Unbounded Christianity: Defining Religion for Oneself in Nineteenth-Century New England through Adin Ballou

Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Dr. phil.

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Neuphilologische Fakultät

Heidelberg Center for American Studies (HCA)

6 Juni 2016

Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Jan Stievermann

Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Manfred Berg

Eingereicht von

Bryce Taylor, M.A.

Plöck 50

69117 Heidelberg

06221-6377765

brycehaltaylor@gmail.com

Matrikelnr.: 3025839

To my wife, children, mother and father

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To those who have facilitated and accompanied me on this journey through nineteenth-century New England, I cannot thank you enough.

First and foremost, my unending gratitude goes to my dissertation supervisor, Prof. Dr. Jan Stievermann, for his support, patience, encouragement, and timely advice throughout each step of the research and writing process. This dissertation could not have been completed without his expertise and edits. I also would like to thank Prof. Dr. Manfred Berg for his willingness to take on my project despite his busy schedule. My deep appreciation also goes to Dr. Peter and Lynn Hughes. They were kind enough to let me spend a week at their apartment in Toronto scouring through their private Ballou archive. Peter, in particular, provided timely assistance throughout the past two years. Whenever I was unsure about a source or needed an article that I was unable to locate, he promptly provided the necessary documents. He also proofread, edited, and checked the historicity of my chapters. I will always be thankful for their kindness and support. Special thanks goes to Prof. John Turner of George Mason University who served as an outside reader and provided much needed advice and critiques. I also want to thank my brother, Dr. Michael Taylor, for his comments in regard to the overall structure, prose, and grammar of my project.

This study could not have been completed without the grants and fellowships from Brigham Young University's Religious Education Grant, the Congregational Library Fellowship, and funds from the Ghaemian Foundation at Heidelberg University. Much of my research is the result of a two-month sojourn in New England going through the archives of the Bancroft Memorial Library, Boston Public Library, Congregational Library, Boston Athenaeum, and Andover-Harvard Theological Library. The staffs as each library, especially those at the special collections departments at the Boston Public Library and the Andover-Harvard Library, helped me refine my searches and find my way through the labyrinth of archival material. Thank you also to my colleagues and friends at the Heidelberg Center for American Studies who provided friendship, good conversation, and insight.

Most of all, I need to acknowledge the unending support of my family. My wife, Elizabeth Taylor, has always encouraged and supported me during my academic journey and been the primary caregiver for our beloved children Smith and Baron. Her sacrifice of time, energy, and personal comforts to raise our children in a foreign country are unequivocal. This project would not have been possible without her love and support. She is my treasure. My parents, David and Tamera Taylor have always been my biggest supporters. Their love, prayers, and encouragement throughout my life and during the long years of my studies, evince the meaning of father and mother. I could not have accomplished this without their examples of dedication and love. Loving thanks go to my in-laws Joe and Elizabeth Smailes. They too have provided support and much needed encouragement during my studies. Special thanks to my seven siblings, Kristin, Kurt, Scott, Michael, Jeff, Jon, and Kaylee, who have been examples of perseverance, friendship, and love all of my life.

INTRODUCTION

During an interview with the famed Russian author Leo Tolstoy, Andrew Dickson White, (co-founder of Cornell University) asked Tolstoy "who, in the whole range of American literature, he thought the foremost." Tolstoy mentioned his affinity for Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John G. Whittier, Theodore Parker, and Felix Adler, but none of those authors received the Russian's highest recommendation. "Adin Ballou," replied Tolstoy. Astonished by his response, White remarked, "Indeed, did the eternal salvation of all our eighty millions depend upon some one of them guessing the person he named, we should all go to perdition together. That greatest of American writers was—Adin Ballou!"[1]

Who was Ballou and why did he merit such praise from Tolstoy? White's recollection of Ballou was as a "philanthropic . . . religious communist," and supposed that the Russian preferred Ballou above all others based on his "philanthropic writings."[2] White, a famed historian during the nineteenth century, knew of Ballou, but could not understand why he ought to have been remembered with such adulation and significance. Contemporary American religious historians seem to agree with White, and Ballou appears only sporadically in the historical record. Ballou, interestingly, does not appear in Richard Huhes's *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, and Robert Abzug's *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Tradition*, despite Ballou's prominence in the Restoration movement and his close ties with William Lloyd Garrison in the reform movements prior to the Civil War.[3] Studies on Spiritualism, anarchism, and pacifism only briefly explain his role in each of these movements. In the *Encyclopedia of American Religions,* Ballou's utopian community Hopedale is briefly explained, but the encyclopedia does not explain the creation of Ballou's version of Christianity entitled "Practical Christianity."[4] William O. Reichert, a professor of political theory at Bowling Green State University complained, "Few figures in the history of American radicalism have been more seriously neglected than Adin Ballou."[5] Tolstoy addressed this question of Ballou's vacancy in the study and legacy of nineteenth-century American Christianity, reform, and radicalism believing that the public in their complacency were so disturbed by Ballou's ideas that they built a "tacit but steadfast conspiracy of silence"[6] around them. More likely than a conspiracy surrounding Ballou's ideas and practices, is that he was one of many reformers, religious journeymen, preachers, and utopians during the first half of American history in the nineteenth century. However, after

---

[1] Andrew Dickson White, *The Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White Part II* (New York: The Century Company, 1904), 82-83.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Richard T. Huhes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of the Churches of Christ in America* (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University Press, 2008). Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[4] J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions* (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group Inc., 2003), 140.
[5] William O. Reichert, "The Philosophical Anarchism of Adin Ballou," *Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 4* (August, 1964): 357.
[6] Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You.* Translated by Constance Garnett. (New York: Watchmaker Publishing, 1951), 17.

assembling numerous tracts, letters, newspaper articles, sermons, and books penned by Ballou in the archives of the Boston Public Library, and others, I too asked the question of why Ballou's story has not been comprehensively explored. Through my research, I found Ballou's window into the chaotic New England Christian landscape expansive and fascinating, and due to his vacancy in the historical record, I found it imperative that his story merited a lengthy analysis.

A common approach among scholars on how to understand nineteenth-century American religious history is to thoroughly examine the multitude of denominations that covered the American landscape as separate entities. This method of historical inquiry searches out the various branches of the Protestant family tree in the United States and tirelessly explains the doctrines, founders, theologians, and prophets that created each denomination. Such histories label individuals and groups as Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Universalist, Unitarian, and Mormon to name a few. Denominational history as a method is important in that it gives the inquirer separate denominational boxes to understand the complexity of nineteenth-century American religious history. Much insight into the examination of New England Christianity in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century has been documented by a number of denominational histories. Russell E. Miller's *The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America*, Ernest Cassara's *Universalism in America: A Documentary History of a Liberal Faith*, and Ann Bressler's *The Universalist Movement in America, 1770-1880*, are three of many denominational histories that explain the Universalist movement in New England.[7] The Unitarian movement is explained in depth by a number of authors including, George Willis Cooke's *Unitarianism in America* and *Unitarianism in America: A History of its Origin and Development*, David P. Parke's *The Epic of Unitarianism: Original Writings from the History of Liberal Religion*, and Minot J. Savage's *Our Unitarian Gospel*, provide inquirers a foundation with which to understand the history of the Unitarian denomination in the United States.[8] Spiritualism, which became a popular movement during the first and second thirds of the nineteenth century, is exhaustively studied in Robert S. Cox's *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism*, Arthur Conan Doyle's *The History of Spiritualism*, and John Arthur Hill's *Spiritualism, Its History Phenomena and Doctrine*.[9] Methodism has an almost endless library of denominational histories including, Richard P. Heityenrater's *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, David

---

[7] See also, David E. Bumbaugh, *Unitarian Universalism: A Narrative History* (Chicago, IL: Meadville Lombard Press, 2000). George Williams, *American Universalism: A Bicentennial Historical Essay* (Boston, MA: Skinner house Books, 2002). John Buehrens and Forrest Church, *A Chosen Faith: An Introduction to Unitarian Universalism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1998). Forrest Church, *The Cathedral of the World: A Universalist Theology* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2009). David Robinson, *The Unitarians and the Universalists* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

[8] See also, Anatole Browde, *Faith Under Siege: A History of Unitarian Theology* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2009). Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage: An Introduction to the History of the Unitarian Movement* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1925). George Ellis, *A Half-century of the Unitarian Controversy* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1857).

[9] See also, John Roth and James Stayer, *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2006). Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenty-Century America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001). Barbara Weisberg, *Talking to the Dead: Kate and Maggie Fox and the Rise of Spiritualism* (San Francisco, CA: HarperOne, 2005).

Hempton's *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, and H.B. Workman's *Methodism*.[10] Other denominational histories including, Paul K. Conkin's *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity*, and Stephen A. Marini's *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* seek after smaller denominations that did not dominate the American landscape in the nineteenth century but played a significant role in shaping the religious culture of the United States. Each study listed presents to the student an important overview of Christian groups, however, one is left with an understanding of nineteenth-century Christianity as primarily denominational in nature.

This dissertation turns specifically to the recovered writings of Reverend Adin Ballou, to better envision and interpret the religiously tumultuous antebellum era in the United States. Using Ballou as a lens, I argue that for both the pastor and practitioner, one's understanding of religion and practice became fluid despite denominational identification. Ballou is a microcosm of multiple larger themes surrounding early American religion, namely, the democratization of American Christianity, the role of experience and common sense coupled with the Bible to determine personal and divine authority, seekerism, millennialism, and American religion's role in the reform movements. Through Ballou, one better understands how New Englanders understood religious authority, personal and communal sanctification, perceived doctrine, millennialism, and building the Kingdom of God on the earth. I argue, that instead of viewing antebellum New England Christians within denominational definitions, one ought to consider them as part of a dismembered denominational tree that continually grew new branches. Through his associations with the Christian Connexion, Universalists, Restorationists, Spiritualists, Unitarians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and the reformers, Ballou's Christianity developed into his own he entitled, "Practical Christianity." The Boston Herald's epitaph on Ballou captures the overall zeitgeist during the antebellum era, Ballou's importance, and in part the goals of this dissertation:

> This was a great seething time in New England [1820-50]. It was first the breaking away of Unitarians and Universalists from the Orthodox Church; then it was a stirring up of the community by various reform movements directed against slavery, intemperance, and other evils. Mr. Ballou was a leader in this work from the first . . . and though he exercised his gifts without the aid of a distinguished position, he was early known as one of the strongest agitators in a community that was as full of reform ideas as an egg is full of meat . . . .The intensity and diversity of the intellectual and moral movement which was making itself felt in new England, and particularly in Massachusetts, about the year 1840, can hardly be understood by the present generation . . . . Everything was in the air. All the odd and strange notions which human beings could be supposed to entertain found constant expression amid the great reform movements which the leaders were pushing forward.[11]

Ballou's experience captures the triumphs, frustrations, and struggles to find religious truths amidst the chaos of a public defining religion for themselves. From 1803-90, Ballou's religious journey

---

[10] See also, Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt, *American Methodism: A Compact History* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2012). Moses Lewis Scudder, *American Methodism* (Hartford, CT: S.S. Scranton & Co., 1867). Dee E. Andrews, *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760-1800 The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[11] Boston Herald "Tributes," in *Memorial of Adin* Ballou, (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1890), 76-77.

exemplifies that in the end, the truths Ballou found were self-interpreted, self-authorized, and self-experienced—his own.

METHODOLOGY & OUTLINE

In terms of methodology, using Ballou's lens to explain the larger themes of the democratization of American Christianity, the role of experience and common sense coupled with the Bible to determine personal and divine authority, seekerism, denominationalism, millennialism, and reform in the first half of the nineteenth century is an effective and important strategy for enlightenment. This dissertation seeks in part to alleviate American religious historians' Nathan Hatch and Robert H. Wiebe who believe there is a lack of studies that address the tumultuous American Christian world in the first half of the nineteenth century.[12] Ballou will neither "push nor pull" historians through this period but allow one "to walk at a human pace, experiencing a full complement of apathy, insight, and uncertainty as they go,"[13] during the "the time of greatest religious chaos and originality in American history."[14] *Sarah Osborn's World, Emerson: Mind on Fire, Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet,* are examples of this difficult endeavor to use one person to highlight the larger historical developments surrounding them while simultaneously telling their story. Each book has been a guide on how this can be accomplished.

My dissertation uses previously unused archival materials for its foundation. I have gathered Ballou's and others' letters, tracts, books, and personal correspondences from the archives of the Boston Public Library, Boston Anthenaeum, Andover-Harvard theological Library, Congregational Library, and Hopedale's Bancroft Memorial Library in order to better understand Ballou's story. I am relying completely on his works and have dutifully sought to fill in the gaps when possible with outside sources, but in some cases that proved to be unattainable. This means, that at times, Ballou's arguments and narratives are naturally bias and free from ridicule because no other authors or sources refute or accept his conclusions. When doubtful that Ballou is representing himself or others objectively, I will try to critically engage the subject with a more objective reflection, especially when Ballou is writing in hindsight from his *Autobiography*.

Chapter one uses Ballou to explain the democratization of religious authority in the first half of the nineteenth century and the beginnings of his spiritual journey. Hints of a lay takeover from clerical control were brooding in New England after 1776. A number of religious movements led by prophets such as Ann Lee, Caleb Rich, and Benjamin Randel, appeared in the coastal regions of New England and challenged the fundamental beliefs of Calvinism. Revivals again appeared in New England during the Second Great Awakening from 1790-40, and unlike the revivals during the First

---

[12] Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1989), 221.
[13] Robert H. Wiebe, *Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) xii.
[14] Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* vol. 61 (1980): 362.

Great Awakening in the 1730s and 1740s where revivalized Christians recommitted to their Calvinist traditions, the New Republic began interpreting and experiencing religion for themselves creating the general shift from clerical control to forms of Christianity created by the people and for the people.[15] The young Ballou is caught up in the religious fervor, has a vision, and is baptized in the Christian Connexion. Further visionary experiences and a conversation with the famed lay preacher Lorenzo Dow, convince Ballou to become a minister based on the authority he receives from a celestial visitant. When Ballou received his call to preach, there was no question in his mind whether he needed clerical training or any form of education to begin his ministry. Ballou, similar to Charles Grandison Finney, and Joseph Smith, immediately began preaching always believing their authority came from God rather than clerical training.

In 1803, Ballou was born and the egalitarian impulses of the public rallied around preachers and politicians who challenged every kind of spiritual and political authority. The cultural climate of the beginning of the nineteenth century opposed obeisance based on hierarchical ranks, education, economics, or blood, and elites struggled to maintain their authority over the United States' heterogeneous polity. In this climate, the people naturally began questioning the assumed authority of the clergy to interpret the Bible and act in God's name.[16] Ballou did not need a certificate or sacrament to become a preacher. All that was required was the divine call. However, to retain one's authority or convince others to join one's parish, one needed to appeal to arguably the three most important methods on determining biblical and doctrinal truths, namely, common sense reasoning, personal experience, and biblical precedent. Although Ballou believed the version of Christianity that he adopted at the beginning of his ministry was set on a sure foundation, once preachers through the oral and written word appealed to the three tensions listed above, Ballou's own understanding of religion became uncomfortably fluid, despite denominational identification.

Chapter two explains the role of freeing the press in creating a spiritually heterogeneous environment among denominations. Denominations experienced constant schisms as clergymen, itinerants, and practitioners identified religion for themselves and then published their musings. This led to thousands of tracts, periodicals, magazines, and newspapers that attempted to persuade the public to convert to the ideas and practices printed therein. The character of the newspapers drastically changed during the first half of the nineteenth century to a form of spiritual warfare. Sarcasm and polemics constantly appeared in the text as preachers fought to maintain their own authority and that of their specific beliefs. The pulpit and the press were required to expand one's influence on a public consuming the written word. Ballou devours the texts printed and converts to Universalism largely based on the writings of noted Universalists such as Elhanan Winchester. His

---

[15] Scott Bryant, *The Awakening of the Freewill Baptists: Benjamin Randall and the Founding of an American Religious Tradition* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011), 149-150.
[16] Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 483-99.

once fixed "annihilationist" belief that repudiated the "blasphemous" Universalist interpretations of scripture changed into admiration and unflinching devotion to Universalist belief. Ballou quickly is installed as a Universalist minister after his conversion.

However, the Universalists in New England were amidst a doctrinal controversy threatening to dismantle the denomination. Ballou becomes a large player during the second wave of the Universalist controversy and splits from the larger Universalist denomination in New England. He, along with other Universalist ministers, form the Massachusetts Association of Universal Resorationists (MAUR). Ballou becomes the editor of its newspaper the *Independent Messenger* and publishes numerous articles combating other versions of Christianity. During this period, 1831-37, Ballou attempts to actualize a restoration of the supposed church created by Jesus Christ during his ministry. Although MAUR purported to allow differences of opinion and practice among its heterogeneous community, contrary beliefs in doctrine and practice emerged and Ballou convinces the majority of MAUR's ministers and some congregants to adopt and create a utopian community based on his own version of Christianity entitled, "Practical Christianity." With the opening of the press to the masses and with the public reading religious texts for themselves, Ballou's story helps explain the difficulty with remaining unified in belief and practice within a denomination.

Chapter three shifts to Ballou's involvement with the reform movements. The antebellum era in New England was arguably the most radical in its existence. Preachers and the public formed associations that attempted to create a more just, more temperate, and freer society. The United States was failing to become the "New Jerusalem" and numerous preachers attempted to redeem the United States from the personal and collective sins of the nation. Temperance, Women's Rights, Anti-Slavery, Labor, Prison, Capital Punishment, and Non-Resistance societies appeared in the New England landscape. Ballou becomes immersed in each, but spends most of his efforts in the Anti-Slavery and Temperance movements. He becomes a major contributor in the Abolitionist movement and sheds light on the personal struggle of becoming a "radical" and the larger struggle of persuading the broader society to adopt the practices of abolitionists and "cold-water" men and women.

Ballou's involvement in the Abolitionist movement and Temperance did not begin immediately. Again, the written and the spoken word by preachers convince Ballou to expand his understanding of Christianity. Once committed, Ballou becomes unflinching in defending temperance and abolitionist beliefs. However, by 1860, Ballou relaxes his efforts and becomes inactive in abolitionist circles due to the acceptance of force to free the slave by leading abolitionists including William Lloyd Garrison. The failure of Ballou to separate the Anti-Slavery movement from his Practical Christian beliefs, led to his inactivity. Unable to support the North, Ballou continues his efforts in his utopian community to exemplify to the world a society who in belief and practice represent the highest ideals of the reformers.

Chapter four turns to Ballou's utopia. From the first Puritan settlements in 1620 to the nineteenth century, the New World provided settlers with the opportunity to create social orders.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States experienced an unprecedented explosion of groups and individuals who formed societies based on their individual and collective beliefs. From John Humphrey Noyes' free lovers in the Oneida Community, to George and Sophia Ripley's Transcendentalists in the Brook Farm, New Englanders from both religious and secular persuasions attempted to usher in a new age of human civilization. George Rapp, Robert Owen, William Morris, Charles Sears, Amos Alcott, and Joseph Smith were charismatic leaders with high religious and secular ideals who created groups based on their diverse beliefs. Ballou's Hopedale community was one of many groups who attempted to show the broader public that personal and communal salvation could be actualized.

Ballou's undertaking began in 1841 and remained intact until the eve of the Civil War in 1861. This chapter will examine Ballou's effort to create not only the "Church of Christ" but the "Practical Christian Republic." Throughout the nearly twenty years of Hopedale's existence, Ballou proved tireless and unflinching to create a community that embodied the ideals of his version of Christianity. Ballou's group lived near Boston and remained "in the world" in order to be active in the reform movements, and show to the broader public the practicality and necessity of creating a Practical Christian Republic and allow preachers, philosophers, and reformers a platform where their ideas would be debated and explored. Frederick Douglass and Robert Owen were two of many speakers who spoke to Ballou's community. Although Ballou proved sympathetic to the many ideas presented in Hopedale, he did not accept anything that did not conform to his understanding of Christianity. However, when Spiritualism appeared in Hopedale, Ballou became one of its most vocal proponents. Spiritualism led to Ballou's expanding understanding of the celestial world and provided revelatory confirmation of Ballou's undertaking in Hopedale. Hopedale, from its inception to its conclusion, highlights the personal and communal struggle to expand Christianity and to live by its tenets.

Finally, the last chapter explores Ballou's understanding of non-resistance. Christ's call for peace and non-violence in the New Testament were discussed among numerous reformers in nineteenth-century New England. From absolute pacifism to an acceptance of self-defense, peace societies embodied a variety of solutions to persuade legislators, individuals, and the public, to renounce war and proclaim peace. However, William Lloyd Garrison's group of pacifists brought a radical brand of non-violence into the larger peace movements, namely, non-resistance. Garrisonians' condemned all war and believed capital punishment, prisons, lawsuits, and allegiance to the United States were contrary to the teachings of Christ in the New Testament.[17] By 1837, Ballou converted to Garrison's brand of non-resistance, and with him and other reformers, such as Abby Kelley, formed the New England Non-Resistance Society, pledging their allegiance to non-resistance and disassociating with any group or government that did not abide by non-resistance principles.

---

[17] Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 117-18.

Ballou becomes a non-resistant disciple and spreads the message throughout New England. When Hopedale was formed, any individual desiring entrance into Ballou's utopia required a commitment to live by non-resistance principles. In his attempt to commonsensically, biblically, and experientially justify non-resistance, Ballou publishes numerous articles, gives countless sermons, and writes books on non-resistance and becomes arguably its most vociferous advocate. The events leading up to the Civil War, brought with it a schism among non-resistants in regard to liberating the slaves. Was it time to rethink or reinterpret Christ's admonitions in regard to freeing the slaves? Ballou, unlike previous developments in doctrine and practice, remains committed to non-resistance even if that meant not supporting war as a means for emancipation. Garrison, who converted Ballou to non-resistance, slowly became persuaded that in the case of slavery, war likely was justified. This frustrated Ballou, and he was unable to remain active in any society, including Anti-Slavery, that justified using injurious force to justify righteous means. This became Ballou's lasting legacy. At the end of his life, Leo Tolstoy reads Ballou's writings and engages in a letter correspondence in 1890. Although Ballou is enthused by the exchange of letters with the famed Russian, Ballou is frustrated by Tolstoy's version of pacifism. From Ballou's initiation into non-resistance in 1837 until his death in 1890, Ballou could not be persuaded to adopt or adapt his non-resistance principles in any situation.

Ballou's religious journey represents the larger experience of numerous Americans who defined religion for themselves. Was he a Baptist, a Universalist, a Restorationist, a Unitarian, or even a Christian? Through Ballou one sees the personal and communal struggle, triumphs, and convictions of nineteenth-century New Englanders whose minds became democratized. By thinking for themselves, interpreting the Bible for themselves, and experiencing God for themselves, countless Americans recommitted and redefined Christianity. The Christianity that sprouted out of the religiously fertile New England soil was one seemingly without bounds. It led to the creation of sects, denominations, and reform movements that attempted to redefine virtually every aspect of individual, governmental, and social behavior and practice. At no other time in the history of the United States was the populace as consumed by this religious fire. Ballou's story exemplifies that the nineteenth century created numerous Christian denominations, sects, and communities that redefined society, but perhaps more importantly produced individuals whose religion could not be defined by denominational distinction and truly became their own.

CHAPTER 1: FINDING PURPOSE, FINDING AUTHORITY

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the complex religious journey of Adin Ballou, it is vital to understand his genealogy and upbringing. First, I will investigate the source of his religious roots. What do we find in the Ballou genealogical record that foreshadows Ballou's pattern of religious experimentation and radicalism? To unlock the roots of his later religious quest, it is vital to paint a picture of the circumstances of his upbringing. Who influenced him the most? How do his early years provide a window into New England rural religious and cultural life? What early experiences led to the commencement of Ballou's religious journey? Second, I will explore the forces which impelled him to become a preacher. In doing so, I will highlight the three main challenges at work that determined religious authority in the early nineteenth century—personal experience, biblical precedent, and common sense reasoning—which he, and other early nineteenth-century preachers needed in order to maintain their own standing and influence as a preacher. Ballou's story evinces that he needed, from the beginning of his ministry, to respond to all three challenges in order to legitimize himself as a preacher and to establish the truthfulness of his and other itinerant preachers' claims. Accordingly, one begins to understand how, despite denominational identifications, one's understanding of religion became fluid and open to change and innovation in the chaotic Christian world of early nineteenth-century New England.

Ballou's story explains the crisis of religious authority at play in the early American Republic. The democratic and populist impulses associated ordinary people with virtue and exalted them above the clerical elites. The spiritual experiences of commoners were taken at face value instead of being subjected to the interpretations of the respected clergy. Ballou's experiences and subsequent calls from the celestial realm to become a preacher help explain and reinforce Nathan Hatch's arguments made in *The Democratization of American Christianity*, that the public readily accepted dreams and visions as inspired by God thereby leading populist leaders to "reconstruct the foundations of religious authority."[18] When Ballou becomes a preacher, his family and neighborhood accept him not because of his education or righteous living, but because they readily assume that Ballou was called by God based on his conversion. Ballou, and the surrounding culture in New England, were skeptical of the previous religious authority models, and Ballou was one of numerous preachers who accepted the supernal call to preach and enjoyed the encouragement from the broader public.

Once called, Ballou begins his ministry by buttressing his experiential authority with the use of the Bible and common sense. It was not enough to maintain one's authority and sustainably as a preacher by simply referring back to one's heavenly call. Although religious doubt was common in the 1790s, evangelicals, as Amanda Portfield argues in her study *Conceived in Doubt*, managed and

[18] Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 10-11.

manipulated doubt and caricatured biblical skeptics with immorality and social distress therefore leading to an increase in biblical authority as the foundation of the new American national identity.[19] Ballou demonstrates this by simply not attacking or feeling a need to combat biblical critics. For Ballou, and other preachers such as Alexander Campbell, referencing the Bible as the ultimate authority in matters of doctrine and practice was second nature during their ministries in the nineteenth century. However, the Bible itself was full of contradictions and needed interpretation. Lorenzo Dow, the famous Methodist preacher in the early 1800s, explained that the Bible "was like a sealed book, so mysterious I could not understand it . . . . I frequently wished I had lived in the days of the prophets or apostles, that I could have had sure guides."[20] Instead of seeking biblical interpretations from learned clergymen of the past, Ballou, along with the majority of preachers in antebellum America, used their own common sense to authorize their biblical claims. Insurgents, like Ballou, naturally viewed their assertions as more reliable in theology than the educated few. The more commonsensically convincing one was with biblical interpretation, the more one's influence and authority grew. However, with numerous preachers applying these principles to the Bible in New England, a cadre of denominations and interpretations of the Bible appeared. Ballou evinces that once one engaged in this warfare of commonsensically and biblically justified doctrines, one's own assumed truth was subject to ridicule and argument. This led in part to a belief that was uncomfortably and at times unknowingly in flux.

PROVIDENCE

On October 6, 1635, Roger Williams was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In Salem, Massachusetts, Williams, a puritan minister, was largely beloved by his congregants, but some of his radical ideas, such as the separation of church and state, were so outlandish that church authorities feared his teachings would infect the minds of the colony. The leaders of the colony granted Williams one mercy due to his illness; his flight out of Massachusetts could be postponed until the following spring. Williams decided to head south and establish what came to be known as Providence, Rhode Island.[21]

Ten years after the founding of Providence, Maturin Ballou, Adin Ballou's great, great, great, grandfather became a co-proprietor with Williams. His community was established upon a share-holding process. The first settlers bought shares that entitled them to one hundred acres of land and a house lot. When Maturin settled in Providence, he could not afford the price of the share and was granted habitation as a partial citizen without voting rights. Within a few months, Maturin, and thirty-

---

[19] Amanda Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in The New American Nation* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 172-73.
[20] Lorenzo Dow, *History of Cosmopolite; or the Four Volumes of Lorenzo's Journal, Concentrated in One: Containing his Experience & Travels, From Childhood to 1814, Being Upwards of Thirty-Six Years* (New York: John C. Totten, No. 9 Bowery-Lane, 1814), 12.
[21] John M. Barry, *Roger Williams and The Creation of the American* Soul (New York: Penguin Group, 2012), 3-4.

five others, were allowed to buy land in quarter shares and eventually obtained their voting rights in 1658.[22] Maturin planted his roots roughly fourteen miles north of Providence in Cumberland, Rhode Island, and purchased a tract of land and established a farm. His religious affiliation remains unknown, but the Ballou genealogy reports he was a "radical Non-Conformist of some kind – most likely an Independent; otherwise he would never have joined Roger Williams in the Providence Plantations."[23] Maturin had three sons who inherited the land and created the "Ballou neighborhood."[24] One structure erected on the property was the "Ballou Meeting House," where generations of Ballous and other local farmers worshipped as a small sect known as the Six-Principle Baptists, which were a fairly important sect during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in rural Rhode Island.[25] Unknowingly, Maturin's third generation would produce another non-conformist born on the same soil but in a completely different Christian world.

Adin Ballou was born on April 23, 1803, to Ariel and Edilda Ballou in Cumberland, Rhode Island, on the Ballou farm. Ballou was the seventh of eight children. Ariel's first wife, Lucina Comstock passed away leaving him with six children. Shortly thereafter he met and married Edilda Tower with whom he had two children, Adin and Ariel Jr. The birth of Ballou was particularly difficult for Edilda. She later informed him, that he was "a lean, feeble, unpromising babe" and for several weeks believed he would die. For six months, Edilda struggled with "motherly mortification" based on his outwardly appearance, and it took some time for her to appear in public with her new child. Eventually, Ballou grew into a handsome young baby and Edilda "was proud to turn [him] out in company by the side of anybody's baby, and often got complimented for [his] comeliness." However, his early childhood was fraught with illness, and Ballou's life was in danger on a number of occasions.[26]

Being one of the youngest had its drawbacks as Ballou was constantly pestered by his older siblings. He recalls his brothers and sisters were "roguish" at times and performed various "pranks" on him. On one occasion, he was held under a bush covered with rose-bugs while it was violently shaken. The bugs covered young Ballou's body, and he ran and screamed for his mother while the older siblings "shouted with merriment." He fretted and cried often, and Edilda carried him around the house while she did her chores to quiet the child in fear his misbehavior might cause Ariel, Ballou's father, to discipline the young child.[27]

---

[22] Ibid, 269-71.
[23] Adin Ballou, *An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America; Carefully Compiled and Edited by Adin Ballou; with Numerous Artistic* Illustrations (Providence, RI: E.L. Freeman & Son, State Printers, 1888), vii.
[24] Adin Ballou, *Autobiography of Adin Ballou* (Lowell, MA: The Vox Populi Press. Thompson & Hill, 1896), 4.
[25] Richard Knight, *History of the General or Six Principle Baptists, In Europe and America: in Two Parts* (Providence, RI: Smith and Parmenter, Printers, 1827), 39. The Ballou Meeting House was burned to the ground by unknown vandals in September, 1962, destroying the first Baptist Church built in Cumberland Rhode Island. See "Fire Ruins Historic Cumberland Building, Barn in Woonsocket" Providence Journal, October 2, 1962.
[26] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 7-8.
[27] Ibid, 8

Ariel was a hardworking man who was known to suppress bad behavior with "a little wholesome severity." The Ballou home was a place of industry, and Ariel was its taskmaster. "Work was the fundamental law in my father's household," recalled Ballou. There was virtually no time for play, and Ariel allowed "but a small modicum of amusement . . . confined to homely and simple" entertainments, such as wrestling, hunting, fishing, playing ball, quilting, and attending neighborhood parties. Strictly forbidden in the Ballou house was playing cards. Ariel related to his children how he was "once bewitched with that sort of pastime, and, seeing its evils, forswore it forever." If cards were found, they were immediately confiscated and thrown into the fire. Dancing was also prohibited, and Ballou later recalled that he danced infrequently during his youthful days, most likely outside of the family home.[28]

This reaction to the evils of card playing and dancing may have been based on Ariel or Edilda's religious belief, but both were only "partially religious," preferring work over worship. Their passive belief relates to larger occurrences after the First Great Awakening. The First Great Awakening that swept through Protestant Europe and New England from roughly the 1730s-1740s, was a monumental event in New England. Revivals emerged in many parts of the colonies and appeared in Boston and Rhode Island. Participants recommitted themselves to Christ. As the Revolution approached, however, and prior to the Second Great Awakening from roughly 1790-1820, there was an "evangelical decline," and it seems Ariel and Edilda were not overly zealous in bringing their children up in a Christian home.[29] Their lack of fervor may also be attributed to the larger trend of believers in New England who attended church services but adopted common sense principles in their daily affairs.[30] Ariel and Edilda were more likely influenced by the anti-card playing and dancing rhetoric from the pulpit and their parents' upbringing. Preachers in New England, from its inception to the beginning of the nineteenth century, warned the public of the evils of card playing and dancing. In seventeenth-century America, Cotton Mather, aligned dancing with devil worship and wrote in capital letters, "A CHRISTIAN OUGHT NOT TO BE AT A BALL."[31] Virtually every evangelist in New England, and the preachers that frequented the Ballou Meeting House, likely disseminated anti-card playing and dancing rhetoric. If Ballou desired to participate in any of these pastimes, he had to do it outside of his home where work was the only form of entertainment permitted.

It is unclear if Ballou was particularly close with any of his siblings. Naturally, growing up on a farm with a large family fosters strong familial ties, but it seems Ballou preferred the company and acceptance of adults. Ariel owned over two hundred acres of farmland, a saw-mill, wood-lots, a cider-

---

[28] Ibid, 7, 13.
[29] See Mark Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 161-163; and Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*: *Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 223-24.
[30] Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt,* 31-32.
[31] Cotton Mather, *A Cloud of Witnesses; Darting out Light upon a Case, too Unseasonably made Seasonable to be Discoursed on* (Boston: *circa,* 1700), 1. Congregational Library (Boston, Mass.).

mill, and a large stock of cattle. This not only provided his family with enough work to keep them occupied, but the farm and mills also employed a small group of men and women. Ballou frequented his father's mills and made himself "agreeable, and sometimes serviceable" to Ariel's employees which included Native Americans. Reuben Purchase, a "sturdy, glossy-haired Indian" took a particular liking to Ballou and carried him on his shoulders into the fields and woods and made him his "big pappoose." Purchase constantly brought gifts to Ballou and called him "his boy." In Ballou's writings, primarily his *Autobiography*, he indicates reverencing his mother, preachers, and some school teachers, but vacant are positive experiences with his siblings. In hindsight he recalls being the brunt of many jokes, in part because of being the seventh of eight children and one of the two children from Ariel's second wife.[32]

Prior to being of use on the farm, Ballou attended a number of schools and became infatuated with learning. He enjoyed going to school and "was easy to learn, had a good memory and an ambition to excel." As soon as he was able to read, he began to "love books" and enjoyed perusing their pages. At play, Ballou's schoolmates outclassed him. "I was no match for many at wrestling, running . . . or any of the athletic exercises." Ice-skating was a common amusement for the school children during the winter months, and Ballou's only attempt to skate like the other children turned into misery after falling backwards on his head. This made him "see stars" and he renounced ice-skating forever. Unable to compete with his schoolmates in athletics, Ballou turned to his studies and proclaimed "in all matters where head work and tongue work came into requisition, I feared none of my associates." His quick wit made him unpopular among some of the older students and on a few occasions when Ballou "silenced" them in speech, they silenced him with "brute force." Ballou enjoyed attending school, but he was taunted by some of his classmates and pejoratively labelled a "high priest."[33]

Without many friends, he turned to his teachers for support. One in particular, Christopher Olney from Brown University, became fond of young Ballou and drilled him constantly after school hours. Their friendship shifted momentarily when Ballou during a rehearsal of the school play froze onstage and could not speak. After several prompts and a scolding by Olney, Ballou's tongue and body were unable to move. Olney proceeded to do a "mock shaving after the fashion of a barber, with a wooden razor" on his immobilized pupil causing the entire school to roar with laughter. The ignominious punishment produced a "rudimental oratory" from eight-year-old Ballou, and he was humiliated. Olney, undoubtedly feeling shame for the episode, quickly apologized to Ballou and "almost begged" his pardon. Young Ballou quickly forgave Olney and they continued their "amiable" relationship. By his ninth year, Ballou was withdrawn from summer school and eventually winter school now being of age to provide assistance on the farm. His schooling sparked a lifetime of study

[32] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 10. The term "papoose" originates from the Algonquian Native American languages meaning "child" and became an American English loanword that means a Native American Indian child regardless of tribe.
[33] Ibid, 19-20.

and "from that time to the present, [1890], I have hungered and thirsted for knowledge with unsatisfied desire."[34]

Although Ballou's parents were unaffiliated with a specific denomination prior to 1813, Edilda and Ariel brought their children to the Ballou Meeting House to worship. At the age of five, Edilda dressed him in a calico suit and led him by hand to the church attended by close relatives and local farmers. By 1808, the Six-Principle Baptist Church was decaying in Rhode Island, and the pews at the Meeting House were filled with "mostly elderly people." Men and women occupied separate parts of the house, and the once promising sect was being held together by its oldest members. Occupying the pulpit was Elder Stephen Place, a Six-Principle Baptist preacher from Scituate, Rhode Island, and Ballou warmly recalled that he spoke in "those sanctified tones of the old-time preacher," which caused a "solemnizing effect upon the younger hearers." Ballou indicates that he was captivated by Place and felt for many years that he "must be next to Deity." As Edilda strolled with her young son through the old cemetery behind the church during intermissions, she would read the epitaphs to Ballou causing him to tread lightly in fear of doing "sacrilege to the silent abodes of the departed." This impressed young Ballou deeply. "Death was a strange and awful mystery to me," Ballou remembered, and he continually asked questions hoping to obtain answers from anyone who would listen. Eventually, Ballou later writes that he was content with a belief that his ancestors' "were asleep in the ground; and that at the great 'Judgment Day,' or 'morn of the Resurrection,' all would be raised to life again, body and soul be re-united, every one be judged according to his works, and then each be consigned to heaven or hell forever." Of God, young Ballou envisioned "a great and holy, yet awful, God in the form of a gigantic man, who was seated in a glorious chair above the blue arch of the sky." Ballou imagined God causing "thunder by rolling a huge log with octagon corners from the convex center of the brazen firmament . . . [and] the sun, moon, and stars, the clouds, storms, and winds were all managed at will from day to day by his immediate interposition; and that all human actions were accurately recorded in a vast book for final judgment at the end of the world." His understanding of God and death largely formed from the teachings he received from his attendance at church, school, and the community, but some of what young Ballou conjured in his mind came from what he later recalled in hindsight as his "imagination" and he wrote that "neither then [childhood] nor since [adulthood] have I lived without thinking, and thinking for myself in some fashion." The Six-Principle Baptist belief taught in the Ballou Meeting House excited Ballou's imagination and started a life of religious questioning and seeking.[35]

In order to better interpret Ballou's initial experiences with religion, it is important to understand the differences between Six-Principle Baptists and general Baptists. The former were marked by six fundamental tenets: repentance, faith, baptism, the resurrection of the dead, eternal judgment, and the laying on of hands. The latter principle was championed by Roger Williams and

[34] Ibid, 18-22.
[35] Ibid, 11-12.

distinguished Six-Principle Baptists as different from general Baptists. In England and America, the laying on of hands created bitter controversy among Baptists. Six-Principle Baptists also practiced two other unusual ordinances, foot-washing, and anointing the sick with oil. Ballou's ancestors became Six-Principle Baptists when James, Nathaniel, and Obadiah Ballou, with their wives and adult children joined the original members of the sect in the "Ballou Neighborhood."[36] Obadiah's son Abner Ballou, Ballou's great uncle, became a Six-Principle Baptist minister for thirty-five years in the Ballou Meeting House until roughly the last year of his life in 1803. Like many Baptists, he was opposed to "school-made" and "hireling" ministers. The mark of a true preacher, for Abner, depended on inspiration from God rather than training from universities. Throughout the mid-late eighteenth century, revivals heavily influenced heart-centered preaching. Six-Principle Baptist preachers were largely uneducated men, like Abner, who was a farmer, and were sanctioned to preach if called upon by the Holy Spirit. Six-Principle Baptists were labeled a sect by the larger Puritan establishment in New England.

