

**Edward Hitchcock**

Source: Steel engraving from William S. Tyler, *A History of Amherst College During the Administration of its First Five Presidents from 1821 to 1891* (New York, 1895).

# “Lord, Is It I?”: The Sermons of Edward Hitchcock

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**Abstract:** *Professor Edward Hitchcock (1793-1864), best known for his paleontological research, was also a minister who preached in churches throughout New England for over thirty-five years. Although his scientific works have enjoyed considerable attention from historians, his sermons have been largely forgotten. His life embodied many contradictions. He was a Calvinist who believed that the Holy Scriptures were the word of God, yet he pursued scientific truth wherever it led. He implored his parishioners to devote their lives to God and to eschew the riches, honors, and pleasures of the world, yet he found himself constantly in the thrall of those very temptations. In an age when many preachers refused to apply their faith to the great moral issues of their day, Hitchcock spoke out against intemperance, war, slavery, and the mistreatment of the American Indian. This article examines the language, theology, and social context of Hitchcock’s sermons, as well as what they reveal about his intellectual and personal life. The author, Dr. Robert T. McMaster, is currently writing a biography of Edward Hitchcock.<sup>1</sup>*

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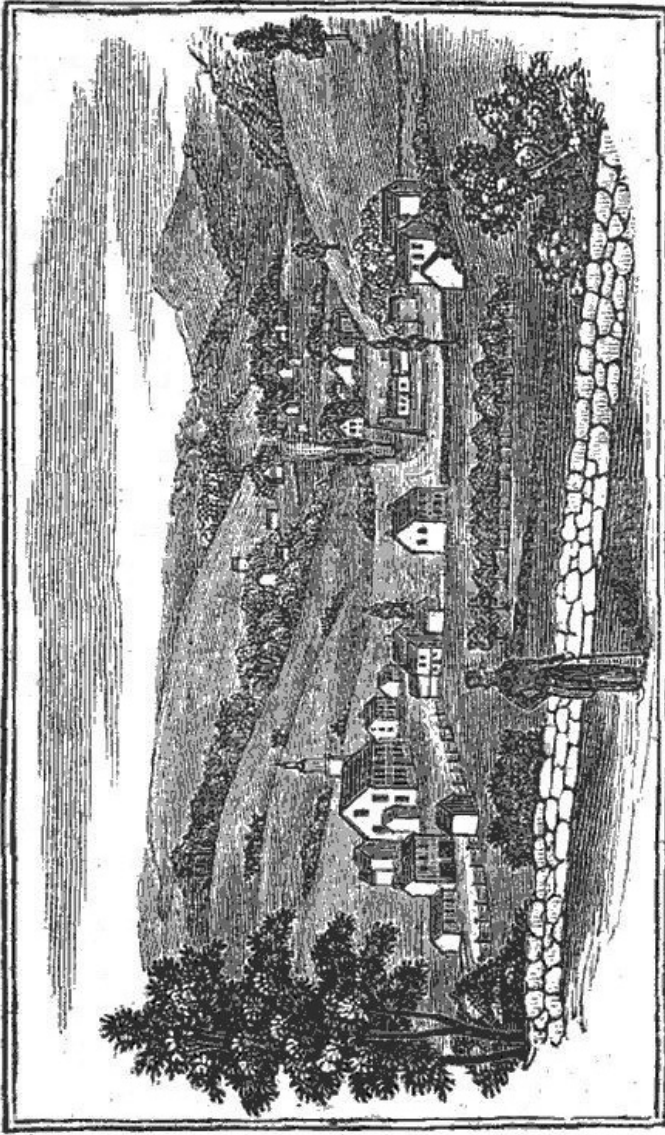
Edward Hitchcock (1793-1864), geologist, professor, and third president of Amherst College, is best known for his pioneering research on fossil dinosaur tracks in Massachusetts. Hitchcock was also an ordained minister, serving for four years as the pastor of the Conway Congregational Church in Conway, Massachusetts. Even after leaving that post for academia, he continued to preach in churches throughout southern New England for the next thirty-five years.

Hitchcock's scientific works have enjoyed considerable attention from historians, but his sermons have been largely forgotten.<sup>2</sup> In this article I examine the language, theology, and social and political contexts of Hitchcock's sermons, as well as what they reveal about his spiritual, intellectual, and personal lives. He was a strict Calvinist much in the tradition of Jonathan Edwards and believed in the divine origin of the Holy Scriptures, yet he pursued scientific truth wherever it led. He urged his parishioners to devote their lives to God and to shun earthly pleasures, wealth, and prestige; however, he himself was ceaselessly in the yoke of these temptations. Although urging his congregation to accept Jesus Christ as their savior, he also preached against social evils, particularly intemperance, slavery, war, and the injustices perpetrated against the American Indian.<sup>3</sup>

### **THE FIRST SERMON IN CONWAY (1821)**

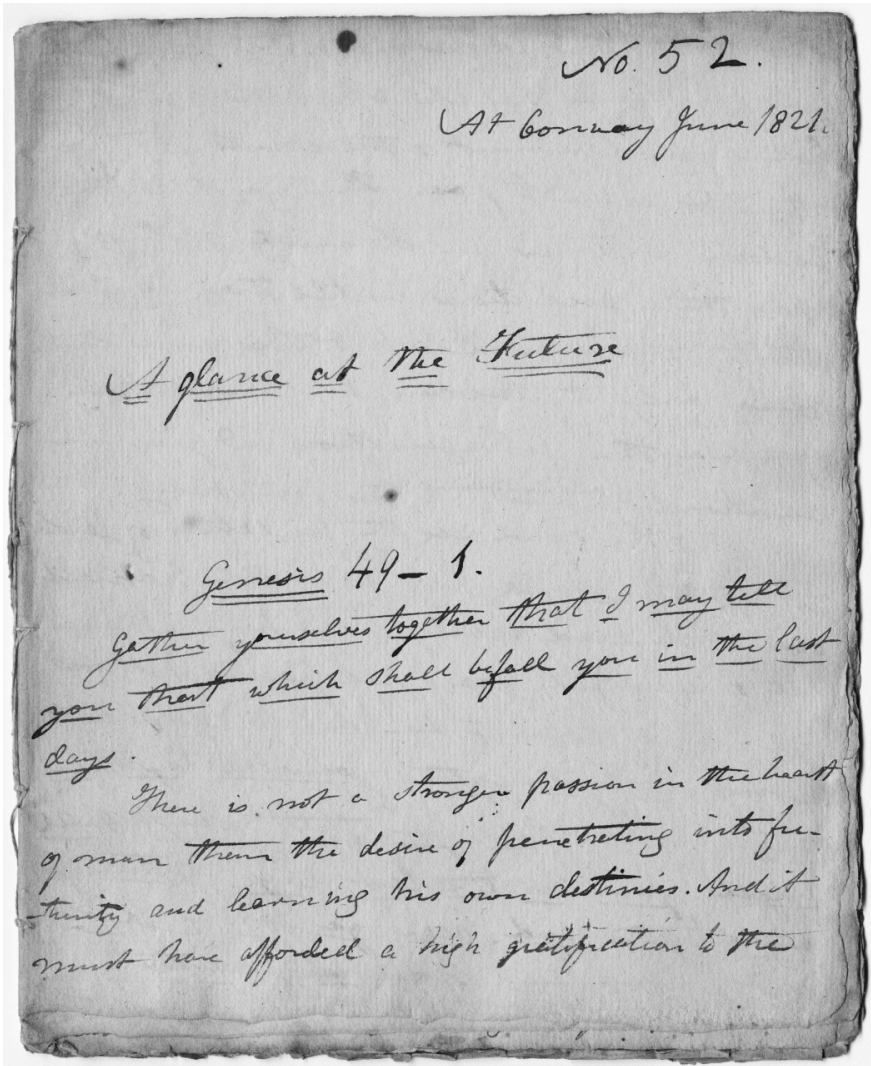
"Gather yourselves together that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days."<sup>4</sup> With those words of the prophet Jacob from the Book of Genesis, the pastor of the tiny Congregational church in Conway, Massachusetts, began his sermon on Sunday, June 24, 1821. The congregation was larger than usual on that day, the atmosphere charged with anticipation. For the man standing before them, the Reverend Edward Hitchcock, had been ordained and installed as junior pastor of the church only a few days earlier. This was his first sermon in this new post.

