] Gain See Acts. 16. 19 and when her Masters Saw that the hope of their Gains was Gone, they cought Paul and Silas. Things being so what may not we Expect to meet with my brethren? in the faithful discharge of our duty? Who have this Day to oppose that cursed practise of inslaveing men, So long practised in this country and esteemed so very profitable. Doubtless if we are faithful we Shall Soon find ourselv[e]s not only Scratched with briers and thorns, but that we dwell among Scorpions who have the p[o]ison of Asps under their tongues<sup>56</sup> who will Let slip no opportunity to do us a mischief. But Let none of these things move us. Hear what the Lord says to his p[rophet] of old Eze[kiel] 2. 6[:] Son of man be not ~~be not~~ affraid of them nither be affraid of their words, tho briers and thorns are with the[e], and thou dost dwell among Scorpions. Thou Shalt Speak my words unto them whether they will hear or whether they will forbare. But as dangerous and difficult as the Case is I am far from thinking it Desperate, if we are faithful I doubt not but the hand of the Lord will be with us, so that we shall be in a measure Succes[s]ful and Save some at Least [end of p. 21]

and we cannot be workers together with God this day unless we Set ourselves with all our might to oppose this Sin. For that God who has Sworn by his holiness and by the Excel[l]ency of Jacob, that the Earth Shall tremble, and Everyone mourn that dwell[]eth

56. Rom. 3:13

there in for the iniquity of those who oppress the poor and crush the needy, who buy the poor with Silver and the needy with a pare of Shooes,<sup>57</sup> has now Ent[e]red upon Judgement his Strang[e] work<sup>58</sup> is breaking down and plucking up,<sup>59</sup> and thr[ea]tens soon to make us no people for he has heard the cry of the many hundred Thousand poor slaves in the country and is come down to Save them, by put[t]ing the Dreadful cup into our hands that <we> have hild out unto them, the Dregs of which we must drink of to our own destruction if we Repent not.<sup>60</sup> What Judgements may we not Ought we not to denounce against those men that inslave their Brethren. How Should we proclame the terrors of horeb[']s firy Law,<sup>61</sup> in the surprising accents of Sinah's [Sinai's] Dreadful thunder<sup>62</sup> against these Blasphemers of God, murderers of men, and destroyers of their Country? Can we see hundreds of Thousands of precious Souls for whom our blessed Master died Damned by Slavery and hold our peace?<sup>63</sup> can we who are set to watch for Souls, and who ought to Estimate the worth of our fellow creatur[e]s by their immortality, See multitud[e]s turned into beasts by Slavery and hold our peace? can we see men in this Day when Liberty is rated so high among us, turn themselves into fiends of hell and break Loose upon their fellow creatur[e]s with infernal fury for doing what, why nothing [**end of p. 22**]

but resisting tyranny, as we ourselves do this Day a thing well

57. Amos 8:6-8

58. Isa. 28:17-21

59. Jer. 18:7

60. Isa. 51:17-23

61. Deut. 5:2-24

62. Exod. 19:16

63. Hopkins's use of the phrase 'can we . . . hold our peace?' recalls the words of Mordecai, who challenged Queen Esther to risk death and intervene with King Ahasuerus on behalf of the Jews. In Esther 4:14 Mordecai said: 'For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?' Hopkins's invocation of this verse carried a number of unstated implications, which his auditors probably grasped. The enslaved Africans were equated with the people of Israel, while the New England clergy was cast in the role of Esther. Hopkins thereby challenged his fellow ministers to speak out or risk destruction. The slaves' 'deliverance,' he meanwhile implied, was ultimately assured, whether or not the clergy came to their aid.

pleasing to God and all holy and good beings and yet for this and no other act how many thousand poor africans have been Staked to the ground and burnt by inches, or hung up by their thumbs and after 8 or 9 days Expired in torments can we I say See this and hold our peace? Can we who Know the influence of Christianity to destroy Slavery see Slavery destroy Christianity in our own country and hold our peace? The influence of Christianity in put[t]ing a Stop to Slavery, appears in the 1 [first] Christian Empiror Constantine; who com[mande]d under the Severest penalties, all Such as had Slaves to Set them at Liberty. See Uni. His. v[erse] 15 p <174>. <sup>64</sup> Can we see the hands of the people of this country full of Blood and hold our peace at its cry? Can we See God giving us blood to drink in great abundance and hold our peace? Can we See our country made desolate and strangers devouring our we[a]lth and we hold our peace at the Sin that has done this? No. If we hold our peace now at the cry of Blood, and connive at the Extortion practised in our Land by which the Sacred Rights of humanity are destroyed, and Sute our preaching to those who say prophesy not unto us Right things, but Speak unto us Smoothe things prophesy deceits, cause the holy one of Israel to cease from before us. <sup>65</sup> At our hands the Blood of Millions be required at the Last great day. If the Devil destroy Souls he must ans[wer] for it as a murderer, but if any perish through our neglect we must ans[wer] for an office neglected [end of p. 23]

and trust betrayed. <sup>66</sup> We know tis for sin that God is contending with us this Day. And we can[']t be at any loss what Sin it is that is the ground of God[']s Controversy with this Land. Since we

64. 'Constantine passed the first months of this year [314] at Treves, as appears from the dates of several laws. By one, which was published at Rome on the twenty-fourth of April, he declared all those free, who had been condemned to slavery by Maxentius, commanding, under the severest penalties, such as held them in captivity to restore them forthwith to their antient liberty' (*An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time. Compiled from Original Authors; and Illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes, &c. With A General Index to the Whole*, 65 vols. [London, 1747-66], 15:574).