Theologically, Six-Principle Baptists were Arminian. Arminianism, took root among many rural New England Baptist denominations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although Arminianism is historically linked with Calvinism, they differ in some points of doctrine. The primary theological difference is Arminianism's rejection of Calvinism's belief in predestination. The Westminster Confession of Faith, drawn up in 1646 in England and accepted by Calvinists, asserts God "did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass."[37] There is salvation by grace, but it is limited in scope and based on an unconditional election by God regardless of one's acceptance of Christ as Savior or good works. In essence, one's salvation is entirely dependent on the sovereign decision of God. In Arminian belief, the Atonement of Christ is adequate for all men who trust in him. According to the "Five articles of Remonstrance" written by the followers of Jacobus Arminius in 1610, those who "believe on this his Son Jesus, and shall persevere in this faith and obedience of faith, through this grace, even to the end,"[38] obtain salvation. Therefore, the gates of heaven are opened to those who accept the grace of God and remain faithful throughout their lifetime. Although Roger Williams is difficult to classify, he was Calvinist and established the first Baptist church in Providence with Calvinist teachings. After Williams withdrew from the Baptist church, Thomas Olney succeeded his leadership. Olney also held Calvinist beliefs, but three coordinate elders, William Wickenden, Gregory Dexter, and Chad Brown held Arminian views. A schism occurred among Baptists in Rhode Island, and Arminian beliefs were widely accepted among the majority of Rhode Island Baptists.[39] Arminian views among Baptists in

---

[36] *Ballou's in America,* 40-41.
[37] *The Westminster Confession of Faith* in Rev. John Macpherson, *Hand-Books for Bible Classes and Private Students: The Confession of Faith* Second Edition (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, 1882), 46.
[38] "Five Articles of Remonstrance" in Phillip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with A History and Critical Notes in Three Volumes, vol. 3* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1877), 545.
[39] Albert Henry Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.), 85-86.

Rhode Island received further emphasis when Methodism took root in rural locations in New England during the Second Great Awakening.[40] By the end of the eighteenth century, virtually all of rural Rhode Island consisted of Baptists who believed their eternal destiny was contingent upon an individual's acceptance of Christ's grace for all. The Ballous were no exception.

THE CHRISITAN CONNEXION

Ballou's "imagination" of God and the afterlife at a young age reflects the broader phenomena transpiring in the New Republic among many denominations and different classes of people. By the late eighteenth century, Calvinism was losing its spiritual grip on the New England soul. From roughly 1780-1820, the "democratization of [the] mind"[41] began turning traditional religious values on its head. The American Revolution brought rapid social change among foundational churches. As Americans demanded popular sovereignty in the political arena, they began applying republican principles, such as individual rights, to their churches. Essex County, Massachusetts, known for its high culture and education, experienced a full-out assault on its seemingly foundational Christian establishment to the extent that—in 1803 William Bentley of Salem boasted that Essex County was virtually free of sects. However, within five years, he witnessed the lower classes of society championing "religious convulsions . . . domestic fanaticism . . . and Meeting-Mania." A new conglomerate of sects gained traction and were expanding at an alarming rate. Baptists, Freewill Baptists, Methodists, Universalists and Christians (Christian Connexion) grew and spread their messages throughout New England. "The rabble," as Bentley labeled itinerant preachers, spread their doctrines and simultaneously lambasted educated clergy. The Ballou Meetinghouse pulpit was no different during this period. Within twenty years, Calvinist control was all but finished, and the educated elite groaned as they watched lay preachers spread Christianity and turn supposed sects into Christian denominations based on what Bentley described as "theology for themselves."[42]

One radical group that forever changed Ariel's household and Ballou was the Christian Connexion. Formed by Abner Jones and Elias Smith, the Connexion emerged with anti-authoritarian, innovative, and populist impulses. Jones, who at the time of his "reformation" lived in Lyndon, Vermont, quit practicing medicine in 1801 and began preaching. He, along with a dozen residents in Lyndon covenanted to reject "all party and sectional names, and leav[e] each other free to cherish such speculative views of theology as the scriptures might plainly seem to them to teach." They labeled

---

[40] Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 6.
[41] Gordon S. Wood, "The Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution," *Leadership in the American Revolution* (Washington, 1974): 64.
[42] William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley*, vol. 3 (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911), 65, 515, 271. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

themselves "Christians" and Jones argued it was the "first FREE, CHRISTIAN Church ever established in New England."[43]

Smith, after experiencing a conversion in the woods in Woodstock, Vermont, joined the Baptist church and was ordained to preach in 1792. His theology became troubled, and he united with the Universalists in 1801 and moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. By 1802, Smith rejected both Calvinism and Universalism and concluded "the name CHRISTIAN was enough for the followers of Christ, without the addition of the word Baptist, Methodist, &c." In 1803, Smith along with roughly twenty others agreed "to consider ourselves christians, without the addition of any unscriptural name."[44] Within a year, Smith's group grew to over one hundred fifty members.

It was not until 1803, that Smith publicly separated from his Baptist denomination. In June, 1803, Jones heard of Smith's movement and came to meet him. Their first meeting was promising, and Smith labeled Jones as the "first free man I had ever seen."[45] Before Jones met with Smith, the Baptists believed he was still a part of their denomination. He publically declared himself "free" and separated from not only the Baptists, but "all other sectarians on earth."[46] Jones's influence and encouragement led to further preaching by Smith and the two united. By 1804, Smith denounced "calvinism, arminianism, freewillism, universalism, reverends, parsons, chaplains, doctors of divinity, clergy, bands, surplices, notes, creeds, [and] covenants,"[47] and Jones and Smith began converting numerous seekers weary of denominational bickering.

In 1813, the Ballou family, who were Six-Principle Baptists, became acquainted with the Christian Connexion. Zephaniah S. Crossman, who later became a Universalist, preached for the Connexion and was the director of the movement in Providence, Rhode Island. He began preaching in Cumberland, Rhode Island and came to the Ballou Meeting House to spread his version of the "Good News."[48] Ballou saw Crossman not as a "profound man, but impulsive, magnetic, and insinuating." He sang, prayed, and exhorted "in a manner well calculated to enlist the sympathies and move the feelings of those who had been living in comparative indifference to spiritual things."[49] Ballou's father, mother, brothers Cyrus and Alfred, and Ballou himself became converts. The Ballou family's belief and fellowship with the Connexion was also strengthened after attending a Christian Connexion General Meeting at Freetown, Massachusetts in 1815 after "The Great Gale" (hurricane) devastated

---

[43] A.D. Jones, *Memoir of Abner Jones by His Son A.D. Jones* (Boston: William Crosby & Company, 1842), 49. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[44] Elias Smith, *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith* (Portsmouth, NH: Beck & Foster, 1816), 298, 314. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[45] Ibid, 321.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Elias Smith, "The Christian's Magazine," (June 1, 1805): 1112. in *Hidden Histories in The United Church of Christ vol. II*, ed. Elizabeth C. Nordbeck (New York: United Church Press, 1987), 123.
[48] Samuel C. Loveland, *The Christian Repository, Devoted, Principally, to Doctrine, Morality, and Religious Intelligence*(July, 1820), 151.
[49] Ballou, *Autobiography*, Ibid, 29-30.

the southern coastline of New England from New Bedford to New Haven.[50] The hurricane hit the Ballou farm, and while working at his father's saw-mill, Ballou witnessed the stocks of boards rising up in the wind and "blown about strangely." In an attempt to keep the boards in their stacks, Ballou and members of his family, attempted to rescue the remaining boards when they found themselves "borne along and almost lifted from the ground . . . . We were soon in danger of limb and life." Ballou sought refuge in the farmhouse and waited out the storm. After the Gale, Abner Jones and Elias Smith called for a conference in Freetown, Massachusetts in an attempt to re-commit individuals to Christ after such a display of God's power. Members of the Ballou family, including Ballou, attended the conference, and he later described the gathering as "refreshing to the assembled hosts and passed off, as a kind of Pentecost, to general satisfaction."[51]

Father Ballou's once passive belief became zealous after the revival in Freetown, and he formed a "Ministers' Tavern" where he provided itinerant preachers with free entertainment, food, and lodging. His patience eventually waned as tenants abused his "lavish generosity," and the tavern closed indefinitely, however, the "Reformation" took hold of the Ballou's and they became "converted to a better life" despite the abuse of many Christians. In 1815, Ballou, only ten years old, later explained that his conversion to the movement was based on "hearing so much of what deeply impressed others around me, and especially those in my father's family." Ballou, however impressed by the numerous preachers entertained by his father, also felt a form of spiritual solitude. Some preachers viewed children who showed religious devotion with skepticism. If children claimed to be converts, it was likely an imitation borrowed from their parents or older siblings.[52] Ballou was perplexed by the behavior of many in his church who viewed him as incompetent of religious devotion. "No one seemed to think I was a proper subject of conviction, repentance, and faith," recalled Ballou, and he longed for "some minister or church member [to] say something to me which would open the way for me to make known my feelings and desires!"[53]

Ballou reached his first spiritual crisis at the age of ten. Having witnessed conversions within his own family and becoming aware of his sinfulness, he longed to experience the new birth promised him by his parents, siblings, and preachers. He soon found the solace he was looking for prior to his eleventh birthday. Christian Connexion preachers insisted on becoming born again. Ballou deeply desired to be converted and for months he "prayed and wept in secret places" experiencing the shame and sinfulness of his nature preached to him by Crossman and members of the Connexion. However, if this was a discouraging time for him, he does not mention it. Ballou's sorrow may also have given him hope that he was on the path to becoming converted; and once a convert, the community he longed for would see his earnestness and accept him into the fold. As Ballou approached his eleventh

---

[50] Robert P. Emlen, "The Great Gale of 1815: Artifactual Evidence of Rhode Island's First Hurricane" *Rhode Island History, vol. 48 , no. 2* (May, 1990): 51.
[51] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 35, 24.
[52] Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 14.
[53] Ibid, 24, 31-32.

year, he recalled retiring to his room being "distressed in mind" and "threw [himself] on [his] knees, in agonizing prayer." During his supplication Ballou later penned in his *Autobiography* that he:

> Gave myself up to the All-Father in the name of my Savior with the profoundest consciousness of submission, to be dealt with and disposed of as divine wisdom and love should determine. That moment my burden was removed; a heavenly light beamed upon me, and an inexpressible peace was diffused through my soul. I arose from my knees, believing that I was approved by Christ as one of His disciples. I rejoiced with exceeding joy and felt that I was entering upon a new life."[54]

Ballou came out of this experience confident and committed to a life of Christian discipleship. As word spread of his conversion, Crossman pondered on its merits and determined that Ballou truly deserved fellowship among the Connexion. Crossman baptized Ballou on May 21, 1815. After two years of seeking fellowship with the Connexion, Ballou finally became a member of the Christian Church.

Ballou's conversion narrative highlights the emphasis placed on experience by numerous preachers as the marker for a true Christian. The impulse to experience God in New England had its roots in the eighteenth century and pre-Enlightenment Puritanism. Evangelicals in response to the challenges posed by the Enlightenment argued that true faith was a matter of firsthand experience without forms of abstract reasoning. Cotton Mather, the New England Puritan minister and author, advocated for an "experimental" religion.[55] Jonathan Edwards the famed eighteenth-century New England clergyman, believed true converts gained a new spiritual sense and had their "eyes opened to behold the divine superlative beauty and loveliness of Jesus Christ."[56] This particular experience differed from being convinced by arguments of "authors or preachers, however excellent."[57] It had to be felt, thereby elevating the senses above human reasoning. Edwards used David Brainerd's explanation of his conversion to reinforce how one recognizes the mark of the truly converted. Brainerd, a Yale trained minister who led missionary excursions to the Native Americans, proclaimed that he "felt [God's] love and enjoyed full assurance of his favor for that time and my soul was unspeakably refreshed with divine and heavenly enjoyments."[58] Nothing that Brainerd did as a student at Yale or as a missionary to the Native Americans evinced his conversion. The "love" and "assurance" imprinted on his soul signified Brainerd was truly a convert irrespective of his accomplishments as a student or minister.

As the Second Great Awakening swept over New England in the early nineteenth century, conversions similar to Ballou's were relatively common as revivalist ministers emphasized the

---

[54] Ibid, 32.
[55] Robert H. Sharf, in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 95.
[56] Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, A.M. With an Essay on his Genius and Writings by Henry Rogers: and a Memoir by Sereno E. Dwight in Two Volumes, vol. II* (London: Ball, Arnold, and Co., 34, Paternoster Row, 1840), 48.
[57] Ibid, 49.
[58] David Brainerd in Jonathan Edwards, *The Life and Diary of David Brainerd* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 71.

necessity of experiencing God. Receiving a divine witness took on many forms. During revivals and camp meetings, participants prayed, sang hymns, took communion and listened to itinerant preachers from different denominations. A large number of participants had dreams, visions, fits, and fell to the ground as if dead. The enthusiasm shown by those who took part in the revivals led to multiple conversions as the "Holy Spirit" descended on the penitent during these new days of Pentecost. Many evangelicals believed that not only could one experience conversion in the heart, but physical manifestations, such as hysteric fits, was a tangible experience that demonstrated a deep spiritual transformation.[59] The heavenly light that filled Ballou's heart with ecstasy was not uncommon as hundreds of thousands of Americans longed for redemption during this time of spiritual insecurity.

Ballou, after his initial conversion received another celestial call seven years later that led him into the ministry. His rebirth at the age of eleven, however dramatic, did not give him the impression or the charge to become a preacher. Seven years passed and he was settled not only in his Christian belief, but also in his occupation. At the age of eighteen, Ballou was betrothed, and it was decided that he would settle down with his parents on the farm and after their passing inherit the estate. Ballou's fiancée was a woman of "good sense, of sterling principles, and, above all, of an amiable disposition and an affectionate heart." As the wedding day drew closer, he attempted to grow his "lean purse" and tried his luck at selling cotton-plush waterproof gentlemen's hats that he purchased from a traveling salesman who promised large profits. Once purchased, Ballou immediately recognized his ineptitude as a salesman and the hat itself became unsaleable because an updated and better hat superseded the old. His ambitious attempt to fatten his pockets only made them leaner, and by his nineteenth year was "permanently settled" on inheriting the family farm. It seems Ballou at the age of nineteen was in another crisis, similar to his situation when he was eleven. The biggest decision of his life was upon him. Would he take over his father's farm and settle down with his wife in a relatively stable occupation, or was there perhaps another path he ought to take? Ballou had always dreamed of going to a college and once he committed to the farm that dream would be unattainable. Ariel's hopes for his son to take over the estate came to an abrupt halt in Ballou's nineteenth year. His "religious status in respect to belief, practice, and associative position, was supposed to be fixed . . . . Little dreamed I of the changes awaiting me." In the spring of 1821, after a taxing day on the farm, Ballou fell asleep in his bedroom. Around midnight he awoke to:

> Consciousness in a state of mind such as I had never before and have not since experienced. I was taking cognizance of myself and surroundings with feelings of inward exaltation as unimpassioned as they were sublime and strange, when I distinctly beheld a human form, clad in a white robe, standing just outside of a window in front of me opening to the south, some twelve feet distant. I gazed upon the unusual object with a sense of profound amazement, but without the least fear or trepidation. Scrutinizing the features of the apparent personage, a sublimated resemblance to my deceased brother Cyrus became perfectly distinct. As I continued looking, he (for the appearance had now assumed personality to me) slowly entered

[59] Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1842), 138, 161.

> the window, which was closed, as if there were no obstruction and approached my bedside. His countenance was moderately luminous, but not dazzling. Every lineament was perfectly defined. His aspect was calm and benign, but impressively solemn. When almost near enough to touch me, he paused, fixed his eyes upon me for a moment, inclined slightly forward, pointed with his right hand directly at my forehead, and in the most significant manner, said: - 'Adin, God commands you to preach the Gospel of Christ to your fellow-men; obey his voice or the blood of their souls will be required at your hands.' I was filled with unutterable awe; my hair seemed to stand on end; I remained mute and immovable, but thrilled through and through with spiritual emotion, yet with no distraction of timidity or fright. The moment the words were spoken, the appearance turned from me, moved slowly back through the window, and vanished from my sight.[60]

Ballou reflected on the experience and wondered if he was "in the body" or if he was dreaming. Eventually he came to the "conviction that, somehow or other, it was a reality and was fraught with divine significance and authority." Interestingly, Cyrus, prior to his premature death, wanted to preach and Ballou wondered if God "sent or permitted him to incite me to the same mission." The next day, Ballou pondered three questions, namely "What ought I to do? What could I do? What must I do?" For weeks Ballou prayed and "wept in secret." This call from the dead came to him as a surprise because of his "strong repulsion" against preaching. He viewed preachers as a "pitiable class . . . in almost every temporal respect . . . . The good were so far above all the probable attainments I could ever make in the conditions of success [pure, sacred; unselfish] that it was useless for me to try for them; the bad were so un-Christlike . . . that their presence in the pulpit was an abomination to me." Eventually, Ballou could not resist the ministry as the "solemn echoes of the closing words of my celestial visitant" ordered him to preach the Gospel or "the blood of their souls" would be required at his hands. Even though Ballou "shrank" from his call initially, he believed Cyrus's message from God gave him the divine authority to preach, regardless of his lack of biblical and secular education.[61] When Ballou wrote this story in his *Autobiography*, it was after a lifetime of religious seeking, and it is difficult to determine if Ballou's belief in Spiritualism influenced the retelling. The *Autobiography* contains the only retelling of Ballou's celestial call. I have not found any other source that contradicts or gives further information on this vision, however, it is evident that his conversion and vision of his deceased brother left a strong impression on Ballou to become a preacher. He believed, like his great uncle Abner, that biblical or ecclesiastical tutelage did not determine authority, and Cyrus's celestial message was enough to empower Ballou and thrust him into a life of preaching.

However difficult it is to authenticate Ballou's vision in 1814 and the visitation from his brother Cyrus in 1821, Ballou was part of a broader visionary culture that permeated New England and many areas of the United States. One Philadelphia publisher, in order to give relevance to the experiences of multiple visionaries, printed a 108-page miscellany in thirty-two pamphlets of multiple accounts of uncanny happenings with the supernatural dating back several centuries. The pamphlets

[60] Ballou, Autobiography, 61-62.
[61] Ibid, 59-65.

mingled a variety of people from different nations and social classes. One report explained the vision of Sarah Alley, of Beekman Town, in New York. Alley described seeing, "Christ and the holy angels around him, and [an] abundance of people clothed in white robes."[62] Charles Grandison Finney, the great revivalist, after much turmoil with his sinful nature, poured his "whole soul out to God" in his office when "it seemed as if I met the Lord Jesus Christ face to face."[63] In Palmyra, New York, Joseph Smith, founder of Mormonism, akin to Finney and Ballou, "cried unto the Lord for mercy" and "a piller [sic] of light above the brightness of the sun at noon day come down from above and rested upon [him]." Smith beheld Christ who spoke to Smith saying "Joseph thy sins are forgiven thee."[64] Norris Stearns, whose thirty-five page memoir identifies himself as an "illiterate youth, who has been highly favoured of God," announced he was "upon the brink of eternal woe, seeing nothing but death before me" when "[a]t the same time, there appeared a small gleam of light in the room, above the brightness of the sun." Stearns was filled with the "sweet flow of the love of God . . . . All was condescension, peace and love!!"[65] Each visionary experience by Alley, Finney, Smith, Stearns, and Ballou has differences, but all are similar in the commission given them from the eternal world – to preach.

Ballou also was given advice from Lorenzo Dow that may have persuaded him to pursue the life of a preacher. Dow, a famously eccentric Methodist preacher, in New England, occasionally visited the Ballou Meeting House and stayed with the Ballou's. Ballou was called upon, probably by his father, to attend to Dow's "personal comfort, as occasion required." Ballou had previously attended one of his sermons and read Dow's bestselling autobiography with "much interest" before he stayed with the Ballou's. Dow was known for being unkempt, with an extremely long beard, and multiple eccentricities and at times incivilities. Ballou witnessed this firsthand when on two occasions Dow scolded some of the women present in the Ballou house. The first incident occurred while Dow was preaching in the Ballou's large old-fashioned kitchen. An "elderly spinster" who was then staying with the Ballou's, continually prodded the fire repeatedly picking up the "falling brands" and "replenishing the fuel." This irritated Dow and seeing her get up for the fourth time to tend to the fire, he no longer remained silent and broke from his sermon and reportedly said, "Woman, sit down, and don't be up trying to show off that new gown of yours any more." This outburst "paralyzed" the elderly woman, and she did not move from her chair for the remainder of the evening.

---

[62] Sarah Alley in *Some Extraordinary Instances of Divine Guidance and Protection: And Awful Warnings of a Just Retribution through Dreams and Visions* (Philadelphia, PA: Joseph Rakestraw, 1814), 13. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[63] Charles Grandison Finney, *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, Written by Himself* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Company, 1876), 19.

[64] Joseph Smith, "History, circa Summer 1832" Joseph Smith Papers Project, http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/history-circa-summer-1832?p=1#!/paperSummary/history-circa-summer-1832&p=3.

[65] Norris Stearns, *Religious Experience of Norris Stearns, Witten by Divine Command* (Greenfield, Massachusetts: Printed for the Author, at the Herald Office, 1815), 12. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

On another visit, Dow was sitting in the middle of a large circle of people in the Ballou's parlor after a meeting and proceeded to inquire about another young lady who was sitting next to Edilda, Ballou's mother. Dow, as later described by Ballou, asked Edilda, "Who is this? Whom have you here? . . . . What is she good for?" Edilda replied, "She is a good honest woman, a member of our church, a devoted Christian, kind and helpful in sickness, and always quietly industrious." Dow, not completely satisfied with Edilda's judgment of her hired help, retorted, "Perhaps, but how about her temper? If one should tread on her toes, wouldn't she feel something fluttering up in here?" Ballou in hindsight reports that when Dow said this he shook his "skeleton-like finger significantly over his breast as much as to say, 'Hasn't she a quick, irritable disposition?'" This "abrupt" and "queer incident" surprised all of the Ballou's in attendance. Obviously this offended the young lady, and Ballou reports that she almost went into "spasms." These incidents, though clearly offensive, did little to change Ballou's opinion of Dow. He treated Ballou with "unaffected civility and kindness" and "with confidential cordiality." As Dow left the Ballou home for the last time, Ballou took him in a sleigh to Cumberland Hill to preach at a "Catholic Baptist Meeting-house" as it was called. After the meeting, he proceeded with Dow to Providence. During their sojourn, Dow earnestly said to Ballou as reported in his *Autobiography:*

> "Young man, I have a lesson for you. You may become a public character, perhaps a preacher. My lesson is this: *Always take elbow room.* Do you understand me? I mean keep a little ahead of your appointments. Be on hand some minutes before the set time. Make no one wait for you. Never be in a hurry at the last moment. Then you will not only avoid occasion for others to complain, but be in a calm, self-collected frame of mind to proceed with your own duties. Do you understand the lesson?" "I do" said I; "it is a wise and wholesome one; I thank you for it; I will endeavor to lay it up and profit by it." "So do," he responded, thus ending his admonition.[66]

Ballou clearly was enamored with Dow regardless of his "singular and erratic" behavior and judged him as a "faithful, conscientious, Christian minister." This lesson from Dow to "always take elbow room," resonated with Ballou and throughout his career as a preacher he claimed he "never violated" this rule. Dow's belief that Ballou would likely become a preacher must have seemed as a prognostication from his folk hero and clearly influenced Ballou's decision to join the ministry.[67]

Believing God had called him to His ministry, Ballou first approached his fiancée and father about his new chosen path. Ballou's record does not indicate any specifics about the conversation he had with his fiancée only that, "She was naturally astonished, but manifested no opposition or revulsion, and calmly acquiesced in the new phase of our probable future." Ballou's father was pleased with the news and believed his son's call would not interfere with their previous arrangement. Ariel's idea was that Ballou "might fulfil all stipulated obligations to him, reside on the old

---

[66] Ballou, *Authobiography,* 50-51.

[67] Ibid, 49-51. For more on understanding Lorenzo Dow see Richard J. Stockham, "The Misunderstood Lorenzo Dow," *The Alabama Review*: *A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History,* Vol. XVI, no. 1 (January, 1963): 20-34. Also, Lorenzo Dow, *Perambulations of Cosmopolite; or Travels and Labors of Lorenzo Dow in Europe and America* (Rochester, NY: Printed for the Publisher, 1842).

homestead, be pastor of our own little church, and make occasional preaching excursions abroad." The support from his betrothed and father must have given Ballou not only the confidence he desired, but also the conformation that they would support him in his ecclesiastical goals.[68]

In the summer of 1821, Ballou announced to the public he was going to give his first sermon at the Ballou Meeting-house. Around July 1, Ballou was "inwardly impelled" to stand and make the announcement that on the following Sunday he would "attempt to preach" and speak only from "inspiration, as thoughts and words should be given me at the moment." Ballou's understanding of a "God-called" preacher prejudiced him against educated clergy whose sermons were laced with biblical interpretations and lengthy readings, therefore he believed he must "speak right out of the heart and soul" irrespective of what he might say and what his immediate family and church community would think. This pronouncement caused Ballou's frame to tremble, and he fell back into his seat "seemingly paralyzed." This display of the Holy Spirit caused a serious stir among the community and as word spread of the incident, the next Sunday promised to be a welcomed change to the vacant pulpit of the prior months.[69]

As the day of Ballou's first sermon drew nearer, his mind was eased with a confirmation on the subject he was to present to the public. In a dream "which seemed to be in accord with my former mysterious experience,"[70] a portion from 1 Corinthians 9:16 appeared in Ballou's mind, namely, "necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel!"[71] By likening his own experience to that of the Apostle Paul's, Ballou arguably wanted to show his colleagues that in effect, his choice to preach was not completely out of free will, rather a divine mandate and once called by God the consequences of disobedience were damnable. "My grand concern, therefore, is to stand fast in my lot and be faithful to my trust; otherwise just condemnation and punishment await me," Ballou later recalled. When the day arrived, the Ballou Meeting House was packed with "expectant people – ministers, deacons, church-members, my young friends and acquaintances more or less interested in me and in the things of the religious life, with a mixed throng of outsiders drawn to the place by curiosity." As the multitude surged in, Ballou "agonized in silent prayer," yet he was confident in both his call to preach and the theme of his sermon. With a full house anticipating the words of Ballou, he arose and spoke for forty-five minutes. The record is unclear of the substance of the message, but it "discharged a solemn duty" upon Ballou to continue preaching. What emerged from the Ballou Meeting House was a young man confident that both God and his community authorized him to preach.[72]

Shortly after his first sermon and experience with Dow, Ballou began the life of a minister for the Christian Connexion. His attraction to preach for the Connexion was its anti-creedal foundation,

---

[68] Ibid, 66.
[69] Ibid, 66-67.
[70] Ibid.
[71] The King James Version of the Holy Bible, I Corinthians 9:16.
[72] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 67-69.

biblically oriented anti-Calvinism, and acceptance of a number of ministers from different backgrounds and denominations. Calls came to speak at private and public homes in his community and abroad. Funeral services were conducted, and much of Ballou's time was spent tending to the spiritual needs of his close associates. Ballou sought further attachment with the Connexion and attended a meeting of the Connecticut Christian Conference in Cumberland, Rhode Island. This particular event invited any preacher or believer who believed himself to be a Christian. There, Ballou was given a certificate from the Connexion certifying him as "a member in good standing and fellowship of the Connecticut Christian Conference."[73] Ballou quickly began rising in rank among the Connexion and was part of a committee that reported on Connexion related occurrences in Rhode Island. In one report, Ballou and the committee, recommended reinstating Elder Reuben Potter Jr. as a Connexion preacher. Potter, who pastored the Ballou Meeting House, was expelled from the ministry because of alcoholism. Ballou and the committee met with Potter and hearing him preach "the New Testament," they "emphatically" endorsed reinstating him. Quoting portions of Luke 24:32, the committee proclaimed, "Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?"[74] Potter was reinstated, and later performed the marriage of Ballou to Abby Sales on January 7, 1822. Sadly, the "much esteemed" Potter returned to his "intemperate habits" and became a "confirmed sot." Eventually his alcoholism took his life, and he was found dead on a street near the place of his nativity in Coventry, Rhode Island. This event likely played a role in Ballou's later antagonism toward alcohol and his eventual association with the Temperance Movement.

Ballou continued forming associations with other "Christian" preachers and attended another conference in Dartmouth, Massachusetts. In Dartmouth, he became acquainted with Daniel Hicks, a "venerable farmer-preacher" of the Connexion. During this particular conference, Ballou recalled the "talent and wisdom of the denomination – its greater and lesser lights shining with varied luster from pulpit and council room."[75] Ballou's Connexion tour resumed as he and another preacher, Ebenezer Robinson,[76] walked fifty-six miles to Boston strengthening their ties with local Connexion leaders. During their journey, Ballou identified that both Robinson's and his own doctrinal views began shifting and eventually changed. Once they arrived in Boston, the two preachers separated and would not see each other for another two years. Arriving home from his trip to Boston, Ballou continued preaching, managed some of the farm, and began writing, publishing, and teaching at the local school.

---

[73] Rueben Potter Jr., in Ballou *Autobiography*, 70.

[74] Adin Ballou, Tower, Jason, Mason, George, et. Al. "To the Churches of the Christian Connexion, scattered throughout the United States of America, and elsewhere; to Christians of every name; and to all people to whom these presents may come" *The Christian Herald* vol. 4, no. 1 (July 5, 1821): 9. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[75] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 47, 70.

[76] Robinson eventually became a Unitarian minister, serving churches in Beverly, and Hubbardston, Massachusetts. He also served a Universalist church in Lebanon, Connecticut, though he never formally entered Universalist fellowship. Adin in an 1839 letter to the *Universalist Union* notes, "At present, Rev. Ebenezer Robinson (Restorationist) is preaching to us" in Lebanon.

During this time, Ballou began to describe a shift in his doctrinal underpinnings, but he continued to be a fervent "Destructionist" in 1820-21. Destructionism or Annihilationism was the belief that the final punishment of the unbeliever results in their total destruction or annihilation in the afterlife. Among numerous New England denominations was the debate on what was the final destiny of the wicked. The majority of Christian denominations that dominated the New England landscape including Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, and Universalists, were fervent in their conviction that the Atonement of Christ opened the gates of heaven to all believers. The Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement was unable to compete with the "heady concepts of liberty" that permeated post-Revolution rhetoric.[77] Ballou was clearly not a "predestinarian" and he believed that the salvation of one's soul was a matter of choice. During this time, a more difficult question occupied the mind of religionists throughout New England, namely, what was the destiny of the impenitent soul hereafter? In this battle for doctrinal control, Ballou's Destructionism formed from his associations within the Christian Connexion. Elias Smith and Abner Jones were both ardent in their Annihilationism in the early 1820s (Smith was a Universalist until at least 1820, but renounced Universalism outright in 1823) and Ballou backed Smith's and Jones' interpretations of "the word of God."[78] Smith, after searching the Bible for proofs that God sent sinners to a place of eternal misery, concluded that at the "last judgment, the wicked would be punished with everlasting destruction, which would be their end." Ballou full heartedly "embraced this view of the subject" and became an "expert in [its] scriptural defense."[79] Ballou, at this juncture in his spiritual seeking, primarily used the authority of the Bible to complement his own belief.

The Destructionism Ballou and others preached, however, received harsh critiques in New England from Unitarians and Universalists. When Ballou became a Connexion minister, most Christians believed that the justice of God required sinners to suffer for eternity because of their failure to accept His grace – thus holding on to certain tenets in Calvinism. However, the Unitarians and the Universalists from their inception continually bickered in regard to this important question. Both groups were present in Ballou's locale and many of his relatives were members of both denominations. The God envisioned by Unitarians was one of forgiveness and love. If God's punishment for the unbeliever was eternal torment, why should this God be praised? Joshua Pollard Blanchard, a wealthy bookkeeper and merchant from Boston who was an ardent abolitionist and pacifist, observed the doctrinal bickering among the Unitarians and tried to explain the Unitarian position of future punishment to an unknown "gentleman." Blanchard reports the "Unitarian body are divided in opinion on the subject." Some, argued Blanchard, believed in "annihilation" of the impenitent while the "great majority believe in final restoration," (meaning all sinners will eventually

---

[77] Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 173.
[78] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 45.
[79] Elias Smith, *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elis Smith written by Himself* (Portsmouth, NH: Beck & Foster, 1816), 348, 46. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

obtain salvation after penance has been made) thereby supporting Universalist tenets. Blanchard believed the Unitarians were honorable in their belief in no future punishment and concluded, "we have seen intimations too plain to be mistaken, that Unitarians are all Universalists."[80]

However, Unitarians were not fixed in their interpretation of scripture. William Ellery Channing, the foremost and arguably most influential Unitarian preacher in New England during the early nineteenth century, who Ballou later became acquainted with, distanced his belief from Universalists. Channing believed that "we shall carry with us into the future world our present minds, and that a character, formed in opposition to our highest faculties and to the will of God, will produce suffering in our future being, these are truths, in which revelation, reason, and conscience remarkably conspire." Channing's reasoning shifts the blame completely to the individual. God, in essence, has no decision in one's destiny. For Channing, all individuals are constantly determining their own fate by the decisions they make. God has placed inside of each human being faculties that allow one to choose the will of God. If one opposes this, God cannot be blamed for one's eternal destiny. Channing mentions this "doctrine [future state of souls]" is sometimes questioned, primarily by Universalists and some Unitarians who maintained that punishment was "confined to the present state," resulting in the eventual salvation of all mankind. This belief is ludicrous, argues Channing, because "it contradicts all our experience of the nature and laws of the mind . . . . Our present knowledge, thoughts, feelings, characters, are the results of former impressions, passions, and pursuits. We are this moment what the past has made us; and to suppose that, at death, the influences of our whole past course are to cease" was a violation of the "most important law or principle of the mind . . . to destroy all analogy between the present and future, and to substitute for experience the wildest dreams of fancy."[81] Channing therefore separates the Unitarians from the Universalists by leaving the sinner in a perpetual state of progression or regression. God neither annihilates the sinner nor sends him to a place for eternal punishment or bliss. For Channing, the unbeliever is in a perpetual state of spiritual limbo and all of the characteristics that plagued him or her in the present were brought with them into the next realm, thus leaving the individual with the choice to either change his or her ways and thereby begin the restoration process, or face an eternity of perpetual digression. In essence, the choice for eternal misery is not God's but the individual's. It is unclear at this point in Ballou's history how big of a role Channing's understanding of salvation played in Ballou's envisioning of the afterlife, however, his private library indicates he had numerous works from Unitarian ministers including Channing during this time.[82]

---

[80] Joshua Pollard Blanchard, *Review of a "Letter from a Gentelman in Boston to a Unitarian Clergyman of ..."* (Boston, MA: Wait, Greene, & Co. 13, Court Street, 1828), 23. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[81] William Ellery Channing, *The Complete Works of William Ellery Channing: Including the Perfect Life and Containing a Copious General Index And a Table of Scripture References* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2006), 268.

[82] Adin Ballou, *Catalogue of the Private Library of the late Rev. Adin Ballou, Hopedale, Mass.* (Boston, MA: C.F. Libbie & Co. Book and Art Auctioneers, 1916), 27.

Perhaps the strongest critique against annihilationism came from Ballou's cousin Hosea Ballou, a contemporary of William Ellery Channing and the most important Universalist in New England in the early to mid-1800s. Hosea, rejected any interpretation of the Bible that did not result in the unbeliever's salvation. As a former Calvinist Baptist, he was influenced by Caleb Rich, an early proponent of Universalism in the eighteenth century, and Ethan Allen, a hero during the American Revolution and author of *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*. Allen's skepticism also extended far beyond Calvinism. Both Rich and Allen inspired Hosea to rethink his former Calvinist beliefs. In 1805, Hosea wrote *A Treatise on Atonement*, repudiating both annihilationism and endless misery. Hosea did not believe God would annihilate any of his creations because "[t]o suppose, that any rational being can wish, or desire, to accomplish any piece of labor, without having any reference to the consequences, is too glaringly absurd, to need refutation." Annihilationism "confines the motive of Deity within himself, and himself from his creation" according to Hosea, and God therefore is "destitute of a creation" and akin to archaic religions that viewed God "abstractly from all his creatures."[83] Without taking responsibility for one's creations is blasphemous of God's character and simply hewing down the bad trees and casting them into the fire, as represented in Matthew 3:10, shows a God willing to admit he mistakenly created at least some of his children. Hosea's God makes no mistakes and finishes his work by saving humankind. According to Hosea, if individuals understood the principle of universal salvation, they would more likely choose to follow God because "it is morally impossible, by the promise of a hereafter reward, and the threatening of hereafter punishment, to induce anyone to love God and to keep his commandments."[84] The hardships of earth life with its trials and triumphs, was punishment enough for both the believer and unbeliever, and persuading individuals to believe by coercion limited one's choice and defamed God's character according to the larger body of Universalists. Universalists and other itinerant preachers in New England during the 1820s comfortably used "common sense" to interpret the Bible and debate supposed fixed conclusions on the salvation of the penitent and impenitent. As Ballou began his ministry, it was virtually impossible to not come into conflict with denominations or preachers who used the Bible and common sense to frustrate one's supposed fixed beliefs.

COMMON SENSE, THE BIBLE, & BALLOU VS BALLOU

Before explaining the doctrinal debate between Ballou and Hosea, it is paramount to understand the revolution of common sense as a basis for authority, as well as the authoritative role that the Bible played throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the early

[83] Hosea Ballou, *A Treatise on Atonement* (Portsmouth, NH: Oracle Press, 1812), 89.
[84] Hosea Ballou, *An Examination of the Doctrine of Future Retribution, on the Principles of Morals, Analogy and the Scriptures* (Boston: Published at the trumpet office, 1834), 23. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

Republic. In order for Ballou and Hosea to garner converts or sympathizers to their respective beliefs, both needed to appeal to these two authoritative pillars.

