

“Abolition as a Religious Social Movement”

Nathalie Caron, Sorbonne Université, HDEA

For a little more than two decades now, sociologists and political scientists have theorized the connection between religion and social movements, and underlined the structural and ideological features religion and social movements have in common, in particular in terms of mobilization and empowerment.¹ Rhys H. Williams sees religion as a “mobilizing force,” and emphasizes that “religion and communities form natural bases for social activism,” in part because of “its affinity for motivating people to try and change the world.”²

In this paper, I move beyond the argument that abolitionism was a social movement with a significant religious component, and look at abolition as a religious social movement, with exogenous and endogenous variables—exogenous because abolitionists sought to free society from the “sin of society,” endogenous because they also meant to change religion from the inside out.³ I first deal with some historiographical considerations, then proceed with the suggestion that two directions can be taken. The first one looks at what religion did to abolition, and asks whether it helped or hampered the abolitionist movement. The other looks at what abolition did to religion: in other words, to what extent it contributed to the transformation of American religion.⁴ Within the scope of this paper, I will solely venture to introduce a few proposals for further research.

Abolitionists as Saints, Holy Warriors and Prophets

The contention that abolition may qualify as a religious movement starts with the way a number of monographs, edited volumes and biographies on anti-slavery and abolition published in the United States have been entitled, and consequently framed. Since the 1960s, several book titles have showcased the religious nature of the abolitionist movement by identifying abolitionists as saints (Friedman, 1982), holy warriors (Stewart, 1976, 1997), and prophets (McCarthy et al., 2006).⁵ Similarly, a number of biographies have hammered home the notion that abolitionists were fervent believers and, more often than not, professing evangelical Christians steeped in Biblical rhetoric. Bertram Wyatt-Brown’s biography of Lewis Tappan is entitled *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (1969, 1997). Mark Perry’s 2001 book on the Grimké sisters, who converted to the Quaker faith in the 1820s, bears a title based on a line from the book of Isaiah, *Lift Up Thy Voice: The Sarah and Angelina Grimké Family’s Journey from Slaveholders to Civil Rights Leaders*. In October 2018, David Blight’s “definitive” biography of Douglass was released under the title *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*.

This may well originate from book marketing strategies and titles that sell. It can, however, be pointed out that at least until the late 2000s there was a general tendency among

¹ Dan McKanan, *Prophetic Encounters: Religion and the American Radical Tradition* (New York, Beacon Press, 2003), p. 315-330.

² Rhys H. Williams, “Religious Social Movements in the Public Sphere: Organization, Ideology, and Activism,” Michele Dillon, ed. *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 315-330.

³ Wendell Phillips, *Can abolitionists vote or take office under the United States Constitution?* (New York, American Anti-Slavery Society, 1845), p. 7.

⁴ The reference is to Alan Wolfe, *The Transformation of American Religion: How We Actually Live Our Faith* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2003).

⁵ Lawrence J. Friedman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982). James Brewer Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (1976. New York, Harper Collins, 1996, rev. ed.). Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War against Slavery* (1969. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997). Timothy Patrick McCarthy, John Stauffer and Michael Fellman. *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism* (New York, The New Press, 2006). Mark Perry, *Lift Up Thy Voice: The Sarah and Angelina Grimké Family’s Journey from Slaveholders to Civil Rights Leaders* (New York, Viking, 2001). David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*. Simon and Schuster, 2018. See also Richard S. Newman, *Freedom’s Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* (New York, New York University Press, 2009).

scholars to emphasize the influence of the “Second Great Awakening” and evangelical Protestantism on the various reform movements of the nineteenth century, and on abolitionism in particular. To a large degree, the Second Great Awakening, in its social aspects, was understood by many as being “an organizing process,” which “helped to give meaning and direction to people suffering in various degrees from the social strains of a nation on the move into new political, economic and geographical areas.”⁶ The Second Great Awakening was hence seen as being closely intertwined with the abolitionist movement. For Daniel Walker Howe, in *What has God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, the faith of nineteenth-century reformers, and of abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass, was “strengthened by the expectation that they worked to hasten the millennium and the Second Advent of Christ.”⁷

