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Abstract

An introduction to the life and work of Lemuel Haynes (1753-1833), a neglected figure in American History as the first biracial pastor to lead an all-white Congregation in North America. The topic of this paper addresses an understudied and essential aspect of early America, political discourse from minority voices in the colonies. I hope to demonstrate in this paper how a particular early American minority worked as a change-agent despite the presence and practice of racism and slavery. Born in West Hartford, Connecticut and raised in Granville, Massachusetts, Haynes used the Bible, his voice, his agile mind, and a relentless work ethic to create a life on the Vermont frontier. Haynes served in the Continental army then pursued the adventure of a rural preaching ministry for himself, his Caucasian wife Elizabeth, and ten biracial children. For thirty years, Haynes commanded the pulpit of a Congregationalist church and used reason, logic, and wit to speak out publicly against the institution of slavery. Although Haynes maintained the respect and attention of many white parishioners, he never succeeded in forming ecclesiastical or nonreligious coalitions to combat slavery on a national level. Instead, Haynes chose to publish political sermons in support of the Federalist Party rather than exclusively publish his rational arguments against slavery. John Adams, who took office March 4 1797 as America's second president, sacrificed family, wealth, and prestige to produce the early American republic. Haynes appreciated Adams as the Federalist successor to George Washington and as a fellow Massachusetts man who maintained a principled stance against slavery. As the Federalists lost control to Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic Republicans, Haynes limited his antislavery rhetoric and instead chose to publish elegant political commentary focused on national issues from 1798-1801. Haynes hoped to stem the tide and return the Federalist Party to power, while supporting the Federalist focus of national government, strong ties with Britain, and open interpretation to the Constitution. Given the rise of partisan politics in the early republic, Lemuel Haynes grew popular in several New England states not for his moral antislavery stance or skin tone but for his rational preaching and firm identity as a Federalist.

Keywords

Granville, Massachusetts, Rutland, Vermont, African-Americans-Massachusetts, Federalism, Congregational minister, early abolition

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"Liberty Further Extended": The Federalist Identity of Lemuel Haynes, America's First Biracial Minister

David Guidone

History and Government

Introduction

This paper is concerned with the following question: Why did Lemuel Haynes (1753-1833), a Congregational church minister and person of color, support the Federalist Party rather than the Democratic Republican party? My object here is, first, to show Haynes' rise to vocational ministry; second, to analyze "The Influence of Civil Government on Religion" and "The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism" for traces of Federalism.¹ Third, to explain Haynes' lifelong allegiance to George Washington and John Adams, America's first two presidents and overseers of the political movement known as Federalism, before finally drawing comparisons and contrasts between Haynes and Thomas Jefferson's brand of Republicanism. While Haynes admired Jefferson as the originator of the Declaration of Independence, he grew increasingly wary of Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party. Haynes assumed the Federalist Party, which began as a national movement centered first on the Articles of Confederation then the Constitution, would establish ideas for the common good of society, defend and unify America, and ultimately expose slavery as a great evil. Although historians rightly remember Haynes as the first black minister to preach to a white congregation, Haynes only published one explicitly antislavery piece, entitled "Liberty Further Extended" (1776). Haynes longed for an end to the institution and wrote his antislavery protest while fighting for life and liberty in the Revolutionary War.² While Haynes is unique for his background and antislavery stance, only in various places does the topic of slavery emerge in his writing. Haynes's attitude towards Federalism was significantly different from the parishioners he served because he viewed Federalism as a vehicle to lift African Americans from

¹ Haynes, Lemuel, and Richard Newman. *Black Preacher to White America: The Collected Writings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774-1833*. (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1990.) pp 65-88. Richard Newman has compiled an essential volume for any scholar of Haynes. "Black Preacher to White America" contains over twenty of Haynes' published works. Haynes' publications are not easily accessible online. Ruth Bogin has published "Liberty Further Extended" in the William and Mary Quarterly. Bogin, Ruth. "'Liberty Further Extended': A 1776 Antislavery Manuscript by Lemuel Haynes." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1983): 85-105. I chose "Liberty Further Extended" 1776 as the title for this paper as a signpost to those interested in Haynes as a member of early American political discourse. Haynes demonstrates in "Liberty Further Extended" a capability to advance a theological and rational argument against the institution of slavery. Haynes does publish sermons and addresses in which he addresses slavery. Nevertheless, Haynes never published another full antislavery piece during his lifetime. (1753-1833.) Haynes's antislavery was a periphery issue from 1798-1801. He instead addressed national issues with political commentary informed by faith and reason.

² *Black Puritan, Black Republican: The Life and Thought of Lemuel Haynes 1753-1833* John Saillant expertly analyzes "Liberty Further Extended" and "True Republicanism." 1833 pp 15-23, 42-46, 63-68.

bondage on a national level. Despite this sentiment, Haynes' true legacy lies in faithful Christian service and eloquent publications in favor of Federalism. Instead of focusing mainly on antislavery topics, Haynes chose to reveal his various political leanings through a public preaching ministry amidst a rise of partisan politics.

Haynes believed in full commitment to the vocational ministry coupled with an influential life in the public square. Haynes produced elegant social commentary alongside his numerous sermons, and subsequently left behind a legacy of original political thought on the current direction of the American government. As Haynes progressed in his preaching ministry while doing missionary work in Vermont, the state grew increasingly republican, open to democracy, and committed to theological diversity.³ As a result, Haynes moved his family to Vermont territory and published numerous addresses on church and politics. Haynes delivered *Civil Government* and *True Republicanism* to landowners in 1798 and 1801 in Rutland, Vermont. Haynes exhorted all who were present to support the Federalist government in place, become acquainted with national laws, obey divine revelation, and rise in defense of the country.⁴ Haynes grew in popularity as many Federalist politicians bargained and debated national and local issues valued by the Democratic-Republican opposition, including the topic of slave representation. Haynes never wavered in his support of a Federalist government, which eventually cost him his Rutland ministry in 1818. Following Washington, Adams held the Presidency from 1797-1801, and in March of 1801, Jefferson and the Republicans took control from the Federalists. Haynes spoke out against the Jefferson administration, and following the War of 1812, the West Rutland Congregation dismissed him for "having mixed politics with religion."⁵ By 1824, Haynes was seventy-one years old and had scaled back his ministry. That same year, the four men who ran for President all identified as Democratic-Republicans. The Democratic-Republicans succeeded in ousting America's first political party.