Prior to the Second Great Awakening, the American Revolution instilled in the minds of the colonists that common folk were no longer willful servants needing control from a distant sovereign. Although Deists during the nineteenth-century were viewed with scorn and were described pejoratively as Atheists, some of their bastions instilled in the people an inherent right to think for themselves prior and during the Second Great Awakening. Thomas Paine's highly influential pamphlets *Common Sense*, written in 1776, and *The Age of Reason*, published in three parts in 1794, 1795, and 1807, inspired countless revolutionaries at the beginning of the American Revolution to not only fight against Great Britain, but to also think for themselves. George Washington had *Common Sense* read to his troops, and Abigail Adams after reading Paine's plea wrote in a letter to her husband John Adams, "I am charmed with the Sentiments of *Common Sense*; and wonder how an honest Heart, one who wishes the welfare of their country, and the happiness of posterity can hesitate one moment at adopting them."[85] Paine's *Common Sense* empowers readers by offering what he explains as "simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense," and encourages each reader to use "his *reason* and his *feelings* to determine for themselves: that he will put on, or rather that he will not put off, the true character of a man." By imploring his readers to couple their own capacity to reason with their emotions, Paine believed the populace would lead themselves to an understanding of the truth of his sentiments. By empowering the common people, Paine hoped to start the process of individualized revolutions that would lead to a larger revolution against Britain. *The Age of Reason*, which was a national bestseller in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, is largely a critique of religion and calls into question many presupposed biblical truths, such as the resurrection of Christ. Paine, who after the publication was lambasted by clergymen and preachers for calling into question the historicity and authenticity of Christ's miracles, nevertheless empowered the American populace by asserting to his "Fellow-Citizens of the United States of America" that "[t]he most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason. I have never used any other, and I trust I never shall."[86] What followed in *The Age of Reason* was undoubtedly uncomfortable for Christian believers, but his plea to awaken their "God-given" faculties resonated with the newly liberated American citizens.

Ethan Allen, whose book, *Reason, The Only Oracle of Man* inspired a number of Americans, including Hosea, to use God's greatest gift to mankind – "Reason." Allen, in an attempt to repair the Calvinist God who eternally punishes nonbelievers, beckons the reader to use "common sense" to determine if God's character is one of revenge and retribution. "This notion" of eternal punishment, "is offensive to reason and . . . undermines the concept of moral rightness in general."[87] With the

---

[85] For quote from Washington see Moncure Daniel Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 78 footnote 2. Abigail Adams, "Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams" (March 2, 1776). Massachusetts Historical Society, John Adams Family Papers (Boston, Mass.).
[86] Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason* (New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1898), Introduction.
[87] Ethan Allen, *Reason, the Only Oracle of Man; or a Compendious System of Natural Religion* (Boston: J.P. Mendum, Cornhill, 1854), 12.

beginning of America there was a desire to create something completely new and free of tyrannical regimes and church sponsored governments. Paine's and Allen's readership likely grew, not because their belief in common sense was unfamiliar to their readership, but because the seeds of common sense reasoning had already been planted into the hearts and minds of the Christian converts in the mid-late eighteenth century.

Ballou's and Hosea's forbearers experienced elements of the First Great Awakening that sought to appeal to the common sense of the individual. Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Davies, although nervous about common folk thinking for themselves in regard to religion, often appealed to common sense for proof of the existence of God. Edwards believed reason coupled with divine grace allowed individuals to understand the divine "against those things that tend to stupefy and to hinder free exercise." "The reasoning faculty" can assist the penitent to see "the clear evidence [that] there is of the truth of religion in rational arguments,"[88] argues Edwards. Samuel Davies, the famous Presbyterian minister and former President of Princeton University, like Edwards, believed that God planted the "principle of reason" in each of his children including the "fallen persons." If God found it necessary to "quicken" this power, "rational instructions and persuasion" came immediately to one's "understanding" thus giving the individual absolute knowledge of God's existence.[89] Reason, coupled with a repentant heart, had the capacity to lead passive Christian congregants into devout believers full of Evangelical fervor convinced of the existence of deity.

Not only did mankind's ability to reason play an authoritative role in determining the truthfulness and authority of Christianity, one ancient relic that the majority of the American populace refused to discredit in the early nineteenth century was the Bible. From the foundation of the colonies to the Second Great Awakening, the Bible was "God's truth" and maintained arguably more authority in the minds and hearts of the people than any king or constitution. Eighteenth-century evangelicals like John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Jonathan Edwards viewed the Bible as a source of authority, but with a caveat, it must be interpreted correctly by theologians and the meditations by clergymen. All three evangelicals were staunch biblical proponents, and informed their congregants to return to the simplicity of Scripture, but they worried if the "less knowing and considerate sort of people"[90] would be deceived by interpreting the scriptures for themselves.[91] In order for the Bible to maintain its truths and authority it must be properly theologized by reflective and studious clergymen.

As the seeds of revolution began to blossom during the mid-eighteenth century, theological liberals became weary of Calvinist interpretations of Scripture. Charles Chauncy, pastor of Boston's First Church for sixty years (1727-87), appealed to Biblical authority to combat Edward's and other

---

[88] Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 18 The "Miscellanies" (Entry Nos. 501-832)* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2000), 155-56.
[89] Samuel Davies, "Sermon 4, Ephesians 2:1, 5" in Gerald M. Bilkes, "The Preaching of Samuel Davies" *Reformation & Revival A Quarterly Journal for Church Leadership, vol. 9, no. 1 (*Winter, 2000): 123-24.
[90] Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards: Religious Affections,* ed. John E. Smith (New Haven, CT: 1964), 143.
[91] See Mack B. Stokes, *The Bible in the Wesleyan Heritage* (Nashville, TN: 1971), 19-26.

New Light clergymen's attempts to help people become theologically self-conscious by creating strict doctrinal standards. Chauncy, who was an opponent of Calvinism, believed that depending on the scriptures alone would disband Calvinist control. After being inspired by two books from the English divines, Samuel Clarke's *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712) and John Taylor's *The scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin* (1744), Chauncy concluded to only study the Bible for two years without any theological interpretation or commentary.[92] Jeremy Belknap, a prominent Boston clergyman queried, "Why may not I go to the Bible to learn the doctrines of Christianity as well as the Assembly of Divines?"[93] And, Simeon Howard, another liberal clergyman in New England, exhorted ministers to "lay aside all attachment to human systems, all partiality to names, councils and churches, and honestly inquire, 'what saith the scriptures.'"[94] John Adams, whose father wanted him to be a clergyman, while attending Harvard became increasingly weary of theological debates and wrote in his journal in 1756: "Where do we find a precept in the Gospel [New Testament] requiring Ecclesiastical Synods? Convocations? Councils? Decrees? Creeds? Confessions? Oaths? Subscriptions? And the whole cart-loads of other trumpery that we find religion encumbered with in these days?"[95] Adams, like many of his classmates, wanted to interpret and read the scriptures for himself. The Bible, was not on trial prior to the Revolution by the majority of Americans, but the biblical stewards, such as Edwards, who theologized the text. The authority of clergymen to interpret scripture was being questioned and they struggled to maintain scriptural authority as individuals began reading the Bible for themselves.

After the Revolution and with the democratizing of Christianity in the New Republic, a new age of biblical defenders emerged. With Paine's and David Hume's assaults on biblical efficacy that affected both politics and religion, the public doubled downed on the authority of biblical revelation.[96] Lorenzo Dow, for example, based his argument against eternal infanticide caused by Adam's Fall, upon the "principles of, scripture and common sense."[97] He then defended the authenticity of Christ's miracles in the Bible against Deist arguments that discredited the historicity of miracles. For "If I allow [Christ's] miracles I must allow his sacred character also; for it is inconsistent, with *reason*, to believe that God would aid and assist a liar, or an impostor, to do the mighty deeds which we are informed Christ did."[98] Dow did not attempt to prove whether Christ walked on water or raised the dead. He understood his audience already believed in the Bible's authenticity in regard to the divinity of Christ and with that divinity came the propensity to perform miracles. In essence, Christ performed miracles because the "inspired authors" of the Bible informed the world of the miraculous occurrences

---

[92] Wright, *Beginnings of Unitarianism in America*, 176.
[93] Jeremy Belknap, in Ibid, 235.
[94] Simeon Howard, in Ibid.
[95] John Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams in 10 vols. (Boston, 1856), 2:5-6.
[96] Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt*, 18.
[97] Lorenzo Dow, *Opinion of Dow; or, Lorenzo's Thoughts, on Different Religious Subjects, in an Address to the people of New-England* (Windham, CT: Printed by J. Byrne, 1804), 60. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[98] Ibid, 18.

of Christ. Insurgent religious leaders, such as Dow, were intent on destroying the "monopoly of classically educated and university-trained clergymen."[99]

In a *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (1809), Thomas Campbell, a prominent reformer and founder of the Disciples of Christ, declared "it is high time for us not only to think, but to act for ourselves; to see with our own eyes."[100] He believed Christians displayed the proper use of common sense due to their conversion and instruction by the "divinely recorded" truths in the Bible. Public opinion no longer could be persuaded by someone's prestige, and preachers believed common sense reasoning of the Bible was far more reliable than the tireless musings of educated theologians. Common sense reasoning coupled with the Bible became an almost indisputable claim to authority, and the Bible in particular became even more authoritative as preachers perused its pages without being classically trained.

These new guardians of the Bible successfully made any attempt to blaspheme the holy book illegal in Massachusetts. On July 3, 1782, Massachusetts passed a law against Blasphemy. The law reaffirmed the colonial law of 1697 that made blaspheming "the holy name of God . . . cursing or reproaching Jesus Christ or the holy Ghost, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching the holy word of God, that is, the canonical scriptures as contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, or by exposing them or any part of them to contempt or ridicule"[101] punishable. Although the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 mandated religious freedom, vociferous speech aimed at Christ and the Bible was intolerable.[102] Thomas Jefferson, for example, would have been subject to prosecution, had he lived in Massachusetts, for his revision of the Bible that edited out every miracle performed by Christ and his followers in the New Testament. Jefferson's Deist arguments and proposals to question "the existence of a god,"[103] may have found him banished from the Bay State. Abner Kneeland, an erratic Universalist minster who at times labelled himself as an "agonistic" and even an "atheist" in New England, who was acquainted with Ballou, was convicted, jailed, and eventually evicted from the Bay State for violating Massachusetts's blasphemy law. His critiques of certain biblical passages and the role of Christ proved too radical for even the freest of thinkers.[104] Common sense preachers, such as Hosea, Dow, and Elias Smith, disentangled "the Holy Scriptures from the perplexities of the commentators and system-makers of the dark ages"[105] and reaffirmed the

---

[99] Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 162.
[100] Thomas Campbell, *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (Washington, PA: Brown & Sample, 1809), 3. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[101] "An Act against Blasphemy" in Henry Steele Commager, "The Blasphemy of Abner Kneeland" *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March, 1935): 32. For bib 29-41.
[102] Roger L. Kemp, *Documents of American Democracy: A Collection of Essential Works* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & company, Inc., 2010), 59-70.
[103] See Thomas Jefferson, *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: Wilfred Funk, inc., 1941). Thomas Jefferson, *Jefferson Writings: Autobiography, Notes on the State of Virginia, Public and Private Papers, Addresses, Letters,* ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984), 902.
[104] Commager, "The Blasphemy of Abner Kneeland," 32-33.
[105] Robert West, *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948), 29.

masses' long-held belief that the simple truths of the Bible coupled with common sense affirmed the Bible's validity. The Second Great Awakening created new sects, prophets, and preachers, each determined that their message was most importantly biblically sanctioned. Without the approval of Scripture, it was almost impossible to convert any individual into one's denominational fold.

In this new era of determining authority based on the co-mingling of common sense and the Bible, Ballou argued against Hosea's contempt for annihilationism. From 1818-20, Hosea did a series of lecture-sermons at the Second Universalist Church in Boston. In these meetings, he cited passages from the Bible that appeared to be against universal salvation and refuted the claims with his own biblical reasoning. In January, 1820, he delivered a famous lecture entitled "The New Birth." The New Birth was a controversial reinterpretation of John 3:3 which states, "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Most New England Christians, including Ballou, viewed this scripture as evidence that being born again was a transformation from a state of nature to a state of grace and without this experience one was either annihilated or damned for eternity. Once the new birth occurred, the subject became a new creature, a "child of grace; whereas before he was exposed to the everlasting torments of hell, he is now quite out of all danger of this sort, and secure forever." Hosea critiqued this experience by asking a series of questions: "How do they differ from other people, or from what they had been [prior to their rebirth]?" Hosea asked the audience to investigate the behavior of those professed to being transformed into a new creature. By doing so, he recognized judging the conduct of their neighbors may be uncharitable, but the "inquiry [was] by no means designed to operate uncharitably" towards them, rather designed to candidly investigate the question at hand. Hosea's intention was to persuade his audience that there were more than two classes of people understood by many Christians: "heaven-born," and "heaven-bound." If the converted were heaven-bound and transformed into new creatures, there must be a change in behavior. Hosea's observation of both classes of people concluded that they "are alike in respect to every thing visible." He continued by asking the audience further questions and inquired if those who are born again are any different than the Pharisees of biblical times:

> Are they [born again individuals] more honest, more just, more merciful, more ready to forgive an injury, more charitable to the poor and needy; do they appear to be destitute of pride, of resentment, of hypocrisy, deceit, of any disposition to overreach in bargains; can you trade with them with less caution than with others? If you please, you may compare those who make the greatest pretensions to this new and holy nature, with the unregenerate scribes, Pharisees and religious people among the Jews . . . . These professors now suppose that those unregenerate Jews are now in hell, because they were not born again in this life; but expect to be in heaven themselves, in a few days more, because they have had this great change. Now compare them. What is the difference? Those Jews believed that they were the favorites of heaven, so do these; they looked on themselves to be righteous and others to be wicked so do these; those condemned sinners to everlasting wrath, so do these . . . . Now, my brethren, what is the difference?[106]

---

[106] Hosea Ballou, *The New Birth* (Boston, MA: Published by Henry Bowen . . . . Congress-Street, 1821), 4. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

According to Hosea, self-acclaimed born-agains believed they were the chosen people in a way similar to the Pharisees of the New Testament. How then is Christianity different from Judaism, or as Hosea later suggests, Islam? In contrast, Hosea attempts to convince his audience that the new birth described by John is an experience of illumination that leads one down a path to understanding the gospel, not a moment of entrance into the kingdom of heaven. To "see the kingdom of God," as explained in John 3:3, was not, in Hosea's view, to be saved, rather it referred to an establishment of institutions which embody the true meaning of the gospel. In essence, Hosea argued that this regeneration did not happen to an individual, but a society when enough individuals rejected false and harmful doctrines, such as annihilationism and endless misery.[107]

In response to Hosea's teachings of universal salvation, Ballou believed he must come out against Hosea's teachings regardless of what it might do to his own reputation. So convinced was Ballou of annihilationist tenets that his first publication, at the age of twenty, attacked his distinguished cousin and quickly identified Ballou as a polemic author. The "abundant absurdities" and "universal" errors that Ballou found in Hosea's sermon required a rebuke against a man that Ballou had "as high an opinion of . . . as any other person." His initial trepidation to attack his cousin dissolved because Ballou believed Hosea's doctrine to be "contradictory, to truth, and . . . most dangerous."[108] Ballou also may have been trying to establish himself in New England as a fearless, young, and formidable theologian and preacher. According to Ballou, there was no one who dared refute Hosea's New Birth sermon fearing his expertise in biblical argument outweighed any potential combatant. Rather arrogantly, Ballou proclaimed that Hosea's thirty years of experience naturally gave him the advantage, but Ballou believed he had the consistency of the "scriptures . . . God's holy spirit . . . and the dictates of true reason" to circumvent any disadvantage in Ballou's lack of training. All of the New England preachers who disagreed with Hosea dared not attack him because of his expertise in argument, and Ballou mentions there were some, probably within the Christian Connexion, who wanted to write a review but dared not. Ballou writes, "Why then do you not write against him [Hosea], and strive to convince or refute him? The reason is, because you know it is impossible, therefore you durst not. But none of these things move me in the least."[109] Ballou's motives to refute the "father of American Universalism,"[110] are difficult to discern, but he believed that both God and Reason would overcome any of his deficiencies in prose and argument. By defying his cousin, Ballou presented himself as committed to his understanding of truth and as willing to disregard any familial relationship in the name of truth.

---

[107] Ibid, 4-5, 6-7, 13-15.
[108] Adin Ballou, *Review of a Lecture Sermon, The New Birth, Delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-House on the Evening of the Third Sabbath in January, 1820, by Hosea Ballou, Pastor* (Providence, RI: Printed by Miller & Hutchens, 1821), 3. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[109] Adin Ballou, "Review of a Lecture Sermon, The New Birth, Delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-House on the Evening of the Third Sabbath in January, 1820, by Hosea Ballou, Pastor" (Providence, RI: Printed by Miller & Hutchens, 1821): 3, 5-6. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[110] Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 3 (1911), 282.

In his 1820 "Review of the Lecture Sermon," Ballou begins by explaining the basic tenets of Universalism and then directly attacks Hosea's interpretation of being born again. The Universalist denial of the necessity of a new birth proved central to Ballou's argument. His own conversion had impacted him deeply, and Hosea's remarks that identified the newly converted as virtually the same in character as the unconverted must have been offensive to Ballou not because of Hosea's statements but because Ballou's own experience confirmed the arguments of Hosea. Ballou admits that after his conversion he had "presumed that my 'change of heart' went a great deal further than was actually the case," and the "animal nature in my constitution remained essentially unchanged."[111] Although Ballou decides not to confirm his own experience in his argument against Hosea's plea to examine the lives of the converted, it likely caused Ballou to become combative. After a lengthy discussion on biblical reasoning in regard to the endless misery of some of the human race and Destructionism, Ballou poses one question to Hosea: "Is God the God of order or confusion?" Hosea's view, according to Ballou, is "as dark as Egypt, and has more confusion in it than there was among the builders of Bab[ylon]." By taking John 3:3 away from its simple explanation, Hosea, according to Ballou, "metamorphosed" the text and concluded that "except a man believe the doctrine of Universalism, he cannot see Universalism!" Sarcastically, Ballou mocks Universalism's kingdom of God and jests "A most wonderful kingdom indeed! A most wonderful birth, surely this!" Pejoratively, Ballou concludes that Hosea's understanding of the kingdom of God is comparable to "Deists and Atheists" and if this heavenly domain allows the unrepentant and unconverted within its walls, Ballou doubts "whether [he] can enter into [it] but think it most probable that [he] shall stand without, perhaps for ever." Hosea's representation of Universalist belief "appears to me to have no truth or consistency in it . . . . I do believe [the arguments and conclusions of Hosea] to be [the] most gross absurdities and barefaced contradictions; and so shall consider them."[112]

The Universalists quickly responded in an article entitled "Ballou vs. Ballou" published in the August edition of the *Universalist Magazine* in 1821. Under the name "LAITHE" (most likely Zephaniah Lathe a Universalist minister in neighboring Milford Massachusetts), the writer is dumbfounded by Ballou's remarks. Laithe, who knew very little of Ballou, expressed "surprise, at seeing such language published to the world, from one whose youth should have warned him to express himself with less disrespect to superiors." Ballou's degradation of Hosea and Universalism in general as "quarrelsome, tyrannical, unnatural, disobedient, unkind, dishonest, unjust, immoral, intemperate, angry, resentful, desperately proud, and blasphemous" confused Laithe, and he wondered if Ballou's article had violated "Christian charity and common justice." Ballou's response only validated Hosea's remarks of the born again Christians who believed their conversion opened the doors of the kingdom of God to them while others who professed no such belief remained in darkness. Laithe reproaches Ballou for supposing Universalist doctrine as blasphemous and those who preached

---

[111] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 34.
[112] Ballou, "Review of Lecture Sermon," 8-9, 14, 19.

its tenets as heretical. His attempt to refute Hosea and the Universalist denomination led Laithe to question Ballou's love for his fellow beings. His hostility in print only created an "immoral effect of his own" and evinced a lack of Christ's foundational message of love in the New Testament. Ballou's review was "a most wonderful instance of charity!!" wrote Laithe sarcastically, and he closes his rebuttal by giving Ballou some council:

> I would advise the young writer to reflect upon the things which he has written; and see if they will accord with scriptural direction; and while he is so industrious in watching the faults of others, to remember that it is his duty to extirpate from his own bosom, those seeds of malevolence, which we fear are too deeply rooted there. When he shall have done this, we feel assured that he will not "judge another man's servant," but remember that "to his own master he standeth, or falleth."[113]

Ballou quickly reacted to Laithe's response by publishing a letter to Laithe in *The Universalist* on October 6, 1821. In fairness to Ballou, Laithe's article rearranged adjectives and placed some of Ballou's remarks out of context, but rather than highlight Laithe's misrepresentation, Ballou resorts to tongue-in-cheek self-deprecation. "As you [Laithe] are possessed of Universal Benevolence, this unworthy worm feels that he has a claim upon your attention." Ballou continues to sarcastically mock Laithe and thanks him for giving young Ballou "needful instruction, to one unlearned and illiterate. Thus dear sir, you in the possession of all these polished qualifications, are the very character to whom I am happy to come; seeing that I, myself, on the other part, am the character which feels a great lack and void, in regard to these very things." He closes the letter by again reverting back to his inexperience and mockingly remarks, "I am at a loss for better words than yours."[114] It is unclear whether Laithe ever responded to Ballou's letter.

In 1889, during the last year of his life, Ballou later recalled this incident between Laithe and himself and reconsidered his actions as being naïve. In his *Autobiography*, Ballou admits that his "ambition and zeal" betrayed him into the "folly of appearing in print as a polemic author against modern Universalism . . . this youthful exploit of mine was unwise, crude, presumptuous, and of little consequence . . . .[and I was] too obscure and uninfluential an opponent to command the notice of my adversary of the community at large."[115] At the time of the incident, however, Ballou believed his article contained the two types of authority necessary to persuade his readers to renounce Hosea's claims – common sense reasoning and Scripture. Throughout Ballou's "Review" he pleads, "Candid reader, think and speak for yourself."[116] He also attempts to dissuade individuals from joining Universalism by reevaluating Hosea's use of the Bible. The scriptures used by Hosea displayed for Ballou another attempt by a clergyman to philosophize a passage that was simple and easily understood. By attempting to shed light and give a different interpretation of multiple passages in the

---

[113] LAITHE, "Ballou versus Ballou." *Universalist Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 9 (Aug. 25, 1821): 35. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[114] Adin Ballou, "To Mr. Laithe" *Universalist Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 11(October 6, 1821). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[115] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 70, 72.
[116] Ballou, "Review of Lecture Sermon," 13.

Bible used by Hosea, Ballou simultaneously called upon his reviewers to invoke common sense and the Bible to disseminate the truth.

By the end of 1822, Ballou believed his arguments against Universalism were biblically and common sensibly fixed. Nevertheless, the conclusion of his "Review" against Hosea shows a slight willingness to be persuaded otherwise. Ballou asserts that Universalism, and in particular Hosea's biblical rendering of its tenets, are ludicrous and contrary to simple Biblical exegesis. Yet Ballou, resolves that he will maintain his destructionist belief unless he becomes "convinced to the contrary, by fair and substantial arguments."[117]

By the end of 1823, however, Ballou who was one of Universalists most outspoken critics in Rhode Island, became one its strongest proponents and soon recognized that in the chaotic Christian world of early nineteenth-century New England, permanency in religious belief for the active inquirer was always in flux. This was an era of Christian confusion, immense religious opportunity, and independence and multiple seekers recognized their once cherished beliefs were more fluid than they perceived. With so many preachers and writers flooding the press with various interpretations of scripture, the only sure foundation for Christian seekers in their quest for a tangible truth required constant inquiry in the new American marketplace of Christian ideas. Ballou, at the age of nineteen and newly married, became engulfed in the tumult of religious opinions that caught fire in New England. With the divine authority given to him by God through his deceased brother, common sense, and simple biblical exegesis, Ballou began his career as a preacher without knowing that in the not too distant future he too would become what his father feared most, a Universalist.

[117] Ibid, 19.

CHAPTER 2: UNSTABLE BELIEF; THE CONSEQUENCES AND TRIUMPHS OF DISESTABLISHMENT AND THE FREE PRESS

INTRODUCTION

When Ballou was born in 1803, he was part of the first generation of Americans who experimented with the disestablishment of religion and the press. He was one of the initial pioneers of religious freedom who sampled and participated in this new age of religious thought, practice, and print. With this new found freedom, he became part of a new form of separatism, one seemingly without bounds. The Christian traditions and tenets of the past were becoming fluid. Denominations constantly experienced schisms that threatened their disintegration as the American populace experienced the power of not only the spoken word but also the printed. The explosion of religious print culture and the seemingly endless stream of preachers advocating new and established doctrines, led to the instability of religious identity for individuals and denominations in New England. Ballou's story exemplifies this instability. As he was bombarded with Universalist texts and challenged by its ministers, he quickly recognized that his apparently fixed belief in Christian Connexion tenets were beginning to waver, leading him to join Universalism, a faith known by the larger Christian public as "priest-ridden bigots, hypocrites and deceivers."[118] However, within Universalism tensions mounted and the denomination also splintered into rivaling groups. The democratization of American Christianity and the corresponding press produced an evangelized public who began to interpret scripture for themselves and publish their musings. Denominations struggled to maintain theological and spiritual unity. Ballou exemplifies this wider struggle to maintain unified in doctrine and practice. In this chapter, I work through Ballou to highlight how opening religion and the press to the masses created a spiritual and communal tension that led to fissures in such established denominations as the Universalists.

In order to understand Ballou's innate desire to lambast the clergy and interpret scripture for himself, it is paramount to recognize what transpired prior to Ballou's birth that led to the separation of church and state and the freedom of the press. By the time of the American Revolution in 1776, denominations in Massachusetts were making inroads to disestablish the standing order churches, such as the Congregationalists. During the Revolution one could get exempted from paying church taxes by showing that one supported another officially recognized church, such as the Quakers and the Baptists. Universalists also began to organize in order to escape taxes that supported Congregationalist control. Both the Baptists and the Universalists began the process of dismantling the standing order prior to disestablishment. The United States ratified the Constitution with a Bill of Rights in 1791. Clergymen from state-sponsored denominations such as the Congregationalists

---

[118] Unknown Author, "The Universalist Bible: Answer Universalists according to their Universalism," *The Anti-Universalist Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 12 (January 14, 1829). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

recognized that their ecclesiastical control of the United States was teetering, and they feared that their own financial, as well as the nation's spiritual well-being was at stake. Such clergymen questioned what would happen if the truly penitent joined sects that preached false doctrines, such as the Universalists. Even though the First Amendment initially had little power on individual states, it nationalized the idea of disestablishing the previous church and state relationship. Certain clergymen, such as Lyman Beecher, worried that the words "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;"[119] carried spiritually destructive potential. Established churches, such as the Congregationalists in Massachusetts, feared that if the United States and its future generations were born into a spiritually ambiguous nation, all of the blood spilt by the Revolutionaries would be in vain.

In Massachusetts, the Congregationalist Reverend Peter Thatcher warned that America without the clergy would lack the necessary "social and moral criticism and the intellectual tempering,"[120] to balance the passions of mankind's sinful nature. In essence, to support the Church was to support the new nation. Thatcher's arguments were upheld in Massachusetts. The Bay State continued supporting Congregationalist clergy and the clergy of some liberal churches such as the Unitarians. In 1833, Massachusetts became the last state to successfully disband the church and state financial partnership. Congregationalists and Unitarians proved unable to squelch the flood of preachers and denominations who convinced their congregants that "every class of people have a right to shew their opinions on points which immediately concern them."[121] Without well trained clergy supported by the state, argued clergymen, home-grown preachers were likely to lead the liberated Americans into paths of self-serving independence that not only threatened to destroy the new nation but would eventually lead individuals toward eternal misery.

Beecher, arguably the foremost Congregationalist spokesperson during the first half of the nineteenth century, strongly opposed dissolving church and state ties. He worried that the "Sabbath-breakers, rum-selling tippling folk, infidels, and ruff-scuff[s]" would multiply, and the state of Connecticut would sink into moral decay. When Connecticut cut off support for the Congregationalist Church in 1811, Beecher recalled, "It was as dark a day as ever I saw. The odium thrown upon the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed, was irreparable." In his 1865 *Autobiography*, Beecher reflected on what transpired after Connecticut disestablished: "For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell *for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut*." Initially the clergy in Connecticut believed they would lose influence, but Beecher argued that once the clergy recognized their defeat, "It threw them wholly on

---

[119] U.S. Const. amend. I.
[120] Emory Elliot, "The Dove and Serpent: The Clergy in the American Revolution," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Summer, 1976): 196. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[121] Unknown Author, *The Patriot, or Scourge of Aristocracy, vol. 1, no. 1* (Oct. 2, 1801). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

their own resources and on God." As a result, the clergy rallied and formed "voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals." And their increased efforts exerted a "deeper influence" argued Beecher, "than ever [clergymen] could by queues, and shoe-buckles, and cocked hats, and gold-headed canes."[122] With the new voluntary principle that disestablishment created, denominations including the Congregationalists, grew in number as established churches were forced to participate in the "entrepreneurial milieu" of religion in the new republic.[123]

The second individual right granted by numerous states and included in the First Amendment that many clergymen did not foresee as being potentially dangerous to their standing, was the freedom of the press. Between 1790-1810, the United States became addicted to newspapers. Throughout this thirty- year period, over three hundred seventy newspapers were created largely by lay preachers and denominations. The character of the medium also changed. Prior to the Second Great Awakening, newspapers were primarily written by and for the elite. However, the newly liberated United States employed strategies that conspired against any form of social distinction. As a result, printing presses were relatively inexpensive, and commoners used blunt and vulgar language, crude oratory, and sharp ridicule to defy the elite classes, including clerical leaders sponsored by the state.[124] Timothy Dwight, a Congregational minister, and former President of Yale, became so disillusioned with newspapers that he equated their reading with "tavern-haunting, drinking, and gambling."[125]

As lay preachers began spreading their messages, egalitarian principles were infused into the text. One Boston radical and noted anti-federalist Benjamin Austin, Jr., used the pages of the *Independent Chronicle* to lambast the clergy. His call was for common people to rid themselves from the heavy handed control of the "proud priests" who enslaved their congregations by demanding absolute obedience to tenets not supported by conscience. Austin argued, "It is degrading to an American to take every thing on trust, and even the young farmer and tradesman should scorn to surrender their right of judging either to lawyers or priests." He later associated the clergy with the Pharisees of Christ's time and argued that they were part of that ancient order who would have crucified Christ earlier if not for the fear of his followers.[126]

Each denomination and preacher understood that in order to maintain and gain a following both the pulpit and the press were paramount. Religious publishing in the first half of the nineteenth century was the golden age of the printed word. In 1824, for example, the multi-denominational American Sunday School Union, encouraged a combination of literacy and piety. They cleverly

---

[122] Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D. vol. 1*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1865), 342.
[123] Candy Gunther Brown, *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America* (Raleigh, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 36.
[124] Gordon S. Wood, "The Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution," in *Leadership in the American Revolution*, Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution (Washington, D.C., 1974), 63-89.
[125] Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 25.
[126] Benjamin Austin Jr., *Constitutional Republicanism in Opposition to Fallacious Federalism* (Boston, 1803), 173, 212. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

paired Sabbath religious instruction with both Sunday and daily study. They formed libraries of inexpensive publications that reached an estimated one million children by 1837. Students and parents borrowed Sunday school library books to read during the week.[127] Not only was the dissemination of information by such societies extensive, the strategies they employed and the sheer amount of information they made available also gave power and influence to previously unheralded preachers and commoners.

Alexander Campbell, the famous preacher and organizer of the Stone-Campbell Movement, arose every morning to write enough of his musings to keep his printer publishing daily information.[128] Joshua V. Himes, a close associate of Elias Smith and William Lloyd Garrison, became enamored with the farmer-prophet William Miller, who believed Christ's advent was imminent. Himes claimed to have distributed over sixty thousand copies of the periodical *Sign of the Times* and over six hundred thousand copies of his own newspaper the *Midnight Cry*. This quickly made Miller's predictions a national cause as the populace read about the imminent return of Christ for only two cents a copy.[129] With the flood of religious newspapers and periodicals, the reading populace participated in the debates, controversies, and pronouncements of preachers and prophets who believed that the free press was their vehicle to disseminate ideas they believed were sanctioned by providence. Ballou, along with numerous others, used the press to spread their messages that enabled the reading public to expand and complicate their own Christian belief. Rather than creating denominational cohesion, the freeing of the press and the separation of church and state dismembered established churches. Virtually every denomination experienced schisms and although the majority of churches, such as the Congregationalists and Universalists, grew in numbers, Ballou showcases that one could not remain fixed in doctrine and practice. Individuals also experienced the power of schisms within themselves despite proclaiming allegiance to a particular congregation.

FROM ANNIHALATION TO SALVATION

By the beginning of 1822, Ballou's first doubts about his destructionist belief began fermenting in his mind. He continued as a school master and preached on the Sabbath in or around the Ballou Meeting House. Universalism had gained particular traction in rural New England where long standing familial and fraternal ties were more common. The Universalist doctrine of universal salvation included a strong emphasis on the brotherhood of all people under providential guidance. Universalist historian Randolph Roth, suggests that the faith resonated with farmers and their families because Universalism emphasizes a godly community rather than individual salvation.[130] By 1815,

---

[127] Brown, *The Word in the World*, 36.
[128] Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. II* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1870), 13-22.
[129] David L. Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985).
[130] Randolph Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 66-68.

there were over one hundred twenty-five Universalist congregations, primarily in rural New England and Rhode Island.[131] With the publication of his "Review" sermon that antagonized Universalist belief, Ballou found himself in constant debate with his Universalist neighbors and relatives. The majority of Ballou's relatives by the early 1820s became Universalists dating back to Hosea's conversion in 1789.[132] Lewis Metcalf, Luke Jenckes, and Levi Ballou (Adin's uncle) found time to discuss and dispute against Ballou's destructionism. The most formidable opponent however was his mother-in-law. On one occasion, she, who Ballou described as "one of the best of women," beckoned him to read Elhanan Winchester's *The Universal Restoration, Exhibited in Four Dialogues between a Minister and His Friend*.[133] Winchester, one of the founders of the United States General Convention of Universalists in the late eighteenth century, was initially a "hyper-Calvinist" until 1778 when he converted to Universalism after reading the German theologian Paul Siegvolck's *The Everlasting Covenant*, which argued that there would be an end of "sin and misery, and that all fallen creatures would be restored by Jesus Christ to a state holiness and happiness."[134] Winchester's treatise explains his journey from ardent Calvinism to Universalism. Winchester, like most Universalist theologians, used the Bible to explain its lack of conclusive evidence in regard to the eternal punishment of the wicked.[135] Winchester, however, primarily attacked endless punishment which Ballou considered indefensible and "horrible." In essence, Winchester's *Universal Restoration*, reaffirmed Ballou's belief that a just God was incapable of eternally punishing His children and assuaged his destructionist understanding of God's justice. Winchester's theology attracted Ballou by presenting arguments unlike many religious newspaper articles that were largely polemic and satirical. Winchester avoided denominational and doctrinal bickering and subtly persuaded his readers to rethink their Calvinism with arguments free of ridicule. As a result, Ballou complimented Winchester for focusing on "religious convictions and feelings – regeneration, experimental piety, [and] consecration to God" as the primary motivators to understand Universalism. "Winchester's Dialogues," later recalled Ballou, were so "seductive and convincing" that any Christian who read the book would quickly come into jeopardy with his or her own faith.[136]

As Ballou continued to ponder the merits of Winchester's arguments, one question from Ballou's Universalist friends thrust him into his first lengthy perusal of the Bible. As the debates continued with Universalist preachers in the Cumberland area, Ballou was unable to answer an

---

[131] John A. Buehrens, *Universalists and Unitarians in America: A People's History* (Boston, MA: Skinner House Books, 2011), 31-32.
[132] Peter Hughes, "The Ballou Family," Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography, http://uudb.org/articles/balloufamily.html.
[133] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 77.
[134] Paul Siegvolck, in Richard D. Eddy, *Universalism in America: A History*, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Universalist Publishing House, 1886), 215.
[135] Elhanan Winchester, *The Universal Restoration, Exhibited in Four Dialogues between a Minister and His Friend*, second edition (Boston, MA: Benjamin B. Mussey, 1831), xxxiv – xxxv. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[136] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 77-78.

interrogative posed by his friends from "Scripture and reason." Winchester's appeal to experiential religion and common sense attracted Ballou, but in order to fully embrace Universalism, he needed biblical confirmation. The question from Ballou's friends and colleagues was, namely, if an all-perfect God with infinite power, wisdom, and love, willed the final holiness and happiness of all human kind by raising up Christ to redeem all, and that same God would annihilate most of them because they were incurable sinners, would not God have to confess his "impotency and utter failure[?]" Ballou's only response at the time was his belief that the Bible "taught the doctrine [annihilationism] and that it was the best thing God could do without depriving mankind of moral freedom." This response Ballou believed was sufficient initially, but he began having doubts whether the Bible "on the whole" taught annihilationism or endless punishment. In essence, Ballou's issue with Universalism was its failure to answer the question; would not God destroy mankind's moral freedom if he saved those who died unreconciled to Him by permitting their salvation?[137]

With this question in mind and during his ongoing biblical inquiry, Ballou was invited to attend a Universalist conference by his uncle Levi in June 1822. The Southern Association of Universalists held a meeting in West Wrentham, Massachusetts, and Ballou was introduced to Hosea Ballou II. Hosea II was the grandson of Hosea Ballou's older brother Benjamin, and Hosea II studied under his uncle and adopted Universalism. Ballou and Hosea II became friends and Hosea II recruited Ballou to become part of the Universalist brethren. Hosea II explained that the Universalists did not discriminate against anyone whose beliefs contradicted certain tenets of Universalism, but if Ballou wanted full fellowship he must accept the final redemption of all mankind. After the meeting, Ballou seriously began questioning his annihilationist belief and determined to take his Bible and find out for himself if the Universalists were correct in their teaching of universal salvation.