Jon Butler is well-known for showing in *Awash in a Sea of Faith* (1990) that it was not until 1800 that American Christianity fully emerged and that it was plural. Butler has hence urged historians to look beyond Puritanism but also evangelical Christianity to make room for all kinds of beliefs, Christian and non-Christian, and that included rationalism and the occult.⁸ In 2002, in “The Religion Problem in Modern American History,” in which he discussed the quasi-absence of religion in surveys and textbooks dealing with the period after 1870, Butler underlined that “so much antebellum reform is now traced to Protestant evangelicalism—from abolitionism to women’s rights, education, and, still more, temperance—that we may undervalue secular sources for those movements.”⁹ With the relative decline of the evangelical thesis, which posits the centrality of evangelical Christianity in making sense of “the unfolding of American society,” it seems that academic accounts of the abolitionist movement, in particular, have followed Jon Butler’s advice and consequently been secularized.¹⁰ Manisha Sinha’s book, *The Slave’s Cause*, exemplifies the trend toward a decentering of the evangelical narrative. It is not that Manisha Sinha ignores religion, but her account, which draws on Marxist ideology, focuses on abolition as “a radical, democratic movement that questioned the enslavement of labor” and starts with slave resistance.¹¹ Manisha Sinha is interested in telling an “integrated story,” which emphasizes continuity rather than rupture, cooperation rather division.¹² Hence in the introduction, she writes: “The abolitionist movement married the black struggle against slavery to progressive white evangelicalism and to the iconoclasm of more secular reformers.”¹³

But compelling religious motives also suffused the black struggle, from Phillis Wheatley and Jupiter Hammon, whose poetry was pervaded with “Christian motifs,” in Manisha Sinha’s words, to David Walker, who, like Frederick Douglass, Maria S. Stewart, Sojourner Truth, and many others, targeted slaveholding Christianity.¹⁴ Religion is central to the history of abolitionism, because it fostered resilience, resistance and rebellion, while providing organizational, rhetorical, human resources for a powerful critique of slavery, and also because religion was central to the lives of contemporary Americans, maybe more so in the years which preceded the Civil War.

A Powerful Critique: Christianity and Slavery are Incompatible

⁶ Mathews, Donald G. “The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis.” *American Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1969, pp. 23–43.

⁷ Daniel Walker Howe, in *What has God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. The Oxford History of the United States Series (New York, Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 647.

⁸ Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, Harvard University Press, 1990).

⁹ Jon Butler, “Jack-in-the-Box Faith: The Religion Problem in Modern American History,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Mar., 2004), p. 1357.

¹⁰ Jon Butler, “Born-Again History?,” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., 1992 (in Jon Butler’s possession).

¹¹ Manisha Sinha, *The Slave’s Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2016), p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Many early abolitionists were Quakers and the first anti-slavery society, the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, was founded by Philadelphian Quakers. In the colony of Pennsylvania, however, many Quakers held slaves. As two historians have shown, in the 1680s, “the newly established Quaker colony was no haven for blacks,” and slaves in Pennsylvania gained their freedom by degrees.¹⁵ It was only in 1776 that the Society of Friends declared that it would disown slaveholders, four years before the *Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery* was passed by the Pennsylvania legislature.¹⁶ Slavery, however, had been condemned for violating Quaker beliefs as early as 1688, when four Germantown colonists voiced their protest against “the traffic of men-body” and called for an immediate end of slavery. In a petition which went up to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, where it was read and dismissed, Garret Hendricks, Derick op den Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham op Den Graef emphasized the necessity to follow the Golden Rule—which they call a saying, but actually draws on Matthew 7:12 (“There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are”)—and pointed out the contradiction between slaveholding and Christian principles such as the condemnation of adultery.¹⁷

The founder of Quakerism, the Englishman George Fox, never argued for emancipation or even for the end of the slave trade. He, however, spent some time in Barbados in the early 1670s and became aware of the reality of slavery. In 1701, he expressed concern over the immorality and the well-being of the slaves, calling for an amelioration of the slaves’ living conditions, in *Gospel Family-Order*.¹⁸ Brycchan Carey traces the origins of Quaker anti-slavery rhetoric to a letter Fox sent in 1657, in which the latter insisted that “the gospel is preached to every creature under heaven; which is the power that giveth liberty and freedom, and is glad tidings to every captivated creature under the whole heavens.”¹⁹ The letter did not call for emancipation or abolition, but could certainly be interpreted in a radical manner.²⁰ Anthony Benezet and John Woolman may have interpreted it this way. In 1754, they collaborated on the drafting of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting’s *Epistle of Caution and Advice concerning the buying and keeping of slaves*, “the strongest antislavery statement yet issued by the yearly meeting,” according to Geoffrey Plank.²¹ In 1756, Woolman, the author of *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, published two years before, started to devote himself to antislavery and to spread his abolitionist message to his fellow friends. His journal entry for May 9, 1757 reproduces a conversation he had with one slaveholding Friend in Maryland, to whom he said: “men having power too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believe[d] that liberty [is] the natural right of all men equally.”²²