Upon an introduction of Haynes as the first person of color to become a licensed minister in the history of America, I will demonstrate Haynes' Federalism by interpreting his conclusions about the role government in his 1798 and 1801 political publications, which I refer to as *Civil Government* and *True Republicanism*. Following, I demonstrate why Haynes sided with Federalist Founding Fathers, Washington and Adams, while naturally opposing Jefferson. Jefferson authored the Declaration of Independence in 1776, which inspired Haynes to write "Liberty Further Extended", but Haynes never endorsed Jefferson as a national leader despite the growing Democratic Republican movement in Vermont. Overall, Jefferson and Haynes agreed in principal on human freedom and natural rights. Still Haynes opposed Jefferson as a slave-holder and because of his views on God and the natural world. Slavery became a key issue for Haynes, although Northern

³ For an excellent discussion and social history of Vermont from 1776-1850, consult *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791-1850*. Haynes migrated with a young family to Vermont in the early 1790's to secure freedom and a future for his biracial children while appealing to a growing population with his brand of Calvinism, which still held political influence in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Vermont provided a haven for the Haynes family and a landing spot for his lengthy career in ministry. Better still, Haynes set out for Vermont with a spiritual brotherhood of pastors in Massachusetts and Connecticut cheering him on, including Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College. Dwight invited Haynes to speak to the student body at Yale in 1814. Like many evangelical clergy in America today, Haynes held a conservative ideology and a Calvinist belief system.

⁴ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 73-74.

⁵ Duffy, John J., Samuel B. Hand, and Ralph H. Orth. The Vermont encyclopedia. "Lemuel Haynes." Hanover N.H: University Press of New England, 2003.

politicians “chose to subordinate their antislavery convictions to the imperatives of party and national unity.”⁶ Amidst increasing political tension, Lemuel Haynes continued until his death in 1833 as a preacher, community fixture, and political commentator, all while remaining interested and informed on national politics. Given the rise of partisan politics in the early republic, Lemuel Haynes grew popular in several New England states not for his moral antislavery stance but for his rational preaching and firm identity as a Federalist.

HAYNES' RISE TO VOCATIONAL MINISTRY

Lemuel Haynes toiled on the Rose family farm in Granville, a town in western Massachusetts, until the local militia called upon his pious family and asked their plowboy to enlist. Just twenty-one years old and known as the adopted son of Deacon David Rose, Haynes responded to the Granville militia immediately following the battles for Lexington and Concord. Haynes arrived in Granville as an infant, destined to serve as an indentured servant to the Rose family. Deacon Rose and his wife chose early in the indenture never to view Lemuel as anything but a son. They taught the boy to thresh wheat, care for livestock, buy horses, and attend a district school. A white woman named Alice Fitch gave birth to Haynes in West Hartford, Connecticut. Fitch, who was possibly a blood-member of a well-to-do family, delivered her child in the home of a wealthy West Hartford man known as Haynes.⁷ Fitch intentionally named her son after Haynes, who was head of house. Haynes never met his biological father, who was a man described as having African roots. Fitch chose an interesting name for Haynes, “Lemuel,” after the Jewish King whose identity is uncertain, but whose name in the Bible means “belonging to God.” Biblical scholars who study the book of Proverbs remain unsure about what the name Lemuel is referencing. Possibilities include an obscure King of Judea, the son of Solomon’s concubine, or even Solomon himself. What is clear about the Proverbs 31 text is advice the mother passes to Lemuel in the first ten verses. Haynes familiarized himself with that passage of Scripture and took it to heart as personal exhortation towards a meaningful life.

Haynes enlisted with the Massachusetts minutemen and marched from Granville into New York following the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in May of 1775. Haynes was present to retrieve cannons from the British stronghold and returned to Granville after two years of military service.⁸ At some point following his military service, Haynes wrote an essay decrying the institution of slavery which he called “Liberty Further Extended.” Haynes formulated and published one of the first reasoned arguments against slavery.

⁶ Mason, Matthew. *Slavery and politics in the early American republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. 7. This direct quote comes from Matthew Mason’s critical assessment of Federalist and Republican actions around the issues of slavery. Mason suggests that politicians, clergy, abolitionists, and citizens argued against slavery on both moral and political grounds. Haynes is unique not just for his skin tone but for his ability to articulate political and moral critiques of slavery throughout a lengthy career as a public figure. I contend that Haynes was an early abolitionist who sought to effect social change through an emphasis on gradual governmental and social reform based on the direction of the Federalist Party in the 1790’s.

⁷ Cooley, Timothy M. (1837) *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes*. New York: Harper & Brothers. Reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press. 1969. 28-29.

⁸ Cooley, Timothy M. (1837) *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes*. New York: Harper & Brothers. Reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press. 1969. 46.

Men were made for more noble Ends than to be Drove to market, like Sheep and oxen. Our being Christians does not give us the Least Liberty to trample on heathen, nor does it give us the least Superiority over them. And not only are they guilty of man-stealing that the immediate actors in this trade, But those in these colonys that buy them at their hands, ar far from Being guiltless...if I buy a man, whether I am told he was stole, or not, yet I have no right to Enslave him, Because he is a human Being: and the immutable Laws of God, and indefeasible Laws of nature, pronounced him free.⁹

Upon his return to Granville, the Congregational church requested Haynes for his preaching abilities, and he filled the pulpit many times throughout the early years of the War. Haynes established himself in the community as a reputable man, a self-identified mulatto bearing observable spiritual gifts. Haynes felt a calling to preach and hoped for an opportunity to train as a licensed minister. In 1779, a minister of the Congregational church named Daniel Farrand offered to house Haynes, train him for ministry, and serve as his tutor in Latin and Greek.¹⁰ Following Haynes departure for Farrand's home in New Canaan, Connecticut, Timothy Mather Cooley became the pastor in Granville. Cooley preached for decades and recorded the key influential details about Haynes life in a biography. In his 1837 biography of Haynes, Cooley delivered a concise, highly favorable account of Haynes' character, patriotism, and spiritual gifts, stating that "he was imbued with a spirit of deep piety; he had a disposition for amusing remark and keen retort."¹¹ Cooley printed his recollection of Haynes training and ordination, which reads as follows.