In some respects Hitchcock was an unlikely candidate for the pastorate. Born and raised just down the road in Deerfield, Massachusetts, he had served as the preceptor at Deerfield Academy for three years, published nine papers on geology and mineralogy in prominent scientific journals, and earned an honorary master's degree from Yale, all by the age of twenty-five. But his theological studies had lasted just a few months, and he had earned no divinity degree. In matters spiritual, some parishioners may well have wondered, was he fully qualified for this position?



**Southern View of Conway, MA (1839 )**

A view of Conway, showing the church where Edward Hitchcock preached and assisted the older minister, who was a great-uncle of Ralph Waldo Emerson. John Warner Barber, Historical Collections, courtesy of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.



### Cover Page of Edward Hitchcock's First Sermon in Conway

Source: Edward and Orra White Hitchcock Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College Library.



One consideration may have tipped the scales in his favor: his preaching ability. Since completing his theological studies, Hitchcock had been called upon on more than one hundred occasions to fill pulpit vacancies up and down the Connecticut River Valley, including at least thirty times in that very sanctuary. This was the best possible testimony to the young man's credentials, spiritual as well as rhetorical. As to theological questions, his sermons demonstrated clearly enough that he was a young man of strict Calvinist leanings, or, in the parlance of the times, an orthodox Christian.<sup>5</sup>

So it is not surprising that in April, 1821, when the beloved incumbent pastor, Reverend John Emerson, announced his retirement after more than fifty years at the helm of the Conway Congregational Church, Hitchcock was chosen by the church to be "colleague pastor" alongside Reverend Emerson.<sup>6</sup> Ten weeks later he was ordained and his appointment was made official.<sup>7</sup> Within days he and his bride of less than a month, Orra White Hitchcock, took up residence in Conway.

The reverend proceeded with his Sabbath discourse, entitled "A Glance at the Future":

The events of the past week my brethren remind us that we have entered into a relation to one another whose solemnity and interest and consequences the records of eternity can alone develop. And now standing on the threshold of so momentous and responsible an office you will permit me to pause for a few moments and casting an eye along the stream of time and viewing ourselves as minister and people carried down this stream you will indulge me in endeavoring to point out some of the scenes through which we may pass and some of the scenes through which we must pass.<sup>8</sup>

Over the next thirty or more minutes, Hitchcock considered the promises and the perils that lay before the church and its new pastor.<sup>9</sup> In his concluding remarks, he reminded his parishioners, as he did in nearly every sermon over the next four years, of the terrors and triumphs of the Judgment Day.

It was perhaps his great fortune—or God's will—that on that first Sunday the new pastor's view "along the stream of time" was not particularly clear. If it had been, he might have been distressed at the prospect: a brief tenure marked by poor health, self-doubt, despondency, and tragedy. His new post quickly became his cross to bear.

Reverend Hitchcock threw himself into his new duties with conviction, determination, and a work ethic that John Calvin himself would have applauded. Most Sundays he delivered two discourses, one in the morning

and one in the afternoon. “Four days constant study are necessary for me to compose two sermons even in a decent style and manner,” he informed his parishioners in his next sermon entitled “Preaching the Gospel.”<sup>10</sup> In addition he continued to travel and preach in other churches up and down the Connecticut River Valley.

Hitchcock composed over 300 sermons in the course of his lifetime.<sup>11</sup> He delivered many of the same again and again, often with extensive revision. For example, he delivered “Sinners Dreaming” at least nineteen times between 1823 and 1840, “Manner in Which God Hardens Sinners” twenty-two times between 1826 and 1840, and a sermon on moral sublimity twenty-two times between 1847 and 1861.<sup>12</sup> His own records indicate that he preached at nearly one thousand services between 1819 and 1862.

Hitchcock’s sermons provide remarkable insights into the man: his preaching style, his spiritual life, and his social conscience. They underscore his unswerving belief in science as a means to confirm rather than contradict the truths of revelation. They expose a pervasive tension throughout his life between a desire to serve God and a passion for worldly stature and success. And they reveal some of the political cross-currents buffeting a young America barely a half century after its founding.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE SERMONS

Hitchcock’s sermons are works of rhetorical art, meticulously crafted much as a sculptor winnows away at marble or granite, shaped into powerful oratorical compositions, sometimes soaring and beautiful, often frightening and foreboding. Even today, nearly two centuries after their creation, a reader can almost hear the pastor’s voice echoing off the stark walls of that tiny sanctuary, a voice charged with emotion, conviction, and evangelical zeal.

Hitchcock was intimately familiar with the King James Version of the Bible, and he often employed the formal English of that translation—ye, thee, thy, thou, doeth, sayeth, hither, thither, etc.—in his sermons.<sup>13</sup> In “Idolatry,” delivered in February, 1823, on the occasion of the death of a church member, he pleaded with those who embrace worldly idols:

And to this same state in which we see our friend—to the coffin—to the grave we are all rapidly advancing. Approach then his coffin ye who are gray-headed and are worshiping some worldly idol. Approach and tremble at the end which awaits you if [you] have no Jesus on whom to lean in a dying hour. Approach ye afflicted mourners! . . . thou glutton—thou drunkard—thou adulterer—

thou bacchanalian—approach and remember that death stands ready to cut you down also: and that hell is waiting to receive you except you abandon your polluted and debasing idols.<sup>14</sup>

Many biblical phrases and expressions crop up repeatedly in Hitchcock's sermons. Some are agricultural. "You enter today the appointed field of labour where the ripened harvest waves before you," he advised a newly ordained minister. "Grasp the sickle with a courageous and a hopeful heart and . . . thrust it among the ready grain."<sup>15</sup> "The hearts of men have many spots and blemishes," he declared, just as the "tares will grow together with the wheat," a reference to a common garden weed of the Holy Land.<sup>16</sup> Some references are nautical. He said of unrepentant men: "O let . . . them fly to the cross of Christ— let them cling to this as the shipwrecked sailor clings to the rocks resolving if they must perish to perish there."<sup>17</sup> Some expressions may elicit a chuckle from readers today, although they may not have been intended to amuse. How often it is, he observes, that a man recently reformed and repentant returns to a life of sin, "like the dog to his vomit—like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire!"<sup>18</sup>

Hitchcock was a scientist and naturalist as well as a minister. During the four and a half years of his pastorate, he published fifteen papers on geology and mineralogy. Over the next two decades, he was appointed as the first Massachusetts state geologist, carried out pioneering research on fossil dinosaur footmarks, and co-founded the American Association for the Advancement of Science. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hitchcock's sermons abound with references to science and nature.