¹⁵ Gary Nash and Jean R. Roderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath*. Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 11. Voir aussi Anthony Benezet, *Une histoire de la Guinée*. Texte établi et annoté par Marie-Jeanne Rossignol et Bertrand van Ruymbeke ([Paris], Société française d’étude du dix-huitième siècle, 2018). Préface, p. 17.

¹⁶ Nash and Roderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁷ Society of Friends. Germantown, Pa. *Germantown Friends’ protest against slavery*. Facsimile. Pdf. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. See Brycchan Carey. *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657-1761* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 2012).

¹⁸ George Fox, *Gospel family-order, being a short discourse [sic] concerning the ordering of families, both of whites, blacks and Indians* ([Philadelphia], Reprinted [by Reinier Jansen], 1701).

¹⁹ George Fox, *To Friends Beyond The Sea, That Have Blacks And Indian Slaves* (1657), in George Fox. *The Works of George Fox* (Philadelphia: Marcus T. Gould and New York, Isaac T. Hopper, 1831). Number CLIII, Volume VII, pp. 144-145.

²⁰ Brycchan Carey, “The Power that Giveth Liberty and Freedom”: The Barbadian origins of Quaker antislavery rhetoric, 1657-76. *ARIEL*, 38 (1), pp. 27-48. Brycchan Carey. *From Peace to Freedom*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²¹ Geoffrey Plank, “Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, and Praise,” *The Atlantic World of Anthony Benezet, 1713-1784: From French Reformation to North American Quaker Antislavery Activism*. Marie-Jeanne Rossignol and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, ed., Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 93.

²² John Woolman, *The Journal of John Woolman* (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1909), pp. 209–217. Retrieved from Historymatters.org.

The Quaker stance against slavery was theologically based on the priesthood of all believers.²³ Quakers emphasized spiritual equality and claimed that everyone had access to the “inner light”, that is God’s own spirit.²⁴ Moral suasion, which was promoted by William Lloyd Garrison, a pacifist who did not align himself with political parties, comes from the Quaker tradition. Paul Cuffee, a black sea captain who was an advocate for colonization with a pan-African vision, the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, James and Lucretia Coffin Mott, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Isaac T. Hopper, Levi Coffin are among the best-known abolitionist Quakers. “Slavery is a crime against God and man,” wrote Angelina Grimké, in her *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (1836). Moreover, the first abolitionist papers were created by Quakers—Charles Osborn, who founded *The Philanthropist* in 1817, Elihu Embree, *The Emancipator* in 1820, Benjamin Lundy, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821.

Among other Protestants, revivalism undoubtedly fueled the desire to reform society and fostered the optimistic notion that religion could achieve that aim. Many evangelicals were postmillennialists who believed that Christ’s Second Coming would take place after one thousand years of peace and harmony, and consequently that Americans ought to prepare society and individuals for the coming of Christ into the world, which in turn implied that the “evil of slavery” had to be eradicated.²⁵ In “Advent of Christ,” the first song of *Songs of the Free, and Hymns of Christian Freedom*, Maria Weston Chapman, a Garrisonian, could thus proclaim:

The Lord will come! A dreadful form,
With wreath of flame and robe of storm:
Master and slave shall find
An equal judge of human kind.²⁶

Another case in point is Theodore Dwight Weld, who was one of Charles Grandison Finney’s converts and who published *The Bible against Slavery* in 1837.²⁷ Finney was the North’s most visible promoter of evangelical Christianity. In his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, published in 1835, Finney had proclaimed that “slavery is, pre-eminently, the sin of the church, to which all denominations have consented.”²⁸ For African Americans, many of whom were actively involved in the revivals, the Christian faith was a catalyst for resistance. David Walker warned of divine punishment on America for the sins of oppression in his 1829 *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*.²⁹ Maria W. Stewart grounded her claims for social justice in biblical exegesis in *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality*, which Garrison published in *The Liberator*.³⁰

Religion also fostered rebellion. Gabriel Prosser, who planned a major slave rebellion in 1800, was probably inspired by his brother’s repeated references to the Exodus story in which God delivered the Israelites from bondage in Egypt. Denmark Vesey, a free black carpenter and a leader within the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, preached that God would free Africans from their captivity on American

²³ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery*. Edited by J. William Frost. Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1980.