By intense study by night, while the school engaged his attention through the day, he in a few months became a thorough Greek scholar. As a critic on the Septuagint and Greek Testament, he possessed great skill. He had now laid up a valuable store of various learning, especially in theology, and by advice of many friends, both ministers and laymen, he made application for license to preach the gospel. Nov. 29th, 1780, several ministers of high respectability "having examined him in the languages and sciences, and with respect to his knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel, and practical and experimental religion, recommended him as qualified to preach the gospel." His credentials have the signatures of Rev. Daniel Farrand, Canaan, Rev Jonathan Huntington, Worthington, and Rev. Joseph Huntington, D.D., Coventry. His first sermon was preached at Wintonberry, CT.¹²

By 1785, Haynes built a reputation as a capable preacher. A congregation offered Haynes a pulpit, on a provisional basis, in Torrington, Connecticut. Haynes persevered as a Connecticut minister for two years and by 1787 received "a comfortable salary."¹³

Haynes proudly bore the titles minister and pastor, and quickly developed a reputation for dynamic public speaking, power, and wit in the pulpit. The congregations in Granville and Torrington served as proving grounds for Haynes to show his capability as an active candidate for the ministry.

⁹ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 23.

¹⁰ Saillant, *Black Puritan, Black Republican*, 84. North Canaan Congregational Church voted to ordain Daniel Farrand in 1753. Farrand pastored in Canaan, CT for fifty years until his death in 1803. Haynes grew in popularity as a member of the Congregationalist church movement in New England. Farrand and others endorsed Haynes and included him in their pastoral fraternity. Daniel Farrand is not to be confused with his son Daniel Farrand, (1760-1825) a Vermont politician who served as Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives and Vermont Supreme Court.

¹¹ Cooley, 61.

¹² Cooley, 63.

¹³ Samuel Orcutt. *History of Torrington, Connecticut, from its first settlement in 1737, with Biographies and Genealogies* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1878) 35.

Clergymen in both states endorsed Haynes, while parishioners in neighboring towns grew to respect and appreciate him. A young schoolteacher from Granville, Elizabeth Babbit, admired Haynes so much she moved to Torrington in support of his ministry. Babbit, a white woman, demonstrated a disregard for several rules of society when at twenty-one years old she proposed to Haynes, who accepted. They were married on September 22, 1783. The motivations for Babbit to propose sudden marriage are unclear. Besides the passionate romantic love she felt towards Haynes, Babbit proposed in Connecticut to avoid the presence of miscegenation laws in Massachusetts. Babbit relocated from Granville to Torrington, cultivating a union with Haynes, running the household, and providing him further legitimacy as a minister. The young couple then set out on mission to make a new life for themselves in the newly self-proclaimed republic of Vermont.

VERMONT: LAND OF DESTINY

Vermont originated as a parcel of land grants claimed by New Hampshire and New York. Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, determined west New Hampshire to be an area of disputed land. Wentworth granted settlers townships in Massachusetts and the Connecticut River valley. Meanwhile, the government of New York counterclaimed the land for King George III, citing a 1764 King's Order which ruled the New York border "to be the west bank of the Connecticut River."¹⁴ Their dispute intensified when a militia known as the Green Mountain Boys banded together to defend the land interests of original New Hampshire settlers from New Yorkers. The leader of the Green Mountain Boys, Ethan Allen, recruited likeminded farmers, settlers, traders, and owners who surveyed the New Hampshire Grant and purchased land from New Hampshire for resale. As hostilities grew during the 1770's between New York "Yorkers" and the Green Mountain Boys, the influences of the American Revolution intensified. The conflict reached fever pitch following the violence in Lexington and Concord, when the Green Mountain Boys captured Fort Ticonderoga in 1775, whooping and hollering "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, surrender the garrison." Days later Haynes arrived with the Massachusetts militia to capture the garrison's supply of cannon and powder and remained stationed at the fort for a matter of months.¹⁵ In 1777 Vermont declared independence from New York and Great Britain. The Continental victory resulted in a subsequent population surge into a territory whose motto was "Freedom and Liberty" and which seemed at times to be its own sovereign nation. In 1791, Vermont paid a \$30,000 settlement to New York over disputed land titles, which admitted her to the Union as the fourteenth state.¹⁶

Haynes made missionary journeys as an itinerant preacher in the late 1780 to rural Vermont, which resulted in a call to ministry. Haynes settled in the town of Rutland to shepherd the West Rutland Congregational Church, which then grew significantly. The people of Vermont formed a republic in

¹⁴ Duffy, John J., Samuel B. Hand, and Ralph H. Orth, eds. *The Vermont Encyclopedia*. New England: University Press of New England, 2003. 9. The Connecticut River flows southward from Vermont through Springfield Massachusetts and Hartford, Connecticut into the Long Island Sound forming the Connecticut River valley.

¹⁵ Cooley, Timothy M. *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes*. 46.

¹⁶ Duffy, John J., Samuel B. Hand, and Ralph H. Orth, eds. *The Vermont Encyclopedia*. New England: University Press of New England, 2003. 10.

1777 and entered the Union in 1791 with a population of 85,341.¹⁷ In 1791, Haynes published his first sermon, given at the ordination of a fellow minister in the nearby town of Hinesburg, Vermont, entitled “The Character and Work of a Spiritual Watchman Described.” In 1798, Haynes ministered at the funeral service for a local pastor, delivering a sermon entitled “The Important Concerns of Ministers and the People of Their Charge.” The rural Vermont community affirmed and esteemed Haynes as a minister capable of speaking in the most intimate of situations. This church assignment would last from 1788–1818. The church building no longer exists but grew exponentially in the years that Haynes ministered.¹⁸ Haynes baptized new members, performed marriages, oversaw church discipline, and attested to complaints about various issues from deacons and parishioners within Congregational. For many years Haynes ministered to merchants, craftsmen, lawyers, and farmers.

“THE INFLUENCE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT ON RELIGION” 1798

Now settled in the town of Rutland with a growing flock and family, Haynes made friends with white, black, religious, and irreligious families, prepared weekly services, and delivered patriotic and Christian discourses when called upon. Haynes bought land as a Freeman of Vermont. To be considered eligible to purchase, men had to be aged twenty-one or above and publicly endorsed by other men.¹⁹ Once appointed, Freemen embraced personal responsibility, family, and various other challenges. Freemen had the right to vote, run for office, and elect new Freemen in town meetings. Freemen chose Haynes, a member of their ranks, to give the public address in 1798 and on July 4, 1801. Following Haynes strong commentary in *True Republicanism*, the “Selectmen of this town, Voted, to return their thanks to the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, for his Christian and patriotic discourse, this day delivered, and request a copy for the press.”²⁰ Haynes utilized the opportunity to share biblical quotes, including a discourse on Psalm 6:3, alongside five opening points related to the influence of civil government upon religion and morality.²¹ Haynes associated Scripture-based religion with good civil government.²² Some of the Scripture passages he quoted include Ecclesiastes 10:20, Exodus 22:28, Acts 25:5, and Romans 13:3. Haynes’ biographer, Timothy Cooley, claimed that Haynes could produce biblical texts with infallible accuracy.²³ Haynes lectured from scripture explaining that men who would thrust themselves into office are selfish and desire their own good over the public. Haynes reviewed the story of David and his son Absalom in the Bible to provide an example of this. Unlike national politics in 1798, local politics had not become

¹⁷ Duffy, John J., Samuel B. Hand, and Ralph H. Orth, eds. *The Vermont Encyclopedia*. New England: University Press of New England, 2003. 11.