In "Works of God" he celebrated Thanksgiving by enumerating God's creations.<sup>19</sup> He began, of course, with man, God's greatest creation, then descended the tree of life from mammals, to birds, to amphibians, to fish, to insects, to plants, adding even minerals. In another sermon he drew elaborate analogies between the qualities of minerals and humans. Quartz, for example, might be compared to the "semitransparent character" of some men:

We often meet with such characters. We admire their general conduct and it seems as if they were but slightly out of the way. Nevertheless they are always more or less cloudy. There is a want of definiteness and cleanness in their principles and of decision in their conduct—you cannot be sure where you will find them when great moral questions are to be decided.<sup>20</sup>



Astronomy was Hitchcock's earliest scientific passion, and his admiration for the heavens shines throughout a number of his sermons like the very stars in the firmament. In "Meditation Part I" he wrote:

Consider the sun how glorious in his course, the moon how beautiful in her silver glory, the stars how changing in their evening splendour! Ten thousand worlds are rolling nightly over our heads moving with a velocity we cannot conceive yet all is harmonious no clashing no interference no confusion. And yet how simple the laws by which they are guided.<sup>21</sup>

There exists no stronger, more compelling evidence of God's wisdom, omnipotence, and benevolence, argued Hitchcock again and again in his sermons, than the marvels we see all around us every day, from the humblest creatures at our feet to the wondrous, luminous celestial bodies arcing across the night sky.

## HITCHCOCK'S THEOLOGY

Hitchcock was a believer in the theological system of the French theologian John Calvin (1509–1564) which emphasized the personal relationship between a believer and his God, repentance for one's sins, and renewal of one's heart in order to achieve salvation. Western Massachusetts in the 1730s and 1740s had become the epicenter of "The Great Awakening," a rebirth of Christian fundamentalism, thanks in large measure to the preaching and writing of Reverend Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) of Northampton. From the 1730s on, religious revivals were common in many Massachusetts cities and towns. Prompted by a charismatic preacher in a church pulpit, on a village green, or in a farmer's field, sinners repented publicly and threw themselves to the ground begging for their immortal souls, then arose as if born anew.

Edwards hoped that his theology would unite American Christians, but history shows it to have had quite the opposite effect—a veritable explosion of theological diversity. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were Old Lights, New Lights, Antinomians, Baptists, Methodists, and Unitarians, to name but a few of the sects found in American Protestantism.<sup>22</sup>

Ever since he was old enough to remember, Hitchcock was strongly influenced by the Unitarianism that was on the ascendancy in Deerfield. Unitarianism had its roots in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. It was a belief system that eschewed some of the basic principles

of Christianity, most notably the Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The tenets of this sect went well beyond the Trinity. It recognized the importance of reason in interpreting Holy Scriptures and emphasized a scholarly approach to faith, insisting that each believer must study and constantly re-examine his belief system and his relationship with God.<sup>23</sup>

Unitarianism was already well established in Europe, particularly in Eastern Europe and Britain, when it was introduced in the United States. It was in Boston that the first American Unitarian Societies were established in the 1770s and 1780s. With the appointment of Reverend Henry Ware as a Professor of Divinity in 1805, Harvard College became Unitarian, and its influence spread rapidly throughout New England via newly ordained ministers.<sup>24</sup>

Theology at Yale, meanwhile, took a very different path. Timothy Dwight, the grandson of Jonathan Edwards, became the president of Yale in 1795. Dwight was an inspirational leader who was determined that Yale should remain true to his grandfather's creed.<sup>25</sup> He accomplished this through his own preaching and teaching, as well as through the appointment of new faculty members who shared his views.

By 1815 Calvinism, although still very much alive in the Northeastern states, was under siege. Opposition to Calvinism came in part from the influence of Harvard, but also from parishioners who resisted its more extreme views and apparent contradictions. Among the Yale faculty could be found a number of theologians and ministers who, although avowedly orthodox, sought ways to attenuate the harsher notions and proscriptions of Calvinism. But in the process, they strove to avoid alienating their orthodox forebears and believers. In other words, it might be said, they wished to have their theological cake and eat it too.

One Yale theologian who wrestled with this enigma was the Reverend Eleazar T. Fitch. Born in Connecticut in 1791, Fitch graduated from Yale in 1810, then attended Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts. In 1817 he returned to his alma mater as a Professor of Divinity, a post that he held for more than forty years. During the few months that Hitchcock spent at Yale, he was never officially enrolled, but attended lectures informally, particularly those of Professor Fitch. It was an experience that had a profound impact on his religious thinking.

Reverend Fitch was a charismatic teacher and preacher as well as an influential theologian. He argued for a strict Calvinism, but he found ways to render it more palatable to laypeople. To the Calvinist tenet of original sin, he countered that no sin could occur until the individual became aware of right and wrong and chose voluntarily to go astray. To the tenet of election

that some saw as evidence that God created sin, he countered that man through his own free will created sin. As to the controversial Calvinist tenet of infant punishment, Fitch admitted that it was a difficult question. Later in his life he wrote:

I left that point undecided, because I was not satisfied that the sacred writers, in speaking of the race, meant to decide it for me: and I was willing to leave the decision with him, who is the Arbiter of right in his kingdom. I am still willing to leave it there.<sup>26</sup>

This was an argument that Hitchcock later employed in his sermons in regard to many difficult questions of theology: one day all will be explained to you—one day, in heaven.