Under three distinct heads, namely "endless punishment, destruction of the wicked, and universal salvation," Ballou went from Genesis to Revelation searching for passages that confirmed each theme. Finally, he determined that "the smallest numerical array of texts" fell under the endless punishment category. According to his calculations, the destruction of the wicked had the most references, and the next largest was in favor of the final salvation of all. This extensive study left Ballou without conclusive evidence to confirm any of the eschatological beliefs among the many denominations in New England. In his study, Ballou recognized that the Bible did not confirm one of his fundamental beliefs, that this life was the only opportunity for mankind to accept Christ. Ballou was unable to find the word "probation . . . nor a single passage evidently intended to teach the doctrine that this life is man's only probationary state." This left him to ponder if there was in essence an eternal probationary period where mankind would have the opportunity to accept Christ's Gospel. Through Ballou's perusal of the Bible, he came to the conclusion that "it was not warrantable to construe even the most intense, highly-wrought representations of sin and punishment as finalities." In other words, the next life was like unto this life where mankind would have another chance, in fact

[137] Ibid.

numerous chances, to repent and be saved. On the whole, the Bible failed to conclusively affirm Ballou's destructionist belief, and after this lengthy study, Ballou was in a doctrinal quandary.[138]

Reflecting on what might happen if he accepted Universalist doctrine, more questions flooded into Ballou's mind, and he once again came to a time of crisis. Becoming a believer in the "final holiness and happiness of all mankind" would require him to "avow and preach it." This would cause him to renounce all he had "thus far professed and contended for to the contrary." If Ballou became a Universalist, he feared the aggravation and alienation of his "fellow Christians, including [his] nearest and dearest friends." Dreading he may be denounced as a "changeling" and an "apostate" as other converts of Universalism were labeled in the Christian Connexion and in New England, a "strong internal suggestion" came into his mind, namely, "You are a victim of Satanic delusion and that makes universal salvation look probable to you. Take care how you advance."[139]

Universalism throughout New England received scathing critiques that represented its author as the devil who used Universalism to satisfy sexual permissiveness.[140] For many outside of Universalism, a belief in its tenets caused its practitioners to "lie, cheat, indulge in dissipation" and "wallow in sin of every kind"[141] while simultaneously believing their acceptance into God's heavenly kingdom. Frightened by the thought of being deceived by Satan and the numerous objections and doubts that "rolled in" upon him, Ballou again "wept, prayed, and reviewed" his current dilemma. He later claimed he was unable to "eat, drink, sleep, or appear like [him]self," and determined to "retreat out of human sight" and "vent" his emotions to God that were "bordering almost on despair." In this perplexed state "a voice came to me, saying: - 'Kneel and pray.' 'Alas!' thought I, 'for what shall I pray?' 'For deliverance – for heavenly light and guidance. Pray that if [universal salvation] be a Satanic delusion it may be dispelled; but that if the Spirit of Truth is leading you into more glorious truth, you may not resist it; and that all doubts be banished from your mind.'" While thus distressed, Ballou later recalled fervently petitioning God for clarity when "the heavens seemed to open above my head; an inexpressibly sweet influence flowed in upon my soul; the whole subject became luminous, every doubt vanished, a vision of the final triumph of good over evil shone forth in majestic splendor, and my heart was filled with transports of joy." This vision, like others experienced by Ballou show a pattern in his life. With each spiritual crossroad, Ballou is not content with simply using common sense and the Bible. He longed for heavenly confirmation with questions he deemed essential for his own temporal and eternal salvation. Ballou's "faith [in Universalism] was conclusively sealed," and for the remainder of his life he claims he never felt "one serious doubt of the final universal holiness . . . of all the immortal children of God."[142]

---

[138] Ibid, 81, 83.
[139] Ibid, 84.
[140] Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt*, 107.
[141] Thomas Whittemore, *Life of Hosea Ballou; With Accounts of His Writings, and Biographical Sketches of His Writings, and Biographical Sketches of His Seniors and Contemporaries in the Universalist Ministry* (Boston, MA: James M. Usher, 1854), 46.
[142] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 84-85.

Ballou's visionary experience that confirmed Universalist doctrine was not unprecedented. Caleb Rich, arguably the most important Universalist minister in rural New England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, while struggling to disband his Calvinist beliefs also had a series of visions. Like Ballou, Rich initially heard "a still small voice" explain to him that his motives were "from selfish principles, for fear of endless misery; you always have been and now are excited to pray from the same false motives." Within seconds a "celestial guide" appeared and informed Rich that not only were his own fears about personal salvation unnecessary, but they were inherently selfish. The visitant explained that Rich, along with his Baptist colleagues were self-righteous because they believed that by an act of their own agency they essentially became their own saviors. This belief produced "spurious conversion and begat hypocrites," explained Rich's visitant. Shortly thereafter the same "celestial friend" brought Rich to Mount Zion admonishing him to avoid Baptist tenets and later showed him the "house of God and the gate of heaven" that was open to all. In Rich's last reported vision, "Jesus the Christ of God" appeared with "unspeakable grace, mercy, meekness, mildness, loving kindness, gentleness, and compassion." Rich concluded that his visions coupled with the Holy Spirit paved the path to enlightening his understanding of scriptural knowledge in regard to universal salvation. For both Rich and Ballou, seeing became believing, and wiped away their previous contempt for Universalist doctrine.[143]

Shortly after Ballou's vision of the eternal salvation of all mankind, he feared what the implications of such a belief entailed particularly within his own family. Word of his conversion spread through the community. He anticipated a "stormy scene" with his own "brethren, relatives, and friends," but it was his father he feared most. Ariel was a staunch opponent of Universalism, and once rumor spread of Ballou's conversion he knew this would grieve Ariel. Ballou determined to speak in a "prompt and frank" manner with Ariel. According to Ballou, his father was furious, and Ballou had "no doubt that my death would have been more endurable to him. I was his favorite son and had flowered out into a promising minister of the gospel, as he understood it." Ariel, according to Ballou, "remonstrated, rebuked, denounced, pleaded, and deplored" his son to recognize he was "the deluded victim of his [Satan's] wiles." After Ariel was unable to "move" Ballou from his position, Ariel threatened disinheritance. Ballou continued to affirm Universalism and Ariel believed his "favorite son" was "hopelessly lost." After three months of frustration, Ariel apparently "became sorry" for his threat of disinheritance and Edilda, Ballou's mother, informed him that his father had a change of heart. However, Ariel had Ballou publicly disowned by the church out of a belief, according to Ballou, that his preaching and continued fellowship within their small branch of the Christian Connexion would be "dangerous to its welfare" due to his son's "seductive" and "adroit" methods of argumentation. In August, 1822, Ariel summoned Ballou before the congregants in the Ballou

---

[143] Caleb Rich, "A Narrative of Elder Caleb Rich," *Candid Examiner*, vol. 2 (April 30-June 18, 1827), 185, 189-90, 205-06. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

Meeting House and presented the case on why his son, who also served as Ariel's pastor, needed to be disfellowshipped. The audience concurred, and to the "heartfelt affliction and regret" of his father, Ballou was excommunicated from the Cumberland Christian Connexion Church. After Ballou's excommunication, their relationship waned. It took ten years before they were fully reconciled. There is no primary evidence from Ariel's own hand about this event. It is unclear if he kept any record during his lifetime. The Universalists, however, heartedly welcomed Ballou into their movement, and his in-laws rejoiced that he had converted to their own "cherished faith."[144]

After Ballou's excommunication from the Connexion, he considered himself a religious outcast. Although his in-laws welcomed him into their faith, he longed to preach again. In August, 1822, Ballou wrote Hosea II explaining his conversion to Universalism. Ballou informed Hosea II that Ballou "searched the scriptures . . . reasoned . . . [and] besought God, in prayer, to lead me into truth." He told Hosea II of his vision and that he "saw, by faith, 'the salvation of God;'" confirming Universalist tenets. He also informed Hosea II of his "folly and youthful weakness" that previously blinded him from accepting Universalism. It appears that Ballou's letter is an apology of his former rebuke of Hosea Ballou and by appearing truly converted and humbled, Ballou hoped he may enjoy association with his Universalist kin. He also may have been seeking employment in Massachusetts due to his strained relationship with his father and the community in Cumberland.[145]

In the autumn of 1822, Hosea II invited Ballou as a guest to his home in Boston. Hosea II introduced Ballou to a number of clergymen in Boston and both Hosea II and Hosea, the leader of the Universalist movement in Boston, invited Ballou to preach at their pulpits in the larger Boston area. Hosea, particularly impressed Ballou. In spite of his earlier attack on his cousin, Hosea treated Ballou with kindness and after visiting Hosea's home, Ballou admired Hosea's "sensible" and "plain habits." He lived "comfortably, but not extravagantly" and was a "great lover of children, and governed his household admirably, with a gentle but commanding discipline."[146] It appears, however, that Hosea II and Hosea may have had ulterior motives with their display of kindness to Ballou. The Universalists were amid a controversy and were looking to fill the vacancies of numerous pulpits in Massachusetts with promising young ministers. By attempting to recruit Ballou into the denomination and by allowing him to preach and fraternize with some of Universalism's most revered ministers, Hosea and Hosea II showcased the fruits of living a life based on Universalist tenets and attempted to dispel any of his previous hostilities.

Soon thereafter, Ballou committed his life to the Universalist movement. His later reflections on why he joined Universalism indicate its willingness to give him "liberty to differ" in regard to certain Universalist beliefs and "with so many expressions of cordial friendship, it was much easier to agree and conform than to nurse dissent," within the movement itself. Ballou, although he does not

---

[144] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 85-88.
[145] Adin Ballou, "Letter from Adin Ballou to Hosea Ballou 2d" *Universalist Magazine*, vol. 24 (August, 1822). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[146] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 93-94.

mention it, was unemployed and did not want to continue working on the farm, and this perhaps also led to his quick acceptance of Universalism. After his excommunication from the Christian Connexion, he explained how the Connexion had attracted him primarily because of its belief in free inquiry and liberal preaching, however, Ballou found in the Connexion an "honest narrow-mindedness" because, "[o]ne must believe in destructionism or in endless torment, else in their judgment he could not be a Christian." The Universalists showed a willingness to allow Ballou the freedom he desired and immediately installed him as a preacher.[147]

Universalism quickly alleviated Ballou's longing to preach again. He immediately received invitations to preach in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and at the request of Hosea, Ballou preached two Sundays at the renowned First Universalist Society in Boston. The Reverend Paul Dean, who was the successor of John Murray in 1815, left the First Universalist Society due in part to his Restorationist views on the afterlife that were contrary to Hosea's. Those remaining with the First Universalist church desired a replacement that was more sympathetic to Hosea. This left a vacancy, and the Universalists intended to find a successor for one of the largest Universalist churches in New England and invited a number of up-and-coming preachers to display their talents. Ballou showed promise, and he was invited to be an interim-preacher for six months. This position created alliances with other Universalist ministers in New England. During his time in Boston, he was "ordained to the work of the ministry,"[148] by the Southern Association of Universalists.

Although Ballou did not obtain the vacancy of the First Universalist Church in Boston, he was installed as the minster of the Universalist Society in Bellingham, Massachusetts, just over the border from Cumberland. This town was known for its willingness to allow various denominations to preach and establish churches. However, when Ballou took the Universalist pastorate, the Baptists who held the majority of congregants were growing weary of Universalist teachings. The Universalists were given one Sunday a month to hold their meetings in the town's city center that included a place to worship. The Baptists were given three Sundays. There was constant debate within the Bellingham populace about whether the Universalists should be allowed to use the facility. The building itself had been established in the 1780s and 1790s on the principle of non-denominationalism, but the Baptists largely financed the building. The Baptist reverend Abial Fisher revived the Baptist congregation in 1816, and from its inception he campaigned to obtain the exclusive right to worship in the meetinghouse for the Baptists. When Ballou took over the Universalist pulpit in 1822, Fisher and many of his congregants not only abhorred Universalism, but argued that the building belonged to the Baptists primarily because of the denominations financial support. Their disdain of Universalism came to an apex as Fischer and a number of his flock blocked the doors of the church on the third Sabbath in May, 1823, the Sunday normally scheduled for Universalists to meet. Fischer preached from the steps of the church, and his group did not allow Universalists to enter the chapel. Ballou

[147] Ibid, 93-94.
[148] Ibid, 102.

admonished his congregants that instead of causing more contention they would hold services in the adjacent public building.

During the next month, the squabble between the Baptists and the Universalists reached a crisis. When Ballou and a number of his congregants approached the church for the morning session of their meeting, the doors were locked from both the inside and the outside. Apparently, one of Fisher's flock had crept into the church the previous evening and made it impossible to get into the building. The forenoon service was held outside. During the noon recess, access to the church was made available by "Mr. Foster" who had the keys to the building. Both the Universalists and the Baptists rushed into the pews wrestling for position, and before Ballou could take his place at the pulpit, Fisher, "at rapid speed" climbed the stairs to the vacant pulpit, and Ballou also proceeded up the stairs joining Fisher at the top. He immediately began preaching as Ballou stood next to him without saying a word. Eventually, Ballou walked down the steps and proceeded with his congregation to once again hold their services at the hall adjacent to the church.[149]

Ballou and Fisher's fight helps explain to some degree the larger consequences of separating church and state. In essence, local government dealt with local problems, and every smaller denomination was subject to the rule of the majority. This small battle for denominational control in rural Bellingham, however, was miniscule when one compares it to the Catholics and other denominations who experienced both doctrinal disdain and mob violence.[150] Joseph Smith's Church of Jesus Christ (Mormons) fled persecution in 1820s New York and were eventually forced to flee Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to avoid incarceration and mob violence.[151] The New England Shakers (United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing) also suffered physical abuse from fellow Christian neighbors.[152] Legislating religious freedom had, at times, devastating consequences for minority faiths because local government maintained dominance over the legal and social landscape. As a minority congregation in 1823, Ballou and his parish were subjected to the rule of the majority. Fischer, after successfully reviving the Baptist denomination in Bellingham was not going to lose them again to Ballou's small band of Universalists.

Obviously frustrated by the event, Ballou went to the press to vilify and explain Fisher's behavior to the public, thus using the press to convince the majority of the wrongful actions of Fischer. "The Furious Priest Reproved," penned by Ballou in May, 1823, was circulated widely throughout Rhode Island and Boston. With access to the Universalists' press, Ballou used the New Republic's best defense against the abuses of political and religious domineering – the free press. Ballou's no-holds-barred reproach of Fisher began with a phrase from Isaiah 1:18, "Come now and let us reason

---

[149] Ibid, 98-100.
[150] Jack Tager, *Boston Riots: Three Centuries of Social Violence* (Charlotte, NC: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 104-12.
[151] Arnold Garr et al., *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 2000).
[152] Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called the Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2011), 134.

together." The words that followed were not intended to "reason" with Fisher, but with the larger New England religious community in order to inform them of the Baptists' unwillingness to allow First Amendment privileges to the Universalists. By labelling Fisher's conduct as "unhallowed, anti-christian . . . uncivil" and a "beggarly descension from clerical dignity," Ballou portrayed Fisher as a religious zealot whose conduct displayed the evils of a previous Christocentric world where dissent was silenced by coercion. Ballou viewed the behavior of Fisher and his "duped adherents" deplorable. After explaining the incident, Ballou quickly turned to berating Fisher's Baptist belief, which continued to preach elements of Calvinism. After Ballou and the "greater part of the friends of God" left the church, "the usurpers" remained within the walls worshipping "the God of confusion," explains Ballou. And if the Universalists would have remained, they would have been subjected to Fisher whose "preaching . . . tells us, we were made by God, to dishonor and wrath; to be endlessly tormented after death, &c. This last, you may depend upon it." By leaving the building peacefully, the Universalists avoided listening to Fisher and "that murderer John Calvin; whose flinty heart could stand unappalled, and see an innocent man roasting in the flames, which were kindled by his [God's] means," argues Ballou. He claims that Fisher viewed Ballou as "an apostate from the Christian religion, a deist under a mask." What Fisher was really defending, according to Ballou, was his belief that Universalism was dangerous, even pernicious, and must be stamped out of Bellingham. The majority of the "Furious Priest Reproved" contains proofs from the Bible that Universalism is biblically acceptable.[153]

Ballou's attack on Fisher was a common technique used by antebellum Christian and political authors. Itinerants and politicians cleverly used polemics in their publications with an audience who was accustomed to hearing distasteful speech aimed at revered figures. Such speech was not only more exciting, but utilitarian in its efforts to arouse the masses to join political and religious movements. Using biting sarcasm, satire, and common sense, was key to spreading readership. Mistrust and cynicism became the defining features of newspapers in American public life, and in order to spread one's own readership, openly lambasting political, commercial, and religious opponents increased the audience.[154]

For example, the *Aurora* founded by Benjamin Franklin Bache in 1790, was the most influential Republican newspaper in the United States. The *Aurora* lambasted leading Federalists and constantly critiqued Federalist administrations. Federalists, frustrated by the propagation of the *Aurora* labelled it as the "prostitute of newspapers" and the "mother of abominations."[155] The *Aurora* itself not only put Thomas Jefferson forward as an alternative to John Adams, but also the "political and religious attitudes which John Adams was said to represent." The *Aurora* successfully labeled

---

[153] Adin Ballou, *The Furious Priest Reproved.* (Providence, RI: John Miller, Printer, 1823): 3, 5-7, 12. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[154] Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt*, 56.
[155] Donald H. Steward, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany, NY: State University New York Press, 1969), 612.

Adams as part of the educated elite in New England that was dominated by an "intolerant clerical-political aristocracy."[156] Popular newspapers were latent with articles fixed on promoting certain agendas. As New Englanders were accustomed to reading political newspapers that were latent with misrepresentations and contextual bias, they eagerly absorbed the similar speech that berated the clergy and rivaling beliefs within new religious newspapers.

It appears Ballou's chiding of Fisher may have been used as a conduit to further expand the Universalist movement in Bellingham and perhaps establish himself as a recognizable force within Universalism. By using Fisher as the prototypical "dark ages" preacher, Ballou hoped to guide his readership away from pre-Revolution Christianity into a new millennial understanding of the "God of love" as preached by Universalists. "Remember" warns Ballou after his lengthy biblical defense, that "thou canst not put the doctrine of Universalism down," and "we shall propagate the gospel of God's universal, and impartial grace, so long as we honestly believe it . . . regardless of the frowns of our opposers." The last sentences of Ballou's reprisal admonishes Fisher to come to an understanding of his sinful behavior, and Ballou hopes that what he has written will bring Fisher to repentance.[157] This was not only a call for Fisher's enlightenment, but to the denominations in the area who continued to harbor Calvinist teachings. There seems to be no remaining evidence from Fisher or his Baptist congregation who witnessed the event that would counter Ballou's assessment of what happened. The "Furious Priest" publication was similar to his attack on Hosea in that it primarily focused on doctrines Ballou viewed with contempt.

By joining and preaching for the Universalists, Ballou was constantly on the defense due to Universalism's disdain among the broader Christian public in New England. He became immersed in the denominational infighting through the press and from the pulpit as Baptists, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Universalists, Unitarians, and Methodists competed for converts. Initially, Ballou may have thought Universalism was free from institutional bickering, but as his affiliation and status within Universalism increased, he recognized that his fight against Fisher was small in comparison to the struggles within Universalism itself. Ballou soon realized that he had joined a branch of Universalism amidst a doctrinal and internal struggle that threatened to destroy the movement itself.

UNIVERSAL SCHISM

Not only did Ballou's experience with Fisher prove a lack of cohesion among the broader Christian public, inter-denominational dissent plagued virtually every New England denomination. As preachers from competing congregations squabbled in the press and from the pulpit, internal division among the denominations themselves proved arguably more destructive. Schisms within religion is

---

[156] Alan V. Briceland, "The Piladelphia Aurora, The New England Illuminati, and the Election of 1800," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 100, No. 1 (January, 1976): 8.
[157] Ibid, 5-7, 12.

not a new phenomenon, but American schism is interesting in that it occurred within religions that were not affiliated with the state and were voluntarily joined.

When Ballou committed to the Universalists, it was amid a theological battle that threatened to disunite the movement known as the "Restorationist Controversy." Hosea and Edward Turner who previously were great friends and participated together in a joint ministry circuit in central Massachusetts in 1800-03, gathered followers around their differences in Universalist belief. Hosea and Turner, who successfully joined the Eastern (Maine), Northern (Vermont), and Western (central New York State) Universalist Associations into a regional body under the Universalist New England General Convention umbrella by 1815, became antagonistic toward each other after a competition for vacant pulpits in Boston generated animosity between the two. Hosea and Turner also had theological differences that strained their relationship and the movement. Between 1817-23, Hosea and Turner engaged in open warfare about Universalist doctrine. This push for doctrinal control crippled the movement as Universalists were essentially left to join sides with either Turner or Hosea's biblical exegesis. Turner believed that mankind would eventually be restored to "holiness and happiness" after a limited period of discipline and repentance. This was largely the belief among eighteenth-century Universalists such as Winchester. Hosea, however, differed and promoted the doctrine of immediate salvation after death. This is what came to be known as "Ultra Universalism." The Ultras were growing and Turner with Paul Dean and Jacob Wood (two well-known New England Universalist ministers) continued fomenting disdain for Hosea's brand of Universalism. The Restorationists, as they came to be known, were considerably smaller, but attempted to rally important Universalists to their cause.[158]

Upon closer examination, the doctrinal dispute, though important, may not have been the primary motivator for Universalists to take sides. Many who believed in Turner's brand of Universalism continued to follow Hosea's leadership based primarily on their loyalty to him. Hosea II, for example, differed in doctrine from his uncle but accepted his leadership. Hosea successfully recruited the younger more evangelical preachers as well, such as Thomas Whittemore, and more importantly controlled the editorship of *The Universalist Magazine*. It published multiple preachers' musings throughout New England and many feared if they joined Turner their words would not reach the larger public. Turner's, Wood, and Deans' *Evangelical Repertory*, and *The Christian Repository*, publications did not begin until 1823 and could not compete with the wider and more established *Universalist Magazine*. By failing to put an effectual newspaper debate on the subject of future punishment into publication, Turner and other Restorationists were left wondering if *The Universalist Magazine* would give fair representation of their sentiments.[159]

---

[158] Peter Hughes, "The Restorationist Controversy: Its Origin and First Phase, 1801-1824," *Journal of Unitarian Universalist History Vol. XXVII* (2000): 1, 25-26.
[159] Ibid,28-29.

Turner, and his supporters, likely feared that Hosea's brand of Universalism would distance the movement from alliances among Unitarians. When Turner and Hosea argued the topic of future retribution in an open newspaper debate, Unitarians were shocked with Hosea's newfound belief. Unitarians in general believed in free will similar to Restorationists. Hosea's brand of Universalism was appalling to Unitarians in that is was deterministic. All would be saved regardless of one's own repentance or acceptance of salvation. The Unitarian editor of the *Boston Kaleidoscope* after reading Hosea's rebuttal of Turner lumped all Universalists together with Roman Catholics, Calvinists, and Deists, whose views contradicted the "rational and liberal" forms of Christianity.[160] Hosea's form of Universalism became akin to the Gnostics in the first and second centuries, and like the Deists of the revolutionary period, went beyond anything deemed reasonable by the larger Christian community in New England.

When Ballou was ordained a full Universalist minister in 1823, the controversy was in full swing, and he was partial to Hosea despite doctrinal differences. The first visit with him left Ballou with a "strong tendency to blunt my convictions and scruples, or as might be said, soothe my prejudices against ultra-Universalism." Like his cousin Hosea II, Ballou theologically aligned with the Restorationists' understanding of universal salvation. The kindness showed to him by his kin and other Ultras while he preached in Boston "infected" Ballou as he later recalled, "with an almost groundless prejudice against Revs. Paul Dean, Edward Turner [and] Charles Hudson."[161] In the beginning of the controversy, Hosea's recruitment of Ballou proved fruitful in obtaining another young minister who became antagonistic toward the "ambitious factionists and mischief-makers [Restorationists]" as Ballou described them in the mid-1820s, who he thought attempted to hinder the progress of the Universalist movement. Although not doctrinally aligned with Hosea, he continued to display cordiality to Ballou and a belief that his pastoral gifts would strengthen the larger Universalist movement. From 1824-28, Ballou helped grow Universalism in many rural towns in Massachusetts, including Milford, Bellingham, and Medway. By 1827, at the age of twenty-four, Ballou was an established and respected Universalist minister largely from the recommendations and opportunities given him by Hosea that soon led him to New York City to re-establish the Universalist church led by Abner Kneeland. Ballou remained silent in regard to the ongoing controversy and was content with spreading the message of universal salvation further.

As Universalism grew in the late 1820s, leading Universalists, including Hosea, asked Ballou to fill the New York City pastorate due to Abner Kneeland's separation and formation of a rivaling Universalist church. This split threatened to destroy the Universalist Society of New York City that was previously founded in 1822. Hosea did not want to lose any more of Kneeland's flock to his breakaway group called the Second Universalist Society. Kneeland, who had been a longtime friend

---

[160] Russell E. Miller, *The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America, 1770-1870: A Finding Aid* (Boston, MA: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1979), 111-23.
[161] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 94.

of Hosea, continually pushed the limits of Universalist doctrine. While in New York City, Kneeland adopted certain principles from the British communitarian Robert Owen and began questioning the existence of an afterlife.[162] By 1829, Hosea no longer recognized Kneeland as a Universalist minister, and he was dismissed from the Universalist convention. Hosea asked Ballou to help re-establish and bring back Kneeland's fold in 1827. Ballou was initially reluctant to leave his community in Milford. After all, he had finally built a modest home where he was comfortable with his wife. But the persuasions of his superiors and the Universalists in New York City who desired a pastor with more conservative Universalist teachings, proved to be too attractive. Ballou also desired a prestigious pulpit, and New York City appeared to be the opportunity for wider influence among Universalists. Ballou accepted the terms of the New York City pastorate, and left his wife and family for New York City to make preparations for their coming and to meet his new flock. In a letter to his wife on July 23, 1827, Ballou's first impressions of New York City and the people were positive: "I am treated with much respect by the brethren here, who are plain, intelligent, kind people . . . . I am also happily disappointed in the place. Those who have spoken against this city have misrepresented it. It is superior to Boston . . . and the people are less stiff and starched than in most large New England towns."[163] The pay was also better and Ballou's salary jumped from $330 annually in Milford to $800 in New York.

After getting his family settled in New York City, Ballou attempted to re-energize the church. "With all the ability and zeal of which [he] was master,"[164] Ballou preached to his anxious onlookers. After roughly a year of performing his pastoral labors, Ballou recognized that the movement had remained the same. His lack of success tormented him, and he started a semi-monthly paper called *The Dialogical Instructor*, which he believed would aid in returning Kneeland's fold back to the established Universalist church. He secured the finances from a "few personal friends" and began his first of many editorships. On January 5, 1828, the first publication was distributed to the community asking them to "carefully examine, and then judge of the merits of our undertaking . . . . For we are vain enough to believe, that if you do this, we shall not only have your hearty support, but have it as a free-will offering." The purpose of the newspaper was to explain "a Miscellany of religion, morality, reason, and common sense; consisting chiefly of original matter . . . designed to illustrate and defend the Bible, the Christian Religion, the doctrine of Universal Salvation, plain Morality, religious Liberty, and the truths of reason, nature, and experience generally."[165] Although Ballou printed texts from differing denominations and philosophical teachers, his newspaper naturally had a Universalist bias. When other faiths were discussed it usually was in a dialogic debate between an individual who espoused Universalism and argues with a practitioner of another faith. In the end the Universalist

---

[162] Stephan Papa and Peter Hughes, "Abner Kneeland," *Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography* (2001). http://uudb.org/articles/abnerkneeland.html.
[163] Adin Ballou letter to Abigail Sayles Ballou, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 131-32.
[164] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 136.
[165] Adin Ballou, "Editorial Address," *Dialogical Instructer*, vol. 1. no.1 (New York, NY: January 5, 1828): 1. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

defeats his or her opponent. This undertaking was not only an attempt to bring back Kneeland's fold but simultaneously attempted to persuade non-Universalists to join the movement.

The Dialogical Instructor also employed satire as a method to explain the false teachings of other faiths and former members of Universalism. In one article sarcastically titled "The Glorious Gospel of Endless Misery," an unknown author, likely Ballou, uses passages from Jonathan Edwards's famous and infamous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," to explain that this view of God's character is not biblically sanctioned and cannot be attributed to Christ. Rather, it was originally "derived from the mysteries of Pagan Babylon and Egypt, fostered by the Greek and Roman Idolaters" who then "incorporated" this false teaching into the "Christian System in the early days of its corruption."[166] There was hope that this newspaper would reach a broader audience, but the Universalist slant was directed toward the members in New York City who were either struggling with their own faith or those who were partial to Kneeland's brand of Universalism. Nor was this the first Universalist newspaper in New York. *The Gospel Herald, Universalist Preacher, Messenger of Peace, Evangelical Restorationist, Gospel Inquirer, Rochester Magazine, Herald of Salvation, Utica Magazine, Gospel Advocate, Evangelical Repository,* and *Day Star* were all newspapers circulated throughout New York prior to Ballou's time in the state.[167] Kneeland also published his musings in *The Olive Branch.* The Universalists alone produced 138 different periodicals after 1820 in New England as well, laced with scathing critiques on Calvinist, Catholic, and any teaching that did not confirm the Universalist doctrine of universal salvation.[168]

By July, 1828, the *Dialogical Instructer* failed to attract enough subscribers to continue financing the bi-weekly newspaper. The original trustees were unwilling to continue funding it. In a letter written to the editors of the *Universalist Magazine*, Ballou explained that, "When the proprietors found that they could not carry on the publication of the Instructer without great inconvenience and unwarrantable sacrifices" they discontinued their funds. The letter written to the editors was also a plea to allow those who paid for an entire year's subscription of the *Dialogical Instructer* to be able to receive thirteen newspapers of *The Universalist Magazine* without cost.[169]

The failure of Ballou's *Dialogical Instructor* was due in part to the proliferation of the printed word. He could not compete with the long standing newspapers in New York City, and the almost limitless amount of other religious newspapers. With the influx of new print, newspapers were no longer read "with awe," remarked Boston publisher Samuel Goodrich due to the sheer amount of

---

[166] Unknown Author, likely Adin Ballou, "The Glorious Gospel of Endless Misery," *Dialogical Instructer, vol. 1, no. 6* (New York, NY: March 15, 1828): 22-23.
[167] Thomas Whittemore, *The Modern History of Universalism, from the era of the Reformation to the Present Time* (Boston, MA: Published by the Author, 40, Cornhill, 1830), 408-09.
[168] Miller, *The Larger Hope*, 285-87.
[169] Adin Ballou, "Dialogical Instructer" *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. 1, no. 3* (Boston, MA: July 19, 1828): 10. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

texts.[170] Virtually every citizen in New England and New York had access to numerous tracts and newspapers. The old print culture devoted to gentlemen and clergy became diluted in the nineteenth century by the competitive religious marketplace as denomination, prophet, and preacher viewed the printing press as a "mechanical engine for converting the world."[171] The public devoured an unprecedented amount of information from an array of religious newspapers. Prior to the American Revolution, the public press was largely a source of cultural cohesion, primary for elites. By 1820, however, Massachusetts alone had over 400 post offices, most of which were formed after the Revolution. The creation of religious newspapers after Smith's *Herald of Gospel Liberty* in 1808, became so prevalent by 1823 that one Methodist remarked "a religious newspaper would have been a phenomenon not many years since."[172] By the late 1820s, the press became the agent that gave denominations and ambitious preachers, like Ballou, a textual soapbox to promulgate unfiltered declarations that resulted in a fragmented society. The new wave of religious "communication entrepreneurs," created competing voices, all of which believing they broadcasted the truth.[173] Ballou's newspaper was simply one of many vying for influence in New York City and New England, even among Universalists in New York. This created discord not only among different denominations but within each movement.

These religious newspapers took a radical turn during the early nineteenth century and rather than being primarily proliferated among clergymen, such as *Christian History* during the eighteenth century, preachers utilized the press to express their distaste for unpalatable doctrines. With lay ministers and persons claiming providential authority, coupled with the power of the liberated press, each produced an almost incalculable amount of discord. Frustrated perhaps by the failure of his *Dialogical Instructor* to remain relevant, Ballou became alarmed by the "licentiousness of the public press," and in 1830 he warned those in attendance at the Fourth of July celebrations in Mendon, Massachusetts, of the "armies of paper veterans . . . [who were] enraging man against man, and brother against brother." So enraged by the slander, Ballou prophesied that if "we are to be bespattered with the filthy slang of puffing and fretting partisans," the United States would fall into "bloody anarchy, within twenty-five years." There was such "confusion of tongues . . . that the Babel stammering can scarcely be mentioned in comparison!!" Within the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the elation associated with the freedom of the press contributed to the explosion of denominations, political parties, and reformers, spreading polemical babble toward each other. Yet, as Ballou laments, "the conductors of these public prints profess[ed] to be the guardians of our liberties – faithful sentinels on the ramparts of freedom, the wisest, most intelligent and patriotic men

---

[170] Samuel Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime*, vol. 1 (New York: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856), 86. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[171] Horace Bushnell, *New Englander and Yale Review*, vol. 2 (1844): 605-07; quoted in Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Mission for Life: The Study of the Family of Adoniram Judson* (New York, Free Press, 1980), 67.
[172] Unknown Author, *Methodist Magazine*, Vo. 6, no. 6 (Jan. 1823); quoted in Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 136.
[173] Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 126-27.

in the nation." For him, Americans were drinking an "intellectual beverage of wormwood and gall" from the newspapers, and he called for reform. So angered by the printed disdain among denominations and political parties, Ballou proposed the creation of "Newspaper Temperance Societies" that pledged to abstain "totally from patronizing or reading any paper, whether political or religious, whose conductor will not candidly represent men, measures and this as they are." Ballou believed that if states and counties aided by auxiliaries in towns adopted this pledge the press "would soon be redeem[ed] from its degradation."[174] The freedom of the press created discord rather than unity, and Ballou, similar to Timothy Dwight, read many newspapers with disgust, while simultaneously attempting to resurrect newspapers into a more palpable, educational, and spiritually uplifting medium. Ballou's critique of newspapers seems interesting and even self-righteous. His call to abstain from reading irreligious and disunifying newspapers fails to admit that he too participated in the deluge of sarcastic and polemical print-based proselytizing. It wasn't until the failure of the *Dialogical Instructer* that Ballou antagonized and condemned the reading public who decided to support other newspapers. Ballou's frustrations with reading newspapers was only aimed towards those that disagreed with Universalist teachings.

FAILURE IN NEW YORK

Ballou, with the formation of the *Dialogical Instructer,* believed he would be able to reconvert Kneeland's branch of Universalism and expand the movement in New York City. However, less than a year had passed until Ballou realized that he had done little to reactivate the former Universalists who had left the movement with Kneeland, and the larger public were not persuaded by Ballou's preaching and writing to convert to the Universalist church. The yearlong "zeal" and "effort" he had given, including the establishment of a newspaper, was not enough to combat the converts of the Kneeland schism, and a public exposed to numerous denominations and their teachings. Lamentingly, Ballou conceded that, "Mr. Kneeland and his adherents seemed to prosper" and grew in number converting "many wavering and susceptible minds." Not only were Ballou's efforts not meeting his own and his body of Universalists' expectations, but "a greater trial" to him was the realization that he was not meeting the "expectations of my people" in New York City. Ballou understood that he was not fit for the position and longed to return to his pastorate in Milford. He was not, in his own words "the right man in the right place,"[175] and began discussing a return to Milford with some of his close friends.

Esquire Hunt, a friend in Milford wrote multiple letters in the beginning of 1828 asking Ballou to return to Milford. Hunt received from an unknown source some gossip regarding Ballou's wellbeing and failure to reactivate Kneeland's schism. On February 25, 1828, Hunt encouraged

---

[174] Adin Ballou, *An Oration Delivered Before the Citizens of Blackstone Village and its Vicinity, Mendon, Mass. July 5, A.D. 1830* (Providence, RI: Cranston & Knowles, Printers, No. 4, market-St., 1830), 12-14. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[175] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 136.

Ballou to return to Milford informing him that "[their] society still believe it is best for them, as well as yourself, that you should come back as soon as possible."[176] By the end of Ballou's twenty-fifth birthday in April, 1828, he deliberated returning to Milford for two weeks and believed that it was the right thing to do. He began making preparations and informed the leading ministers of Universalism of his plans to return to his former community in Milford and that someone more fit to quell Kneeland's movement should take his place. When Ballou informed the trustees of his New York City parish that he had decided to return to Milford, they were "astonished" and asked him if he could use his influence to inquire after Hosea to supplant Ballou's pulpit. Although reluctant at first, Ballou explained the situation to Hosea. Upon hearing Ballou's request, and to his surprise, Hosea came to New York to speak with Mr. Henry Fitz, the chairman of the board of trustees in New York City, a wealthy merchant, and the primary financier of the Universalist movement in New York. Hosea negotiated a salary of $2000 annually to come to New York City. The New York City branch must have been elated for Ballou to be replaced by Hosea, despite the financial requirement. However, in private, Hosea was using a "mercantile foxiness," according to Ballou, to fatten his pockets as he bargained with two other parishes for his services. Eventually, Hosea remained in Boston accepting a large "premium" to continue his services there. This disheartened Ballou, and the reverence he once held for Hosea evaporated. The "worldly shrewdness" displayed by Hosea ruined Ballou's respect for his cousin and became one of the reasons for eventually joining the Restorationist faction.[177]

Ballou's contempt for Hosea's financial dealings with the Universalist church in New York may have been misjudged. In 1831, roughly three years after the incident, Ballou apparently called for the censure of the Prince Street Universalist Society in New York City in the *Boston Recorder* (the leading Trinitarian journal in New England). Thomas Whittemore, the editor of *The Universalist Magazine*, asked Fitz to explain why Ballou had called for the society's excommunication. Fitz responded in a letter that his "feelings" toward Ballou "incline in very friendly considerations. But the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, demands, and must receive my humble support, in defiance of any and every consideration."[178] Fitz, who was the primary benefactor of the Prince Street Universalist Society, admitted that Ballou with "zealous co-operation" had attempted to persuade Hosea to replace him as pastor. However, Ballou's call for the Prince Street's censorship left Fitz bewildered:

> If any thing published by Mr. Adin Ballou, shall be considered either directly or indirectly to imply a censure of said society, and to contain assertions derogatory to the character of the members of it, I avow, as one of them, that with all our derelictions and aberrations, I have sufficient charity remaining to forgive his want of it; and I confidently trust, that I speak the sentiments of a large majority of my brethren . . . . But whatever Heaven has in store for us,

---

[176] Esquire Hunt to Adin Ballou, February 25, 1828, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 138.
[177] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 145-46.
[178] Henry Fitz to Thomas Whittemore, February 1, 1831, in "Communication" *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine* vol. 3, no. 32 (February 5, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

> may it be our prayer, for the possession of our souls in patience as men . . . . So far as the offensive isms are in question, I make this return – nulla bono.[179]

Fitz admits that within the movement in New York City there were differences in belief and negligent behavior. However, this did not warrant the Prince Street Society to be excommunicated from the larger Universalist establishment. Hosea likely did not take the position in New York City because he recognized that remnants of Kneeland's teachings remained imprinted on the congregants at Prince Street. Yet New Yorkers, although they were doctrinally rebellious to the larger Universalist movement at times, expressed their desire to remain loyal to the broader tenets of Universalism. Fitz explained to Whittemore, "We say to all men, 'Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and let no man subject you to bondage.'" The Prince Streeters were faithful Universalists, but any minister who preached at their pulpit needed to understand that they would not be subjected to absolutism. The $2000 asked by Hosea arguably would not have been enough compensation to try and unite Prince Street under a strictly defined Universalism. Ballou later admitted, "I do not censure Mr. Ballou [Hosea] for not going to New York. It would have been unwise for him to have done so on *any* salary."[180]

Ultimately, Ballou returned to Milford "a sadder, though a wiser man." His initial admiration for the city disappeared and he no longer praised it and the Prince Street Society there. Instead, "upon closer acquaintance" he viewed New York City as a "Babylon, composed of all peoples and tongues, high and low, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate, in one vast whirl of good and evil enterprise."[181] His former friends heartedly welcomed him back to his former pastorate in Milford where he once again ran a school and continued his ministerial duties.