²⁴ Brycchan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁵ William Lloyd Garrison, “No Compromise with the Evil of Slavery” (New York, American Anti-Slavery Society, 1854). See Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy* (Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 2001).

²⁶ Maria Weston Chapman, *Songs of the Free, and Hymns of Christian Freedom* (Boston, 1836), p. 10.

²⁷ Theodore Dwight Weld, *The Bible against Slavery: An Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Mosaic System on the Subject of Human Rights* (New York, The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1837).

²⁸ Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (New York, 1835), p. 278.

²⁹ David Walker, *Walker’s Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America* (Boston, 1829).

³⁰ Maria W. Stewart, “Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build,” *The Liberator*, 8 October 1831, in *Maria W. Stewart, America’s First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches*. Ed. Marilyn Richardson (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 28-42. See also Valerie C. Cooper, *Word, Like Fire: Maria Stewart, the Bible & the Rights of African Americans* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2011).

plantations. In 1822, he and a group of followers were accused of plotting a slave revolt and sentenced to death. On August 21, 1831, Baptist slave preacher Nat Turner and his co-conspirators killed fifty-five whites, before being tried and executed.³¹ In his *Confessions*, published by Thomas Ruffin Gray, a lawyer, shortly after his execution, Turner claimed that he had received a vision from God and seen “white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle” and instructing him to mount an insurrection against his white oppressors.³²

Transformation of Religion

The abolitionist movement also disrupted traditional Christianity and transformed the way many related to their faith, church and community. Contrary to popular belief, in antebellum America, not all Quakers were immediatists or willing to include African Americans in their meetings. Abby Kelly Foster, Isaac and Amy Post, Lucretia Mott “in no way represented the typical ‘Friend,’” as Ryan Jordan puts it in *Slavery and the Meeting House*.³³ Many Quakers shared with other Protestants their distrust of “fanatic” abolitionists. Abolitionism created a great deal of tension among Quakers at a time when, after the Hicksite schism in 1827, unity became the Friends’ major concern, and more than one was disowned.

Among other Protestants, there were painful divisions too. As Ira Berlin has observed, there was an “evangelicals’ antislavery moment” even in the South, which eventually passed: “The preachers’ opposition to slavery faltered under the pressure from planters and from their own quest for respectability.”³⁴ The issue of slavery split the churches into two or more branches. In 1844, one of the youngest denominations, the Methodist Church, ceased to be a single church. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South came into existence, independently from the Northern churches on one side and, on the other, the two black bodies—the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, which was formed in Philadelphia in 1816, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, founded in New York in 1821. Abolitionists founded the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1841. As for the Baptists, who had been operating as a national entity only since 1814, they separated into northern and southern bodies in 1845. Among the Presbyterians, the North-South schism officially took place in 1861 only, but the church had been torn by internal divisions since the mid-1830s. The Episcopalian Church remained passive and the Roman Catholic Church did not condemn slavery as sinful.³⁵

Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison are examples of Protestants whose faith changed under the influence of abolition.³⁶ For both, abolition was a sort of religion,

³¹ See Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South* (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2004. Updated edition), p. 147. Douglas R. Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey* (Lanham, Md., Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). Randolph Ferguson Scully, *Religion and the Making of Nat Turner’s Virginia: Baptist Community and Conflict, 1740-1840* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2008). Anthony Santoro, “The Prophet in His Own Words: Nat Turner’s Biblical Construction.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 116, No. 2, 2008, pp. 114–149.

³² *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Va. as Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray* (Richmond, 1832).

³³ On Quaker divisions, see Ryan P. Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820–1861* (Bloomington, Indiana University, 2007). See also Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 356-357.

³⁴ Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 118.

³⁵ Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*. Vol. 2 (Garden City, N.Y., Image Books, 1975), p. 105-114. See also Jennifer Oast, “‘The Worst Kind of Slavery’: Slave-Ownning Presbyterian Churches in Prince Edward County, Virginia,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (November 2010), pp. 867-900.