The infallibility of the Holy Scriptures, the total depravity of humankind, faith in Christ as one's personal savior, and justification by faith—these were among the fundamental tenets of Calvinism, tenets that lay at the heart of nearly every Hitchcock sermon.<sup>27</sup> Foremost among these was the belief that the Bible was the word of God. "The knowledge derived from the scriptures," he wrote, "is infallible and immutable."<sup>28</sup> And although approving the application of reason to the scriptures, he warned his parishioners lest reason should lead them to doubt the word of God: "No folly can be greater than to cavil at any thing contained in the bible."<sup>29</sup> If careful, prayerful study of a passage of scripture should leave one still in doubt as to its meaning, then one's course is simple: "Wait for the solution of your difficulties till you enter eternity."<sup>30</sup>

Another tenet of Calvinism that Hitchcock discussed frequently was man's total depravity. "All men are dead in trespasses and sins and by nature children of wrath,"<sup>31</sup> Hitchcock declared. Among his most often quoted lines of scripture is Paul's description of humankind, Gentile and Jew alike, in Romans 3:10: "They are all gone aside . . . they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no not one."<sup>32</sup>

Hitchcock devoted considerable time in many sermons to the subject of "justification by faith." Does salvation depend on one's morality, piety, good works? he asks. No, "It is by faith alone and not by works."<sup>33</sup> Does this imply that a man justified by faith in Christ is free to live in sin? "God forbid," replies Hitchcock. Faith in God, in Christ the Redeemer, leads to good conduct: "Their holiness is the effect, not the cause, of their being elected."<sup>34</sup>

Repentance and salvation were central messages of Calvinism and of Hitchcock's sermons. Men's souls are immortal and destined to live on after the body has died, he argued, either in eternal glory in heaven or in eternal

damnation. The only avenue to salvation for humankind is faith in the Redeemer, Christ Jesus: “O that the voice of the archangel and the trump of God might be sounded in this assembly to call you to repentance ere it sound over your graves to call you to the judgment.”<sup>35</sup>

When he spoke of the Judgment Day—and he spoke of it often—Hitchcock recounted not merely some dark and distressing words from antiquity, but a constant, pressing, frightening reality which he described as if he had been there himself:

We shall not attempt to paint before you the terrors and solemnities of that day—the burning universe—the opening graves—the shout of the archangel—the Son of man coming in the clouds with power and great glory—the tribunal of God rising on the ruins of the world—God himself ascending the judgment seat—the book of life opening wherein is registered the character and the fate of every individual—the universe of beings crowding with trembling solicitude around their Judge—nor the joy on the one side or the agony painted in the countenances of those on the other side as this Judge separates the righteous from the wicked.<sup>36</sup>

He concluded nearly every discussion of the Judgment Day with this warning:

[T]he day is at hand when you will sleep no more unless you can sleep in a lake of fire and brimstone, unless you can sleep amid the gnawings of the undying worm, unless you can sleep in the wine press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.<sup>37</sup>

Hitchcock admitted later in life that he himself had struggled with certain elements of orthodox belief. “Some of the most offensive . . . were not admitted fully into my creed until even after I began to preach,” he stated in his personal notes.<sup>38</sup> In several sermons he acknowledged that some of his parishioners were similarly afflicted.<sup>39</sup> Be patient in your search for answers, he advised: “[T]here is enough of mystery and difficulty to occupy the minds of men and angels through all eternity in unravelling.”<sup>40</sup>

## ORDINANCES OF RELIGION

Faith in the fundamental tenets of orthodox Christianity, Hitchcock also reminded his parishioners, must always be accompanied by the practice of

the “ordinances of religion.” He gave particular emphasis to prayer, observing the Sabbath, reading the scriptures, Holy Communion, and brotherly love.

“What a mighty engine is prayer!”<sup>41</sup> proclaimed Hitchcock in one of his early sermons. Private, fervent, effectual prayer, he argued, is the most fundamental practice of a true Christian. Again and again he admonished his hearers to go into their “closets,” a term used in the Bible to indicate a private place for prayer and meditation: “Therefore if he loves God above everything besides, he will delightfully and habitually pray unto Him in public, in the family, and above all, in his closet.”<sup>42</sup>

Christians are of course also bound by the Fourth Commandment, Hitchcock reminded his flock: “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.” Furthermore, he added, “Irregular and only occasional attendance may be the ruin of your souls.”<sup>43</sup>

Daily reading of the Bible is another essential ordinance of the Christian faith: “If a man has not certain stated times, for instance, in which to pray in his family and in his closet and to read the scriptures and to examine himself and to attend public and social worship, he cannot grow in grace.”<sup>44</sup>

Through the Lord’s Supper, Hitchcock stated, Christians are nourished symbolically by the body and the blood of Jesus Christ. Hitchcock often reminded his parishioners of the importance of approaching the Lord’s Table with the proper state of mind: humility, awareness of one’s depravity, and a willingness to give oneself to God’s will. In an 1823 sermon preceding Holy Communion, he used the text of I Corinthians 11:28: “But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.”<sup>45</sup>

Of course, Hitchcock believed, the Christian is bound to emulate Jesus in every way, especially with regard to brotherly love. Hitchcock often quoted the First Epistle of John: “If a man say I love God and hateth his brother he is a liar.”<sup>46</sup>

It is not enough to call oneself a Christian, or to believe oneself moral, Hitchcock reminded his parishioners again and again. A true Christian practices the ordinances of his faith day in and day out, throughout his life. In modern-day parlance, he might say, if a man “talks the talk,” let him also “walk the walk.”

## HITCHCOCK’S SOCIAL GOSPEL

The majority of Hitchcock’s sermons dealt with the fundamentals of orthodox Protestantism: man’s depravity, sin, repentance, atonement, and so on. Morality was also a common theme, most often addressed with a litany

of the vilest sins of humankind, such as in this passage from I Corinthians 6, verses 9-10:

Be not deceived: neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers nor effeminate nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God.<sup>47</sup>

In Hitchcock's time, most ministers emphasized a Christian's personal relationship with God, repentance, faith by justification, and adherence to the ordinances of religion. Some avoided discussions of social ills entirely. Indeed, many leading American Christians of the early nineteenth century saw poverty, sickness, and degradation as all part of God's order. "You will always have the poor with you," (Matthew 26:11) was often quoted in support of this view.<sup>48</sup>

Most of Hitchcock's sermons emphasized personal salvation, but he also addressed the great social evils of his day. Although his sermons on these subjects were relatively few in number, several were among his most frequently delivered sermons. Furthermore, his message on such matters was clear and uncompromising.

In "Prosperity the Ruin of Mankind," delivered on at least ten occasions between 1824 and 1854, Hitchcock spoke forcefully about the mistreatment of the native peoples of North America:

Our prosperity has led us to trample on the rights of the Indian. Ninety nine hundredths of this country, originally all his, had been in one way or another wrested from him . . . the army of the United States were employed to force the red man from his native soil and drive him at the point of the bayonet into the wilds of the far west. There with a crushed and an agonized spirit, and hopeless of justice or mercy from man, has he been lifting up his cry to God while we have been gloating over his inheritance... (God) has never yet failed to punish national sins with national judgments.<sup>49</sup>

In a sermon first delivered in 1823 entitled "Wars," Hitchcock quoted the Epistle of James: "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" He went on to speak of the glorification of war:



There has been a false tinsel splendor thrown about war and its true character has been too long concealed under softening and sounding epithets. When its true character is known when its deceitful accompaniments shall be stripped away it will stand forth the king of monsters—the scourge of scourges—the abomination of desolations.<sup>50</sup>

In another sermon on war delivered at Amherst College in May, 1846, he proceeded to enumerate in typical Hitchcock fashion the toll of wars in ancient and modern times: five million casualties in northern Africa, fifteen million in the wars of Justinian, six million at the hand of Napoleon, twelve million American Indians at the hands of the Spanish, fifteen million in the Grecian wars, thirty million in the War of the Twelve Caesars, thirty million during the Reformation. “Indeed,” he concluded, “Edmund Burke estimates that about one quarter of the human race have perished by the sword that is 35,000,000,000 [deaths].”<sup>51</sup>

In that same sermon, Hitchcock spoke with particular emotion about the war between the United States and Mexico that had begun only a month earlier:

The circumstances under which I address you my hearers are indeed most disheartening and throw gloom and despondency over the prospect. While I yet speak the toxin of war is sounding all over our land and the requisition comes to our very doors for the young and the middle aged to arm themselves for foreign conquest whenever the constituted authority shall give the command.