Despite his frustration with Hosea, Ballou found comfort in Universalist tenets during an extensive time of bereavement. Outwardly, Ballou appeared content and comfortable, but inwardly he was perplexed. Prior to leaving New York, Ballou "received in a dream" a "solemn premonition of coming bereavement. I saw, or seemed to see, as in a vision, the dead body of my wife lying before me, and near by a new-born living infant." Like previous visionary experiences, Ballou understood this dream-vision as a prophecy. For weeks it "haunted" him, and he hoped this was only a "barren and harmless freak of the mind." A few months later his wife's health steadily declined and Ballou's "vision" repeatedly manifested itself "anew in my breast" and tortured him with "the most fearful apprehensions." He remained silent and told no one of his vision. His wife was pregnant and on January 30, 1829, Adin Jr. was born. Ballou's wife appeared to be making progress, however she was hit with "quick consumption" which usually resulted in death. It became clear that the inevitable was approaching and Ballou's wife "conversed freely" with him about her imminent death. "She desired me to pray with and for her (which I did as best I could with my anguish-stricken spirit and quivering

---

[179] Ibid.
[180] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 145-46.
[181] Ibid, 148.

lip), assured me of her unabated dying love for me [and] expressed the wish that her body might be buried in some place where mine at last could rest by its side," Ballou later recalled. On February 20, 1829, Ballou's "beloved" wife who was twenty-eight years old passed away. Friends, parishioners, and neighbors attended the funeral service and Hosea II gave the funeral sermon. Ballou's "exemplary wife, whom [he] had every reason to love, confide in, cherish, and hold in perpetual and ever precious remembrance," passed on leaving him with Adin Jr., thus fulfilling the vision he had received in New York.[182]

The *Universalist Magazine* gave a brief obituary notice of Ballou's wife's death, likely written by Hosea II. The writer lauded her for her "serene confidence in the Father of Universal Grace, and when the last hour arrived and the torpor of death came upon her, she bade her husband farewell with composure."[183] On April 4, 1829, the *Universalist Magazine* also published a letter written by Ballou to Reverend Sebastian Streeter, a leading figure in Universalism. Streeter, who had also lost his wife to a similar sickness, believed Ballou's letter contained a "sentiment of [the] soul" to those who were "visited with similar afflictions" and would convince the disbelievers of Universalist doctrine. Universalism provided a "rational reconciliation to the severe allotments of life." The "sorrows . . . woes . . . [and] troubles" Ballou experienced during his mourning period were supplanted with the assurance of Universalist tenets that gave him the affirmation that there "is consolation in that divine Fountain . . . I submit to the will of God; for, that will respects my own and the good of all. It has provided mansions of endless felicity for all the mourners of the earth, and bids me anticipate a happy meeting with the beloved Companion of my bosom, where, made like the angels of God in heaven, we shall be parted no more."[184] What Universalism offered to the nineteenth-century Christian was confidence that one's closest companions would not only live in an eternal world, but they would be saved and become part of God's celestial habitat, thus making death a more affable transition for the deceased and alleviating the angst of the living who otherwise questioned the status of their loved ones in the hereafter.

Ballou's acceptance of his wife's death shows how Universalism provided nineteenth-century Christians another option on how to respond to the passing of beloved acquaintances. The New England religious marketplace allowed believers to choose from a variety of interpretations on how to approach the inevitable. Prior to the Second Great Awakening, Calvinism largely dominated the landscape. One was taught to "keep due bounds and moderation in [their] Sorrows, and not be too deeply concerned for these dying, short lived things."[185] Submission to God's will was the path to

---

[182] Ibid 149-51, 154.
[183] Unknown Author, *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine* (March 7, 1829). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[184] Sebastian Streeter, "Sympathy and Resignation," *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 20 (April 4, 1829): 159. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[185] John Flavell, *A Token for Mourners* (Rattleborough, MA: William Fessenden, 1813), 25. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

righteousness, and death was a sign of God's goodness. Cotton Mather explained, "The common Lot of good Men in this present evil World, is to meet with much Evil . . . GOD has meant it [death] unto Good."[186] Calvinism offered a solution to understanding death by accepting God's will. Suffering was by divine decree.

Yet, other approaches to understanding death prior to the Second Great Awakening included such beliefs as, Humanitarianism, which rejected the doctrine of original sin and argued against the notion of Calvinism that saw "Wrath, and Fury, and Revenge, and Terrors in the DEITY when we are full of Disturbances and Fears within." God, for Humanitarians was benevolent and gave the gift of compassion to His children. Those who grieved for their deceased were not meant to suffer alone or in silence. For Humanitarians, God's gift to mankind was to "mourn with those who mourn," that highlighted God's greatest attribute given to mankind – love.[187] In contrast, death remained particularly difficult for Evangelicals who constantly questioned where their loved ones were predestined for heaven or hell.

With the appearance of new nineteenth-century denominations, Christians' interpretation God's character and the afterlife began to vary more widely. William Ellerly Channing, the leading Unitarian in the early nineteenth century, explained that "our Father in heaven is originally, essentially, and eternally placable, and disposed to forgive; and that his unborrowed, underived, and unchangeable love is the only fountain of what flows to us through his Son [Jesus]."[188] According to Channing, heaven was attainable for everyone. Thus although mourning for the death of loved ones was natural, one ought not to mourn for the well-being of the deceased's soul, for God would forgive. Similar to Channing, Mormons also held an optimistic view of the character of God and the afterlife. Joseph Smith taught that heaven consists of three kingdoms of glory where eternal rewards await mankind based on their faithfulness. Even murderers would be among those who obtained one of the kingdoms. Only the "devil, his angels, and those who become sons of perdition during mortal life"[189] would not obtain a kingdom of glory. Quakers, on the other hand, believed that God's kingdom is in the present and that heaven and hell were issues left up to individual interpretation. To Quakers, understanding the present was far more important than speculation about the hereafter.[190]

Although many of these smaller denominations portrayed an optimistic perspective of God's character and the heaven that awaited even the impenitent, dominant evangelical portrayals of a bifurcated heaven continued to dominate the market. The Free-will Baptists, who accepted the Arminian principles of free grace, free salvation, and free will, believed heaven's gates were open to

---

[186] Cotton Mather, *The Nightingale: An Essay on the Songs Among Thorns* (Boston, MA: B. Green, 1724), 10. Congregational Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).
[187] Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*: *The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2013), 83-84.
[188] William Ellerly Channing, *A Sermon Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Jared Sparks, to the Pastoral Care of the First Independent Church in Baltimore, May 5, 1819* (Boston, MA: Hews & Goss., 1819), 19. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[189] Joseph Smith, *The Doctrine and Covenants*. https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/76?lang=eng.
[190] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 30.

all contingent upon one's acceptance of Christ's atonement. Heaven and Hell were the two options given to mankind by their creator. General Baptists, and Methodists also held this traditional understanding of an afterlife with an either/or option for happiness or misery. Francis Asbury, one of the first founders of Methodism in the United States, explained in a portion of his sermon based on 2 Corinthians 5:2, which teaches onlookers about the "terror of the Lord," that the terror was "in death, the resurrection and general judgement" when one would recall all of his or her sins that offended God. With this knowledge came the "certainty of his punishment being eternal." By explaining the choice given to mankind to accept Christ, Asbury hoped to persuade his audience to come unto Christ "by all that is desirable in religion, and all that the truly pious enjoy – by all the glories of heaven, and all the horrors of the remediless perdition."[191] Not only could one choose one's own sociality during this existence, the same option was at their disposal for the life to come. With this new explosion of itinerants theologizing the Bible, New Englanders, like Ballou, could now choose from various doctrinal options to help mourn the loss of loved ones. Ballou's choice to accept Universalism came with the assurance of his wife's salvation and their happy reunion in the hereafter.

BECOMING A RESTORATIONIST

Although Ballou found solace in Universalism's doctrines of the afterlife, he began questioning Ultra-Universalism's doctrinal control of the broader Universalist movement. Hosea's financial negotiations witnessed by Ballou, simultaneously, reignited his distaste for certain tenets of Ultra-Universalism. Prior to 1829, Ballou was content with keeping his doctrinal qualms hidden and did not publish any dyslogistic articles against Ultra-Universalism. In April, 1829, however, Ballou began subtly questioning the Ultras' doctrinal influence. In a letter to Whittemore, editor of the *Universalist Magazine*, Ballou asked Whittemore five questions to help Ballou better understand the meaning of Matthew 12:31-32: "What do the Scriptures mean by the forgiveness or remission of sins? What do they mean by the punishment of sin? What age was that, which Christ in the text denominated the world or age to come? Did those Pharisees, who blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, live till both those ages had passed away, in neither of which their sin was to be forgiven? [O]r did they die in the end of the age, that then was?"[192] Simply stated, did the vilest of sinners, the Pharisees, who Ballou believed denied the Holy Ghost, have ample time to repent before they died? The letter itself is non-combative, but Whittemore must have sensed Ballou was beginning to doctrinally align with the Restorationists. Whittemore's reply begins by complimenting Ballou and being surprised that he asked the questions due to his understanding of scripture. Whittemore humbly states, "With but little confidence in my own ability to edify one who has made the Scriptures his study as long as you have, I will offer you a few observations on the questions which you have proposed to me." Using a

[191] Francis Asbury, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury Journal I* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1958), 788.
[192] Adin Ballou letter to Thomas Whittemore, *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (April 4, 1851): 158. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.). Andover-Theological Library, Harvard.

multitude of passages from the Bible, Whittemore explained the Ultras position in regard to Ballou's inquiry and concluded, "I am happy to agree with you, my brother, in the eventual restoration of all mankind to holiness and happiness; and to believe, that whatever may be said of particular sins, there is a remedy for all; 'the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.'"[193] Whittemore subsequently published their correspondence in the *Universalist Magazine* for the broader movement to contemplate.

Shortly thereafter, Ballou delivered a sermon to the Medway, Massachusetts, Universalist Society that strongly defended Restorationism's understanding of future punishment. His subtle approach of asking easily defendable questions from the previous year came to a halt as he not only attacked non-Universalist denominations, but perhaps unknowingly Hosea. Ballou's sermon, "The Inestimable Value of Souls," caused even more grief to his cousin, than the "Review" Ballou had published prior to his conversion to Universalism. As his estimation of Hosea's character declined, Ballou attacked his cousin's beloved and long defended doctrine of no future punishment. Ballou's sermon first given in April, 1830 and published in May of the same year, begins by defending Universalism against other Christian denominations that continued to ridicule Universalists' understanding of salvation. As the sermon progresses, Ballou incorporates Restorationist's understanding of the afterlife and finishes the sermon by interpreting 1 Peter 3:18-20.

These particular passages held significant importance particularly to Hosea. From 1810-11, Hosea's theology was leaning towards no-future-punishment until he came across the aforementioned passages in 1 Peter:

> For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; Which sometimes were disobedient, when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water.[194]

These verses seem to indicate a reformatory period after death, and Hosea admitted to Edward Turner in 1810 that Hosea's leaning towards no-future-punishment was indefensible based on those passages. However, as Hosea continued to study the Bible and became acquainted with other Universalists in Boston, by 1817 he officially declared a future state of reformation unacceptable.[195] Hosea's new interpretation of the "Spirits in Prison" passage asserted that Peter did not speak of a reformation in the afterlife, "but to the extension of Christian preaching to the gentiles."[196] With Hosea's new exegesis it allowed him to fully embrace no-future-punishment. Ballou argued against this viewpoint and asserted:

---

[193] Thomas Whittemore reply to Adin Ballou in Ibid.
[194] King James Version of the Bible 1 Peter 3:18-20.
[195] Peter Hughes, "The Restorationist Controversy," February 19, 2002. http://uudb.org/articles/restorationist.html.
[196] Peter Hughes, "Edward Turner," April 27, 2001. http://uudb.org/articles/edwardturner.html.

> Reason is decidedly opposed to the notion of confining repentance, reformation and salvation entirely to their momentary state. The scriptures [1 Peter 3:18-20] are on the same side; and maintain that great and glorious revolutions will be carried on beyond the grave, in favor of the intelligent creation . . . . I am aware of the pains at which many divines, both orthodox and heterodox have put themselves to make it appear that these texts have no reference to a future state; but they have tortured language to no other purpose than to show their ingenuity. They have not gained their point. While this epistle of Peter remains in the New Testament collection, its meaning must be plain to every unbiased and candid reader.[197]

It is unclear if Ballou specifically was targeting Hosea, yet Whittemore, who was a part of Hosea's inner circle and co-editor of the *Universalist Magazine,* reviewed the Medway sermon and explained that Hosea was "hurt and offended" by Ballou's treatment of this subject. "We are sensible," wrote Whittemore, "if [Ballou] is not, of the deep attention, the studious and prayerful hours, the diligent comparing of scripture with scripture, which these brethren who are included in his remarks have given to the passages in question; and it is a poor reward, and gives them not a little grief, to be told by a Universalist clergyman, 'that they have tortured language to no other purpose than to show their ingenuity.'"[198] By reasserting himself as a polemical writer and by attacking the Ultras, particularly Hosea, Ballou continued moving toward Restorationism.

As Ballou's doctrinal separation continued with the Ultras, his strained relationship with Hosea became almost irreconcilable. On one occasion, Hosea came to Milford and visited Ballou's house. It is unclear what sparked the conversation, but Ballou asked Hosea to further explain his understanding of the "restriction of sin and misery to the present state of being." As the conversation progressed, Ballou explained his belief of a future state of limited retribution for the impenitent. To this Hosea, according to Ballou, "waggishly evaded the issue and with a smile and a shrug, said: 'So then, Brother Adin, you think [the impenitent] have to be smoked a little, do you?'" Ballou's naturally serious temperament and hostilities toward Hosea's New York negotiations obviously played a role in his reaction to Hosea's witty remark. Ballou writes that he "did not like it and concluded . . . that [Hosea] could not give even a plausible answer to my inquiry." Ballou's expectation of a theological discussion with the most important Universalist ended with sarcasm, and this incident was the "first, last, and only conversation we ever had upon the subject."[199] This is the only account of the incident and was recorded in Ballou's autobiography over fifty years later. It seems Ballou never became fully reconciled with the behavior of Hosea both in his financial affairs and his treatment of Ballou on this occasion, and this led to his unification with the Restorationists with whom he was becoming theologically aligned.

---

[197] Adin Ballou, *The Inestimable Value of Souls, A Sermon delivered before the Universalist Society in Medway, Massachusetts, May, 1830* (Boston, MA: Trumpet office, 40, Cornhill, 1830), 21-22. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[198] Thomas Whittemore, "Review of the Medway Sermon," *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine* (July 3, 1830). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[199] Ballou, *Autobiography,* 146-47.

Universalism, similar to the Christian Connexion, was unable to remain united despite both movements promotion of free thought. Ballou once again recognized that supposed fluidity in religious thought and practice led to disunity, of which he was a part. The Universalist schism was part of a larger struggle among virtually every denomination in New England to maintain cohesion. Schism was not a new development only appearing in the United States. Within English and Scottish Protestantism, multiple schisms occurred against the state run church.[200] However, the schisms in the new republic were more widespread. The problem was proliferated during the First and Second Great Awakenings as worshipers defined religion for themselves and with the widespread use of the press and pulpit by itinerants. After all, Ballou claimed he initially joined Universalism with the confirmation from his kin that he would be able to maintain doctrinal autonomy as long as he ascribed to Universalism's no-future-punishment tenet.

Without any effectual coercive methods, denominations were left with persuasion as their only method to maintain cohesion. The Quakers (Religious Society of Friends), for example, were unable to thwart Elias Hicks' common sense exegesis and controversial preaching on "The Inner Light" that led the Quakers wide spread schism in the 1820s.[201] The "Hicksite" split was not recognized under the Quaker umbrella by the leadership in Great Britain, and they refused to correspond with them. This controversy weakened the larger Quaker community and ignited disputes over Quaker identity.[202] Similarly, New England Congregationalists, whose Puritan past renounced the authority of bishops or any ecclesiastical or civil body politic other than the local church, were unable to unite their orthodox and liberal factions. The liberals espoused Arminian teachings and the more orthodox began labeling liberals as Unitarians.[203] William Ellery Channing, part of the liberal branch, offered a plea to the orthodox Congregationalists in a sermon titled "Unitarian Christianity" to temper the orthodoxy's "prejudice and unkindness"[204] directed at the liberal faction. By 1823, the liberals split and formed the Unitarian Association in 1825.[205] Even more hierarchical denominations, such as the Mormons led by the prophet Joseph Smith, were unable to maintain cohesion. Hiram Page and Laura Fuller Hubbell, who like Smith used Seer Stones to receive revelation, began announcing their prophetic teachings for the larger Mormon movement. Smith, in order to stem dissent announced a new revelation announcing "all things must be done in order" and he alone could receive revelation for the church.[206] Smith, along with other denominational leaders, recognized that the evangelical fervor unleased during

---

[200] *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia* ed. Francis J. Breamer and Tom Webster (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006), 85-86.
[201] Glenn Crothers, *Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2012), 145-47.
[202] Ibid, 139.
[203] Alice Blair Wesley, et. al, "The Unitarian Controversy and Its Puritan Roots," *Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography* (October 13, 2000). http://uudb.org/articles/unitariancontroversy.html.
[204] William Ellerly Channing, *Unitarian Christianity* (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957), 3.
[205] Wesley et. Al., "The Unitarian Controversy and Its Puritan Roots," http://uudb.org/articles/unitariancontroversy.html.
[206] Joseph Smith Jr., in Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2005), 121.

the Second Great Awakening could not be tamed. Men and women prayed, prophesied, and reasoned through the scriptures despite prophetic or voluntary leadership. Thus personal and denominational schism was unavoidable during the free exchange of ideas and practices.

A NEW DENOMINATION—A NEW SOCIETY

The disagreements among the Universalists were growing too strong to keep the Restorationist faction from leaving Universalism. In 1831, after the second wave of the Restorationist Controversy, Ballou, David Pickering, Paul Dean, and a small group of other Universalist and Unitarian ministers created a new denomination called the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists, (MAUR) with a newspaper titled the *Independent Messenger*, edited by Ballou. The first edition explains the purpose for the formation of yet another denomination in the United States. MAUR was created to restore the "ancient doctrine" of Christ and "to distinguish it from modern or ultra-Universalism." The five pillars of MAUR included their determination to "1. Disseminate, illustrate and defend the . . . restitution of all things . . . . 2. Explain, enforce and vindicate the holy scriptures, as the grand rule of Christian faith and practice . . . . 3. Advocate the doctrine of future limited rewards and punishments . . . . 4. Encourage free inquiry . . . . [and] 5. Contend for civil and religious liberty."[207] This particular publication sparred constantly with Whittemore and those more partial to ultra-Universalism.

After the first publication of the *Messenger*, the ultra-Universalists who occupied the majority of Ballou's parish in Milford speedily voted him out. The good will shown toward Ballou during the years after his services in New York City came to a halt due to his allegiance with the newly formed MAUR. Interestingly, or by "divine Providence" as Ballou believed, a Congregationalist/Unitarian pulpit was vacant in neighboring Mendon. This particular parish was struggling with retaining the progressive leaning Unitarians. A resurgent Calvinism with its "fiery zeal and impassioned appeals" organized a new church in the area and brought many of the Unitarians into their fold.[208] While the newly formed MAUR maintained cordial relationships with Unitarian clergymen and sought pastorates from any denomination willing to house their preachers, it remains unclear why Ballou was given the Mendon parish. Unitarians and the MAUR believed in a liberal form of Christianity and both depicted an afterlife different from the "Orthodox." Although Unitarians were not as "clearly defined . . . on the certainty of a future righteous retribution" as MAUR, they broke bread under the belief to preach a gospel that appealed "to men's hopes [rather] than to their fears."[209] The Unitarians understood that by choosing Ballou for the Mendon pastorate they acquired a zealot on the other side

---

[207] Adin Ballou, "Editorial Address," *Independent Messenger*, no. 1 (January 1, 1831). Bancroft Memorial Library Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[208] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 194.
[209] Jonathan Farr, "Correspondence and Intelligence: A Letter to the Rev. Adin Ballou on the Subject of Exchanges Between the Restorationists and Unitarians" *The Unitarian*, vol. 1, no. 1-12 (May 14, 1834): 349. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

of the future punishment pendulum. It seems that the Unitarians' choice of Ballou was an attempt to bring those Unitarians back who responded to a gospel of salvation rather than damnation. Ballou was aggressive and confrontational in his preaching and writing on Calvinism. By choosing Ballou, the Unitarians acquired a twenty-nine year old preacher who was competent in both the written and spoken word.

Ballou interpreted his installation as a hopeful sign of Christian fellowship in Massachusetts: "Clergymen and Christian brethren of different names and religious opinions hitherto separated in a greater or less degree by sectarian walls of partition, took sweet counsel together." Within a few months of Ballou's service, Mendon's congregation went from "eight members" after the secession in 1830-31, to a vibrant group. Ballou described that "prosperity prevailed in all the borders of our Zion" due to the increased activity in the Unitarian church.[210] Ballou held this Congregationalist/Unitarian pulpit from 1831-42.

With his installment as Mendon's pastor, Ballou's longing for a form of liberal Christianity seemed destined to commence. The Reverend Bernard Whitman gave Ballou's instillation sermon titled "Christian Union," which later was published into a series of pamphlets. Whitman was a Harvard trained orthodox Congregationalist minister prior to his espousal of Unitarianism in the late 1820s. Unlike Ballou, Whitman was not a Universalist, but hoped, like many Unitarians, that all sinners would be saved. He viewed Ballou's installment as a positive step toward a more unifying form of Christianity. Whitman explained to the congregation that Christ commanded "his disciples to be united in affection." Whitman acknowledged that there were differences in theology and practice among the multitude of different denominations in New England, but Christ's primary command was one of unification and love: "Can a more important duty then be urged upon the consideration of all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, than union on gospel principles?" On this particular occasion where "ministers and delegates of different names, are about to unite in the installation of a brother whom we all consider a worthy disciple of Christ, and in whose qualifications for the ministry of reconciliation, we have the most entire confidence," wrote Whitman. He, along with Ballou, and their congregation felt it time to unify dissenting denominations and schisms within those denominations.[211] For Whitman, Ballou was proof that differing doctrines could co-mingle within a context of Christian love and fellowship irrespective of denominational labels.

From 1831-37, MAUR increased its numbers gradually. The association with Universalism did not help MAUR's cause among Unitarians based on the strong anti-Universalism sentiment in many areas of New England, but Ballou believed MAUR was becoming the church prophesied by John in the New Testament that would precede Christ's Second Coming. However, by September, 1837, a new schism among the leading MAUR figures, including Ballou, emerged. The annual

---

[210] Ballou, Autobiography, 216, 195.
[211] Bernard Whitman, *A Discourse on Christian Union: Delivered at the Installation of Adin Ballou* (Boston, MA: E.M. Stone, 1833), 5-6. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

meeting of MAUR in September began as usual. Prayers, songs, and business were discussed during the first session. The proceeding six sessions were public religious services that attempted to increase the denomination's converts through the preaching of the most talented MAUR pastors, including Paul Dean, Ballou, and Charles Hudson. After the sermons, council meetings began with the leaders of the movement. These gatherings were a type of Bible school where certain topics were discussed and debated. Ballou prepared a study on "The Intermediate State" which postulated what transpired after death prior to one's entrance into heaven through biblical exegesis. Hudson, E.M. Stone, and William Morse then discussed matters related to the Sabbath. Sunday schools were created, and the first Tract Society among MAUR was established. All seemed cordial among the annual meeting until Ballou introduced three resolutions he wanted to be established among MAUR, namely, "Total Abstinence, Moral Reform, and Anti-slavery." Ballou had recently been persuaded to join the American Anti-Slavery Society and affirmed his allegiance to the abolitionist cause. His work among the Temperance society began in 1832, and he was active in the majority of reform movements in New England. Although nearly all of MAUR believed the times required action to cure the United States of its many evils, the influential minority, primarily Dean, did not want to align with the radical reformers in New England. A "very unpleasant discussion followed" in which Dean argued that their denomination must remain separate from political or reform movements.[212] Dean asked, "Why this making the question of slavery vital to religion; and yet, this appeal to political men to decide it?"[213] Ballou insisted that his propositions were essential tenets outlined by Christ. He believed MAUR ought to be a denomination active in the affairs of men. MAUR, Ballou believed, should become the "church that would lead, not follow public sentiment in true righteousness."[214] He asked if his resolutions could be signed by those partial to its sentiments. At the end of the meeting, many of the leading MAURs heartedly signed the document and committed themselves to "temperance . . . moral reform . . . [and] immediate emancipation throughout the United States and the world."[215] Dean and others did not sign the document and both parties agreed to disagree for the present.

Although Dean and Ballou preached together throughout New England after the September meeting, Ballou no longer believed MAUR represented Christ's church and Ballou became fixated on establishing something new. Dean's unwillingness to align MAUR with the reform movements angered Ballou. MAUR was not becoming the denomination he believed it claimed to be. In 1838, Ballou recognized that his hopes that MAUR would be the denomination that most exemplified Christ's teachings in theory and practice were never realized. For the next year, Ballou drew up plans and sought financial backing to establish a community separate from the United States. In 1839, Ballou and some members of MAUR announced their plan to create a society in the world but "not of

---

[212] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 291-292.
[213] Paul Dean, in Peter Hughes, "Paul Dean" http://uudb.org/articles/pauldean.html.
[214] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 292.
[215] Adin Ballou, *Independent Messenger*, vol. 3 (September, 1837). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

the world" and separated from the denomination. Ballou explained that he had outgrown his "early belief that the religion of the New Testament was chiefly concerned with the condition of mankind in a future state of being." MAUR failed to exemplify Christ's kingdom on earth, and Ballou's hopes that the United States was progressing toward his understanding of a Christian Republic were crushed by the continuation of slavery. Ballou's understanding of Christ's commands required him, he believed, to labor for the inauguration of "the kingdom of heaven on the earth; and that it was the imperative duty of his [Christ's] disciples to pray and to work earnestly for that sublime end."[216] This move destroyed MAUR as Ballou brought the majority of its ministers, and many congregants, to establish a community committed to his new form of Christianity entitled, "Practical Christianity." Dean and other conservatives retained their pastorates in Boston and other areas in Massachusetts. MAUR was finished, Ballou's Practical Christianity commenced.

CONCLUSION

With the end of church establishments in New England and with the proliferation of the free press, the religious landscape in New England seemed almost destined for fluidity. Denominations appeared, newspapers were created, and internal battles within the denominations crippled each movement. One's supposed religious affiliation expanded into new forms and each branch of the Protestant family tree continually grew new branches. New England seekers paradoxically did not recognize themselves as such. In many ways, Ballou embodies this phenomena. The zeal with which Ballou preached Christian Connexion tenets, such as Destructionism, prior to his conversion to Universalism, highlight that his theological foundation was ostensibly immovable. With his biblical and commonsensical defense of Destructionism, Ballou believed that his Universalist in-laws and cousins were misguided and even blasphemous to Christ's teachings in the Bible. However, once Ballou became engulfed in the religious literature spreading throughout New England and began discussing Universalism with its leaders, he recognized his destructionist belief had inherent fissures that needed to be filled. The Bible proved inconclusive in regard to Ballou's three questions on Destructionism and Universalism, and he sought divine guidance to give him answers. Visions appeared and Ballou foolhardily joined the Universalists, yet within Universalism Ballou also he gradually became disappointed.

The consequences of religious freedom appeared among the Universalists and the broader Christian New England public, resulting in polemical battles through the press that changed the character of newspapers and led, in part, to schisms within the multiple denominations. With this newfound freedom, Ballou, like other first-generation New England preachers, maintained his right to differ doctrinally with the larger Universalist denomination, but struggled to secure solidarity with chosen Universalist denominations and their personal beliefs. Once Ballou converted to the

---

[216] Adin Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community* (Lowell, MA: Thomason & Hill – The Vox Populi Press, 1897), 2.

"blasphemous" Universalists, they were amid a theological and personal battle between their leaders. The rivaling parties in the denomination fought to maintain a cohesive people united by a set of beliefs. The Universalists claimed to give Ballou the freedom he desired, and the community of Christians he longed for. Through the Universalist controversies, Ballou once again recognized that even the freest of denominations were unable to become one. MAUR, similar to the Christian Connexion and the Universalists, was unable to remain united as MAUR's preachers proved unwilling to compromise on putting new oil into old lamps. Religious freedom began to bear its ugly head of descent not only in rivaling denominations but also in supposedly cohesive denominations. By the end of the MAUR controversy, Ballou brought with him his disciples whom he hoped would create a society of believers that would exemplify to the world, by both word and deed, the church Christ envisioned a millennia before. Ballou believed that he could not remain in denominational chaos and simultaneously seek to exemplify the unity Christ preached in the New Testament. Ballou would not practice MAUR's failure to adopt a progressive form of religion that sought to cure the United States of her sins, such as slavery. His new band of Practical Christians would not only form a new Christian community, but become reformers to remedy a United States fraught with hypocrisy and evil.

CHAPTER THREE: PERSONAL AND SOCIETAL REDEMPTION

> And what a noble ally this, to the cause of political freedom. With such an aid, its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition, the sorrow quenching draughts of perfect liberty. Happy day, when, all appetites controlled, all poisons subdued, all matter subjected, *mind,* all conquering *mind,* shall live and move the monarch of the world. Glorious consummation! Hail fall of Fury! Reign of Reason, all hail!
>
> And when the victory shall be complete -- when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth -- how proud the title of that *Land,* which may truly claim to be the birth-place and the cradle of both those revolutions, that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that People, who shall have planted, and nurtured to maturity, both the political and moral freedom of their species.
>
> —Abraham Lincoln, "Temperance Address" (1842)

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will show the attempts by numerous reformers, including Ballou, to redeem the United States of its collective sin (slavery) and personal addictions (primary alcohol). From roughly 1820 to the eve of the Civil War, numerous reform movements were created, including, Temperance, Women's Rights, Anti-Slavery, Prison, Capital Punishment, Non-Resistance, and Labor. Ballou was active in each circle, but spent most of his time writing, preaching, and rallying with the Anti-Slavery and Temperance reform movements. Ballou provides rich material for both the anti-slavery and temperance impulse and the controversies within the movements, therefore this chapter will only focus on these two reform movements.

This chapter explores how Ballou became involved in the movements, what role he played, and why he took certain positions within the movements themselves. His participation highlights how his personal involvement not only played a role in his own redemption, but was part of a larger attempt to redeem the nation. This all-encompassing attempt to redeem the United States from both personal and societal sins became known as the Benevolent Empire, of which Ballou became influential in New England Anti-Slavery and Temperance societies. During his intimate involvement in both of these movements, Ballou's utopian society near Boston, attempts to exemplify to the world that not only is direct influence unable to create a temperate people and free the slave, but coercive state measures are not justifiable based on his biblical exegesis. A few months prior to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Ballou cannot remain active in the Temperance and Anti-Slavery societies because he believed the reformers placed too much trust in the state to rid the nation of slavery by forceful methods rather than using the moral suasion teachings of Christ to remedy individual and societal problems.

Ballou was born into a nation with prophetic aspirations. "The New Jerusalem" prophesied by Ezekiel in the Old Testament and reaffirmed by John the Revelator in the Book of Revelations, was labeled by many clergymen as the United States' destiny. The United States and its founding were at times labeled as providential. Prior to the American Revolution, millennial expectation was largely associated with passivity and pessimism. Believers patiently awaited God's destruction of the corrupt

world before the beginning of the millennium. But the American Revolution brought with it an optimism that spread throughout the New Republic. Technological and scientific progress coupled with democratizing Christianity produced believers who presented a more hopeful perspective regarding the return of Christ. For the larger Christian public, Christ's millennial reign would not commence through a violent or apocalyptical event. Rather, his return would commence after the successful efforts of individuals and societies to overcome personal and collective transgressions.[217] Thus, believers felt the need to reform both society and its government. In this new progressive age, the United States needed bands of reformers from various denominations to defeat the ills of society.

In 1791, John Hagerty, a Baltimore printer-publisher frustrated by the state of the nation, used a hand-colored engraving of The Tree of Life explaining twelve fruits of salvation for individuals seeking entry into the New Jerusalem just outside Broadway, New York. The engraving features a preacher standing in front of a narrow entryway and beckoning his onlookers to walk into the gate of salvation and fulfill the biblical promise of the millennium. However, the casual crowd strolls past the gate and is enticed by the "babylon Mother of Harlots" who successfully guides them to "pride, chambering & wantonness, quack, usury, [and] extortion."[218] As Christianity spread throughout the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, not only were religious leaders concerned with the human soul, but many believed that the soul of the United States was on the brink of destruction and was failing its prophesied potential.

As the early nineteenth century progressed, the struggle for liberty and the rights of mankind, as seen in both the American and French revolutions, were viewed by itinerant preachers as foundational events preparatory for the coming of Christ. Elias Smith, the founder of the Christian Connexion, believed that Thomas Jefferson was a modern day Cyrus (delivered the ancient Jews from Babylonian captivity) who was sent by God "to dry up the Euphrates of mystery Babylon."[219] This post-Revolution era differed from previous periods because, as Smith argues, the Revolution began the time "when there will not be a crowned head on earth. Every attempt which is made to keep up a Kingly government, and to pull down a Republican one, will . . . serve to destroy monarchy."[220] Lorenzo Dow, a popular evangelist asserted, "America lay undiscovered for several thousand years, as if reserved for the era, when common sense began to awaken her long slumber. As if the Creator's wisdom and goodness had a 'NEW WORLD,' in reversion for a new theatre for the exhibition of new things." For Dow, America was settled by individuals "pregnant with the spirit of freedom in embryo

---

[217] Steven Mintz, *Moralists & Modernizers* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 16-17.
[218] Unknown painter, *The Tree of Life*, (Baltimore: printed for John Hagerty, 1791), 183. Maryland Historical Society Library (Baltimore, Maryland).
[219] Elias Smith, *The Whole World Governed by a Jew: or the Government of the Second Adam, as King and Priest* (Exeter, NH: 1805), 74. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[220] Elias Smith, *A Discourse Delivered at Jefferson Hall, Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1802; and Redelivered (by Request) the Wednesday Evening Following, at the Same Place: The Subject, Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* (Portsmouth, NH: 1803), 30-32. Printed in *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, September I 1818, vol. 1. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

. . . who had the clearest heads and best hearts which those days afforded."[221] Thomas Campbell, the founder of the Disciples of Christ, also recognized the Revolution's role in connection with the millennium. In his first publication for the Disciple movement he declared, "Do ye not discern the signs of the time? Have not the two witnesses arisen from their state of political death, from under the long proscription of ages?" The "revolutions" in both America and France "dashed and are dashing the nations like a potter's vessel,"[222] argued Campbell. The new bastions of religious freedom used millennialist ideas to inspire early nineteenth-century efforts to reform the individual and the United States to usher in the reign of Christ. Non-denominational concerned preachers and citizens banned together in numerous reform movements, including the abolition of slavery, Temperance, and Women's Rights.

Millienialist aspirations were only one of many paradoxes and ironies of antebellum reform. From the beginning, as Steven Mintz argues in *Moralists and Modernizers*, reformers combined humanitarian impulses to redeem and rehabilitate victims of societal change while simultaneously displaying a form of "paternalist impulse to shape character and regulate behavior." Mintz also correctly explains that reform historians' attempts to pigeonhole the impulses of antebellum reformers fails to explain the reality that understanding the impetus behind pre-Civil War reform is too complex to fit any one formula.[223] Some had millennial aspirations, others attempted to restore traditional patters of social order based on deference and hierarchy, pragmatists were concerned with creating a rising business and mercantile class, conservative reformers wanted to stabilize the social order, and theological liberals, such as the Unitarians, regarded reform as necessary for social harmony.

Ballou, however, represents another perspective on one's motives for personal and societal redemption. His motivations to reform the United States were not primarily based on millennial expectations or paternalistic impulses to shape behavior. By 1843, he believed that, "The second coming of Christ took place about the time of the final dispersion of the Jews, and that the general resurrection and day of judgment then commenced."[224] The feared Day of Judgment, Ballou believed, was already underway in the "invisible world" and Christ would not return to earth until earth morally progressed enough to merit his re-visitation.[225] Ballou credits this interpretation of scripture to the teachings of John Humphrey Noyes's Perfectionism. Although Ballou rejected "several rather peculiar notions" promulgated by Noyes, his "main points" in regard to the Christ's Second Coming

---

[221] Lorenzo Dow, *History of Cosmopolite: or the Four Volumes of Lorenzo's Journal* (New York, NY: 1814), 141, 215.
[222] Thomas Campbell, *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (Washington, PA: 1809), 14. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[223] Steven Mintz, *Moralists & Modernizers*: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), xvii, xvi.
[224] Adin Ballou, *True Sciptural Doctrine of the Second Advent; an Effectual Antidote to Millerism, and all other Kindred Errors* (Milford, MA: Community Press, Hopedale, 1843), 4. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[225] Ibid, 3.

"struck [Ballou's] mind with great force, and led off our thoughts on an entirely different track."[226] Noyes, like Ballou, used certain passages from the Old Testament and New Testament, namely Daniel 12 and Matthew 24, to explain that Christ's Second Coming commenced after his resurrection. In essence, Ballou associated mostly with radical progressive strands of Christianity that were promulgated throughout New England. His unification with the reform movements was not primarily based on purifying the world in order to reform unrepentant souls and nations as preparatory for the coming of the Lord, or to perfect the United States and its government. Instead, his impulse to join and promote certain reform movements at this critical juncture in his seeking, was primarily to advance his version of Christianity. The reform movements showcased the determination to live out Christian tenets rather than give them lip service. In 1841, Ballou formed a utopian community called Hopedale, roughly forty miles west of Boston dedicated to reform. Unlike many utopias who fled "the world," Ballou and his band of so-called Practical Christians attempted to exemplify to New England that personal and societal sanctification was possible. The reform movements were the natural offspring of a people coming closer to creating a Christian society in the United States. Ballou believed his promulgation of specific reforms would rid individuals of prejudices and vices, thus bringing individuals and society closer to an order of Christian unity, peace, and prosperity.