¹⁸ To inspect records pertaining to Rutland, VT visit <https://rutlandhistory.com/>. The historical society maintains fully searchable minutes, town records, newspapers, and private collections.

¹⁹ Examples of such oaths can be found online or in print by Charles Evans, *Oaths of Allegiance in Colonial New England* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1922)

²⁰ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, “The Influence of Civil Government On Religion.” 65-76, 65.

²¹ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, “The Influence of Civil Government On Religion.” 65-76, 66. Psalm 6:3 reads, “If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?” and is a reference to David’s escape from the rule and reign of King Saul. Saul had established an unrighteous government, which forced David to flee in helplessness, hiding in caves while seeking the throne the prophet Samuel had given to him.

²² Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, “The Influence of Civil Government On Religion.” 65-76, 71.

²³ Cooley, 37.

thoroughly partisan in Vermont. Haynes studied and concluded that men ought to assume the political office by consensus of the people rather than solicitation or control. Moreover, Haynes feared anything to do with France because of their infringements on the rights of their own people. George Washington exemplified the ideal kind of leader, a man who contested for the rights of his country. In *Civil Government* Haynes made it clear Washington was his personal hero. Haynes portrays two details in *Civil Government* that give clues about life in Vermont during the time it was written. First, the general attitude towards the Federalist Presidency of John Adams had fallen into question for various political crises on a national level. Second, the citizens of Vermont had grown “bitter” against the national Federalist government mainly for infringing on the longstanding sovereignty of Vermont. Haynes delivered *Civil Government* as an attempt to stem that tide and to promote the erection of a national federalist system of government.

“THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF TRUE REPUBLICANISM” 1801

Amid the changing political climate, Haynes accepted an invitation to speak three years later at the celebration in Rutland on July 4, 1801. In *True Republicanism* Haynes listed five qualities for an effective government: “wholesome laws faithfully executed, neutrality of the states, free and independent, held sacred, education and diffusion of knowledge, secure the natural rights of man, and religion. A republican government has its basis in this.” Haynes spoke passionately, saying “this is the day, fatal to tyrants; its influence will extend to the remotest corners of the globe, and tell the groaning sons of despots that they may be free.”²⁴ On that Independence Day celebration Haynes hailed the inherent virtue of American society, denounced tyranny, and praised life, liberty, and property. Haynes implored the good citizens present to work for what he called, “True Republicanism.” Haynes lobbied because he felt it was his duty as a Congregational minister to defend Christian orthodoxy, uphold order in society, and support a return to the system of government in place under Washington and Adams. By 1801, Haynes expresses in *True Republicanism* how he clearly feared a marriage between the French nationalists and the American Congress. The clear cause of this fear lay not just in the election of the first Republican president, Thomas Jefferson. The power struggle happening between Britain and France was trending towards a French empire. A prominent general named Napoleon Bonaparte attempted to gain land for France in Europe and North America by land and sea.²⁵ France still held massive tracts of land west of Appalachia. Haynes blessed God for preserving America to this point from monarchical

²⁴ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, “The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism” 83-85.

²⁵ In *True Republicanism* Haynes warns against a society dominated by individuals given titles or increased status by wealth or primogeniture. This revulsion to status is part of the reason Haynes held such great respect for Adams and Washington. Both men rejected the benefits of having large estates and slaves at their disposal in order to serve and establish the American republic. Washington wielded control of the military but rejected unnecessary power while pursuing political harmony. Haynes felt a National Federalist coalition would end slavery in New England and eventually all thirteen colonies. “Palm upon an aspiring mortal the flattering titles of King, Prince, Lord, etc. merely because he was born under a more splendid roof or lay in a softer cradle, than his neighbor, has more gold in his chest, and his farm is wider at both ends, or what thro’ mistake has a higher parentage, he will at once forget the only test of true greatness, and only value himself on his being able to tyrannize over others, and can look down on his own species with contempt. This at once throws the balance of power into the wrong scale and enervates (weakens) the bands of society.” Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 81.

government and godless revolution and constructed *True Republicanism* as an exhortation to the people of Rutland. Haynes conceived a Vermont full of religious people who would faithfully execute the laws in place in order to preserve human freedom while avoiding selfishness and vice.²⁶

Haynes' biographer, John Saillant, describes *True Republicanism* as "a political sermon in the Revolutionary tradition, weaving together biblical and republican themes."²⁷ Saillant expertly communicates an overall assessment of Haynes' self-identified purpose as a public figure. Haynes spoke primarily so that people would see heaven as their future, referring to God in *True Republicanism* on five separate occasions. In addition, Haynes references the will of God and the word of God as tools that aid true republicans in serving both church and state. Another way Haynes describes God in *True Republicanism* is as "The God of Nature." Haynes referred to God in this way with Deists and Unitarians from Rutland in mind. This verbiage is very much in line with evangelicalism, which used calculated language in public performance, despite unyielding rhetoric during the Sabbath service. Part of the audience that day in Rutland included Deists, people whose relationship with God centered on reason and a constant assessment of one's social responsibility rather than special revelation, foreign missions, or covenant theology. Haynes planned to be inclusive while keeping on the Calvinist message. Haynes explains in *Civil Government and True Republicanism* a pattern of brokenness and downfall, which he attributed to the effects of unmitigated human nature upon society. Many Vermonters were familiar with terms of government, administrators, magistrates, and even old Newgate prison located in Granby, CT, but antagonistic towards church leaders who sought power in the community.²⁸ Haynes warned the town of Rutland that without adherence to good rules, notwithstanding religion, all of their children might end up in the penitentiary. Haynes discouraged Vermonters from awarding power to those who were undeserving, pausing his religious language to express concern that the public become well educated and informed.