We may detect a note of frustration when he added, “[W]hat can my feeble testimony avail at such a time and who will hear my voice in the uproar and fierce excitement of war?”

Hitchcock was a lifelong “teetotaler” (abstainer from alcohol) and the dangers of alcohol and its associated sins were frequent topics in his sermons:

The intemperate drunkard makes a god of the intoxicating cup and sacrifices to this without scruple his health, his reputation, the comfort of his friends, and finally his life. The debaucher pays his adorations and sacrifices, heart, health, and life to the vilest of idols . . . Approach . . . ye who are pursuing forbidden pleasures thou glutton thou drunkard thou adulterer thou bacchanalian—

approach and remember that death stands ready to cut you down also: and that hell is waiting to receive you except you abandon your polluted and debasing idols.<sup>52</sup>

Only once, after severe illness late in life, did he concede the need for certain forms of relief from life's exigencies:

It seemed as if the citadel of life must yield in the terrible onset. But then the physician quietly pointed out the enemy to those old veterans, General Hasheesh and General Chloroform, when a single fire from their batteries stilled the uproar and produced the silence of death, leaving room even for gentle sleep to steal in softly and lock up my wearied senses in refreshing repose.<sup>53</sup>

### HITCHCOCK'S ANTI-SLAVERY BELIEFS

Hitchcock grew up in Deerfield, Massachusetts, a town where slaves were common until the American Revolution; his mother was raised in a Deerfield household with at least two slaves.<sup>54</sup> Slavery was declared illegal in Massachusetts in 1783, and by the 1830s abolitionist sentiment was strong in New England. Nevertheless, slavery still had many defenders in New England during Hitchcock's lifetime. Some Christians based their pro-slavery views on their faith, citing examples of holy men in the Bible who owned slaves. Even such prominent New England clergymen as Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College; Moses Stuart, theologian at Andover Theological Seminary; and John Henry Hopkins, Episcopal bishop of Vermont; argued that the Bible condoned and even sanctioned slavery.<sup>55</sup>

Some opponents of slavery came to the same conclusion about the Bible—that it supported slavery—but then followed the approach of the famed abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, rejecting the Bible as the immutable word of God. This was a highly controversial position in those times, but it was not an uncommon one.<sup>56</sup>

Between these two extremes lay a third group, those who insisted on the truth of the scriptures, but argued that slavery in America was a far different matter from slavery as described in the Bible. Some drew a distinction between the literal interpretation of the Bible and the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, arguing that Biblical admonitions such as "Love thy neighbor and "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" must take precedence.

Hitchcock fell into this third group, although his particular argument against slavery may have been unique. In a sermon entitled "Religious

Condition of the United States,” first delivered in Greenfield in 1820, he cited an unexpected scriptural basis for his anti-slavery views:

[T]he eighth commandment, thou shalt not steal, cannot in conscience be passed over by any professed preacher of morality or religion while he knows himself to be a member of that nation which contains within its bosom more than a million of human beings that have been stolen and enslaved. This is a fact, my hearers, that ought to freeze the blood of this nation.<sup>57</sup>

He went on to argue that the existence of slavery in a nation ruled by a tyrant might be expected and the blame laid with that ruler, “[B]ut in a free country it is intolerable—it is an abomination of desolations standing where it ought not.” Who, he asked, is accountable for slavery in a democracy?

[A]s members of this nation can we say that we are free from the blood of these innocent men? Have we not in some way lent our assistance in the bloody work? Or have we done all in our power to prevent it? If we do not suffer for the sin in another world, there is every probability that God will visit His iniquity upon us in this life as a part of this nation and upon our children to the third and fourth generation. At least there is a cup of God’s indignation filled to the brim, that must be drunk to the dregs in time or eternity for this outrageous abomination.<sup>58</sup>

Hitchcock returned to the subject of slavery again and again from 1824 to 1859. In an 1854 revision of “Prosperity the Ruin of Mankind,” he made an impassioned case against the Nebraska and Kansas Bill then in Congress, legislation that would authorize the expansion of slavery to all new territories:

Suppose this Nebraska bill should pass and become a law, what exultation will there be among slaveholders and their coadjutors. But let it not be forgotten that sometimes the heaviest judgment God brings upon men is to allow their plans to succeed. Such I think will be the case should this plan succeed . . .<sup>59</sup>

That bill was passed in 1854 and signed into law by President Pierce. How prescient was Hitchcock’s chilling prediction later in the same sermon:

It may be, indeed, that retributive justice will not be satisfied till our union is severed, and all our high hopes of future glory of our indivisible nation on this continent are scattered to the winds.

One of Hitchcock's sermons, written while he was the president of Amherst College, survives as perhaps his most eloquent statement of God's love for the least of men, and an implicit condemnation of the institution of slavery. This was his most frequently delivered—and presumably most requested—sermon; it was published by the American Tract Society in 1848 under the title "Blind Slave in the Mines."<sup>60</sup> It recounts an event that occurred while Hitchcock was touring a coal mine in Virginia in 1847. Deep below the earth's surface in a dark passage, he heard a voice singing a familiar hymn. "I shall be in heaven in the morning," the voice sang out with deep emotion. Soon Hitchcock's party came upon the subterranean soloist, an old blind man, a slave, who had lost his sight in a mine accident many years previously. Deep in the bowels of the earth that man labored while he sang a hymn of faith and hope, each stanza ending with the line, "I shall be in heaven in the morning." Hitchcock was deeply moved:

Never before did I witness so grand an exhibition of moral sublimity. Oh how comparatively insignificant did earth's mightiest warriors and statesmen her princes and her emperors and even her philosophers without piety appear. How powerless would all their pomp and pageantry and wisdom be, to sustain them if called to change places with the poor slave! He had a principle within him superior to them all: and when the morning which he longs for shall come, how infinitely better than theirs will his lot appear to an admiring universe.<sup>61</sup>

This account reveals as clearly as any other Hitchcock's humanity; his deep and abiding Christian faith; and his conviction that God's humblest children will one day be exalted. In the words of Matthew (5:5), "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth."