BALLOU'S TEMPERANCE

Ballou's first thoughts on temperate behavior began in 1829. At the beginning of his twenty-seventh year, he recognized that he had a pernicious habit. During his ministry with the Christian Connexion, Ballou constantly used tobacco. The elder statesmen of the church with whom he associated were all "hail fellows well met" who smoked continually. Ballou in hindsight recalled becoming a "slave to the habit" and was rarely seen without a cigar or pipe in his mouth during his "waking hours." Initially, he viewed tobacco with indifference, recognizing that the majority of his Christian Connexion brethren enjoyed smoking and believed it helped them "read, study, meditate, and write much better under the inspiration." However, Ballou began recognizing his dependence on it: "I was convinced that I was abusing as well as defiling the temple in which God had for this present life installed my soul." He was likely influenced by early revivalist ideas of "sanctification," or what came to be known as "perfectionism." The literal belief that Christians could live sinless lives.[227] It appears that something with the addiction frustrated him, and he questioned whether his habituation was a sin. Ballou's position as a preacher of "repentance and reformation" inspired him to quit using tobacco, for "if I could . . . not do this, I was no true minister of the cross." As an experiment, Ballou placed his tobacco and pipe on a shelf within reach while he studied to see how long he could restrain from putting the pipe to his mouth. After praying for "divine help" to rid him of the addiction, Ballou

[226] Adin Ballou, "The Universalists' Second Coming," *Circular*, vol. 2, no. 42 (April 9, 1853). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[227] Mintz, *Moralists & Modenizers*, 28.

later recalled triumphing over his "dangerous appetite." Proudly, Ballou wrote in his *Autobiography,* that he successfully defeated the habit for "forty years" and thanked God that his petitions in 1829 were answered.[228]

Ballou writes as if his disgust for tobacco was organic and uninfluenced by the beliefs of other New England ministers. It is evident that the anti-tobacco reformers were not active until the early 1830s, but anti-tobacco sentiments began in Puritan New England in the 1630s. Puritans believed in tobacco's medicinal value but looked at individuals who enjoyed its intoxicating properties with disdain. During this period, Massachusetts banned tobacco sales and smoking in public. Similarly in 1647, Connecticut forbade the use of tobacco in public and restricted private use to adults over the age of twenty-one who were already addicted. If use was medicinal, all Connecticut citizens needed a physician's certificate and a court license. It is unclear whether these prohibitions were strictly enforced, but as the seventeenth century progressed, anti-tobacco measures floundered.[229] In 1726, Cotton Mather warned, "If once you get into the way of Smoking, there will be extreme hayard, of your becoming a Slave to the Pipe; and ever Insatiably craving for it . . . . But such a Slavery, is much below the Dignity of a Rational Creature; and much more of a Gracious Christian."[230] It is unclear whether Ballou understood the anti-tobacco sentiments of the pre-Revolution clergymen or if anti-tobacco rhetoric reached him by 1829. However, Ballou's successful repudiation of tobacco was further proof that addictions could be overcome through piety and reinforced his understanding that the world was progressing. To Ballou, his recent liberation from smoking evinced the power of God, and he wondered if Paul's teaching in the New Testament that the body was a temple of the Holy Spirit required the abstinence of all impure foods, medicines, and intoxicants. After breaking the habit of smoking, Ballou began to reflect on the merits of the growing Temperance movement in New England.

The Temperance movement began with the publication of Benjamin Rush's, *An Inquiry Into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind* (1784). Rush, a professor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, attempted to scientifically prove the ill effects of "ardent spirits" (hard liquor) in comparison with "fermented liquors" that contained "little spirit." Although Rush did not advocate ridding the populace of beer and wine, he closed by giving advice to addicts: "[P]ersons who have been addicted to [alcohol] should abstain from [it] suddenly and entirely. 'Taste not, handle not, touch not,' should be inscribed upon every vessel that contains spirits in the house of a man."[231] Rush's findings launched Methodists into strictly limiting their adherents' consumption in the late

---

[228] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 158-159.
[229] Jacob Sullum, *For Your Own Good: The Anti-Smoking Crusade and the Tyranny of Public Health* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 19.
[230] Cotton Mather, *Manductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, MA: 1726). Boston Athenaeum (Boston, Mass.).
[231] Benjamin Rush, *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind, with an Account of the Means of preventing, and of the Remedies for Curing Them* (Exeter, England: Josiah Richardson preacher of the Gospel, 1819), 5, 36. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In 1808, the United States Temperance Union which claimed over a million members, did not call for the prohibition of all alcoholic beverages, such as wine and beer, but promoted abstaining from hard liquor. The remedy for the societal ill was within the word temperance. The call was for moderation, and by using the pulpit, press, and the classroom as instruments for moral suasion, early American reformers believed the social ill of drunkenness would be cured.

When Ballou began reflecting on joining the Temperance movement in 1832, it was slowly shifting its focus from moderation to total abstinence. Preachers and reformers recognized that former attempts to persuade individuals from drinking hard liquor had stagnated, and as the rate of drunkards continued to be unchanged, temperance movements shifted their platform to convince law makers to prohibit the consumption of all alcoholic beverages, except for wine during the Lord's Supper. Susan B. Anthony a Quaker and leader of the Daughters of Temperance, campaigned for strong liquor laws. In front of two hundred men and women, she gave her first speech on the movement advocating legislative measures as a remedy for the social evil.[232] Children's literature taught in New England schools explained the importance of complete abstinence. "Ten Dialogues on the Effects of Ardent Spirits," published by the American Tract Society in 1831, relates the fictional story of a father who takes his sons to a prison and a "Lunatic Asylum." The sons ask a number of questions in regard to how these able bodied men had arrived in such dark places. Philip, one of the sons, asks his father, "Why were the men shut up in those ugly rooms?" The father responds:

> Some were put in the prison because they had stolen, some for having robbed others; one or two because they had committed murder; and some for other crimes. Philip: Father, what made those people do such bad things? . . . . Father: Drinking men are apt to become poor lazy, and then they will steal and even rob, instead of laboring to ear their bread. They are easily made angry when drunk, and then they will curse, and swear, and even strike their fellow-creatures, and even kill them . . . . Philip: Do they ever hang people for drinking rum? Father: No, my son; but sometimes men are hung for the crimes they are led to commit by their having drank ardent spirits. I will relate to you a most dreadful instance of this kind. A man who had a wife and a number of small children, not having been taught by his parents, when he was young, that he never ought to drink rum, got into the habit of using it a little. It increased upon him by degrees, until he was often absent at the tavern home later than usual, he tried to open the door of his house, but found it fastened. Believing that he was locked out by his wife, who had often remonstrated with about his conduct, he, in a rage, suddenly formed the resolution, and set fire to the house, and burnt it to ashes, with his wife and children all in it. The man confessed his crime, and was hung.[233]

The father eventually informs his children to abstain from drinking in any form in order to avoid going to prison or the insane asylum. As this story exemplifies, children's literature and educational materials were laced with Temperance propaganda in hopes to convince parents, children, and

---

[232] Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1959), 19.
[233] Unknown Author, *Ten Dialogues on the Effects of Ardent Spirits* (New York: American Tract Society, 1831), 9-12. American Antiquarian Society, Special Collections, Type: Pamphlet, Catalog Number: CL-Pam A5125 T289 1831 (Worcester, Mass.).

lawmakers to abstain from alcohol, thereby avoiding the plight of the degenerate inmates in the overcrowded prisons.

Lyman Beecher, co-founder of the American Temperance Union, summated the angst and zeitgeist of the nineteenth-century preachers' belief to remedy the United States from its intemperance:

> Our vices are digging the grave of our liberties, and preparing to entomb our glory. We may sleep, but the work goes on. We may despise admonition, but our destruction slumbereth not . . . . The enormous consumption of ardent spirit in our land will produce neither bodies nor minds like those which were the offspring of temperance and virtue . . . . Our institutions, civil and religious, have outlived that domestic discipline and official vigilance in magistrates which rendered obedience easy and habitual . . . . But truly we do stand on the confines of destruction. The mass is changing. We are becoming another people.[234]

This warning voice given by Beecher of the possible moral decay of the United States based on alcohol consumption was changing the American populace into a different people for Beecher; without temperance the United States would eventually lose their most cherished principles of freedom.[235]

The heightened push for sobriety in New England coincided with the increased number of Irish immigrants flooding into Boston and Rhode Island during the late 1820s-40s. By the early 1830s, Providence Catholics had risen from 200 to almost 1,700.[236] It is unclear from Ballou's writings if he was using Temperance as a form of anti-Catholicism, but many New England preachers, such as Beecher, this likely was the case. The Reverend David Pickering, pastor of the First Universalist Church of Providence, for example, abhorred Catholicism and advocated the prohibition of alcohol during one of the mass immigrations of Irish Catholics to Rhode Island rather than directly voicing his frustration with certain Catholic tenets. On January 14, 1827, Pickering preached a fiery Temperance sermon that coincided with the Irish migration. "Among the evils which are most to be dreaded in human society; which threatens to demolish the lovely edifice of moral virtue," orated Pickering, "is the abhorrent and desolating vice of intemperance."[237] Sabbatarianism preachers that were largely Protestants feared that the sanctity of Sundays was under threat. Irish Catholics and native Protestants alike observed the Sabbath with reverence, but among Irish Catholics, a certain measure of Sabbath day recreation included enjoying alcoholic beverages and was not considered appropriate by many Protestants.[238] When the evils of "intemperance" were "forced upon" Ballou's mind in 1832, it was most likely a veiled attack on Irish Catholics.

Ballou initially abstained from joining Temperance reformers. He grew up as a moderate drinker who, like most of New England citizens, viewed drunkenness with disgust, but enjoyed beer

---

[234] Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography, correspondence, etc. of Lyman Beecher*, ed. By Charles Beecher (New York, NY: Harper, 1865), 261-62.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Robert W. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence* vol. 1 (Providence, RI: Diocese of Providence, 1982), 12-15.
[237] David Pickering, *The Effects of Intemperance, A Discourse* (Providence, RI: Miller & Grattan, 1827), 4. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[238] George H. Kellner and J. Stanley Lemons, *Rhode Island: The Independent State* (Woodland Hills, CA: Winslow Publications, 1982), 99.

and wine for celebratory and social occasions. As a preacher, Ballou advocated moderation of the "good things of the earth," and preached the lone sin of consuming fermented drinks was the "abuse of intoxicating liquors," such as whiskey and gin. Immediately after being installed as the Mendon, Massachusetts Universalist minister in 1831, Ballou was approached by his Congregationalist/Unitarian colleague Rev. John M.S. Perry who sought multi-denominational support in Mendon for the larger Temperance movement spreading throughout the United States. Ballou initially questioned whether Perry's recruitment was out of a desire to sow discord among Ballou's Universalist/Restorationist parish, thereby potentially gaining converts to the local Congregationalists. Unable to distinguish between Perry's motives, Ballou contemplated the merits of the reform movement and concluded to "not allow myself to turn my back upon so good a cause [and] that my evangelical co-workers should secure no sectarian ends by my espousing it." Ballou joined with Perry and quickly formed a Temperance society as an auxiliary to the larger Providence Temperance Association in 1832.[239] This immediate acceptance of Temperance principles is different from his earlier shifts in religious belief. The records indicate no praying nor searching for biblical authority on temperance. It appears Ballou's pastoral circles influenced him enough to pledge to live a temperate lifestyle.

Ballou's support of Temperance brought a backlash from some of his congregants. Members of the first phase of the Temperance movement (1830-40), pledged to abstain from "ardent spirits" only. Ballou recognized this might alienate him from his flock and family who occasionally drank liquor. Due to his pastoral duties, Ballou frequently performed weddings and visited numerous homes. His pledge proved difficult while visiting friends and relatives who knew nothing of his commitment to Temperance. Among close kin and friends, it was common courtesy to enjoy "choice liquors and concomitants for the usual treat." On one occasion, his cousin (name unknown) offered Ballou the usual enjoyments during a friendly visit. He declined, and his cousin frustratingly queried, "What have I done that you refuse to drink with me?" Many of Ballou's personal "admirers" showed similar frustration with his latest prudent behavior and questioned why he attempted to preach against their "personal rights." Ballou remarks in his *Autobiography* that the leading financial contributors of his pastorate questioned him a number of times on the subject of temperance and asked, "Could they not eat and drink what they pleased without being called to account as sinners? Had they hired me to preach upon such subjects?"[240] In comparison to other changes in behavior and belief, Ballou did not go through periods of spiritual struggle to accept Temperance. Despite calls from his flock to abstain from mingling reform movements with the Gospel of Christ, however, Ballou became a strong and active participant in the Temperance movement.

Once accepted into the Temperance fold, Ballou took opportunities to speak on it throughout New England and became affiliated with a number of important reformers. During the first phase of

[239] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 219-22.
[240] Ibid.

Temperance, Ballou gave the opening address during Orestes A. Brownson's installment as pastor of the First Congregational church in Canton, Massachusetts. Brownson was a colleague of Ballou's during the Universalist controversy in 1829, and they united again under the Temperance banner. The famed Unitarian minister George Ripley, who later formed the Brook Farm and succeeded Margaret Fuller as the literary critic for the *New York Tribune* from 1849-80, delivered the keynote sermon after Ballou's speech during Brownson's installment.[241] Both Ripley and Brownson were leading delegates of the Friends of Temperance in Boston, and Ballou became acquainted with both in their push for a temperate society.[242]

The first four years of Ballou's involvement in Temperance were largely uneventful. By and large, the public did not view Temperance advocates as individuals attempting to upset society. But by 1837, the Temperance movement believed they were losing the battle for sobriety in the United States and took on a more radical form. In an effort to combat the problem, Temperance advocates called for total abstinence from not only "ardent spirits" but fermented ones as well. Beer, Wine, and Cider, by the initial Temperance pledge were permitted in moderation, and many Temperance reformers drank occasionally. As early as 1832, the radicals urged members of the Temperance movements to sign a pledge for total abstinence.[243]

A variety of publications appeared throughout the United States to convince the populace to refrain from drinking any form of alcohol. Under the pseudonym Dr. Springwater, an unknown author, dedicated his or her book, *The Cold Water Man* (1832), "to the whole civilized world, this Little anti-getting-drunk book." The term "cold water" was a common early nineteenth-century reference associated with individuals who refrained from drinking any intoxicating beverage, including fermented drinks. The author anticipates that readers will likely be uncomfortable with the condemnation of not only drunkards but those who enjoy a little "spirit." In reference to total abstinence, the author pleads with Americans to recognize that, "[b]y total abstinence only, can we prevent our example from injuring others." Those who believe in moderation fail to recognize the example they are setting "to those around you, and especially to the young."[244]

Young people were a specific target by the radicals in their push for total abstinence. The New York State Temperance Society produced a series of articles directed at young men and young women who were nearing the age of marriage and vocational affairs. The young women were counseled to, "Touch not the fatal cup yourself [and] give not your affections to any one, until you

---

[241] Ibid, 254.
[242] Unknown Author, *Proceedings of the Temperance Convention, Held in Boston, on the Twenty-third September, 1835, In Pursuance of an Invitation of the Massachusetts Temperance Society to the Friends of Temperance with An Address to the Friend of Temperance* (Boston, MA: John Ford, Agent of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, Temperance Press . . . . Wilson's Lane, 1836), 37, 42. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[243] Webb, "Temperance Movements and Prohibition," 61.
[244] Unknown Author, *The Cold-Water-Man; or A Pocket Companion for the Temperate* (Albany, NY: Packard and Van Benthuvsen, 1832), iv, v, 57. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

have every reasonable certainty that total abstinence from intoxicating drinks is his motto." Young men were told that they were the "hope of their parents" and if "[they] drink a drop of intoxicating liquor, [they] are in danger of contracting the fatal habit of intemperance." For both sexes, "There is no safety, but in the practice of TOTAL ABSTINENCE."[245]

Other Temperance authors, including Ballou, also wrote fables to promote the cause. In "The Striped Pig of Dedham [a city in Massachusetts]," two rare "monsters of the swinish race" hide behind a tent at the military parade ground by a rum-seller who allows any person to see the beasts for "fourpence-half penny." Initially "shrewd Yankee[s]" would not pay to see the clear deception of the winebibber, but curiosity eventually won over a few and soon numerous visitors entered the tent. After becoming inebriated in the tent, the customers come out looking "less silly, than when they went in," thus enticing others outside of the tent to go in and see the striped pig. The fable ends by a medical examination from a doctor of the creature which appears to be dead. According to the doctor, the pig "had no brains" and "gangrene had supervened" its stomach. However, the pig was not dead and lived on. It came to be known throughout the county that the striped pig must be "the beast referred to in the Apocalypse, [Revelations 13:3] of whom it was said, one of his heads was wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed, and all the world wondered after the beast!"[246] The striped pig represented anyone who drank alcohol. One illustration of the creature showed the grim reaper riding on the back of the striped pig destroying everything in its path.[247] The spread of alcohol was viewed by many Temperance preachers as a fulfillment of biblical prophecy, and destroying the beast required total abstinence.

Ballou, however, did not link total abstinence with the New Testament, or the fulfillment of biblical prophecy because passages therein do not require believers or society to abstain completely from alcoholic beverages. Instead of using biblical precedent, Ballou used "Logic" to determine his acceptance of total abstinence and quickly attempted to persuade the movement as early as 1836 to become cold water men and women. Ballou did not believe drinking in moderation was a "sin per se," but he believed his previous moderation tenets produced more drunkards, a common, although difficult to prove, belief among Temperance advocates. Ballou wholeheartedly became a teetotaler[248] and founded, The North Mendon Young Men's Temperance Society in 1836 that was dedicated to help young men promote the Temperance cause and pledge to abstain from all alcoholic drinks. One

---

[245] Unknown Author, "Advice to Young Women and Young Men," in *The Temperance Almanac by the New York State Temperance Society* (Albany, NY: Packard & Van Benthuysen, 1836). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[246] Unknown Author, "The Striped Pig of Dedham" in *The History of the Striped Pig* (Boston, MA: Whipple Damrell, 1838), 3-5. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[247] "Death on the Striped Pig: or an illustration of the present attitude of that noted animal as he appears in New England" (Cornhill, Boston, MA: Published by Whipple & Hamrell, no 9, 1839). American Antiquarian Society, Special Collections (Worcester, Mass.).
[248] This term comes from Preston, England. The teetotalism movement practiced and promoted the complete abstinence from alcoholic beverages in England. This term is laced throughout a number of American Temperance movement discussions, and many Temperance advocates borrowed the methods and teachings from English reformers.

fictional story taught to the boys was "The Little Angel," in which a group of children assemble under the shade of a tree and are instructed to listen to the "Song of the Bluebird." This particular jay asks her friendly neighbor to give her some food to feed her newborn chicks. The melody represents the inquiring bird as an advocate of total abstinence, thus helping her neighbor recognize the little blue bird is raising a temperate posterity:

> "Teetotal, - O, that's the first word of my lay,
> And then don't you hear how I twitter away?
> "Tis because I've just dipped my beak in the spring,
> And brushed the fair face of the lake with my wing.
> Cold water! Cold water! Yes, that is my song
> And I love to keep singing it all the day long
> And now sweet miss, won't you give me a crumb?
> For the dear little nestlings are waiting at home;
> And one thing besides, since my story you've heard,
> I hope you'll remember the lay of the bird;
> But never forget while you list to my song,
> All the birds to the cold water army belong.[249]

Within Ballou's utopian community created in 1840, total abstinence was required for full fellowship and through methods of moral suasion he believed his dale and the broader United States would be cured of alcohol's ills.

The continued attempts by many Temperance reformers, such as Ballou, to rid the nation of spirits via persuasion appeared to be failing. While Ballou and others produced thousands of articles, children's books, and sermons given by a multi-denominational cadre of reformers, the United States continued consuming. For many Temperance reformers, legal coercion appeared as the best option for the protection of current and future generations. From the beginning of the Temperance movements in the United States, there was a push to persuade lawmakers to prohibit the consumption of alcohol. The "dry crusade," led primarily by Methodist reformers, sought to prevent the sale and consumption of alcohol throughout New England. It succeeded for a time in the late 1780s in Massachusetts when the legislature passed a statute exempting brewery equipment from property taxes. This measure boosted the sale of ale, but did little to reduce the consumption of alcohol.[250] The Temperance movement understood that previous attempts to prevent the consumption and sale of liquor proved only to increase the sale of fermented beverages. Many reformers believed that in order to protect the populace from itself, the consumption and distribution of all alcoholic beverages must be considered illegal.

This methodology sparked a controversy among Temperance reformers. Through fierce debate, two sides of the movement appeared: those who were in favor of moral suasion and those who sought legal coercion. Edward C. Delavan, a wealthy businessman who sponsored such Temperance

---

[249] Mrs. H.N. Greene, *The Little Angel: A Temperance Story for Children* (Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 18--), 15-16. Bancroft Public Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[250] W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic an American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 49-50.

periodicals as the *Journal of the American Temperance Union, the Temperance Recorder, American Temperance Intelligencer, Enquirer*, and the *Prohibitionist,* favored prohibition using the legal system. His main argument explained that advocates of moral suasion were at a disadvantage because the laws protected the businesses who sold alcohol. Even though some politicians were sympathetic to Temperance, if they were seen as Temperance men, there would be political ramifications. Thus, Temperance men and women needed to focus their attention on electing officials who had the gumption to legally disenfranchise businesses who distributed alcohol. Delavan argued, for example, that although the men involved in these businesses might become temporarily unemployed, they "would be forced into useful and honorable employments." This was the "only hope for the restoration to sobriety."[251]

Seeking common ground with the moral suasion branch of the Temperance movement, the front page of the November, 1840 *Journal of the American Temperance Union,* one of the editors, either John Marsh or Lindon A. Smith, wrote a plea to the advocates of moral suasion: "Moral suasion has done its utmost to touch the heart and rouse the conscience of the rumseller . . . his defense is, his license! His license! It still, in nearly every State, stands the barrier to the suppression of Intemperance; a cancer in the body politic which almost any individual would burn from his own flesh."[252] The legal right given by the state for alcohol distributors proved more powerful than the religious beckoning from preachers. Even if rum sellers internally questioned whether they were sinning in their distribution and consumption of alcohol, the State assuaged their consciences by approving their participation in free enterprise.

When the infamous "Fifteen Gallon Law of Massachusetts" was repealed in the late 1840s, the prohibition wing of the Temperance movement was incensed with those who promoted moral suasion. The fifteen-gallon law prohibited the sale of alcohol in portions less than fifteen gallons. This prevented individuals from purchasing spirits in small quantities at inns and taverns. For many prohibition Temperance advocates, this proved moral suasion was inadequate. In a meeting of the American Temperance Union that discussed the repeal of the law, "Mr. Choate" lambasted those who continued to adhere to moral suasion principles.

> Away with [moral suasion] . . . How much moral suasion do you believe would have been necessary to have prevailed with the lamented physician of a town near by, whose appetite for spirits was so strong, that when he saw rum for sale, in defiance of the temperance law, upon the observance of which law he had hung all his hopes, he exclaimed, my God, there is no help for me, and taking a pistol, he blew his brains out in his study?[253]

---

[251] Edward C. Delevan letter to Gov. Seward, printed in *Journal of the American Temperance Union,* vol. 4, no. 2 (February, 1840): 20-21. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[252] Unknown Author, "Introduction to the American Edition of the Prize Essay, Anti-Bacchus," *Journal of the American Temperance Union,* vol. 4, no. 11 (November, 1840): 162-63. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[253] Mr. Choate, "Repeal of the Fifteen Gallon Law of Massachusetts," *Journal of* Intemperance, vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1840): 44. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

The loss in Massachusetts revamped the call for legal coercion among the Temperance movement.

As the war of words among of the Temperance men and women progressed throughout the early 1840s, Ballou published an article explaining his belief in moral suasion. Moral suasion advocates, such as Ballou, were losing numbers and the antagonism toward each other threatened to cripple, if not sever, the movement in New England. Ballou reports, "Quite a sharp contention is now going on between the Pauls and Barnabuses of the Temperance cause. One party is for exclusive moral suasion, and the other for legal coercion in extreme cases." For him, moral suasion was larger than the Temperance movement. He viewed moral suasion as a "Christian principle," that was not simply pragmatic but a commandment from Christ derived from the New Testament. Ballou argued that, the legal coercion side of the movement ultimately depended on "sword-sustained governments" to defeat intemperance, and therefore used un-Christian methods to rid sin from the individual. He asked those who wanted to disband moral suasion advocates from the movement to recognize that "we have reached this conclusion by a long and difficult process of thought, inquiry, reflection and self-discipline." Ballou argued that by excluding the arguments of moral suasion, the Temperance movement would lose an important set of men and women who understood that force, especially legal force, was not enough to combat the "Adversary [Devil]" whose cunning proved superior to that of "lawyer[s] and Politian[s]." Both sides needed to, according to Ballou, "keep cool; reason the matter kindly . . . there is no need of your imputing the worst motives to each other."[254] He, like most Temperance advocates, sought for a sober society, but Ballou was unwilling to separate the movement from Christianity. This stubbornness to divorce Temperance from Christianity led, in part, to his partial disillusionment with the movement.

After the legal-coercive branch of the Temperance movement took over in the late 1840s, Ballou dedicated the majority of his time building his utopian community. Yet, he continued to publish articles and children's stories on Temperance. Frustrated by legal coercion arguments to overtake the Temperance movement, he subtly jabbed at prohibition advocates in a fable entitled "The Victorious Little Boy." Ballou's fable tells of a "little boy in Connecticut" who works for a mechanic's shop where all of his colleagues drink alcohol. On one occasion, his fellow co-workers attempt to force a "dram of rum down his throat." The boy refuses and the workers threaten him with violence. He resists again. Thereafter, his angry colleagues pin him down "a man at each arm, while the third held the bottle ready to force it into his mouth." But again, the boy refuses. Eventually, his co-workers are "overcome" in their feelings by the boy whose "meek protesting look" evinced their need of repentance from a boy who abstained from using any force except that of a moral nature. The story concludes, "Such is the strength by which evil may, sometimes at least, be overcome with good." The boy who was convinced by a "teacher in the Sunday School . . . to try to live in accordance" with

[254] Adin Ballou, "The Temperance Controversy," *The Practical Christian*, vol. 1, no. 60 (October 14, 1843): 42. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

"Christian doctrine" was able to successfully persuade even the fiercest of detractors by exemplifying New Testament tenets espoused by the moral-suaders of Temperance. It wasn't until 1851 when Ballou slightly shifted his reasoning toward a more balanced consideration of the morality and legality of Temperance based on legislation passed in Maine.

The Maine Liquor Law of 1851 was a significant victory for the legal coercion wing of the Temperance movement. The Temperance activist and Portland, Maine mayor Neal Dow, wrote and successfully persuaded the legislature to prohibit the sale of all alcoholic beverages except those used for "medicinal or mechanical purposes."[255] Other states followed suit, including Rhode Island and Delaware. The Temperance movement encouraged other states, such as Illinois, to adopt the Maine Law. "We respectfully suggest," wrote an unknown author that, "the Law now distinguished as the 'Maine Law,' as best adapted to accomplish the purpose desired, viz: 'The total suppression of traffic in Intoxicating Liquors as a Beverage.'" To Ballou and other moral-suaders, it appeared as if legal coercion was helping to transform the United States into a temperate society and by 1855 twelve states had successfully passed prohibition laws similar to Maine and became "dry" states.[256] Due to this increasing success, the Temperance movement was all but convinced that their methods of legal coercion would rid the United States of its intemperance.

By 1854, Ballou recognized how dry states were increasing and responded to an "inquirer" concerning his position on the Maine Liquor Law. At the same time, Ballou's utopian community, which had declared its separation from the United States, was celebrating its fourteenth year of existence. Each member was required to sign the communal constitution written by Ballou and other co-proprietors that was understood as superseding any state or federal mandates. Article Two of the constitution labeled as "Principles" indicated that members of the utopia could not "participate in a sword-sustained human government." The second article also instructed to never "invoke governmental interposition in any such case [breaking of laws], even for the accomplishment of good objects."[257] The inquirer who may have been contemplating joining the community, wanted to understand Ballou's relationship with just laws. One of which the inquirer believed was the Maine Liquor Law. Ballou agreed with the questioner that criminals often become "a sort of maniac that should be restrained" when under the influence of alcohol, and that the Maine Liquor Law was a worthy attempt to combat the growing problem in the United States. However, Ballou believed that the "existing order of society" was "barbaric in some of its fundamentals, [and] in much of its framework, and in many of its organic operations." According to Ballou, penal laws did little to change and transform behavior, and because he viewed many foundational principles in the New

---

[255] Henry S. Clubb, *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origin, History, and Results, Including a life of Hon. Neal Dow* (New York: Published for the Maine Law Statistical Society, By Fowler and Wells, 308 Broadway, 1856), 52. http://idnc.library.illinois.edu/cgi-bin/illinois?a=d&d=SJO18521220.2.103#.

[256] Unknown Author, "The Maine Liquor Law," *Illinois Daily Journal*, vol. 4. No. 464 (December 20, 1852). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[257] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism: A Conversational Exposition of the True System of Human Society* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1854), 177. Bancroft Memorial Library (Hopedale, Mass.).

Republic with contempt, he did not believe that using its legal methods would produce the desired results. While he supported the Maine Liquor Law in principle, Ballou could not endorse its implementation by coercive measures. To rid the United States of its intemperance, Ballou proposed to only use the "cardinal principles of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount," arguing that "this can be done only by the voluntary association and co-operation of people who have faith in those principles, as practically applicable to all the interests of individual and social life." Ballou explained, perhaps as a pun on Christ's teachings in Matthew 9:17, that by doing this "we have 'new wine' which cannot be put 'into old bottles.'"[258] The Maine Law, like other laws however well intended, once again showed the failure of legislators to recognize the root of the problem, which for Ballou was accepting "Practical Christianity" as the guiding principle in all aspects of personal, judicial, and societal life. Ballou feared that the Temperance movement's successful criminalization of alcoholic beverages might open a series of bigger problems.

In Maine and other New England states, Ballou's fears came to pass. The prohibition victories were viewed by preachers and politicians as laudatory, but despite the rhetoric by the cultural elite, working class citizens and new immigrants viewed liquor laws as repressive and an infringement on individual liberties. Reverend S.C. Fessenden of Rockland, Maine, declared, "I have seen men who fought the law at first as the worst law in the world, now supporting it as one of the best."[259] Reverend J. Bird, of Massachusetts, highlighted how peaceful the "suburbs" became and as far as "public opinion" was concerned he explained, "So far as I know, the feeling of all respectable citizens is universally in favor" of liquor laws. The Governor of Connecticut also indicated the overwhelming support of liquor laws among the citizens of Connecticut. "I have never known [prohibition] opposed; its enemies can not get up a combination against it, because it commends itself to all men's judgments, and is better liked the longer it is known. Another reasons is, the incentive to violence is taken away; riot is always preceded by rum. Take away the rum, and you can't have the riot; and this is the great advantage of a prohibitory law."[260] Despite the dominant political and religious rhetoric, these laws did not represent the interests of the working class, and many immigrants from Ireland believed that the laws represented anti-Catholicism rather than anti-prohibition. Infuriated by such laws, some violently objected to the provisions therein. On June 2, 1855, for example, a group of primarily Irish citizens of Portland, Maine, gathered outside of the city vaults where Neal Dow held a shipment of $1,600 of "medicinal and mechanical alcohol" to be given to pharmacists and doctors. This was seen as hypocritical and tyrannical of Dow for being the sole distributor of "spirits." The Irish also viewed the law as culturally discriminatory. As the crowd grew and agitation ensued, the people began throwing rocks and pushing the police. Dow eventually called out the Maine militia who ordered the crowd to disperse. The protestors remained until the protest climaxed with the

[258] Adin Ballou, "An Inquirer Answered" [S.I.: s.n., 1854?]: 3. Widener Library, Collection Development Department, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[259] S.C. Fessenden, in Clubb, *The Maine Liquor Law*, 156.
[260] William T. Minor, in Ibid, 105.

militia firing into the crowd, killing one man and wounding seven others.[261] By 1856, Maine recognized that opposition to the law was increasing and Maine legislators abandoned their liquor law. By the 1850s, all of the initial dry states in New England except for Vermont had similarly repealed their own liquor laws. By seeking legal coercion, the Temperance movement lost much of its initial fervor and became marginalized among the wider public. The dry crusaders would have to try to bring their arguments of legal coercion to the legislators and public after more important concerns, such as slavery, were addressed. Moral suasion once again became the primary weapon to combat drunkenness until after the Civil War.

The violence and anger shown by the public toward prohibition affirmed the beliefs held by the moral suasion wing of the Temperance movement that by using the power of the state to suppress behavior, violence and other evils would emerge among the populace. By persuading politicians to write prohibition laws, the Temperance movement reverted back to pre-Revolution tactics of force to coerce rather than morally persuade individuals to abstain from intemperate behavior. Once the Temperance movement acquired political and legal teeth, the public saw the holy crusaders as oppressive rather than persuasive and placed abstinence above personal liberties. Not only were Temperance advocates disrupting the cause of freedom, they were preventing commerce among the working class. Ballou, and other preachers of moral suasion, were prophetic in their belief that perhaps more evils would surface by using legal methods to save the citizens from themselves.

The Temperance movement positively affected Ballou despite its internal divisions. This began his association with virtually all of the reform movements prior to the Civil War, including, but not limited to, Anti-Slavery, Women's Rights, Education, Labor, and Prison. Looking back on his participation in the Temperance movement, Ballou thanked it for "the inductive lessons it gave [him], and for its salutary discipline of [his] mind, heart, and character." He describes, "It was to me a primary school from which I went forth to all my later moral and social reform attainments."[262]

BALLOU'S ABOLITIONISM

The most fundamental and repugnant societal transgression against the nation's Creator, as perceived by many New England preachers, was slavery. The initial praise given the America Revolution and the Constitution was fading for religionists who preached a gospel of freedom as they grappled with how in this enlightened age of individual rights, the United States continued to turn a blind eye on the fate of the Negro. Prior to the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, the majority of Americans believed in two contradicting conceptions concerning the freedom of all people: "slaves were not free, and free people were not slaves."[263] Benjamin Franklin admittedly recognized the evils of slavery, yet he along with other

---

[261] Neal Rolde, *Maine: A Narrative History* (Gardiner, ME: Harpswell Press, 1990), 178.
[262] Ballou, *Autobiography,* 222.
[263] Michael Verenburg, *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4.

framers of the Constitution drafted the charter with ambiguous clauses that did not call for slavery's abolishment: "Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils."[264] The framers recognized "the legitimate presence of slavery in American life while attaching a cluster of limitations to the acknowledgment."[265] The trepidation of declaring slavery illegal and deplorable is evident in the Constitution. The word "slavery" is vacant from the original Constitution, yet, there are clauses within the text where slavery is clearly indicated. For example, the infamous three-fifths clause counted all slaves for purposes of representation and taxation for southern states. Slaves were prohibited from "Migration or Importation" before the year 1808, and the Constitution did not specifically require Congress to ban trading slaves after that date. Any "capitation" (A tax levied on the basis of a fixed amount per person) or "direct tax" was required to take into account the three-fifths clause. The fugitive slave clause prohibited states from directly emancipating slaves who relocated and required states to return the slave to his or her owner. Lastly, any amendment stopping the importation or capitation clauses outlined in the Constitution was prohibited until 1808.[266] The framers were unable to outright declare the practice immoral and left the issue open for future generations to debate.

Prior to the revolution, religious leaders of the eighteenth century also struggled with understanding the role of slavery in the United States. Jonathan Edwards, himself a slave owner, accepted the institution. Between roughly 1738-42, Edwards responded to Timothy Edwards, a Massachusetts clergymen, who was amid a controversy in his church in Windsor, Massachusetts. Some of his church members opposed slavery and Jonathan responded by condoning slave ownership but, like Samuel Sewall, a former judge best known for his involvement in the Salem witch trials, opposed continuing the slave trade. Edwards represented the belief in a transitional stage of anti-slavery sentiments among the elites. He did not wholeheartedly defend the practice, rather, he acknowledged its "inequities and disturbing implications." For Edwards, slavery was a necessary evil, one that could be biblically defended and served some form of good in the "natural order" God decreed.[267] It seems Edwards' response to owning slaves was similar to the conventional understanding that owning slaves was accepted by God so long as the owner treated his servants humanely. This understanding of the practice was upheld by Massachusetts law throughout the eighteenth century.

---

[264] Benjamin Franklin, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 10* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), 67.
[265] Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 27.
[266] U.S. Const. art. I, sec. II, par. III, art. I, sec. IX, par. I, art. I, sec. IX, par. IV, art. V, sec. II, par. III, art. V. See also Paul Finkelman, "A Triumph for Slavery," in Sean Wilentz et al., *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787-1848: Documents and Essays Second Edition* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2008), 49-50.
[267] Kenneth P. Minkema, "Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 54, no. 4* (October, 1997): 825.

As the nineteenth century progressed, radical nineteenth-century preachers believed that the time to free the slave was now. The cry for abolition from radical New England preachers took center stage. Religious radicals from the Unitarians and evangelical persuasions did not see the United States addressing the moral evil of slavery. Slavery was the primary labor system in the South, and the North profited immensely thereby. The transitional period hoped for by Edwards seemed illogical as the slave population continued to increase with the expansion of the United States. The religious radicals of Unitarian, Universalist, and Evangelical persuasions also recognized that slavery was growing and both state and federal governments were doing little to repudiate the moral evil of the "peculiar institution." These different religious groups co-operated to start the first wave of anti-slavery rhetoric and formed multi-denominational reform movements to persuade the public to take action. Charles Grandison Finney a famed Methodist revivalist, Arthur Tappan the first president and co-founder with William Lloyd Garrison of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Joshua Leavitt editor of *The Evangelist* and *The Emancipator*, Edward Norris Kirk a noted Presbyterian revivalist, and hundreds of Methodist, Quaker, and New School pastors, used their pulpits and newspapers to promulgate the destruction of slavery throughout the early 1830s to the eve of the Civil War in 1861. Such abolitionists united under one banner despite their theological differences. Christian abolitionists agreed that slavery had infected the United States, and it must repent of its wrongdoings.[268]

The most noted and arguably most important New England abolitionist was William Lloyd Garrison. In 1831, Garrison founded and edited *The Liberator*, which was printed from 1831-65. This radical newspaper, published in Massachusetts, reached various locations in New England and New York. Garrison announced in the first issue, "On this subject [slavery], I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher . . . . I am in earnest – I will not equivocate – I will not excuse – I will not retreat a single inch – AND I WILL BE HEARD!"[269] His call was for the "immediate enfranchisement of our slave population." By 1831 it was difficult to find any abolitionist who called for the immediate liberation of the slave population. Some abolitionist leaning politicians thought Garrison's ideas of immediate emancipation were too radical and would destroy their progress of gradual emancipation, however, Garrison asserted, "The charge [decelerating emancipation] is not true. On this question my influence, --- humble as it is, --- is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in the coming years --- not perniciously, but beneficially – not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right."[270] Garrison tirelessly rallied pro-abolitionist preachers, politicians, and publishers in an attempt to cure the United States from its national sin.

---

[268] Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 180-81.
[269] William Lloyd Garrison, "Editorial," *The Liberator*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January, 1, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[270] Garrison, "To the Public," *The Liberator*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

Within this tumult of opinion during the early years of abolitionism, Ballou also began mulling over the call for abolition. He recalled his youth, roughly from the ages of 12-18, and recognized his first thoughts about slavery occurred after the Missouri Compromise was put into law in 1820. The Union between the North and South was splintering, and Henry Clay wrote the Compromise that Congress agreed would benefit both pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions in the United States Congress. Ballou kept himself "posted in regard to public affairs . . . so far as the newspaper of the family and occasional conversation with well-informed townsmen could serve me." The Missouri Compromise was of particular interest to Ballou, and he later recollected being "so patriotically devoted to the Union . . . . Without a particle of pro-slavery either in my nature or habits, [he] was at that time so utterly ignorant of the 'peculiar institution,'" that he sided with "our Rhode Island congressman" who understood the evils of the practice but believed without compromising on slavery the Union would fall. "'The Union in danger'" argument was discussed throughout New England, including Ballou's home, and he "readily took" the side of the Compromise despite its continuation of slavery.[271]

The Anti-Slavery movement did not cause Ballou to inquire on its sentiments until 1834 in his thirty-first year. Ballou was born a Democrat and justified his lack of earlier involvement in abolitionism to a "thick veil of reverent patriotism" that "shut out the vision of many things I afterward came to see. I was brought up to idolize my country, its constitution and laws, as a rich and sacred patrimony, earned and consecrated by the heroic blood of Revolutionary sires, whom I was accustomed to glorify as the wisest and noblest of mankind. The national union they had formed was sacred to me."[272] Similar to his initial apathy in the Temperance movement, Ballou, due to his associations with the Temperance movement, also began thinking about slavery.