Let people be well instructed, let them read the history of kings, and know the rights of men, and it will be difficult to make them believe the names King, Lord, Sovereign, prince, Viscount, and such childish trumpery, ought to command their purse, their property, and liberty; but that goodness, virtue or benevolence, are things that demand veneration.²⁹

In further response to the citizens whose core beliefs differed from his, Haynes showed benevolence and inclusivity by using language familiar to Deists. "Those who oppose such a form of government," he boldly declared, "would invert the order of nature, and the constitution of heaven, and destroy the beauty and harmony of the natural and moral worlds."³⁰ Many Vermonters may

²⁶ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 85.

²⁷ Saillant, *Black Puritan, Black Republican*, 63.

²⁸ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 83. Haynes wrote how many youth sink into vice, once they come of age, then remove themselves from the oversight of "tutors and governors", before "becoming a prisoner at Newgate." Newgate is a reference to the first state prison in America, located on the Connecticut and Massachusetts border in proximity to Wintonberry, CT quite close to where Haynes trained for the ministry.

²⁹ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 84.

³⁰ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 80.

have doubted Haynes' views. Still, Haynes displays his conviction that unity under Washington's party would suit everyone going forward.³¹

HAYNES ALLEGIANCE TO THE FEDERALIST PARTY: ORIGINS

Vermont Federalists during the Washington and Adam's Presidencies supported the concept of federal government formed prior to 1787, embraced strong central government under the Constitution, and desired to carry the described powers within the Constitution to their logical ends.³² At this stage in American history, the Federalist Party labeled their opposition as the anti-federalist party. Both parties operated on a national scale. Following years of turmoil under the Articles of Confederation, Washington held the support of the nation in 1789. Washington along with Madison had signed the Constitution. To be Anti-Federalist and Federalist meant to clash and compromise over national issues in the years following the Constitution of 1787. Washington sought to keep these hot button issues within his cabinet, composed of both Federalists and Republicans. Some of those issues Haynes wrote about the most included the emergence of a two-party system, the French Revolution, and international trade. Haynes favored the approach Washington's cabinet made about money, the military, and domestic and foreign affairs. By contrast, Thomas Jefferson feared the idea of centralized power, which he believed could infringe on the rights of a broad group of citizens. This line of democratic thought started to permeate the Vermont frontier. The average Vermonter in 1800 hoped for a peaceful political scene where legislatures dealt evenhandedly with national issues. Despite not having access to a major seaport, Vermonters enjoyed a stable political tradition stretching further back than many other states. The Green Mountain Boys multiplied into an organized, readily available militia. Because of constant environment, Vermonters absorbed thousands of people including Haynes and his family. Many Vermonters wanted nothing to do with the taxes and drafts required to raise funds for the national army and navy in a foreign war. Vermonters preferred the Jefferson vision of America, where each man farmed small plots of land. By 1798, Haynes stood among many Vermonters who owned plentiful land lived uninterrupted lives. As the Congress and Cabinet debated over neutrality and constitutional amendments, Vermonters enjoyed the purest form of religious and civic freedom in New England.³³

In 1798, John Adams served as President and faced a serious problem known as the XYZ affair. The French navy attacked and boarded American ships in the Atlantic as part of the continuous war with Britain, which prompted Adams to send a diplomatic envoy to France. Americans across the nation took offense as the foreign minister of France, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, refused to

³¹ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 84.

³² Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s.v. "Federalist Party" accessed April 14, 2019
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Federalist-Party>

³³ *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791-1850* pp 41-79. Roth explains tensions and antagonisms between Vermonters in very practical terms. Different towns took on character of their own, depending what type of commerce thrived. Similar discrepancies appeared concerning religious practice. Haynes falls under a category of "New Lights" a term for Calvinist ministers who trusted the outbreak of revival and believed in the doctrine original sin. Many New Lights moved to Vermont with intentions of creating a covenant community but grew discouraged as Vermont's population exploded from 1790-1810. Many New Englanders came to Vermont less interested in religion and more interested in the liberating ideas and plentiful economic opportunities, which made the valley's residents "unwilling to abide by the sanctions and strictures of the covenant." Roth, 41.

negotiate with American diplomats X, Y, and Z. For an audience, the Americans would have to pay. One diplomat, Charles Pinckney of America famously responded, "No! No! Not a sixpence!"³⁴ This offense, coupled with the raging French revolution, motivated Haynes to implore the Freemen of Vermont to acquaint with the national sovereignty of the United States.³⁵ Haynes shuddered at the thought of a French invasion and publicly supported the presiding government of the United States, who guaranteed all Vermonters freedom from oppression. The standing militia of Vermont upheld the Vermont Constitution, which upheld Haynes' personal freedom as a black man. Thus, Haynes saw the harm if Vermont Freemen undervalued the Federalist effort to raise taxes for a standing army against France as "a decent effort to support a civil government; our lives liberties and religion, in a sense, depend on it."³⁶

HAYNES' ALLEGIANCE TO THE FEDERALIST PARTY: GEORGE WASHINGTON

Haynes' alliance with the Federalist Party ultimately rested on the reputations of George Washington and John Adams. Both men had proven themselves loyal to nation, God, and the individual rights of man. Haynes recognized that Washington and Adams counted the cost of Revolution and risked sacrificing their land, property, and lives to benefit a free American government with little consideration of financial gain for themselves.³⁷ Jefferson also met these criteria. Still Haynes held a lifelong affinity for Washington, who stood for the contested rights and liberties until his death in 1799. Washington led the American army and commanded Haynes in the Revolution days of his youth. Namely, then, Washington still "commanded" Haynes' attention throughout two terms and until his death at Mount Vernon in 1799. Haynes saw the miracle of civil government under a leader who secured the rights of the people rather than subject them to the churning whims of a dissatisfied mob. At the turn of the 18th century, Washington left his public legacy to Adams, with challenges of French hostility toward the United States. Once allies in the War against Britain, France went into a war with the British ushering in a new era of foreign policy.

HAYNES' ALLEGIANCE TO THE FEDERALIST PARTY: JOHN ADAMS

Washington had advocated for non-partisan politics, but Adams became the first outright Federalist President from 1797-1801. Like Haynes, Adams was a Massachusetts man, a well-educated lawyer who felt most comfortable on his hardscrabble family farm in Quincy, Massachusetts, which he called Peacefield. A mansion lay at the center of the farm, called "The Great House." Haynes and Adams were both farmers born in Massachusetts, who valued learning, were monogamous, and embraced religion as an essential component to the policy and administration of America. In the conclusion of *Civil Government*, Haynes remarked, "We should do well to examine whether we do not too much despise and undervalue the civil government and independence that God by

³⁴ <https://www.history.com/news/what-was-the-xyz-affair>

³⁵ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 70.