65. Isa. 30:10-11

66. Ezek. 3:18

know how contrary slavery is to Every Line in the G[ospel] which breath[es] nothing but Love and kindness requiring us to do as we would be done by;<sup>67</sup> and how God has declared that he will Execute Judgement for all that are oppressed, and be Eternally to men as they are to their fellow creatur[e]s, Shewing himself froward to them that are froward,<sup>68</sup> measuering to all men as they have mesuered to others,<sup>69</sup> and bringing the violent dealings of men upon their own heads, Since we See so many hundred thousand men and women inslaved and turned into beasts of Burden being Robbed of Every thing dear to men, and God himself come to plead the cause of the oppressed by such Judgements, and maniged in Such a way as give us to Read our Sin in ~~our sin in~~ our punishment. I Say Since we See and know all this we know what God contends with us for. Wherefore Let us bend all our force against this Hydra Sin of enslaving men as that which must be abolished or we Eternally undone. Nor Let us content ourselv[e]s with only Speaking be [but] see to it that we act as well as speak against this Soul destroying Evil. The Lord Jesus has made us door keepers in his House and Sufficently impoured us to Stop those that we See with Moral uncleanness upon them from Ent[e]ring in. And wo be to us if we Suffer those Blasphemous wretches who inslave their fellow creatur[e]s to enjoy the Special privileges of his House. Let us therefore See to it, other means failing to reform these men, that we forthwith Suspend them from all Special privileges in the house of God. And revive that holy discipline of our Lord so generally gon[e] to decay among us. Thus doing we may hope that the Lord will make us blessings in our day and inst[r]umental to the Saving of a guilty country from impending ruin. [end of p. 24]

A word to the Congregation present and I have done.

Brethren you may perhaps wonder that I will plead the cause of

67. Luke 6:31, Matt. 7:12

68. Deut. 32:20

69. Luke 6:38

poor negroes, whom you have been taught to believe to be such a miserable Stupid Savage people that they were not capable of being oppres[se]d being fit for nothing but Slaves. I well know they are generally so represented, and tis Easy to see with what design. But hear me my brethren a word. Just so the ancient Greeks and Romans looked upon the Rest of the world, as doom'd to ware the fatal chains. No less a man than Aristotle could say that the nations of Greece and some other countries, being natuerly Superior in genius, have a natural Right to Empire, and that the Rest of mankind being naturally Stupid are destin[e]d to Slavery.<sup>70</sup> But this Reasoning is now of Little advantage to his countrymen, who have for ages been doomed to that Slavery which he fancied [fancied], nature had destined them to impose on others, while many of those very nations which he had consigned to Everlasting bondage, have shaken off the Servile, and rose to freedom and Renoune, and Shown themselves Equal in mental endouments to the most Exalted of human Kind. An Event Like this which heaven prevent, may in the Equital administration of Jehovah, take place Respecting the Africans and Americans. We have now the same opinion of the Negroes that the Greeks and Romans had of the neighbouring nations, and we treat them in the same unnatural mannar. Africa then may Rise to Liberty and fame, while America Sinks into Oblivion and Servitude, and we have abundant Reason to fear this while we hold in Slavery those home [whom] God has created free and Equal with ourselves, since he who cannot lie has assured us that by that measure we mete, it Shall [end of p. 25]

be measured back to us.<sup>71</sup> What pray if the Africans are a Savage nation? So were the nations of Britain and France Two thousand years ago. The ancient Britons our ancestors, at the time of the

70. Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944; London: Heinemann, 1967), bk. 1, sec. 1, 1.5-6. 'Hence the saying of the poets—'Tis meet that Greeks should rule barbarians,—implying that barbarian and slave are the same in nature.' I thank my colleague, Eric Ivison, for help in identifying this reference.