Anti-slavery rhetoric came to Ballou's pastorate in Mendon, Massachusetts, in the autumn of 1833. The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1831, but it operated primarily near Boston. By the mid-1830s abolitionists expanded the movement into rural locations throughout the Bay State. Ballou entertained and permitted a pioneer abolitionist in the area named Arnold Buffum and one of his associates to explain the Anti-Slavery movement. In a fragmentary memoranda kept by Ballou during 1832-33, he writes, "Not a ripple of antislavery has yet reached Mendon. But friend Buffum thought it was high time to stir the waters, and he was not a man to be put off. So the appointment was made." The lecture itself was announced by Ballou during his morning and evening sermons on September 9, 1833. Buffum lectured to a "very small audience, with no striking effect, and the contribution box circulated in vain."[273] Ballou's congregants were similar to others in that they viewed abolitionists as "radicals" who were attempting to upset the natural order that God had biblically decreed and to break apart the New Republic. To align with abolitionism in the North also

---

[271] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 51.
[272] Ibid, 277-78.
[273] Adin Ballou, "Fragmentary Memoranda" quoted in *Autobiography*, 228. The location of this fragmentary memoranda is unknown.

had cultural, political, familial, and financial consequences. Virtually no one in the Mendon area joined the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, and Buffum's sentiments were ignored by both Ballou and his flock.

For over three years, Ballou refrained from expressing his distaste for slavery and remained aloof from the Abolition movement that was spreading throughout New England. Abolitionism was on the rise, and initially Ballou "deplored" the agitation caused by its leaders. Ballou's later termed "blind Patriotism" eventually came into question by the unabashed belief from abolitionists that the United States and its citizens were perpetuators of "a monstrous national sin of which we were all more or less guilty."[274] Ballou in hindsight claims he contemplated the merits of the abolitionists' case for many months and after a time of "solid, earnest thinking," he came to five conclusions, namely:

> (1) That slavery was what John Wesley had characterized it, "The sum of all villainies"; that what I had regarded as its abuses were its natural fruits; and that from its inception to its consummation it was utterly wicked. (2) That as it had to begin by violence and cruelty, it must be maintained by the same means . . . (3) That our Revolutionary father (whom I had been taught to revere) notwithstanding their sacrifices for their own liberty, inflicted on their fellowmen, as Thomas Jefferson said, "a bondage, one hour of which was fraught with more misery than ages of that which they rose in rebellion to oppose." (4) That the slave power had acquired such influence in Church and State, in commerce and finance, as to vitiate deplorably the whole moral status of the nation – millions being so perverted as to think wrong is right and right wrong; evil good and good evil. (5) That Church and State, though nominally separate from and independent of each other, were yet so sympathetically and practically in harmony, as far as regarded subservience to the slave power, the support of the guaranties of the constitution to oppressors, and the imposition of unrighteous obligations in the interest of injustice and tyranny upon all citizens, as to demand withdrawal from both on the part of every enlightened, conscientious opponent of the gigantic crime, and entire separation from the fellowship of those who, with happy accord, were accustomed to treat the Abolitionists and their allies as pestilent fellows.[275]

Similar to Ballou's past transformations in doctrine and practice, he feared that the above conclusions required an "open proclamation" that was against his "temporal interest, ambition, and comfort." Abolitionism was a source for discord in virtually every political and social circle. Ballou's newly established 1837 Restorationist movement contained both "conservative and radical minds" that were united in theological tenets, and why risk another potential schism in the already fragile Restorationist movement due to what most citizens deemed a political issue? Ballou later wrote, "Why not remain quiet, let needed changes come without worrying myself to hurry their advance, thus giving Providence a chance to work out the problems of human progress and destiny without any of my aid?" Almost reluctant to acquiesce to the "voice of conscience," Ballou understood that departing "the old ways" and "adopting new truths" left both temporal and eternal salvation in limbo. Eventually "duty would not be compromised" and unlike the visionary experiences of the past, Ballou's "inner voice" asserted, "Follow thy highest light . . . be no laggard in the strife for God and man."[276]

---

[274] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 278.
[275] Ibid, 279.
[276] Ibid. 279-81.

Unlike his support of the Temperance movement, Ballou describes his conversion to abolitionism as spiritual. However, it may also have been due to his increasing antagonism to federal overreach in matters dealing with conscience. In 1793, the Fugitive Slave Act was passed mandating the federal government to track down and return runaway slaves back to their owners in the south. Section four of the law punished any person who assisted runaway slaves with a five-hundred-dollar fine and a six-month jail sentence. Abolitionists and northerners abhorred this law believing it dismantled states' rights. In opposition, states such as Connecticut, from the 1830s to 1842, passed "personal liberty laws" mandating a jury trial be admitted to alleged runaways. Juries often refused to convict federally accused fugitives and sheriffs often declined incarcerating supposed runaways in their local jails. Largely due to the North's unwillingness to cooperate, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in Prigg v. Pennsylvania (1842), that the fugitive slave laws did not mandate states to participate in recapturing or detaining alleged runaways.[277] This crippled the Fugitive Slave Act. Ballou absorbed an anti-federalist culture in rural New England that opposed any attempt by the federal government to infringe on local and state government.

On the Fourth of July in 1837, Ballou declared his abolitionism publicly. He was invited to give the keynote address at the First Congregational Meeting House in Mendon, Massachusetts for the Independence Day celebration. Immediately, the audience recognized that Ballou did not intend to primarily focus on the usual providential history of the United States and its founding. To begin, Ballou pleads with the audience to listen with "your understandings, your reason, and your consciences" rather than with "your passions." His address emphasizes that the United States was founded on the principle of liberty, and it was "not a creature of man; it is not a form of words on parchment; it is not the uncertain sound of a trumpet; it is not the echo of a mob; it is not a gaudy idol, carved and gilded by human craftsmen, to be glorified and shouted at by a vicious multitude; but it is an original gift of God."[278] There was a louse infecting the United States and its once providential institutions, argued Ballou and that particular "death-worm now rioting near the heart of our liberties is SLAVERY." He continued by quoting from Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, William Pinckney (famous lawyer and revolutionary), William Eaton (famous revolutionary), and from three opponents of slavery in Virginia, South Carolina, and Kentucky. Each quotation was laced with millennial implications for the United States if it did not extinguish the practice. For example, Ballou used these words from Jefferson. "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever . . . . When the measure of [slaves] tears shall be full . . . doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing a light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to the

---

[277] Thomas D. Morris, *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861* (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 1999), 104, 134.

[278] Adin Ballou, *A discourse on the Subject of American Slavery, Delivered in the First Congregational Meeting House, In Mendon, Mass., July 4, 1837* (Boston, MA: Isaac Knapp & Cornhill, 1837), 4. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

guidance of blind fatality."[279] If the United States did not open its collective eyes and ears to the cries of liberation from the slaves, God would free them by any means necessary.

After a lengthy biblical argument against slavery, it was clear Ballou was an abolitionist. This particular Independence Day did not bring him to a providential reflection on the Republic's founding, but an abhorrence for what professed "Christians," including himself, did with the liberty given them. In conclusion, Ballou "humbly" asks a series of questions imploring his audience to reflect on their standing as both citizens of the United States and citizens of God's house. "How is it possible for any man to be a good and faithful minister of Jesus Christ . . . and yet feel that he has nothing to do with the question of slavery? . . . . Are you for justice, mercy, liberty, happiness – or are you for injustice, cruelty, oppression and misery?" If American citizens truly desire to reverence the Revolutionaries, abolishing slavery was the mark of a patriot and more importantly a Christian. As a minister of the Gospel, Ballou concludes "friends, I am ready to sign a quit claim to all the offices, honors, and emoluments of civil government; but I never will relinquish the right vested in me by Jehovah, to bear my testimony to that I deem truth, nor the authority given me by Jesus Christ, to proclaim the gospel."[280] Ballou's sense of divine authority gave him the right not only to proclaim the gospel but to address political issues. By aligning with the Abolition Movement, Ballou immediately recognized there would be repercussions.

Abolitionists encountered harsh public reactions. Ballou's moral pleadings fell flat on a public who largely recognized slavery as vital to the nation's system of racial control and economy. Ballou, and other abolitionists, falsely believed that the public would easily embrace anti-slavery arguments similar to other reform movements aimed at moral regeneration. Anti-abolitionism in the North turned violent at times. Mobs attacked abolitionist homes, destroyed abolitionist presses, and in November, 1837, even murdered the Presbyterian minister Elijah P. Lovejoy dragging his mutilated body through the streets of Alton, Illinois.[281] Garrison later reflected on the extralegal violence perpetrated on abolitionists with bewilderment: "[W]e did not anticipate that . . . the free states would voluntarily trample under foot all order law and government, or brand the advocates of universal liberty as incendiaries."[282] Unlike Women's Rights, Labor, or Temperance, Abolitionism was perceived as being a threat to the vitality of the New Republic. By preaching emancipation, Ballou brought controversy rather than comfort to his flock.

Outraged by his remarks, some of Ballou's parish renounced him immediately. Initially, Ballou gave up his pastorate due to the primary financial contributor who was unwilling to continue paying Ballou for his ministry. He also owed an unknown sum of money to his beneficiary and received a note requesting a "forthwith" payment of Ballou's financial obligations "or procure a

---

[279] Thomas Jefferson in Ibid, 21.
[280] Ballou, *A discourse on the Subject of American Slavery*, 21, 85.
[281] Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers*, 130.
[282] William Lloyd Garrison, in Ballou, *A discourse on the Subject of American Slavery*, 130-31.

satisfactory endorser therefor."[283] He may have seen this as a threat with the potential of jail time. Although imprisonment for debt was on the decline in Massachusetts for over a century, debtors' prison was not abolished until 1857, involving cases of personal animus.[284] Quickly, Ballou rallied members of his congregation who he hoped would "help" him "in the emergency where [he] found [him]self." The debts were paid and within a month Ballou recognized most of his flock continued their support of him, "though some preferred that I should have kept silent on the subject of slavery."[285] Ballou's Fourth of July sermon was requested to be published, and *A Discourse on the Subject of American Slavery*, was widely circulated in the United States and found an audience in England. Ballou immediately received recognition as an abolitionist and straightaway formed an Anti-Slavery society in Mendon, as an auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery society in Philadelphia.

Ballou found himself heavily involved in the Anti-Slavery movement from 1837 until roughly the eve of the Civil War in 1861. His home became a "public hostelry" where "all kinds of reformers" came to discuss the "various schemes proposed for . . . bettering the condition of mankind."[286] He also left Mendon for speaking engagements throughout New England. On September 24, 1838, for example, he gave a lecture with noted abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips in Lynn, Massachusetts.[287] Ballou's *Independent Messenger* (1831-39) and *Practical Christian* (1840-60) newspapers, dedicated entire columns to promote abolitionism and renounce slavery. In one particular column titled "Genius of Reform," Ballou questions a "Br. D" to prove the merits of the pro-union arguments on the slavery question. He asks, "Is not the duty of every man in Church and State to use all righteous means whatsoever, to exert his entire influence – in favor of the abolition of slavery? . . . . In what future age will Christians be under greater obligations to use their influence to this end than now?"[288] Garrison's newspaper, the *Liberator,* frequently published sections of *The Practical Christian* that were dedicated to "Non-Resistance, Abolition, Temperance, [and] Moral Reform."[289] However, it remains unclear how and when Ballou became acquainted with Garrison and Phillips. Samuel J. May, who was one of the first Unitarian preachers to be recruited to the abolitionist cause worked closely with Garrison to form the New England Anti-Slavery Society and was sympathetic to Universalists. May and Ballou developed a lasting friendship, and both attempted to form a Restorationist-Unitarian denomination. It is probable that May recruited Ballou into the

---

[283] Unknown letter to Adin Ballou, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 282.
[284] Peter J. Coleman, *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607-1900* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974), 45.
[285] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 283.
[286] Ibid, 296-97.
[287] "Anti-Slavery Lectures in Lynn," *Liberator vol. 8, no. 39* (September 28, 1838). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[288] Adin Ballou, "Genius of Reform," *Independent Messenger*, vol. 3 (1837). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[289] Adin Ballou, "Notice of the Liberator," *The Practical Christian*, vol. 1 (1840). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.). The strikethrough is in the original.

Anti-Slavery movement no later than 1837 and likely introduced him to Garrison. Ballou and Garrison's friendship continued until Garrison's death in 1879.

Although Ballou became active in abolitionism, he was unable to become a prominent voice in the movement because of the daily tasks required of him in his newly formed utopian community in 1841. Despite the abolitionists' understanding of what Ballou was trying to create in Hopedale, they continued pressing him to become more active in the movement. In a private correspondence between the Reverends Samuel J. May and Samuel May Jr., May Jr. indicates their inability to get the "right men" to promote the cause. May Jr. laments, "I have tried quite hard to get Adin Ballou to take hold with us, and he would like to, I really believe, - his parish, his newspaper, & his new Community appear to occupy all his time, and he fears, he says, ~~that~~ he may get 'too many irons into the fire.' He would be a capital man to promote our cause just now, or as any time, indeed. I hope, I shall hope, that he will do something for us."[290] May's desire to have Ballou's active participation in the movement came in 1844 during a period of relative stability in the Hopedale community.

The Mays' persistence continued and by the spring of 1845, Ballou became a powerful voice in abolitionism. With Hopedale's economic stability, Ballou increased his efforts to rid the nation of slavery. He was called upon to give lectures and write on slavery throughout New England and for anti-slavery publishers. In August, 1845, abolitionists celebrated the ten-year anniversary of the Emancipation of the British West Indies. From 1833-35, Britain's "Slavery Abolition Act" effectively spread throughout the British Empire, and Ballou along with other abolitionists celebrated the event.[291] On the first of August, the American Anti-Slavery Society announced a collection of speakers would give addresses throughout New England, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and Ballou.[292] The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, asked him to write an article for its book *Liberty Chimes* published in 1845. His piece titled "The American Union" informs the citizens of the United States to reflect on their role with the continuation of slavery. "Nearly three millions of human beings, whose birth-right was freedom, clank the chains of slavery," and Americans' joined "hand in hand" and shouted to the "onward progress of the most intolerable wrong and outrage" in human history, wrote Ballou.[293] *Liberty Chimes* also featured writings from Phillips and a letter from John Brown.[294]

---

[290] Samuel May Jr. to Samuel J. May, 25 March 1841. Boston Public Library, Special Collections, Ms.A.6.1 (Boston, Mass.).
[291] Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 322-23.
[292] Unknown Author, "Notices: The First of August," *Prisoner's Friend: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Criminal Reform, Philosophy, Science, Literature,* no. 1 (July 30, 1845): 71. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[293] Adin Ballou, "The American Union" *Liberty Chimes* (Providence, RI: Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, 1845), 27, 29.
[294] *Liberty Chimes*, 20-24, 111-113. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

Ballou, despite his distaste for government, was nominated as a candidate for the Senate in Massachusetts and became a Free Mason. The abolitionist cause continued to move forward and attempted to seek political power in Massachusetts. The Anti-Slavery society announced its candidates for the governorship and senators of the Bay State as a protest against the Whigs and Democrats who both compromised on slavery. In a letter written to "Friend Quincy," likely Josiah Quincy Jr., who was a close associate and reformer with Garrison, an unknown author, likely Garrison, informed Quincy that the Anti-Slavery movement in Massachusetts desired to have a third-party on the ballot for the Governor and Senatorial elections. For governor they nominated William Lloyd Garrison, with Francis Jackson as his Lieutenant Governor. The Senators were "ADIN BALLOU, of Milford; JOHN M. FISK, of Brookfield; STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester; EFFINGHAM S. CAPRON; of Uxbridge; [and] J.T. EVERETT, of Princeton."[295] Obviously, the abolitionists understood the unlikelihood of obtaining office against the powerful Whig and Democrat parties. The abolitionists' candidates were nothing more than protest candidates determined to spread the message of abolition to a wider audience. Notwithstanding Ballou and Garrison's antagonism toward any organization or government that used force to maintain authority, they both initially appeared to be willing to work within the framework of the Constitution to rid the nation of the sin of slavery.

ABOLITIONIST SCHISM

As Ballou gained wider significance among abolitionist circles, he, along with Garrison expressed their ideas on how best to liberate the slaves. From the outside, the Anti-Slavery movements appeared to be harmonious and were able to push doctrinal differences to the side in order to rid the nation of slavery. Similar to religious denominations, however, abolitionists had differences in opinion and factions that constantly attempted to proclaim the best way to liberate the slave. Some called for a constitutional amendment, others thought returning slaves to their native country was the best solution, there were those who desired to use the United States treasury to purchase the slaves, and others to abolish the practice by any means necessary. In 1844, an anti-slavery convention was held in Milford, Massachusetts. Ballou brought the meeting to order, and seven noted abolitionists including Wendell Phillips, participated in a discussion to a "full" house. The participants lambasted Henry Clay for his Missouri Compromise, and vilified the former President of the United States, stating, "That in Martin Van Buren we see the willing tool of the slavocracy." The most radical resolution made in this meeting was their belief that the "Constitution of the U. States, in founding the system of national representation on a basis of slaves . . . is a covenant with death and an agreement

[295] "Curiosities of Voting: The Letter. For Governor. For Lieut, Governor. For Senators," *Liberator, vol. 17, no. 48* (November 26, 1847). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

with hell, and ought to be immediately annulled."[296] Ballou and Phillips were part of a radical branch of abolitionists who believed that the Constitution, due to its pro-slavery character, ought to be disobeyed and abolished. Garrison, notably made similar claims in 1832, calling the Constitution "the most bloody and heaven-daring arrangement ever made by men for the continuance and protection of a system [slavery] of the most atrocious villainy ever exhibited on earth."[297] His vehemence for the Republic's charter was displayed during an Independence Day rally sponsored by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1854 where he burned a copy of the Constitution to the sound of applause from many abolitionists.[298] In 1844, Ballou, Phillips, and Garrison believed that the structural designs of the Constitution were unable to free the slaves and argued in favor of moral suasion as their primary weapon to combat slavery due to their belief in Christ's non-violent principles taught in the New Testament. The United States Constitution was seen by Ballou and many abolitionists as the primary instrument used by the slavocracy to continue the practice. Ballou, along with Garrison and Phillips, believed that abolitionists and Americans needed a transformation of values both individually and collectively. To them, the Constitution represented a charter committed to coercive authority to maintain its legitimacy. The Garrisonian and Ballou branches of abolitionism repudiated human politics, charters, and legal methods to expunge individual and collective sins. In essence, Americans needed to be "born again" into abolitionism similar to their individual conversions to Christ.

In March, 1844, Ballou, with Wendell Phillips, Abby Kelley (famous Women's Rights activist and abolitionist), and others held a convention in Milford to gain moral suasion converts to abolitionism. They resolved "[t]hat no abolitionist can throw a vote for any candidate for office, under the United States Constitution, without being utterly recreant to his principles, and a traitor to the slave's cause."[299] Ballou understood that the abolitionists were largely a group of radicals committed to a strict biblical rendering of Christ's controversial non-violent teachings. And by linking Christ's anti-violent instructions to "sword-sustained governments," Ballou, Phillips, Kelley, and Garrison sought to persuade other abolitionists to view the United States political system with contempt and to understand that to validate it by emendation was accepting coercive methods as the means to liberate slaves instead of the perceived formula given by Christ to persuade rather than to force.[300]

There was constant debate among leading abolitionists and multiple attempts to better understand their disagreements. The differences in opinion came to their apex during an American Anti-Slavery Society meeting held in New York in July, 1844, attended by hundreds of abolitionists. Ballou, along with Garrison, Charles Dennison (a noted Boston abolitionist and reformed Baptist

---

[296] "Anti-Slavery Convention," The *Liberator*, *vol. 14, no, 9* (March 1, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[297] William Lloyd Garrison, "The Great Crisis!," *The Liberator vol. 2, no. 52* (December 29, 1832). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[298] Paul Finkleman, "Garrison's Constitution: The Covenant with Death and How it was Made," *Prologue: A Quarterly Publication of the National Archives and Records Administration* (Winter, 2000): 231-45.
[299] Unknown Author, "Annexation of Texas," *Liberator vol. 14, no. 1* (March 8, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[300] Finkleman, "Garrison's Constitution," 231-40.

minister), Charles Burleigh (Then President of the American Anti-Slavery Society), and Kelly, were given time to explain their views on the subject. Ballou, who had already declared his separation from the United States in order to form a utopian community in Massachusetts, gave a speech against using any "other means of advancing [abolitionists] objects but that of moral power."[301] Dennison next took the stand and proceeded to lambast Ballou's proposals. The notes taken during the meeting read as follows and highlight the discord among abolitionists:

> [Dennison] regarded the views propounded by Mr. Ballou as day-visions from Hopedale. – (Loud hisses and cheers.) For himself he felt satisfied that the friends of Abolition must take society as it is, and reform the existing evils by the means which God had placed at their disposal. Slavery was a great evil, and had grown up with the institutions of the country – it was interwoven with the very texture of political power, and political action alone must remove it. – (Loud hisses and cheers.) Yes, political action alone can remove it. We must carry our principles to the ballot box, and there enter protest. – (Loud hisses and cheers.) He [Dennision] believed that it was morally impossible to reform this world by moral suasion alone. The tares must grow up with the wheat, until the day of harvest arrives. He would entreat, persuade, advise: and when all failed, he would resort to political power to break what he could not bend. (Hisses and cheers.) . . . After a long review of the several branches of moral influences enumerated by Ballou, he concluded (amid a storm of the most violent hisses and wild uproar,) with these words: "Who then, shall we follow, the Lord Jesus Christ, or Adin Ballou, of Hopedale?" The scene which followed baffled all description – it exceeded any exhibition of feeling we have ever witnessed in a political assemblage.[302]

Tensions continued to heighten when Charles Burleigh took over the platform and spoke for several minutes denouncing Dennison. Frustrated by Dennison's attempt to liken the "American ballot-box" with the "religion of Jesus Christ," Burleigh argued that only "a wolf in sheep's clothing would have dared to do this. (a violent opposition from the friends of Garrison and Dennison)," and boldly declared, "In the name of every slave mother, [Dennison is] a Benedict Arnold. (Increased confusion, shouts, 'No.' 'Yes.')" Burleigh in the midst of cheers and hisses relinquished the pulpit back to Dennison who was frustrated that Burleigh labeled him a "hypocrite" and "apostate." Dennison, however, continued the uproar by acknowledging the opinions of Garrison in regard to slavery, but "he did not adopt his wild, visionary theological opinions." Garrison rose from his seat and shouted:

> "Once there was a Benedict Arnold. (Hisses, louder than before, and great excitement.) "You are cowards!" (Another storm of hisses.) "Yes, I call you dastards!" (Continued confusion.) A voice "Judge not!" Garrison in a tremendous passion – "I say that whoever spoke then is a coward and dastard!" (Of the scene at this moment, it is impossible to give any description.) Garrison continuing – "I say, there was once a Benedict Arnold." (Hisses). (Mr. Dennison jumping on the seat, shouted out at the top of his voice, 'I think you are the Benedict Arnold!'"[303]

The uproar in the meeting "was tremendous" and several "ladies" and men shouted at the top of their lungs to allow the speakers to be heard without interruption. Eventually, Kelly spoke and according to

---

[301] Unknown Author "Confusion Among the Abolitionists," *African Repository and Colonial Journal*, vol. 20, no. 7 (July, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

the scribe, was the only one who was heard "without any other expression, but that of approbation." She asked everyone to be charitable toward Dennison and welcome him back. The meeting ended with the rowdy abolitionists singing "Come join the Abolition Cause."[304] There were no formal emancipation policies adopted on how to free the slave, and the debate continued. Reflecting on this event, and the continued discord among abolitionists, John Brown declared:

> And why have those loud peans [expression of love] with which the *Liberator* and *Emancipator*, once greeted the Tappans, Garrison, Birney, Stanton, Rogers, Phelps, Goodell, Stweard, Smith and others . . . . I do most sincerely wish that all Friends of the Slave would earnestly inquire, why it is, that most of our Anniversaries exhibit the secession, or an open, violent, virulent, attack on some prominent, active and influential abolitionist.[305]

With the conglomerate of reformers from different religious and political affiliations, abolitionists struggled to maintain cohesion.

Despite the combined efforts of such passionate abolitions throughout the 1840s, slavery continued to increase in the United States. The abolitionist cause continued throughout the 1850s, and the hopes that moral suasion, as advocated by Garrison and Ballou, would rid the United States of its national sin were beginning to appear inadequate. In November, 1851, the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society held its sixteenth annual conference. Invitations for speakers were sent to Frederick Douglas, Samuel R. Ward, Charles L. Remond, Theodore Parker, Charles C. Burleigh, and "our highly esteemed non-resistant brother, Adin Ballou." Of those invited to speak, only three concurred, Douglas, Remond, and Burleigh. Ballou wrote a letter stating that he had "other engagements" that prevented him from attending. Douglass spoke during the morning session about his fond memories during the early days of the movement with Garrison, Kelley, and others. During his speech an anonymous "colored man" rose and advocated "killing all who attempted to re-enslave a fugitive,"[306] in reference to the Fugitive Slave Act, known by many abolitionists as the "Bloodhound Law," that required citizens of the North to return runaway slaves to their masters in the south.[307] Quickly, the meeting turned as Remond (a leading black abolitionist in Boston who frequently toured with Garrison), arose and discussed the subject of "self-defense." He believed it was time for abolitionists to encourage "colored people" to use "all the physical power and means they could command to strike down the executors of the Fugitive Slave Law." Many of the leading men and women of the abolitionists, including Garrison, Henry C. Wright, Kelley, Ballou, and Amos Bronson Alcott, were part of another reform movement called the New England Non-Resistance Society that condemned the use of self-defense in resisting evil, including slavery. Remond understood this being a close friend of Garrison and tried to appease non-resistant tenets by explaining non-resistants would not be expected

---

[304] Ibid.
[305] John Brown, "A Letter" in *Liberty Chimes* (Providence, RI: Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, 1845), 112. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[306] Unknown Author, "Rhode Island A.S. Society," *Liberator, vol. 21, no. 46* (1831-65). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[307] Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union: Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852* (New York: Collier Books, 1992), 367.

to participate in the "shedding of human blood." Theodore Parker's belief was also represented at the meeting, even though he was not in attendance. S.W.W. (name unknown) read a portion of one of Parker's speeches that said "I am no-non-resistant, but I am glad that the leading anti-slavery men are so." Douglass, frustrated by the mutual exclusiveness, charged Parker and those attending the meeting with "inconsistency, and endeavored to show there was none in the language used."[308]

The discussion of violent opposition to slavery continued as Remond and Douglass justified the killing of slave owner Edward Gorsuch during the Christiana Fugitive Affair in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where four fugitive slaves, along with local townspeople, resisted the captors by force, killing Gorsuch in the process.[309] Douglass continued his remarks by promoting the killing of all slave holders. He referenced the Revolutionary War engagements at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and used the revered revolutionary Patrick Henry, to explain the just war of the slave. Burleigh finished the conference by refuting both Douglass and Remond and asserting, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds. Let us be faithful, abhor all compromise with evil, and in due time we shall reap, if we faint not." According to the scribe at the meeting, Burleigh's words received "continued applause – more than on both the previous days."[310] Non-violent abolition was the popular position in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Remond and Douglass may have left the meeting frustrated, but their pleas began to resonate as the 1850s progressed.

In 1854, the Missouri Compromise was repealed. The federal statute that prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of the proposed state of Missouri, was replaced by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The United States was expanding, and Stephen Douglas a Democratic Senator from Illinois wrote the law to help open new farms throughout the Midwest and help to establish the Transcontinental Railroad. Douglas wrote into the law a popular sovereignty clause that left the voters to determine whether slavery would be allowed in the Kansas and Nebraska territories. As both pro-and-anti slavery voters flooded into Kansas with the goal of voting slavery up and down, tensions mounted and Kansas began to bleed in 1855.[311]

Missourians considered migration a political statement against the South's "peculiar institution" and began harassing northern emigrants. There were fears from both Missourians and citizens in Kansas that northern abolitionists were infiltrating the Free State. On the *Polar Star*, a ferry used on the Missouri River to bring passengers to Kansas, William C. Clark led a Bible study and argued that the creation narrative implied that all races including, white, black, and Indian were common ancestors. Passengers labelled him an "abolition Yankee," and during breakfast he was

---

[308] Unknown Author, "Rhode Island A.S. Society," 187.
[309] Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York: Oxford Press, 1991), ix.
[310] Unknown Author, "Rhode Island A.S. Society," 187.
[311] Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas*: *Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (University of Kansas Press, 2004), 64.

struck with a chair. Fearing his death, Clark got off the boat when it stopped for firewood.[312] On another occasion, a Missourian remarked to a supposed southern immigrant that, "[t]oo many infernal abolitionists are getting into the country, and for my part, I am for tarring and feathering and gutting and hanging and drowning the scoundrels until not an abolition thief shall be found in Kansas!"[313]

Abolitionist writings were also prohibited to circulate under the new Kansas territorial slave code. The *Herald of Freedom*, an anti-slavery publication edited by George Brown, was banished from the territory, and the Atchison postmaster returned copies of the newspaper back to Brown informing him to keep his "rotten and corrupt effusions from tainting the pure air of this portion of the Territory."[314] A poem titled "Kansas Laws" threatened:

> If any Yankee, in this Territory
> Shall circulate an abolition story
> ……...
> Then brave STRINGFELLOW, or the gallant JONES,
> Or ATCHISON, or any man of note,
> May cut his cursed antislavery throat.[315]

No executions took place, but abolitionists under the Kansas-Nebraska Act were limited to promulgate their message through the press. It was becoming clear for some abolitionists that to rid the nation of its sin, violent insurrection was necessary and Kansas would be the theater where they would make their stand.

The advances of slavery in Kansas seemed insurmountable, and without war slavery would take over the Kansas territory. One abolitionist, John Brown, was crucial to turn the struggle in Kansas toward violence, of which Ballou and Garrison feared. Brown, a lifelong abolitionist, became disillusioned with non-violent abolitionism's attempt of moral suasion to rid the nation of its sin. The Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act were proofs that slavery was increasing. In order to defeat the figurative Goliath of slavery, the Old Testament God needed a David willing to fight. Before Brown went to Kansas he was already committed to a violent war against slavery. Kansas presented Brown with the opportunity to not only help defend his elder sons who had alreadey moved to Kansas, but to display God's sanctioning of violent opposition to evil. He petitioned the wealthy abolitionist Gerrit Smith for funds to buy guns and ammunition. Smith and others, primarily from Brown's birthplace in Ohio, funded Brown's "army" to fight against the largely proslavery government in Kansas. The struggle commenced when a "Free-Stater" (those who believed Kansas should be an anti-slavery state) was shot by a pro-slavery settler. Brown, began his holy war by planning the murder of pro-slavery settlers at Pottawatomie Creek. Five pro-slavery men were slaughtered by Brown's men at midnight. The war gained traction, and Brown was further incensed

---

[312] Unknown Author, *Herald of Freedom*, June 28, 1856. In Ibid, 94.
[313] John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane, "The Liberator of Kansas" with Corrobative Incidents of Pioneer History* (Garden City, KU: 1897), 18-19.
[314] Robert S. Kelley to G.W. Brown, Sept. 7, 1855, in *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 22, 1855.
[315] Unknown Author in *Squatter Sovereign*, Dec. 9, 1856. In Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas*, 64.

when his son Frederick and neighbor David Garrison were killed in Osawatomie by General John W. Reid's Missourian battalion. The border dispute between Kansas and Missouri turned into a war lasting nearly seven bloody years from 1855-61.[316] Brown's 1855 call to arms ignited a debate within the abolitionists on the merits of violent opposition to slavery.

As abolitionists in New England began debating the efforts of Brown to free the slave through insurrection, Ballou quickly published his beliefs in regard to Brown's war in Kansas. In an editorial titled, "Freedom in Kansas Vs. Christian Non-Resistance," Ballou attacks abolitionists who financially or morally support violence to emancipate the growing slave population. He laments that the "majority of those who at one time or another professed to adopt it [non-violence] have fallen away from it . . . . The brave champions of Anti-Slavery, whom we have ourselves delighted to honor for their talents, eloquence and devotion to the cause, such as Gerrit Smith, Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Parker and a host of their admirers, are almost overwhelming us [non-violent abolitionists] with their chivalrous appeals."[317] Ballou's primary argument against violent opposition to slavery was based on his current theology attributed to Christ's appeals to "resist not evil." Ballou recognized that he and other non-resistant abolitionists were losing the battle among some of the most esteemed members.

Not only did Ballou use biblical authority to explain the sinfulness of insurrection, he attempted to use common sense to explain what he believed was the primary motivation for the feud. According to Ballou, the battle in Kansas was not a war based on abolishing chattel slavery in the United States, but rather deciding if Kansas would be a free or slave state. Both free and slave states participated in upholding slavery. This was an economic battle between two differing bodies, and Ballou pled with his fellow abolitionists to recognize that the fight in Kansas was not over slavery. "Was it [the war in Kansas] whether Kansas should be a land of freedom for all honest and well behaved emigrants, black as well as white? No. It was merely whether it should be possessed and ruled by Free State men, or by Slave State men. All this was well understood by the spirants of both parties, and they went into the competitive struggle accordingly." For Ballou, this was more than an ideological battle. If abolitionists turned to the sword to defeat slavery and abandon their peace principles as outlined by Christ in the New Testament, abolitionism would lose the moral high ground. "Beloved friends, Smith, Beecher, &c., &c., &c., pray spare your eloquence awhile; for we have small relish for the banquet to which you invite us," writes Ballou, "Freedom in Kansas will, no doubt, be a fine thing for such white people as are leagued with slaveholders against four millions of slaves . . . but for ourselves, we prefer Freedom of a better quality." By taking up arms to defeat the "border ruffians" in Kansas, Ballou believed abolitionists were "deluded into shed[ding] human blood."[318]

---

[316] Debra Goodrich Bisel, *The Civil War in Kansas: Ten Years of Turmoil* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2012), 41-48.
[317] Adin Ballou, "Freedom in Kansas vs. Christian Non-Resistance," *Liberator*, vol. 26, no. 18 (May 2, 1856). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[318] Ibid.

The war in Kansas was a struggle between white men and for white men. By supporting the violent efforts of Brown, non-violent abolitionists, such as Ballou, were left in a doctrinal quandary. The majority of New England abolitionists in the early 1850s ascribed to the tenets of non-violence, but recognized that their efforts of moral suasion from the pulpit and the press was doing little to slow down the economic power of the United States' collective sin.

Ballou, despite his frustration with insurrection as a method to free the slaves, was unable to give any immediate practical solution to combat the growth of slavery. He viewed recolonizing and/or purchasing the slaves from their masters with abhorrence. Recolinization was promoted by ministers in Virginia. Both Reverend Samuel R. Houston and Reverend Moses Tichnell, for example, freed their slaves and sent them to Baltimore where ships took them back to Liberia.[319] Ballou did not believe that this was a viable solution unless the slaves voluntarily returned to Africa. Sarcastically Ballou orated, "Let them be shipped off, whether they are willing or not – send them home – we have had enough of them. You mean, that having extorted from them all we can, and stripped them of every thing but life, we have no further use for them. Very generous and kind, indeed!" Ballou was confused by this proposal and wondered, "Where did we learn such a morality as this?" He continues his frustration with recolonization and explains, "They are not Aboriginal Americans; neither are we. Their ancestors came from Africa, ours from Europe; and here, we are in the red man's country. If there is to be any shipping off without consent, we had better let the Indian say who shall be sent home. I dare say he would colonize Europe quite as liberally as we would Africa."[320] Purchasing slaves by the federal government was seen by Ballou as putting money back into the pockets of slave owners who for years had gained economic prosperity on the backs of slaves. By the eve of the Civil War, Ballou continued to believe that immediate emancipation was the best solution and that through continued civil disobedience the slave would be freed. Then through the slaves' amalgamation they would have the best opportunity for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These arguments proved to be ineffective by the late 1850s. For some abolitionists, such as Gerrit Smith, Brown at least provided a solution for immediate emancipation, rather than patiently waiting for the conversion of slave masters and northerners comfortable in naivety.

Without a quick fix for the slave problem and seeing his abolitionist brethren lean toward the use of force for emancipation, Ballou mulled over leaving the American Anti-Slavery Society in early 1859, but remained an active member and recruiter. He recognized the principles he admired most in the Anti-Slavery movements were taking on new forms. Writing to Garrison, the president of the movement, Ballou felt "anxious" to have William Cobb become a member of the society based largely on his non-resistant principles. Cobb was moving to Michigan, and Ballou believed Cobb would be an important "agent" for the abolitionists and help establish the movement in the latest new frontier.

---

[319] Jane Ailes and Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Leaving Virginia for Liberia: Western Virginia Emigrants and Emancipators," *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional* Studies, vol. 6, no. 2 (Fall, 2012): 15.
[320] Ballou, *A Discourse on the Subject of American Slavery*, 61.

Ballou advises Garrison to accept Cobb, "With these suggestions we cordially commend his case to your consideration and that of your co-advisors in the American Society."[321] Even though Ballou recommended Cobb to the movement in March, 1859, within six months Ballou's belief in the movement faltered and he continued thinking about disassociation. His resulting inactivity frustrated leading members in the movement.

In the *Liberator,* J. Miller McKim, a renowned Presbyterian minister and devoted friend of John Brown, expressed his frustration with Ballou's proposed resignation and antagonism toward insurrection. "Anything from the pen of Adin Ballou is worthy of attention" explains McKim, but he "is not infallible." McKim admits that the "war spirit" had spread throughout the abolitionists, but argues, "Our organization is made up of people of all varieties of opinion on the force question . . . no Society in the country embraces so large a proportion of peace men as does the American Anti-Slavery Society." Frustrated with Ballou, McKim pleads with Ballou to return: "Our friend has done good service . . . heretofore: why should he now relax his efforts? At the very time we need him most . . . . This is not right . . . . This looks almost like shirking duty. The voice of the majority imposes no obligation of submission . . . . But he says, 'We are rather inclined to retire.' Let him not forget that inclination and duty sometimes lead in opposite directions." McKim's main criticism of Ballou was his insistence with viewing abolitionism as a necessary vestige of Christianity, rather than its corollary. McKim explains that abolitionism has one goal which is to liberate the slaves. Obviously, there is a hope within abolitionism for a "heart-change" among slave owners and non-abolitionists, but "no one claims that the chief end of man is to be an Abolitionist." The society itself was not set up as a religious denomination, but as a society working within the "doctrines of the Christian religion." McKim then argues, "What is that the Lord thy God doth require of thee, that to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? Therefore aid in the overthrow of slavery." He also suggests that Ballou's inactivity in the Anti-Slavery society may have been his susceptibility to be easily offended. "What if 'now and then a little contempt of non-resistant softliness' does tind expression?" remarks McKim, "Cannot our friend, who knows he is in the right, bear that, and a little 'laughter at his expense' besides?" McKim explains that dissent can be useful in teaching forbearance and "it does us no harm to be occasionally 'disgusted'" with other members of the abolitionist community. McKim implores Ballou to understand that his criticisms come from a friend and to view them as "wholesome and edifying." He concludes the article by pleading with Ballou to remain with the society. "But pray, friend Ballou, don't leave our ranks. The cause has need of you. 'The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.' I don't think that we are nearly as warlike and venomous as you make us out to be, but still we are bad enough to need the antidote of your gentle spirit and peace-breathing doctrines. Don't desert us."[322] Ballou's unwillingness to compromise or

---

[321] Adin Ballou to William Lloyd Garrison, March 21, 1859. Boston Public Library, Special Collections, MS. A. 1.2, v.29, p. 34 (Boston, Mass.).
[322] J. Miller McKim, "Practical Christian Anti-Slavery," *The Liberator,* vol. 29, no. 39 (September 30, 1859): 154. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

acknowledge there were alternatives to freeing the slaves other than moral suasion led to his dissent. He could not remain active when it appeared abolitionists were leaning towards war as the only option to free the slave.