³⁶ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 75.

³⁷ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 73-74. "We infer the integrity of a Washington, and an Adams, from the invincible attachment they have manifested to the rights of men, through a long series of events, when they had it in their power to sell their country and accumulate millions to themselves."

remarkable interpositions or providence has put into our hands.”³⁸ Both Haynes and Adams saw God as essential for the governing the new nation, establishing the health of each citizen, and beneficial to the body, soul, and mind of each American.³⁹ Haynes also supported Adams because he refused to own any slaves. Adams served as diplomat to France, sat in meetings with George Washington’s cabinet, and established himself as a member of America’s elite class. Adams and Jefferson corresponded for many years, but Haynes published *Civil Government* and *True Republicanism* during years when both men intensely argued over the viability of the Constitution of 1787. When Adams defeated Jefferson in 1797, Adams offered Jefferson the position of Vice President, which Jefferson refused. During his Presidency, Washington formed a cabinet representing different departments of government. Washington and Adams set about creating four distinct federal cabinet positions: the judiciary, the attorney general office, the Treasury, and the War Department. Thomas Jefferson served as Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of Treasury. Washington assigned men to these posts in order to balance the two parties evenly. Similar to Washington, Adam’s Congress and Cabinet pushed for international relations with Britain but neutrality with France.

Haynes felt strongly about the evidence of France as a despotic foreign power. Haynes described the French Revolution and insults produced by the XYZ affair in highly disparaging terms in his 1798 discourse on civil government. Haynes never intended to come across to his community as a partisan operative but saw Washington’s leadership as a common good for the nation. Washington agreed with Adams that a civil approach to the war between France and Britain would benefit the Freemen and their fellow Vermonters. Both men held that neutrality would be the best course going forward for the new and independent nation. Haynes valued Washington’s leadership as essential, especially with the violence of the French Revolutionaries, who had executed their King. Washington rejected the title of King, but also the unmitigated will of the people, in favor of “True Republicanism”, as Haynes would express in 1801. Haynes explained his skepticism of French democracy thoroughly in *Civil Government* and *True Republicanism*. The praise for Washington extended to Adams, who Haynes confidently applauded for a lengthy career “in the cause of human freedom.”⁴⁰ Adams avoided intimate relationships with the French ambassadors and declared a quasi-war against them once he became President. John Adams arrived in Paris in 1777 with his eldest son John Quincy to negotiate military support for America and quickly became overwhelmed

³⁸ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 76.

³⁹ <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/images/vc006493.jpg> John Adams gave a national proclamation in 1798 announcing two days of fasting and thanksgiving. The proclamation was a concise but informative attempt by Adams to exhort the people to religious reflection. No doubt Haynes supported such legislation, but Adams’ holiday declaration backfired in national disgrace. The call to “fasting” and “humiliation” came in the middle of an intense negotiation with France and was seen as a purposeful distraction. Adams requested “our public councils and magistrates may be especially enlightened and directed at this critical period.” The Federalist President told the increasingly Republican population to pray that he would make the right choice about whether or not to go to war with France. Jeffersonian Republicans mocked the request and Adams suffered a political loss.

⁴⁰ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 75. “It is a matter worthy of serious inquiry, whether our present constitution and government have not the essential vestiges of *free republicanism*, according to the true meaning of the term. Does it not originate in the free suffrages of the people; who have it in their power to appoint to, and depose from office? Is it an infringement of our liberties to subject to the decision of the majority? True freedom does not consist in every man’s doing as he thinks fit or following the dictates of unruly passions; but in submitting to the easy yoke of good regulations, and in being under the restraints of wholesome laws.”

by the pomp and circumstance of French politics, the language barrier, and the increasingly decadent and secular society. When the Congress decided to name Ben Franklin the sole ambassador to France, Adams returned to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, where he drafted the state's first constitution in 1780.⁴¹ Jefferson was the last Founding Father to represent America in France, arriving after Washington, Franklin, and Adams all had a turn courting the French aristocracy and military. Jefferson arrived in Paris in 1784, devoting himself to experience French culture and politics with more grace than Franklin and less contempt than Adams. Haynes would have learned much from Jefferson about French culture and politics, as Jefferson frequently engaged with members of both church and state. Much like a Congregational minister, Jefferson gave speeches, hosted dinners, and faced complicated situations. Jefferson also sought to establish a powerful alliance for the United States national security.

HAYNES' OPPOSITION TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

Meanwhile, Vermonters were prepared to fight an ideological war against the Adams administration and began to support this new idea of Jeffersonian Democracy, which gave priority to the plain farmer. The Adams presidency reminded Vermonters of the British crown. The British controlled the land directly north of Vermont's border in present day Canada. Most Vermonters opposed Adams in his plan to tax the nation for an impending war with France and wanted instead to focus on the British threat to the North. Vermont evolved into an open society, a sharp contrast to Puritan Massachusetts Bay and the established religion of Southern New England. Haynes watched as Vermont's population exploded and his Rutland congregation grew. The Freemen considered the main points Haynes presented on religion, the social fabric, France, and the greater threats of tyranny and enslavement. Vermonters, many of whom resided in farming towns, debated national issues through an increasingly democratic lens. Haynes spoke to convince the people of Rutland that church and state both were necessary for civil society.

HAYNES AND JEFFERSON COMPARED and CONTRASTED: FARMING, NATURE, and NATURE'S GOD

Haynes and Jefferson both were accomplished farmers, planters, and public figures. Both shared similar visions for the future of the majority agrarian society. While Jefferson held many vocations throughout his lifetime, farming remained near to his heart. Jefferson performed science experiments and studies on types of plants in order to yield the best crop at Monticello. Haynes came of age on the Rose family farm as an adopted indentured servant. Haynes knew the business of raising crops and livestock, narrowly avoided the large horns of the family ox, and escaped drowning in a pond on the property.⁴² Haynes personally knew how to treat animals, toil, and till the land. Both Haynes and Jefferson dealt mainly with farmers who grew crops for food and worked the ground. Haynes rose early to raise crops in order to feed his family, and Jefferson stayed up late to analyze scientific experiments and crop diversification, keep careful records, and manage the yields. Haynes and Jefferson agreed that farming was good for the soul, families, and society. Jefferson saw agriculture as fundamental to civilization. He wrote to George Washington while in

⁴¹ <http://www.john-adams-heritage.com/diplomatic-assignment-paris-1777/>

⁴² Cooley, 61.