Throughout his adult life, Hitchcock insisted that it was the Christian's duty to oppose and resist evil in all its forms, personal as well as social. In this respect he was not unique, but his adherence to those convictions over many decades and his uncompromising view that responsibility lay with every Christian set him apart from many preachers of his time. The era of the "social gospel" lay still a generation in the future, but Edward Hitchcock, like many preachers of his time, gave uncompromising voice to the belief in

the Christian's duty to his fellow man, whether a next-door neighbor or a countryman far away.<sup>62</sup>

## SCIENCE AND FAITH

Even in the early nineteenth century, new discoveries, particularly in the fields of geology and paleontology, were challenging traditional views of religion. That Earth was far older than suggested in Genesis was understood by most geologists of Hitchcock's time. That there had been many more disturbances in the planet's history than a single Great Flood was evident. And that life had not been created in an instant but had evolved over millennia, had been nearly extirpated more than once, and each time had recovered was also increasingly apparent. Some scientists were even suggesting that *Homo sapiens*, God's greatest creation in the minds of most believers, was little more than another branch on the tree of life, a descendant, however distant, of the lowest of God's creatures.

Many scientists and scholars of that period used such revelations to bolster and promulgate their own skepticism of religion. But Hitchcock took a very different path, arguing that science and religion need not be antagonistic. His lifelong quest was to demonstrate the ways in which science confirmed rather than contradicted the Bible. He directed these arguments primarily toward theologians and scientists, and seldom to his congregations.

Hitchcock did deliver a sermon entitled "Noachian Deluge" on at least three occasions in which he discussed at some length the story of Noah and the ark. He included dozens of accounts derived from other faiths and cultures of a great flood, suggesting that these should convince doubters of the truth of the Genesis account. He also made this interesting point about the Great Flood:

We have proof of it all around us in our everyday excursions. Whence came these numerous worn and rounded masses of stone which are scattered over the tops of our highest hills and mountains? Surely no river could have conveyed them thither. Nothing will account for their situation but an universal deluge. Let the unbeliever then remember that as he passes over our hills the very stones cry out against him.<sup>63</sup>

A much longer, more in-depth discussion of science and the Bible occurs in "Utility of Natural History."<sup>64</sup> Although it reads very much like a sermon, it was delivered to a group of scientists and physicians at the Lyceum of Natural

History in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in September, 1823. It was a tour de force, longer than two Sabbath sermons, the first coherent presentation of his views regarding science and religion. Hitchcock examined the Genesis account of creation in considerable detail, arguing that the Hebrew word “yom,” translated in the English of the King James Version as “day,” could be interpreted to mean almost any time interval. Thus the six “days” of creation could have been a period of hundreds, thousands, millions, even billions of days, allowing ample time for sediments to be laid down, mountains built up, organic remains converted to rock. Hitchcock had heard lengthy discussions of these explanations of creation and the flood from his mentors at Yale in 1819 and read about them in the works of eminent geologists such as James Hutton, Robert Hooke, and Abraham Gottlob Werner.<sup>65</sup>

That discourse clearly was well received; barely a month later, the Lyceum published it. At a subsequent meeting of the organization, Hitchcock was



### Moody “Footmark” Quarry in South Hadley

Pliny Moody discovered the first dinosaur tracks here in 1802. Lithograph published in *Edward Hitchcock’s Ichnology of New England: A Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, especially its Fossil Footmarks* (Boston: William White, 1858).



ected Vice President.<sup>66</sup> The published version of his discourse received praise in the *New York Statesman* and the influential *North American Review*.<sup>67</sup>

For Hitchcock, science and religion were not antagonistic. They were merely two ways of looking at God's creation. Throughout his life he asserted his belief that there was no conflict between one's faith in God and the pursuit of science; that men of faith could also be men of science; and that science would eventually confirm the truths of the Bible.

### **EDWARD HITCHCOCK: THE PREACHER AND THE MAN**

In all of Hitchcock's sermons, few instances may be found in which he interjected his own life experiences. Perhaps it was because of a sense of privacy, or that it was simply not customary in those times for a preacher to introduce personal anecdotes into his preaching. His congregation must have been stunned when, on a Sabbath in March, 1824, a sermon entitled "Sovereignty of God" took a very personal turn:

Thus far I had proceeded my hearers in the composition of this discourse when I was called away to witness in the prostrated agonies and final removal of an only child, a painful exhibition of the sovereign dominion of Jehovah.<sup>68</sup>

Barely two months short of his second birthday, little Edward Hitchcock had succumbed, as did so many young children in those times, probably to pneumonia, influenza, or consumption, in his mother's arms. Like all grieving parents, Edward and Orra Hitchcock were struck with a profound sense of loss combined with regret and guilt.

Imagine the effect on his parishioners, neighbors, friends, acquaintances, as he described the emotional impact on the grieving parents:

We do not ask you to pity us because we who but yesterday were parents are childless today—nor because we meet when we go to our desolate habitation instead of the cheering salutation of infant affection nothing but a thousand mementos all leading our thoughts to yonder graveyard . . . [We] ask only with sincere earnestness for your fervent and effectual prayers.<sup>69</sup>

He seemed then to be seeking some mitigation for their loss:

That children should be called out of the world before they are capable of knowing good and evil might in itself considered be regarded as a mere expression of mercy in God who thus saved them from the dangers of a wicked world and early transplanted them into his Paradise above.

But the painful reality intruded again:

[W]hen we see that death preceded by an agonizing struggle between disease and nature it casts a mystery over the subject and leaves the mind at once to resolve it all into the holy sovereignty of God. We see something of darkness in it—something that our actual researches cannot fathom . . . It forcibly impresses us with the sentiment that God has a right to do as he pleases with us without explaining to us the reasons of his conduct.

At that point a sentiment was revealed that Reverend Hitchcock would have his congregation believe shed some light into that darkness:

But if God does exercise his sovereignty in sending afflictions he does not therefore act without reason although that reason may be hid from us. In the removal of our child we believe he has an object perhaps many objects to accomplish. We have no doubt that one of these objects was the punishment of our sins: and if there is one feeling within us stronger than the rest it is a sense that we deserve that punishment: and it lends smarting poignancy to the wound to know that the arrow which has pierced us passed first through the heart of our child.

As deep as is a parent's pain at the loss of a child, the agony of Edward and Orra Hitchcock seems to have been magnified and aggravated immeasurably by their belief that their own sins—whatever they may have been—were somehow the reason for their young child's suffering and death.

### **HITCHCOCK ON HITCHCOCK: "LORD, IS IT I?"**

Despite Hitchcock's many achievements in science, in matters spiritual he would never have considered himself a theologian. He was a man of faith who took his own advice against caviling with the word of God, accepting uncritically the words of the Bible and the faith of his father and his mentors

at Yale. In his life as a preacher, he communicated that faith as simply and directly as he could to a large audience that included his parishioners in Conway, his students and colleagues at Amherst College, and thousands of church-goers in dozens of tiny churches throughout southern New England.