³⁶ William L. van Deburg, “William Lloyd Garrison and the ‘Pro-Slavery Priesthood’: The Changing Beliefs of An Evangelical Reformer, 1830-1840”, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jun., 1975), pp. 224-237. John Ernest, “Crisis of Faith in Douglass’s Work”, Maurice S. Lee, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Frederick Douglass*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 65. Reginald F. Davis, *Frederick Douglass: A Precursor of Liberation Theology* (Macon, Ga., Mercer University Press, 2005).

and like other abolitionists, they were vocal in their criticism of Christianity. Douglass, whose complex religious views continue to puzzle scholars, exposed the hypocrisy of “Slaveholding Christianity” in the appendix of his first autobiography, *Narrative of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), and expressed religious doubts in *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855).³⁷ As for Garrison, he was an evangelical Christian and a fervent believer—*The Liberator* had a “Moral” column with strong religious overtones—whose spiritual beliefs evolved throughout the decades. Faced with the hostility of many of the nation’s clergy, he grew more and more critical of the “pro-slavery priesthood” and called for “comeouterism.”³⁸ He also questioned several points of doctrine, including the sanctity of the Sabbath. In the 1840s, his estrangement from the clergy led him to “freely investigate the foundations upon which his personal beliefs were based,” as William van Deburg has observed.³⁹ In particular he explored the possibilities of Spiritualism, notably after his wife Helen’s death hoping to communicate with her. So did such abolitionists as Sojourner Truth, the Grimké sisters, Amy and Isaac Post, La Roy Sunderland (who was also interested in Mesmerism), Lydia Maria Child, Gerrit Smith and Harriet Beecher Stowe.⁴⁰

A discussion on abolitionism and religion cannot be confined to Quakerism and evangelicalism, since abolitionism was a concern for many freethinkers and religious seekers as well, many of whom were Quakers or evangelicals or took part in the various utopian communitarian experiences of the century. There was fluidity in religion in the nineteenth-century in the United States, and those involved in the reform movements of the times also embarked on a variety of spiritual experiences. While religion fostered resistance and rebellion, abolition encouraged believers to interrogate their faith, to question their relationship to institutionalized religion, and also to appropriate the Bible.⁴¹ New readings of the Bible emerged with the necessity to articulate persuasive arguments to counteract the powerful pro-slavery biblical reasoning, which rested on the curse of Ham, the mark of Cain, the fact that Jesus did not condemn slavery or the Pauline instruction that slaves had to obey their master.⁴² Furthermore, those readings intertwined with or prompted feminist ones, as Sarah Grimké’s *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman*, and, much later, Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s *Woman’s Bible* illustrate forcefully.⁴³ It can then be argued that just as it reshaped the notion of democracy and the meaning of freedom, abolition also contributed to a redefinition of the boundaries of religion.

³⁷ Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), p. 118. Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York and Auburn, 1855), pp. 234-235. See also Hutchins, Zachary McLeod. “Rejecting the Root: The Liberating, Anti-Christ Theology of Douglass’s *Narrative*.” *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 68, No. 3, 2013, pp. 292–322, and Blight, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

³⁸ Blight, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

³⁹ van Deburg, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁴⁰ Anne Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women’s Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 27. Robert S. Cox, *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2003). Auréliane Narvaez, « Rémanences et métamorphoses de la pensée déiste : mesmérisme, communautés utopiques et spiritualisme aux États-Unis (1794-1887) », unpublished doctoral dissertation, Sorbonne Université, 2018, p. 410.

⁴¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was a Presbyterian, the daughter and wife of an evangelical preacher, also criticized the churches. See Hovet, Theodore R. “The Church Diseased: Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Attack on the Presbyterian Church.” *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1962-1985), Vol. 52, No. 2, 1974, pp. 167–187. On her “personal journey” and rewriting of the Scriptural story” see Curtis Evans, “The Chief Glory of God [Is] in Self-Denying, Suffering Love!': True Religion in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.” *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 92, No. 4, 2012, pp. 498–514.

⁴² David M. Goldenberg, *Black and Slave: The Origins and History of the Curse of Ham* (Berlin and Boston, de Gruyter, 2017). Harrill, J. Albert. “The Use of the New Testament in the American Slave Controversy: A Case History in the Hermeneutical Tension between Biblical Criticism and Christian Moral Debate.” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2000, pp. 149–186.

⁴³ Sarah Grimké, *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman* (Boston, I. Knapp, 1838). Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman’s Bible* (New York, 1895-1898).

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