Paris, claiming, "Agriculture...is our wisest pursuit, because it will in the end contribute most to real wealth, good morals, & happiness...the moderate & sure income of husbandry begets permanent improvement, quiet life, and orderly conduct both public and private. We have no occasion for more commerce than to take off our superfluous produce."⁴³

Both Haynes and Jefferson shared concern and cared equally about the social fabric farming created for families, communities, and local governments. While Haynes and Jefferson both proudly claimed the title, citizen of the United States of America, they differed on the fundamental work that would sustain civilization. Haynes from birth to death labored as a citizen in the kingdom of God, while Jefferson explored creation as a citizen of the world. Haynes shared to Rutland in 1798 how he believed Scripture to be an indispensable commentary on the laws of the land. "A contempt of the Holy Scriptures, domination, anarchy, and immorality are inseparable companions."⁴⁴ Jefferson regarded himself a Christian but dismissed every miracle of Jesus while emphasizing his efficacy as a moral teacher. Jefferson invested his time explaining that the security, happiness, and virtue of the United States lay in the ability of every citizen to grow their own food, making farmers the chosen people of God.⁴⁵ No doubt Haynes heard of Jefferson's rejection of faith during the years from 1798-1801, when Jefferson was smeared by the opposition on moral and religious grounds. Jefferson especially viewed organized religion, a staple of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as detrimental to the security and happiness of all citizens in the new republic. In 1817, the year before Haynes was let go from his Rutland church, Jefferson chided New England clergy in a letter to John Adams following the breakdown of organized religion in Connecticut. "I join you therefore in sincere congratulations that this den of the priesthood is at length broken up," he wrote "and that a protestant popedom is no longer to disgrace the American history and character."⁴⁶ Lemuel and Thomas thus proved to be fitting biblical names.⁴⁷

HAYNES ON SLAVERY and CONCLUSIONS TO RUTLAND MINISTRY

Certainly Haynes could have published other works similar to "Liberty Further Extended", yet none survive in print. Haynes does include antislavery rhetoric in his quasi-political speeches. At the turn of the century, abolitionism and slaveholding were periphery issues in the minds of many clergy and citizens. The fate of the Republic, relations with France and Britain, and the affairs of church order and discipline mattered more. Haynes is a unique antislavery figure who voiced

⁴³ Jefferson, Thomas, and John P. Kaminski. *The quotable Jefferson*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2006. Pp 6-7.

⁴⁴ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 71.

⁴⁵ <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/jeffersons-religious-beliefs> For a list of quotes by Jefferson on key republican issues, visit Monticello.org. This list outlines Jefferson's complicated religious views on Christ and Christianity. By contrast, Haynes headstone reads. "Here lies the dust of a poor hell-deserving sinner, who ventured into eternity trusting wholly on the merits of Christ for salvation. In the full belief of the great doctrines he preached while on earth, he invites his children, and all who reads this, to trust their eternal interest on the same foundation" <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/39855279> His wife Elizabeth Babbitt is buried beside him in Granville, New York.

⁴⁶ <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/jeffersons-religious-beliefs>

⁴⁷ "Doubting Thomas" John 20:24-29 NIV "Lemuel" mentioned only in Proverbs 31:1-10 NIV

opposition to slaveholders on both political and moral terms.⁴⁸ Many Federalist attacks on Republicans began during the 1800s over the three-fifths compromise, a political bargain between Federalists and their southern opponents during the Constitutional debates. Haynes already articulated the political and moral reasons why slavery is wrong. When discussing taxes by population, Northerners proposed that Congress tax black slaves at a 4:3 ratio, and white southerners who owned numerous slaves suggested a 4:1 ratio. James Madison famously proposed his own ratio, a 3/5ths compromise that carried and increased political representation, giving each state three people for every five slaves. Still many Vermonters saw slavery as one of many political issues rather than a moral evil that placed whites over blacks in America. Haynes never wavered from his public stance on slavery and succeeded in ministry partnerships with clergy who were evolving on the matter. Haynes believed the best approach to ending slavery was through reasonable argument and debate, believing that many Northerners were in the process of evolving on the issue. Unfortunately, Haynes never saw the Southern plantation system, an institution for white men in southern states to exclude ownership opportunities for everyone but themselves.⁴⁹ Haynes subtly had Vermonters *and* Africans in mind when he spoke to the Freemen. "If I am not mistaken," he insisted, "we live in a day when our liberties are invaded, and the rights of men challenged beyond what we ever experienced and that under the soothing titles of Republicanism, democracy, &c. These are precious names if well understood."⁵⁰ Along with other northern Federalists Haynes realized the southern Republicans used slave populations to gain more power in

⁴⁸ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 82. "The propriety of this idea will appear strikingly evident by Pointing you. to the poor Africans, among us. What has reduced them to their present, pitiful, abject state? Is it any distinction that the God of nature hath made in their formation? Nay-but being subjected to slavery, by the cruel hands of oppressors, they have been taught to view themselves as a rank of beings far below others, which has suppressed, in a degree, every principle of manhood, and so they become despised, ignorant, and licentious. This shews the effects of despotism, and should fill us with the utmost detestation against every attack on the rights of men; while we cherish and diffuse, with a laudable ambition, that heaven-born liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. Should we compare those countries, where tyrants are gorged with human blood, to the far more peaceful regions of North America, the contrast would appear striking." In this speech on Washington's birthday, Haynes equates American slavery with French despotism.

⁴⁹ Hammond, John Craig and Matthew Mason. *Contesting Slavery: The Politics of Bondage and Freedom in the New American Nation*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press. 2011. 13. The main argument of the book explains how the Federalists in the north were very antislavery, but in a political sense rather than a moral sense. They did not like how the southern Republicans used slave populations to gain more power in congress, via the three-fifths compromise. Mason coedited *Contesting Slavery* with John Craig Hammond, which includes short essays on slavery in relation to national politics and the economy in the early 18th century. Mason and Hammond contextualize Haynes' moral and political objection to slavery as a Vermonter and provide a framework to think about the various factors that decreased opportunities for Haynes to lead a full abolitionist movement in Vermont. "From the revolution forward, only when slavery became personal in some way did those who harbored an ideological antipathy to slavery act in any organized way against it. Ideas hostile to slavery were thus a precondition for antislavery deeds, but they generally proved insufficient to move people from belief to action. Only when these ideas intersected with political, social, economic, and or cultural factors did antislavery realize its possibilities. When those factors worked against antislavery action, on the other hand, the limits of antislavery ideas were on full display." *Contesting Slavery*, 13. Vermonters held little political motivation to end slavery (It was outlawed in the 1777 charter). Vermonters objected to slavery as a social evil, but throughout Haynes' ministry, no consensus or coalition formed under the Congregationalist church. Vermonter's cultural view of slavery began to change after the War of 1812, when Haynes attacked Madison for his compliance with the Southern slave system. Simultaneously abolitionist societies grew in Northern cities such as Boston.