To his credit Hitchcock constantly applied the principles of his faith to his own life. In “Neglect of Precious Opportunities” Hitchcock warned his parishioners:

The friendship of the world . . . is enmity with God. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. Now the proof that unregenerate men do universally love the world is that they derive more pleasure from the pursuit of it than from the pursuit of religion. They engage in acquiring the riches honors and pleasures of the world much more eagerly and ardently than in seeking religion.<sup>70</sup>

That admonition, that very phrase—“the riches, honors, and pleasures of the world”—occurred in dozens of Hitchcock’s sermons. In time he came to realize that those very idols had tempted him strongly, and successfully, away from his flock, away from his religious vocation, to a very different career path. “I often greatly fear the love of reputation and honor is my besetting sin,” he wrote in 1839 and repeated often in his later years.<sup>71</sup>

On October 6, 1825, Hitchcock submitted his letter of resignation as pastor of the Conway Congregational Church.<sup>72</sup> His stated reason was “the feeble state of my health which has continued to decline for a number of years.” A resignation for any reason other than health, he believed, would have been a violation of his Christian duty. Furthermore, he had received an offer of a faculty position at Amherst College, a position he was convinced would prove more favorable to his health than the ministry. The pastor had been laying the foundation for this decision for some time. In his letter of resignation he stated that he had communicated his doubts about his health to church members “ever since I settled in the ministry in this place.” In a sermon entitled “Rights of God,” a single paragraph was inserted that seems intended to prepare his parishioners for what was to come:

God has a right also to do what he will with the pastors of his church to give or withhold them in any part of his vineyard and to continue or remove them as will best accomplish his purposes. And let it never be forgotten that whenever a faithful minister is given or taken away it is God who does it although he employs

the instrumentality of man. And let it not be forgotten that he intended the event whether pleasant or painful for the good of his church and the advancement of his glory.<sup>73</sup>

Whatever Hitchcock's true motive for separating from his Conway parish, he clearly harbored some guilt over this decision. When he returned to Conway in 1845 to speak at the ordination of a new minister in his former church, he waxed reflective about his departure two decades earlier:

And amid the many delightful recollections which the retrospect of my short ministry affords I can confess that a sense of unfaithfulness and deficiency in duty outweighs all other considerations and prevents my ever looking forward to the final reckoning but with solemn trembling. For how overwhelming the thought that I may meet some soul there who will charge his eternal ruin to my unfaithfulness.<sup>74</sup>

For all his confidence, self-pride, and ambition, Hitchcock was nevertheless willing to turn the arrows of scripture, of his own oratory, inward, as in "Characters Who Will Finally Perish":

And yet my hearers if it be true . . . that there are not merely ten or an hundred but several hundreds of us in this place whom the Prince of darkness has already selected for dwelling with the devouring fire and the everlasting burnings . . . Yet the day is coming when we shall hear the judge who makes the selection call them all by their names. And who is this that is called first? Ah, it is a neighbor. Who comes next? It is an intimate friend. Who next? A wife—Who next? a husband? Who next? a father! Who next a mother! Who next? a brother! Who next! a sister! Who next! a child! Who next! Lord, is it I?<sup>75</sup>

As a scientist, an educator, and a college president, Edward Hitchcock was a leader, an innovator, and a visionary. As a preacher, on the other hand, he was in many respects a follower. Theologically his sermons place him solidly in the mainstream of the orthodox Protestantism of Jonathan Edwards as well as of his closer contemporaries, Timothy Dwight and Eleazar Fitch. In language and in structure, his sermons are powerful and eloquent, expressing unswerving allegiance to that creed, but they couch his message in the terms his audience could best understand.

Like most ministers of the Gospel of his time, he emphasized repentance, personal salvation, and acceptance of Jesus Christ in most of his sermons. But he also recognized the difficulties presented by some elements of Calvinist doctrine and strove to reassure his parishioners that, if they searched the scriptures and their hearts, their questions and doubts would be resolved, if not in this world then in the next. And although his strong and uncompromising stands on the social issues of his day were not unique, they were by no means universal among American clergy, even in theologically liberal Massachusetts. Finally, his scientific credentials allowed him to appeal to a broad audience, including some skeptics and non-believers, and he went to his grave still confident that science and religious faith need not be antagonistic.

HJM

## Notes

1. For assistance in this project, I am indebted to the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, Amherst, MA; the Memorial Libraries of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association and Historic Deerfield, Deerfield, MA; and the Hampshire Room for Local History at Forbes Library, Northampton, MA. In particular I am grateful to Margaret Dakin and Mike Kelly of the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections for their assistance in locating the original manuscripts of Hitchcock's sermons and other writings. Finally, I thank my wife, Susan D. Milsom, for her careful editing, assistance, and support of this project.
2. Examples of recent scholarly articles on Hitchcock include Robert T. Bakker, "Dinosaurs Acting Like Birds," in Philip J. Currie, ed., *Feathered Dragons: Studies on the Transition from Dinosaurs to Birds* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004); Robert L. Herbert, "The Complete Correspondence of Edward Hitchcock and Benjamin Silliman, 1817-1863," *The American Journal of Science and the Rise of American Geology*, 2012," available online at <http://bit.ly/2m6vnxHitch> (accessed September 20, 2019); and Jordan D. Marché, "Edward Hitchcock, Roderick Murchison, and Rejection of the Alpine Glacial Theory (1840-1845)," *Earth Sciences History* 37, no. 2 (2018), 380-402.
3. Almost two centuries have passed since that June Sabbath when Edward Hitchcock delivered his first sermon as pastor of the Congregational Church in Conway, MA. Fortunately, many of his sermons have been preserved. Nearly 200 original, handwritten manuscripts reside in the Archives and Special Collections of Amherst College, Amherst, MA, with another thirty-nine in the collections of Historic Deerfield and the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, MA. A few others have been published in theological journals or as books or tracts. Scanned images of those held

in the Amherst College archives are accessible online at <https://acdc.amherst.edu>. I have transcribed over 200 of Hitchcock's sermons and plan to make the complete transcriptions available to the archives that hold the originals.

4. Sermon #52, "A Glance at the Future," 1821, Edward & Orra White Hitchcock Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College Library, Amherst, MA. EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 8. The abbreviation "EOH" refers to the Edward & Orra White Hitchcock Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College Library, Amherst, MA. Edward Hitchcock is the author of all sermons listed. Titles, when included, are from the original manuscripts. For untitled sermons the scripture reference is provided to facilitate searching the archive. The year listed for a sermon is the year the sermon was first preached according to the finding aids. Online access to images of most of Hitchcock's sermons is available at [acdc.amherst.edu](https://acdc.amherst.edu); finding aids are provided at [asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/amherst/ma27.html](https://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/amherst/ma27.html).

5. Most churches in New England were Congregationalist in Hitchcock's time, but the term referred not to theology but to governance. Congregational churches governed themselves; there was no church hierarchy. Theologically, most Congregationalists were Calvinist in the eighteenth century, although they more commonly referred to themselves as orthodox Christians. The term "orthodox" meaning "correct belief" was used to distinguish these churches from other denominations such as Baptist or Quaker that were considered incorrect. See Alec Ryrie, *Protestants: The Faith that Made the Modern World* (New York: Penguin, 2017).