71. Luke 6:38

Roman invasion, were on no account more polished or refined than the Tawny trib[e]s of America. They went mostly naked, wore iron Rings about their necks and wa[i]sts, painted their bodies, forming in them the Shape of flowers trees and Animals, and were Esteemed by the Romans a Stupid crew fit for nothing but beasts of burden.<sup>72</sup> #When therefore you are disposed to think meanly of the Africans Look back to the hole of the pit from whence you were dig[g]ed.# Know it my friends that as mean as the negroes are, the Lord Jesus gave his life a ransom for them and Requir[e]s us to Love them, pray for them and Seek their good, and do to them as we would be done by.<sup>73</sup> By our abusing them we have trampled under foot the Blood of the Son of God, and brought a curse upon our country by using their Service without wages; and God is now come to plead their injured cause and is giving us whose hands are full of Blood <blood> to drink in great abundance. Does it fill you with indignation to see what the Enemy have done in the breaches they have mad[e] upon us? Go over in your meditations to Africa and see a once flourishing country Depopulated for above 700 mil[e]s together ~~and you w~~ by the Cursed Slave trade and you will See reason to wonder that our whole country is not now in the condition of Charl[e]stown for the hand we have had therein. Let no Suc[c]esses afforded our arms in the Least encourage us that God will any Longer wink at this wickedness. Hear what God Says to his people of old [**end of p. 26**; at the very bottom of which a footnote reads '# Kimber's His. of England.']

Jer[emiah] 37. 9. 10 Deceive not yourselves, Saying the Chaldeans Shall Surely depart from us. For they shall not depart for

72. 'They [The antient Britons] went mostly naked, but wore Iron Rings about their Necks and Waists; and on the Southern Coast they covered themselves with the Skins of Wild Beasts. They used to paint their Bodies with *Woad*, making Incisions in them in the Shape of Flowers, Trees and Animals, and staining them with the Juice of that Herb, which rendered them of a durable sky-colour' (Isaac Kimber, *The History of England, from the Earliest Accounts, to the Accession of His present Majesty, King George III. Including the History of Scotland and Ireland, So far as they have any Concern with the Affairs of England*, 4th ed. [London, 1768], 3).

73. Luke 6:27-36

though ye had smit[t]en the whole Army of the Chaldeans that fite against you: and there remained but wounded men among them yet shall they rise up Every man in his tent and burn this city with fire. Nor be encouraged because there is a plenty of the fruits of the Earth, the prosperity of fools often destroys them. God won[']t bring famin[e] on the country because that would effect the oppressed as well as the oppressor, but he will by Sword and pestilence Execute Judgement for all the oppressed. Don't think that fasting and praying will do—no God almighty will never be bribed by this, to withdraw his Judgements and Let us go on in Sin. But we may Expect that now he has begun, he will Soon make a full End with us unless this iniquity be put away by breaking the Yoke and Let[t]ing the oppressed go free.<sup>74</sup> Can we hold fast iniquity when God[']s Judgements are upon us? Can we See our dear Children and friends carried by our Enemies, and disposed of in the Country from whence we have brought the negroes and yet refuse to break this ac[c]ursed yoke? Be astonished o heavens at the Stupidity that Rains among us. That we should think of Enjo[y]ing Liberty under these Circumstances. Why if God should withdraw his Judgements from us, and Leave <us> to sit under our own vine,<sup>75</sup> while Slavery continues among us we could not have any thing Like liberty in the country. There is not a man in the country who has the Spirit of Christianity in him, but would feal himself Enslaved so long and [as] Slavery is practised in the Country. Do[e]s not the Law of Christ require that we Remember them in Bonds as bound with them?<sup>76</sup> So long as slavery is continued Every good man will be bound inslaved and oppressed and never will enjoy a moment[']s Liberty. Where Liberty is not universal it has no Existance. For if one member Suffer all Suffer with it.<sup>77</sup> **[end of p. 27]**

Rouse up then my brethren and assert the Right of universal lib-

74. Isa. 58:6

75. Mic. 4:4

76. Heb. 13:3

77. 1 Cor. 12:26

erty; you assert your own Right to be free in opposition to the Tyrant of Britain; come be honest men and assert the Right of the Africans to be free in opposition to the Tyrants of America. We cry up Liberty but know it the Negros have as good a Right to be free as we can pretend to. We say that we have a Right to defend our Liberty, but know assuredly that this is not the privil[e]dge of one man more than another. The Africans have as good a Right to defend their Liberty as we have. Be Exh[orted] therefore to Exert yourselves for universal Liberty as that without which we can never be a happy people. Cry to heaven for this Enestemable bles[s]ing and Exert yourselves in Every proper way to promote it: be sure that you never give your Suffrage for the Election of one to any place of public trust that does enslave his fellow creature, certain it is that he that will Enslave an African would inslave an American if he could. He that will inslave one man would inslave all men if he had power.

Ever therefore Esteem those men that Enslave others as Enemies to men and therefore forever unworthy to be trusted by them. Feal the bonds of the poor negroes in the country. Let their grones and cries pearce your hearts, and Cry day and night to heaven for their healp. Never go to the throne of grace without remembring them and beg that the father and friend of the oppressed would arise and plead their Enjured Cause. And give this country a heart to set them free, or with his own arm deliver them. Thus doing you may to[o] be hid in the day of the Lord[s] anger<sup>78</sup> when he shall arise to avenge the innocent ps[alm] 58/ 102/ 123/. [end of p. 28]

78. Zeph. 2:3



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