⁵⁰ Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 74.

Congress via the three-fifths clause but found few allies to form an antislavery coalition on moral grounds. Haynes congregation at Rutland eventually sided with Jeffersonian democracy following the War of 1812 and terminated Haynes as their Pastor. The Rutland Weekly Herald reported the decision by the church to end his ministry.

On Tuesday, April 30, A.D. 1818, the ecclesiastical council convened at west Rutland, and, by letter missive, proceeded to dissolve the pastoral and ministerial relation between Rev. Lemuel Haynes, and the church and people in that place. They also recommended him in the following words: “we do also cheerfully recommend the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, as a tried and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, to all or any of the churches, where God in his providence shall call him to preach the word, and administer the seals of the covenant of grace.”⁵¹

VERMONT: LAND OF LEGACY

Despite his termination, Haynes grew popular in Rutland, Vermont, as a preacher with quick wit and sincerity. After Haynes left behind the Rutland Congregation he continued in ministry for several years in Burlington, Vermont. In the time since Haynes left Torrington in 1788, he and Elizabeth Babbit successfully raised ten biracial children. All three of his sons would profess faith in God. The oldest Louis became a farmer and sadly died at the young age of thirty-nine in 1828. Babbit gave birth to several girls in the 1790's, named Electra, Sally, Olive, and Pamela, and then delivered twin boys in 1803. Samuel Haynes became a physician in New York, and William Haynes would go on to practice law in Boston. As an eloquent preacher, a man of integrity, and a change-agent, Lemuel Haynes always insisted Federalism and virtue were necessary ingredients to expand the New England antislavery conversation. When young Haynes served his country during the Revolution he walked with eyes wide open, witnessed blood and death on battlefields, and counted the cost of liberty. In those moments, Haynes determined if he were to die, his dying would be for the freedom of all men, especially his brothers who could not yet taste the joys of family or freedom as he did. Haynes chose to attack the institution of slavery through the wisdom of Scripture and the vehicle of politics with a call to virtuous action for anyone who would listen. In later years, Haynes frustrations with slavery did manifest themselves. Haynes openly criticized President Madison at a meeting with the Washington Benevolent Society.

We feel a pity and compassion for our brethren in slavery, and pray for their deliverance and emancipation; but we further inquire, will going to war obtain the object? Or is it a crime sufficient to shed blood? Our president can talk feelingly on the subject of impressment of our seamen. I am glad to have him feel for them. Yet in his own state, Virginia, there were in the year 1800, no less than three hundred forty-three thousand, seven hundred ninety-six human beings holden in bondage for life!⁵²

As a New England Calvinist, Haynes never lost sight of sin, although many Congregationalists struggled to see the institution of slavery as a sin for which Christ died. Haynes chose to argue against the institution within the theological tradition known as Calvinism, claiming slavery was indeed sin and humans proceeded away from God when they enslaved others. One man Haynes

⁵¹ “Extracts from the Rutland Weekly Herald,” (1816-1820) 25. <https://archive.org/details/18161820r/page/n27> (March 6, 2019)

⁵² Haynes and Newman, *Black Preacher to White America*, 157.

helped to reach was Timothy Dwight, the President of Yale College.⁵³ Dwight, the grandson of the famous New Light minister Jonathan Edwards, stood as one of the foremost public commentators on issues of all kinds, and opposed slavery in writing in 1814. This occurred shortly after Haynes spoke to the student body from Isaiah 5:4, a passage which reads, "What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it?"⁵⁴ Lemuel Haynes pursued the promise of equality in his vineyard of Vermont while upholding Federalism for the sake of national unity, thus he reaped a place in the Nation's Founding.⁵⁵

⁵³ Dwight, Timothy. *President Dwight's decisions of questions discussed by the senior class in Yale College, in 1813 and 1814*. From stenographic notes, by Theodore Dwight. New York: J Leavitt, 1833. Dwight weighed in on all topics, ranging from "is public education preferable to private? Is party spirit beneficial? Is resistance to government every justifiable?" One question Dwight posed in 1814, the year Haynes spoke out against Madison, states "Subjects are bound to obey their rulers. St. Paul says, "let every soul be subject to the higher powers." the only question, therefore, for us to determine is, how far does this duty go?"

⁵⁴ *Dwight's decisions of questions discussed 1814*, Two quotes suggest Dwight aligned with Haynes on the issues of slavery and politics. Despite never receiving training at the collegiate level, Haynes displayed an ability to form rational arguments against slavery based on morality, natural rights, and Scripture. Haynes did receive an honorary Master of Arts degree from Middlebury College, the first ever awarded to an African American. Dwight wrote the following remarks close to the time he invited Haynes to speak to the student body at Yale College.

"Mr. Jefferson formed the party in this country which is now called republican. He is a man of sagacity, but I could tell you facts concerning him which would startle you. Before the Republican party was formed, there was no party in the United States: but now we have nothing to anchor us. The question is not now what is the country's good: but what shall be done for our party?" *President Dwight's decisions*, p 138.

"When the slave trade was established it was believed to have a humane object, and to be calculated to confer great benefits on those transported from Africa. The question was never seriously discussed for a long time, and first began to be examined when I was about twenty years of age. But when we consider it now, how many evils do we see of its production! How many wars may have been produced among the African tribes by the encouragement offered by the slave trade! It is very difficult to form an estimate of the number of slaves made: it is sufficient for our present purpose, that it was perfectly enormous. Besides, it is agreed that about one half of those who were shipped for transportation to America, died on the passage. Here then is a vast and wanton waste of human life, unauthorized by reason and religion. But, beside this, it is to be considered that the worst passions of men are bolstered up by holding slaves; and the amount of this part of the evil effects of the slave trade it is also impossible to ascertain with precision. Some little allowance is indeed to be made, for cases in which Africans brought to America might have been in bondage at home, or have been made more comfortable here than they would have been in their own country, as well as for those in which individuals have become Christians: but these are of trifling importance to the question." pp 160-161.

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