6. Journal/Account Book of John Williams, *Historic Northampton*, Northampton, Massachusetts, entry for 4/11/1821.

7. Minutes of an Ecclesiastical Council meeting, June 20, 1821, EOH, Series 1, Sub-series B, Box 1, Folder 11.

8. Sermon #52, "A Glance at the Future," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 8.

9. Sermon #52 is about 3,600 words long and would have taken at least 30 minutes to deliver at a moderate pace. Many of Hitchcock's sermons ran well over 4,000 words.

10. Sermon #51, "Preaching the Gospel," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 7.

11. To date 247 Hitchcock sermons have been located by the author. That number includes 236 original, hand-written manuscripts, 197 in the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, thirty-nine in the collections of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association. Eleven sermons survive only as published versions. Hitchcock numbered most of his sermons on the cover page, probably in the order in which they were written; approximately forty original manuscripts have no number. Some of the sixty-six gaps in the sequence of numbered sermons may represent lost sermons, some revisions of earlier sermons, and some may have been originally assigned but later separated from their corresponding manuscripts.



12. Sermon #183, "Sinners Dreaming," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 1; Sermon #224, "Manner in Which God Hardens Sinners," 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 9; and Untitled Sermon [Philippians 1:21], 1847, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 7.
13. Passages of scripture were quoted in every sermon, always from the King James version of the Bible. In Sermon #161 ("Examination of the Scriptures," 1823 Apr, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7: folder 12) he specifically recommended the King James version above all others to his parishioners.
14. Sermon #152, "Idolatry," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 10.
15. Rev. Harris Ordination Sermon [Various ordinations and installations in Western Massachusetts], 1841, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series C, Box 9, Folder 12.
16. Sermon #254, "Exposition of Ephesians Ch. 5," 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 13.
17. Sermon #74, "No Hope But in Christ," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 11.
18. Sermon #94, "Why a Revival Ceases," 1822, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 1.
19. Sermon #95, "Works of God," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 2.
20. Untitled Sermon [John 2:47], 1846, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 7.
21. Sermon #179, "Meditation," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 14.
22. Douglas A. Sweeney, Nathaniel Taylor, *New Haven Theology, and the Legacy of Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 29-30.
23. Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 287.
24. *Ibid.*, 284.
25. Sweeney, 24.
26. Eleazar T. Fitch, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Sin* (New Haven, CT: A. H. Maltby, 1827), 77-78.
27. Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 44-48.
28. Sermon #243, "Comparison Between Knowledge Derived from the Scriptures and Human Literature and Science," 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 12.
29. Sermon #163, "God's Wisdom Different From Man's," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 12.
30. Sermon #213, "Omniscience of God," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 6.
31. Edward Hitchcock Ordination and Installation Sermon, 1843, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series C, Box 9, Folder 13.

32. Sermon #82, "Entire Moral Depravity," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 12.
33. Sermon #226, "Exposition of Romans Ch. 4," 1825, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 9.
34. Sermon #235, "Exposition of Ephesians Ch. 1," 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 10.
35. Sermon #63, "Repentance," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 9.
36. Sermon #52, "A Glance at the Future," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 8.
37. Sermon #238, "Exposition of Romans Ch. 2," 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 11.
38. Hitchcock, E. "Private Notes," 1828-1864, EOH, Series 7, Sub-series C, Box 19, Folders 2-5, entry for 2/8/1829.
39. Sermon #235, "Exposition of Ephesians Ch. 1," Apr. 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8: folder 10; Sermon #220, Inferences from Romans, Ch. 5, 1825 Jan, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, folder 8.
40. Sermon #523, "Exposition of Romans" Ch. 9, May 1825, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, folder 4.
41. Sermon #64, "Efficacy of Prayer," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 9.
42. Sermon #48, "Motives to Reconciliation With God," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 7.
43. Sermon #186, "Attendance Upon Public Worship," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 2.
44. Sermon #142, "Inconstancy in Religion," 1822, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 9.
45. Sermon #256, [I Corinthians 11:28], 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 14.
46. Sermon #39, "Christ the Searcher of Hearts," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 6.
47. Sermon #166, "Future Punishments," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 13.
48. Liz Theoharis, *Always with Us? What Jesus Really Said About the Poor* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2017).
49. Untitled Sermon [Deuteronomy 32:15], 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 2.
50. Sermon #172, "Wars," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 13.
51. Untitled Sermon [James 4:1-3], 1846, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 7.
52. Sermon #152, "Idolatry," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 10.
53. Untitled Sermon [Psalms 41:3], 1859, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 7.

54. Robert H. Romer, *Slavery in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts* (Florence, MA: Levellers Press, 2009).
55. John R. McKivigan, *The War Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), 30.
56. Noll, *America's God*, 386-396.
57. Sermon #15, "Religious Condition of the United States," 1820, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 3.
58. Ibid.
59. Untitled Sermon [Deuteronomy 32:15], 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 2.
60. Edward Hitchcock, "Blind Slave in the Mines," Tract Sermon #126 (Boston MA: American Tract Society, 1848).
61. Untitled Sermon [Philippians 1:21], 1847, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series B, Box 9, Folder 7.
62. Mark A. Noll, *The Work We Have To Do* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 87.
63. Sermon #128, "Noachian Deluge," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 7.
64. Sermon #182, "Utility of Natural History," 1823, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 1.
65. Edward Hitchcock, "Notice and Review of the 'Reliquiae Diluvianae' by William Buckland," *American Journal of Science* 8, no. 2 (1824), 150-168, 317-338.
66. "Intelligence and Miscellanies," *American Journal of Science*, Vol. 9, no. 1 (1825), 177.
67. Anonymous, "Natural History," *New York Statesman*, excerpted in the *Franklin Herald and Public Advertiser* 33, no. 669 (December 2, 1823), 1; Anonymous, "Utility of Natural History," *North American Review*, Vol. 18 (1824), 213-214.
68. Sermon #207, "Sovereignty of God," 1824, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 8, Folder 5.
69. Ibid.
70. Sermon #87, "Neglect of Precious Opportunities," 1822, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 13.
71. Hitchcock, E. "Private Notes," 1828-1864, EOH, Series 7, Sub-series C, Box 19, Folders 3-5; passage quoted is from entry dated 11/1839; see entries for 2/9/1834, 12/1843, 11/22/1846, 11/3/1855, and 12/4/1859 for similar sentiments.
72. Letter of resignation, 1825, EOH, Series 1: Sub-series B, Box 1, Folder 11.
73. Sermon #69, "Rights of God Part 1," 1821, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 6, Folder 10. [Note: Both Sermons #69 and #70 are listed under Sermon #70 in 1821, EOH.]
74. Ordination Sermon [Harris, Rev., Conway, Mass.], 1841, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series C, Box 9, Folder 12.
75. Sermon #92, "Characters Who Will Finally Perish," 1822, EOH, Series 3, Sub-series A, Box 7, Folder 1.



**Edward Hitchcock, c. 1863**

Source: Amherst College Archives & Special Collections.