THE RAID ON HARPER'S FERRY

It is unclear whether Ballou responded to McKim, but Ballou remained largely inactive but attached to the movement, despite his obvious frustration. On October 16, 1859, John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry reignited Ballou's contempt for violent insurrection and instigated a philosophical tremor within the society. Brown, along with roughly twenty men including three free blacks and a fugitive slave, seized a United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. The raid failed and more than half of the men were killed or captured. Brown was tried and found guilty of treason and hanged on December 2, 1859.[323] Ballou, fearing perhaps the aggrandizement of Brown, immediately condemned the insurrectionist minded abolitionists and declared his actions egregious to the "ultra" wing of abolitionism that were committed to non-resistance. Ballou recognized that his cherished non-resistance principles among the abolitionists were floundering and that Brown's example of masculinity produced a seductive "argument for bloody resistance, insurrectionism, and revolution." Ballou went further, wishing "[insurrectionists] no success, but the speediest failure." An unknown abolitionist retorted, "Our bro. Ballou . . . in such a conflict . . . hopes the oppressor will succeed against the oppressed; that the wrong side will triumph over the right . . . that U.S. marines and Virginia troops may overcome the Virginia slaves in every encounter!"[324] The abolitionists struggled to find common ground between the ultras, who were committed to non-resistance, and those who respected the activities of Brown. Amidst this philosophical battle, Garrison was asked to respond to Brown's actions.

Garrison, who converted Ballou to non-resistance in 1837, cleverly balanced his peace principles with the justifications of Brown's insurrection. In a speech given to a group of abolitionists at the Tremont Temple in Boston, Garrison explained his reaction to Brown's death. Unlike Ballou, Garrison toed the line with those who were sympathetic to Brown's fight against slavery. "Was John Brown justified in his attempt?" asked Garrison, "Yes, if Washington was in his . . . . If men are justified in striking a blow for freedom, when the question is one of a threepenny tax on tea, then, I say, they [slaves, Brown] are a thousand times more justified." Any abolitionist or American citizen who viewed Brown as a bloodthirsty "traitor is a calumniator" proclaimed Garrison. He understood there was a push among abolitionists, including Ballou, to see the movement as a vehicle to promulgate a form of Christianity akin to a religious denomination. But, as Garrison reiterated, the sole purpose of the movement was to rid the United States

---

[323] James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 205-06.

[324] Adin Ballou, "The Practical Christian" excerpt printed in *the Liberator vol. 30, no. 2* (January 31, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

to a form of Christianity. Garrison used the "American standard" to judge Brown's activity, and proclaimed, "I hesitate not to say, with all deliberation, that those who are attempting to decry him are dangerous members of the community; they are those in whom the love of liberty has died out; they are the lineal descendants of the tories of the Revolution, only a great deal worse."[325] This last proclamation was responded to with applause from those in attendance. Here Garrison does not present an either or argument, rather an attempt to situate his own belief in non-resistance versus those who believe the opposite. Garrison with his response to Brown, pitted two pillars of abolitionist belief against each other, namely non-resistance and individual conscience. The same "inner light" that moved Brown to his actions was the same force that governed Garrison's decision to abstain from insurrection. For Garrison, neither principle was mutually exclusive. Abolitionists could remain within the movement by adhering to the buffetings of conscience wherever those might lead. Each could decide in this time of peril on how best to follow God's advice whether biblical or experiential, and any attempt to demand absolute obedience to one particular principle discussed by abolitionists would lead to the movement's failure.

Ballou was incensed by Garrison's double talk and praise of Brown. Ballou held a "special meeting" with the South Division Anti-Slavery Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. It was an attempt by Ballou to thwart the "eulogizing and glorifying" of Brown's method from gaining traction among the abolitionists. Immediately, Ballou brought the peace principles of the "old platform" of abolitionism to the forefront. In a series of speeches throughout the day, he read from the Anti-Slavery declaration and constitutional pledge of 1833, written by Garrison, which states that abolitionists would not resort to measures of "physical resistance" to abolish slavery: "Ours are such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption – the destruction of error by the potency of truth – the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love."[326] At the close of the meeting, Ballou's resolutions did not receive acknowledgement and were "overborne by numbers" in opposition. The meeting ended by resolving "that as Abolitionists . . . we are unable to judge of the wisdom of [John Brown's army's] measures, we are prompt to avow our cordial sympathy with the spirit and our devout admiration of [his] heroism." Frustrated by the resolution, Ballou did not adopt it and left the "new heroes of the [abolitionism] to glory in the sword on their own responsibility." After Garrison's speech, Ballou frustratingly lamented "even Brother Wm. Lloyd Garrison . . . became more than an apologist, he became a eulogist of the blood-shedding hero of the Harper's Ferry tragedy."[327] Ballou, along with other ultras, mulled over leaving the American Anti-Slavery Society after hearing Garrison's praise of Brown. Although Ballou did not formally leave the movement, he remained aloof after Harper's Ferry and waited to see how the movement would respond to Brown's insurrection.

---

[325] William Lloyd Garrison, "No Union With Slaveholders" *The Liberator*, vol. 29, no. 50 (December, 16, 1859). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[326] William Lloyd Garrison, "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention" *The Liberator*, vol. 3, no. 50 (December 14, 1833). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[327] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 419.

The preceding two publications of the *Liberator* after Harper's Ferry show Garrison's willingness to admire Brown's actions. Although Garrison remained virtually silent to give a definitive answer on a resistance policy, he was the editor of the *Liberator* and published A.G.S.'s and J.H. Fowler's thoughts that highlight the development of non-resistance thought among abolitionists. A.G.S. explains "true there was a bloody side to the Harper's Ferry movement, which every non-resistant must condemn . . . . But was there not also another side to it – to John Brown?" For A.G.S., Brown exemplified the moral force behind the Anti-Slavery movement. Brown was not breaking any commandment by God because he did not commit to the ultras' belief in non-resistance. He was neither convinced by "common sense . . . [or] Scripture text" that his insurrectionist activities violated the biblical exegesis of Garrison's belief in Christ's non-resistant commands. "I Shall endeavor to appreciate true virtue, manliness and heroism, in others," wrote A.G.S., "even though they have not learned to distinguish between brutal forces, such as fangs and claws, swords and bullets, and those mightier weapons which are not carnal."[328] Fowler attempted to appease both sides of the argument by showing the parallels between physical resistance and non-resistance. Both agree to the principle of "[t]he ends justify the means," in that non-resistance and physical resistance attempt to cure an evil with a certain diagnosis. Brown used "moral power" as his justification to take up arms. Likewise, "Henry C. Wright" used "moral power" to take up his "pen and tongue" to defeat slavery. Brown's "rifle made an occasion for his moral power to act. His physical energy, applied in the form of bold resistance, made an opening, and gave him a position, so that he could use his moral force." Fowler identified his object in this article was to show how "nearly the true non-resistant and his ally, the resistant, agree," and explained to Garrison why Fowler changed his "policy." "The times demanded the change" argued Fowler, and Garrison along with other ultras needed to rethink their strategy for liberating the slave.[329]

In the next subsequent issue of the *Liberator*, Garrison published a Unitarian-Congregationalist minister from Pennsylvania's views on the difficulty with aggrandizing Brown's raid. Not all the "new heroes" of abolitionism concurred with Brown's approach. William H. Furness saw in Brown a failure to use Christ's example of non-violence in his approach to end slavery. Furness used the biblical account of Peter's use of force against Christ's captors to understand how best to approach abolitionist calls for violent uprising. Furness turns to the biblical account in John 18 where Peter smites Malchus with his sword cutting off his right ear. Immediately Christ commands Peter to "Put up thy sword into thy sheath."[330] Christ miraculously heals Malchus and admonishes his disciples to abstain from further violence. Furness likens this story to the situation with the slaves, and

---

[328] A.G.S., "John Brown…Non-Resistance," *Liberator*, vol. 30, no. 12 (Boston, MA: March 23, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[329] J.H. Fowler, "Physical Resistance and 'Non-resistance," *Liberator*, vol. 30, no. 14, (Boston, MA: April 6, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[330] John 18:10-11 The King James Version of the Holy Bible.

asks his fellow abolitionists: "What are we to do about him [slaves] – we especially, of the North?"[331] Furness argued that Brown, though justified in his use of force based on "public sentiment" that recognized the use of force as a lawful instrument of justice and liberty, was acting in the wrong by "drawing the sword for the slave." Similar to Ballou, Furness believed that violent uprising by the abolitionists did more harm than good for their cause and the slave. "He [Brown] did not take into account the undeviating law, that violence produces violence," and did not adhere to the council given to Peter by Christ. Furness ascribed to pre-Harper's Ferry abolitionism that believed, "Truth is . . . much more effectual than any brute force." However, Furness sought a less polemical approach than Ballou, and explained how Brown displayed "heroic courage" in his war against slavery. Brown was simply misguided and, unlike trained clergy and itinerant preachers, did not spend his time pondering and debating the tenets outlined by Christ to his followers.[332]

Frustrated by the movement's willingness to break bread with insurrectionists, Ballou's involvement virtually ended by the eve of the Civil War. When the Civil War came to a close after four faith trying years, it successfully liberated the slave via the "war machine." Thereafter, Ballou continued to lambast abolitionists who "had been converted to the doctrine of the rightfulness of forcible resistance of evil" based on the Civil War's outcome.[333] The end was unable to justify the means for Ballou. Brown's methods proved prophetic rather than the peace-breathing pronouncements from Hopedale. Ballou's last known activity in the Anti-Slavery movement was a eulogy given by him and three others, Henry C. Wright, Rev. George Thompson, and Rev. George Bradburn—at the funeral of Thankful Southwick, a fellow and famous female abolitionist and Temperance co-worker in 1867.[334]

CONCLUSION

Ballou's activities among the reform movements showcased for him the impossibility of uniting under a set of statutes to redeem the nation that used the coercive powers of government to cure societal ills. As Ballou joined and became a co-worker with the reform movements, the patriotic praise he once enjoyed for the Revolutionaries and primarily the government they created became problematic. He began to recognize how the United States' constitutional government continued to use coercive methods to maintain order. But in Garrison and other reformers, Ballou found a commitment to view everything through a specific Christian lens that he believed, through tireless preaching, printing, and teaching, would successfully convert the intemperate and rid the nation of slavery. Temperance was Ballou's initiation into a cadre of multi-denominational reformers, who united under the collective goal of curing America from its dependence on alcohol. However, once

---

[331] William H. Furness, "Put up thy Sword" *The Liberator*, vol. 30, no. 15 (Boston, MA: April 13, 1860), 60. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 421-422.
[334] Henry C. Wright to William Lloyd Garrison, "Letter" May 3, 1867. Boston Public Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).

the majority of Temperance advocates used government to acquire their goals, Ballou relinquished his involvement. Even among reformers, Ballou witnessed the discord and failure to truly become united and use non-coercive methods to end individual habits. Temperance provided Ballou with the moral training he desired, but his pleas for moral suasion instead of governmental coercion to temper alcohol became inadequate as growing numbers of Temperance men and women eventually used government to achieve their goals.

Similar to his work within the Temperance movement, Ballou also became converted to and worked to expand the Anti-Slavery movement. Within abolitionism, he found individuals committed to destroy the United States' vilest collective atrocity. Until the late 1850s, Ballou's and Garrison's moral suasion arguments were largely accepted as the primary force to liberate the slaves. However, with the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, non-violent abolitionism slowly faded. John Brown's insurrections in Kansas and Harper's Ferry provided the catalyst to swing abolitionists to agree upon the necessity of using violence to finally abolish slavery. Brown's final 1859 message before going to the gallows, "I . . . am not quite certain that the crime of this guilty land will ever be purged away but with blood,"[335] proved prophetic and even convinced Garrison that a "need for violence" was necessary for immediate emancipation.[336] Ballou, however, could not join Garrison and the majority of abolitionists in their acceptance of using force to free the slaves. Instead of adapting to the reality that moral suasion could not maintain its theological dominance among abolitionists who recognized that slavery was increasing, Ballou chose inactivity and relaxed his efforts among abolitionist circles. Ballou proved unwilling to separate abolitionism from his version of Christianity, and once abolitionists accepted northern guns to free the slaves, abolitionism, in Ballou's mind, was no longer a Christian cause. His belief in Christian non-resistance superseded immediate emancipation, and Ballou, though grateful that the Civil War brought freedom to the slaves, could not admit providential justification for how freedom was achieved.

[335] John Brown, in Richard Hinton, *John Brown and His Men* (Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 1894), 398.
[336] Mintz, *Moralists and Modenizers*, 140.

CHAPTER 4: FLEEING THE NATION, FINDING UTOPIA?

INTRODUCTION

By 1838, Ballou's understanding of Christianity was expanding and shaping into new forms. His affiliation with the reform movements especially Anti-Slavery, worried many of his parish and his Universalist/Restorationist kin as they recognized he was becoming a radical. The schisms among the Universalists and the Restorationists continued to plague Ballou's mind as he witnessed both sides were unwilling to compromise on the question of future retribution. MAUR's unwillingness to join the reform movements in part led to the denominations destruction. With his affiliations among the radical reformers a new question began troubling Ballou. "As logical consistency was a part of my religion . . . . Ought I to take a stand outside of the body politic as represented by the state and nation, and have nothing whatever to do with the administration of public affairs?"[337] This new thought came to Ballou during his time with the newly formed New England Non-Resistance Society in 1838, founded by William Lloyd Garrison.

Ballou was one of the six founding members of the organization including, Henry Clarke Wright, Amasa Walker, Stephen Foster, and the Grimke sisters Sarah and Angelina. During a Peace Convention on September 18-20, 1838, Garrison rose and read the "Declaration of Sentiments," which was similar in some respects to the Declaration of Independence. One line in it appeared to resonate with Ballou and caused him to reflect on his relationship with the United States. "We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government,"[338] proclaimed Garrison. At the end of the meeting those who desired fellowship with the New England Non-Resistance Society were asked to sign the document. Ballou did not initially sign, but agreed to spread non-resistance throughout New England. Within in a year, Ballou agreed to the "Sentiments" and formally joined the NENRS with his signature.

If Ballou no longer swore allegiance to the United States, what was the course he ought to pursue? It is clear Ballou struggled to understand this particular sentiment. After reflecting and debating all of the "pro and con" arguments presented to him by some of the co-signers, Ballou pondered on his developing disillusion with the United States. "It was some time before I could answer it to my satisfaction," wrote Ballou many years later, and he "finally looked to Christ" to alleviate his inquiry. Another intensive study of the four Gospels commenced, and he came to the conclusion that Christ "nowhere inculcated, by precept or example, the duty of managing political concerns, of directing matters of state, of exercising the functions of citizenship in the existing governments of the world."[339] However important this answer was to Ballou, it still left him

---

[337] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 307.
[338] William Lloyd Garrison, "Declaration of Sentiments," *The Liberator*, vol. 8, no. 39 (September 28, 1838): 3. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[339] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 307.

ambiguous to the course of action he ought to take. He believed it was in harmony with his "Restorationist theology," but recognized many of his brethren would not share his sentiments.

Ballou was by this point in his affiliation with Universalism one of the quasi-Restorationist leaders and became their doctrinal champion against the ultra-Universalist wing of Universalism. He formally espoused his civil disunification with the United States and belief in non-resistance as two pillars of Christ's teachings in the New Testament. In October 1838, Ballou explained his position in his newspaper *The Independent Messenger*. In referencing the course of action he would take, Ballou resolved to commit to "that which is given in the New Testament, as illustrated by the spirit of Christ's example. To that I will stick, nothing added, nothing diminished, the whole fairly construed and judged, according to the principles of a candid criticism. There is the theory, there the practice, there the form. I will abide by that. With sectarianism and human contrivances, I will have nothing to do."[340]

Quickly, Ballou rallied members partial to his beliefs among his Restorationist brethren. With a few of his ministerial colleagues and some laymen, he composed a document that caused a rift among the Restorationists and eventually led to the end of MAUR. The charter entitled, "Standard of Practical Christianity" was Ballou's declaration on what he not only believed was the true form of Christianity, and what it required him to do:

> We are Christians. Our creed is the New Testament. Our religion is love. Our only law is the will of God . . . . We recognize no Spiritual Father but God; no master but Christ. We belong to that kingdom of 'righteousness, peace, and joy, which is 'not of this world' . . . . Therefore, we can make no earthly object our chief good, nor be governed by any motive but the love of Right . . . . Placing unlimited confidence in our Heavenly Father, we distrust all other guidance. We cannot be governed by the will of man, however solemnly and formally declared, nor put our trust in an arm of flesh. Hence we voluntarily withdraw from all interference with the governments of this world. We can take no part in the politics, the administration, or the defence of those governments, either by voting at their polls, holding their offices, aiding in the execution of their legal vengeance, fighting under their banners, claiming their protection against violence, seeking redress in their courts, petitioning their legislatures to enact laws, or obeying their unrighteous requirements.[341]

This proclamation not only announced Ballou and other Restorationists' separation from the United States, but also a specific practical application on how best to obey the commands of Christ as understood by Ballou's biblical exegesis. They no longer believed the United States and its laws were divinely approved from God and committed to what they viewed as a higher standard.

By declaring the "standard," Ballou and his followers positioned themselves outside of traditional Universalist/Restorationists who naturally despised slavery, but considered radical reformers such as abolitionists to be "fanatics."[342] Also, Ballou's civil disobedience sought to position

---

[340] Adin Ballou, "Faith and Sight No. 5," *The Independent Messenger*, Vol. 3, no. 63 (September, 1838). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[341] Adin Ballou, "Standard of Practical Christianity" *The Practical Christian*, vol. 1, no.1 (April, 1840). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[342] Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1953), 323.

himself in opposition to Calvinism that believed the Church and State partnership enabled holy laws to be enacted, thus bringing society to a state of holiness.[343] On the other hand, Ballou's anti-governmental positions somewhat fit within Anabaptist civil disobedience which accepted the authority of the state, payed taxes, and purposely kept its distant from the corruption of the outside world.[344] However, unlike Anabaptists such as the Amish, Ballou did not intend to remain completely outside of the United States. Ballou wanted to influence and show the outside world that Practical Christianity, when applied to individual and communal activity, would lead to the culmination of a people of one heart and one mind. In essence, a "Practical Christian Republic" as Ballou later termed his utopia, free from coercion and blessed with the affirmation of providence.

The "declaration" penned by Ballou, may have also been a statement against the conservative wing of MAUR led by the Reverend Paul Dean who served as the pastor of the First Universalist Church and Central Universalist Church in Boston from 1813-40. Ballou felt MAUR was becoming passive in their beliefs. It is clear that the reluctance of many Universalist and Restorationist preachers to align with radical reformers frustrated Ballou, and he recognized that Restorationism was getting bogged down in tradition when it, in the eyes of Ballou, ought to have been the most progressive.

Ballou's religious quest reached another breaking point. He "longed most ardently to see New Testament Christianity actualized [and] made practically the controlling agency in all the relations and concerns of life."[345] Once the "Standard of Practical Christianity" was proclaimed, Ballou, like his previous experiences, felt required to espouse it both in theory and practice. In hindsight Ballou explained that treating this declaration as "mere speculation or rhetorical flourish . . . would be both inconsistent and wicked."[346] A community must be formed. "Having devised and formulated the foregoing 'Standard,' the germination and growth of the Community idea in my own mind were as natural and inevitable as are the flowering and fruitage of any productive plant of garden or field," explained Ballou. The time for regeneration was now for Ballou and those committed to the "Standard." The "New World" needed a reformation and was inching towards "The Old World" with all of its corruptions and darkness. Practical Christianity, Ballou believed, was to "put the new wine . . . into the new bottles" and begin the "embryonic kingdom of heaven on the earth."[347] Having thus determined to unite under the Practical Christian banner, Ballou and a small group of co-signers began plans to form "Fraternal Community No. 1" and purchased a small farm in present day Mendon, Massachusetts, roughly forty miles southwest of Boston.

Although Ballou proclaimed that their undertaking had never before been attempted "since the world was made," the formation of communities that declared their separation from the United States

---

[343] Robert Whalen, "Calvinism and Chiliasm: The Sociology of Nineteenth Century American Millenarianism," *vol. 70, no. 3* (FALL, 1992): 166.
[344] Harold S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *Church History*, vol. 13, no. 1 (March, 1944): 4.
[345] Adin Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community* (Lowell, MA: Thompson & Hill – The Vox Populi Press, 1897), 3.
[346] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 321.
[347] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 9, 11.

was common in the early and mid-1840s. Utopianism was in the air of the New Republic and religious leaders and intellectuals devised plans to form communities that would revolutionize the world and become the "City on the Hill." Ballou's quest for utopia was part of a broader cultural shift among religiously and intellectually motivated reformers.

Ballou, like many others, was caught in the "reform fever" that spread throughout New England and the United States during the 1830s -50s which led dozens of groups to separate from the United States. By the end of the 1840s there was an estimated eighty utopian experiments.[348] Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote about this phenomena in a letter to his friend Thomas Carlyle, the renowned Scottish philosopher. "We are all a little wild here [New England]," wrote Emerson, "with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new Community in his waistcoat pocket." Emerson observed the citizenry of New England was not content with the state of the nation or with themselves. He remarked, "I am gently mad myself . . . and am resolved to live cleanly."[349] In his journal, Emerson witnessed and was immersed in the utopian and reform euphoria and claimed, "In the history of the world the doctrine of reform had never such scope as at the present hour. Herrnhuters, Quakers, monks, Swedenborgians all respected something: the church or the state, literature, history, the ways of living, the dinner table, [and] coined money."[350] There was a utopian spirit working through the New England landscape that hit virtually every thinking man and woman.

Roughly twenty miles east of Ballou's community, George Ripley and other Transcendentalists began the Brook Farm experiment, which Emerson nearly joined. Ripley's community was announced to the members of the Transcendental Club in October 1840. He believed the Transcendentalists could exemplify to the world "industry without drudgery, and true equality without its vulgarity."[351] Ripley gave up his Unitarian ministerial duties on Purchase Street in Boston because of his belief that Christianity was meant to redeem society. This could only be accomplished by a community dedicated to equality in all educational and economic opportunities for men, women, and children, regardless of ethnicity.[352] Ripley proclaimed the Brook Farm would be a "light over this country and this age. If not the sunrise, it will be the morning star."[353]

Another call for utopia came from the pen of a French socialist and mathematician named Charles Fourier. Albert Brisbane, is credited with the spread of Fourier's ideas in the United States. Brisbane, who studied philosophy in France and Berlin, read Fourier's *Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association* and received tutelage from Fourier himself. Brisbane translated and spread

---

[348] Sterling F. Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia* (Boston, MA: Belknap Press, 2004), 52.
[349] Emerson to Carlyle, October 30, 1840. In Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 2*, edited by Ralph L. Rusk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 353.
[350] Virginia Woolf, "Emerson's Journals," in *Books and Portraits*, ed. Mary Lyons (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), 69.
[351] Ripley to Emerson, November 9, 1840. In Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia*, 61.
[352] Aaron McEmrys, "Brook Farm," Unitarian Universalist History & Heritage Society. http://uudb.org/articles/brookfarm.html.
[353] George Ripley, in R. Todd Felton, *A Journey Into the Transcendentalists' New England* (Berkeley, CA: Roaring Forties Press, 2006), 124.

Fourier's musings throughout the United States from the pages of Horace Greeley's daily newspaper, the *New York Tribune* and wrote a book entitled *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association: Or, Plan for a Re-organization of Society*, largely based on Fourier principles. Brisbane, like Fourier, believed that "Association is the Social Destiny of Man . . . predestined for him by the Creator." The governments of France and the United States were seen by both reformers as failing in their attempts to provide unity and peace because they were based on principles "which in their operation misemploy, misdirect and pervert the faculties and passions of man, and defeat all the ends and hopes of life. It [United States] is based upon the principle of isolation, of separation of man from his fellow-man, upon individual effort . . . upon selfishness, distrust, antagonism,"[354] argued Brisbane. Greeley also converted and sought to establish "Phalanxes," where individuals functioned as a corporation where members' profits would be shared communally. From 1841-55, more than thirty Fourier associations appeared in the United States and attempted to separate from it and exemplify a more perfected form of community.

Joseph Smith, the founding prophet of Mormonism, also created a communal system that sought to perfect the "Saints" before the coming of Christ. After the creation of Joseph's Church of Christ in 1830, Smith by "divine revelation" received "the law" of the Church termed the "Law of Consecration." Smith and his followers consecrated their property to the Church in an attempt to build "up the New Jerusalem" where God's people would become "of one heart and one mind."[355] Smith and his followers believed they were in the "eleventh hour," and the formation of a Zion was required for Christ to return again to his people. In 1831, Smith and his followers attempted to live this law in Kirtland, Ohio, and subsequently in Missouri, and Illinois. After the murder of Smith in 1844, Brigham Young took the majority of the members of the Mormon Church and immigrated to Mexican territory in present day Utah and attempted again to establish a form of the Law of Consecration entitled the United Order.[356] Ballou, like other reformers and prophets, set off into the unknown convinced that his undertaking would be an ensample to the world and had the blessing of God.

In this chapter the community of Hopedale will be examined from its inception to its ultimate termination. Through twenty years of triumphs and disappointments, Ballou opens an in-depth window into the difficulty and impulse during the two decades prior to the Civil War to restructure, reorganize, and resurrect a society based on the teachings of Christ. Ballou's continual seeking during this time led him to expand on his understanding of Christianity and community development. "Practical Christianity" and eventually the "Practical Christian Republic," as understood by Ballou, would become the beacon that would infuse light into the broader United States and eventually the world.

---

[354] Albert Brisbane, *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association* (New York, NY: J.S. Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1844), 2-3. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[355] See Joseph Smith, *Doctrine & Covenants* section 42. https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/42.32-39?lang=eng#31. Also, Joseph Smith, *Book of Moses*, chapter 7. https://www.lds.org/scriptures/pgp/moses/7.18.
[356] Leonard J. Arrington, *Building the City of God*: *Community & Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976), 21-24.

Not only will this chapter showcase Ballou's development of a community, but also his expanding understanding of Christianity. Despite his assurance of Practical Christian tenets, Spiritualism flooded the United States during the 1850s, and the Hopedale Community tested the limits of this new phenomena. Ballou became an unwavering disciple of Spiritualism. His lens also explains the problems that Christians and the broader public experienced with communicating with the dead. Ballou sheds light on how complex spiritualism was and to what extent it was tied to Christian traditions. Many American scholars struggle to understand the role of Christianity in the promulgation of the phenomena. Catherine Albanese, a Yale historian, argues in *A Republic of Mind and Spirit*, that previous studies such as Jon Butler's *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, and William G. McLoughlin's *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, do not fully appreciate and give credence to the esotericism and occultism practices associated with Spiritualism that had little to do with the larger umbrella term to explain ecstatic religion, namely "Evangelicalism."[357] Ballou's story, however, indicates that some Christians rooted in protestant traditions defended, embraced, and implemented Spiritualism into individual and communal religious practice despite the larger disdain by the broader Christian public as Spiritualism became associated with the occult leading up to the Civil War and thereafter. Despite Ballou's unwavering belief in Practical Christianity, Spiritualism caused him to question certain elements of his belief from messengers beyond the veil. Ballou used Spiritualism as another method to confirm and expand his understanding of Christianity. In Hopedale, all beliefs, be it spiritual or scientific, were examined and debated. Ballou's undertaking highlights the longing for the immediate sanctification of a society prevalent in New England and the possible limits of Christianity.

CONSTITUTIONALISM

On January 28, 1841, Ballou along with thirty individuals from different parts of Massachusetts began their grand experiment. They purchased a tract of land known as "The Dale" in Milford, Massachusetts and named the estate "Hopedale." Ballou adjoined the word hope to signify the community's "ancient designation . . . [and] the great things they hoped for from a very humble and unpropitious beginning." In essence, this community was the restoration of Christ's original community of saints. Ballou called it a "Church of Christ (so far as any human organization of professed Christians, within a particular locality, have the right to claim that title)." Ballou explained that the members of this Church, "are free, with mutual love and toleration, to follow their own highest convictions of truth."[358] Without any precise theological dogmas, ordinances, or ceremonies, the members of this church could explore and interpret Christianity in virtually any way they chose.

---

[357] Catherine Albanes, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2007), 3-5.

[358] Adin Ballou, *Hopedale Community: its Existence of 17 years; Principles, Objects and Achievements as explained by its Founder* (1851), in Silliam Alfred Hind, *American Communities & Co-Operative Colonies* (Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1908), 233.

There was no hierarchical structure or priesthood, but if someone desired alliance with Hopedale, he or she must adhere to a few requirements:

> In practical Christianity this church is precise and strict. There its essentials are specific. It insists on supreme love to God and man – that love which 'worketh no ill' to friend or foe. It enjoins total abstinence from all God-contemning words and deeds; all unchastity; all intoxicating beverages; all oath-taking; all slave-holding and pro-slavery compromises; all war and preparations for war; all capital and other vindictive punishments; all insurrectionary, seditious, mobocratic and personal violence against any government, society, family or individual.[359]

Hopedale essentially allowed for various opinions and interpretations of scripture, but one must sign on to a life of piety, civil disobedience, and abstinence. During the first meeting, notes were taken, and Ballou proposed to "purchase such books as may be necessary for the use of the Community."[360] Ideas were welcomed from any source be it scriptural or philosophical, but this community was one of work and holiness.

In the months that followed, Ballou drafted a constitution that required every member of the community to sacrifice a portion of their individuality for the collective good. The "Constitution of the Fraternal Communion" began with a preamble similar in some respects to the preamble of the United States Constitution. Hopedale's Constitution began with the phrase, "Know all men: That in order more effectually to illustrate the virtues and promote the ends of pure religion, morality, and philanthropy," a certain set of prescribed beliefs and practices was required. The primary thrust to create the community was Ballou's belief that the "religion of Jesus Christ, as he taught and exemplified it" was not presently in the United States. The perceived evils that engulfed the United States' populace required him to create a place where people could "promote . . . the holiness and happiness of all mankind." In order for this to be accomplished, a community founded on egalitarian principles was required without coercion. To join, one must be at least eighteen years of age and according to section seven, "All members . . . shall stand on a footing of personal equality, irrespective of sex, color, occupation, wealth, rank, or any other natural or adventitious peculiarity." The Constitution outlined everything from communal living, leadership (which was voted on annually), relieving any member who is destitute of pecuniary resources, and abstaining from alcoholic beverages.[361] The thirty-three initial members who signed the document gave their written consent and began the experiment.

The making of a constitution by Ballou was not a new phenomenon. Virtually every utopian community used a written document or constitution to contractually bind each signatory to the community's collective precepts. For example, the Amana Society, which was a group of German immigrants who arrived in the United States in 1842, drafted twenty-one amendments entitled "Rules

---

[359] Ibid, 233-34.
[360] Unknown Author, "Proceedings of the Trustees & Executive Council of Fraternal Community No. 1, Book 1, (Jan. 29, 1841). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[361] Adin Ballou, "Constitution of the Fraternal Communion," (1841), in Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 27-35.

for Daily Life," that outlined the requirements for each member. From obedience "without reasoning," to bearing "all inner and outward sufferings in silence,"[362] Amana sought a life of both spiritual and practical perfection as they patiently waited for Christ's millennial reign. The strict rules and tasks to be performed daily were intended to purify the individual and community in order to ensure their salvation for the imminent return of the Savior. Anyone wishing to join their fellowship was required to sign the document containing the rules of the community.

One of the most interesting pledges undertook by members of a society came from the Shakers. Candid seekers who desired fellowship were given a trial period where the Shakers neither accepted nor rejected them. The initiate lived among the community for a period of time and was tested to see if his or her initial verbal commitment was "hypocritical." Once it was determined the person appeared to be worthy of admission, in order to receive full fellowship he or she was required to go through a series of confessions to a leading authority of their sex. "After becoming thoroughly acquainted with our principles, we ask individuals to give evidence of their sincerity, if really sick of sin, by an honest confession of every improper transaction or sin that lies within the reach of their memory."[363] This confession was desired to relieve the penitent of their former sins and by "opening the mind," the new member found "justification and acceptance with God" thus awakening the repentant into a new order of believers designed to "walk even as [Christ] walked." Once the new member confessed, he or she signed an "agreement or covenant" to "freely and voluntarily, of their own deliberate choice, dedicate, devote, and consecrate themselves, with all they possess, to the service of God forever."[364] All members by "this signature . . . yield implicit obedience to the ministry, elders, deacons, and trustees."[365] A simple song written by an unknown Shaker, represents the commitment given by its members.

> Whoever wants to be the highest
> Must first come down to be the lowest;
> And then ascend to be the highest
> By keeping down, to be the lowest.[366]

Unlike the strict communities of the Amana, Harmony, and Shaker, the Brook Farm sought to create a free society. Prior to the formation of the Brook Farm, a constitution was created. Similar to the United States Constitution, the "Articles of Agreement and Association between the members of the Institute for Agriculture and Education" had a preamble that explained the goals of the community. "In order more effectually to promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external

---

[362] E. L. Gruber, "Rules for Daily Life," in Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of The United States* (New York, NY: Hillary House Publishers, Ltd., 1961), 50-51.
[363] Elder George Albert Lomas, "Plain Talks on Practical Religion," in Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies*, 145.
[364] Author unknown, "Christ's First and Scond Appearing. By Shakers," in Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies,* 146-47.
[365] Hervey Elkins, *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers: A Narration of Facts, Concerning that Singular People* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Press, 1853), 21. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[366] Ibid, 22.

relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity . . . the principles of justice justice and love of our social organization in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence . . . . We, the undersigned, do unite in a Voluntary Association." Each signatory under Brook Farm's Constitution was not required to have a "religious test" or any authority figure who superseded "individual freedom of opinion." The seventeen articles penned by George Ripley and others, highlighted the relative freedom that would be enjoyed by Brook Farm's members. Those who signed, including, Nathaniel Hawthorne, envisioned that Brook Farm would be a place where work and leisure co-mingled thus helping the individual "in a small way do a trifle towards aiding the formation of the ideal state."[367] The highly educated signatories of Brook Farm's Constitution recognized a void in a strictly individualist state of existence and sought to remedy this problem for future generations. Each compact signed by the Hopedale, Amana, Shaker, and Brook Farm communities, initiated the new member into a life of piety who functioned as an important cog in their attempts to build a quasi-Kingdom of God on earth. Constitutionalism replaced obedience to a corporeal sovereign as written texts became more powerful than the edicts of kings in the New Republic. With Ballou's Constitution agreed upon and signed, Fraternal Community No. 1 began its experiment.

THE BEGINNINGS

Directly after the signing of the Constitution, the thirty-two members of "Fraternal Community No. 1" deliberated on how to maintain the financial stability of the community. It was proposed that Fraternal Community No. 1 would be a "Joint-Stock Proprietorship" rather than the various different forms of communal financial systems. The Brook Farm also preferred a joint-stock model. This particular scheme had been used by businesses and individuals dating back to France around 1250.[368] In it, each individual bought and owned different stocks and became shareholders of a quasi-company. This allowed for the wealthier members to own a bigger portion of the community and under their discretion they could transfer their shares or property to individuals and families who were less fortunate. The signatories of the initial Constitution also voted and signed the "Subscription to the Joint-Stock Proprietorship of Fraternal Community No.1" and pledged to "pay into the treasury thereof in current money or some acceptable equivalent, at our earliest convenience . . . the said Joint-Stock property and every share thereof to be forever holden, controlled, regulated, subjected privileged, and entitled, in all respects."[369] Although the wealth was not evenly distributed, each member gave what they could and if the community flourished, so too would the wealth of each member. If the community struggled, the wealthiest members ideally would maintain the system without losing their stock in the community. The first thirty-two members were relatively poor, and

---

[367] "Articles of Agreement and Association between the members of the Institute for Agriculture and Education," in John Thomas Codman, *Brook Farm Historic and Personal Memoirs* (Boston, MA: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), 11-12, 20

[368] "B6.1.1.5 Listings – NYSE Paris" https://www.euronext.com/listings/nyse-paris.

[369] Unknown Author, "Proceedings of the Trustees & Executive Council of Fraternal Community No. 1, Book 1, (Jan. 29, 1841). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

the Joint-Stock model may have been adopted to alleviate the financial struggles of some of the signatories and present a plan for future economic stability.[370] Ballou's community appears to confirm the analysis of Whitney R. Cross's argument penned in *The Burned-Over District*, that one cannot dismiss the role of the economic depression during the late 1830s and early 1840s to hasten the steps of religious and intellectual reformers to provide not only a spiritual haven, but a financial one as well.[371] In Hopedale, Ballou believed the joint-stock model based on self-perceived Christian principles, provided the surest foundation for economic stability.

Immediately, money was allotted to pronounce to the world a Christian society was formed. Ballou printed five hundred copies of the "Constitution and Exposition," in the *Practical Christian* and the same amount was sent in the form of a tract. Ballou used his ties with various reformers to inform the public of his plan, and Garrison printed a copy of the Constitution in his newspaper *The Liberator*.[372] This likely was an attempt to attract philanthropic and Christian disciples searching to live out their religion and provide the community with a stronger financial footing.

Ballou's public relations campaign worked to spark interest in Fraternal Community No. 1. Numerous individuals contemplated joining societies that promised a better world. As word spread of Ballou's undertaking, a number of inquisitors critiqued Ballou's plan. Evelina A.S. Smith in a private letter to Caroline Weston, appears to be cogitating on two utopian communities to join, Brook Farm and Hopedale. "I have seen Mr. Ripley's letter to his people" writes Evelina, "I like it very much. I think it [Brook Farm] may create a new era in his society. I think his course is more dignified and more Christian." She continues, "Adin Ballou, and his followers, I hear are [also] anxious for such a society." In the end, Evelina decides not to join any community and concludes, "I prefer living with the worlds people and affecting them what I can."[373] Edmund Quincy also seemed to be considering membership in Brook Farm or Hopedale. He also confided in Caroline Weston and asked, "What do you think of Adin Ballou's plan? It seems to me . . . the character of the men as working men is better than Ripleys."[374] Another writer explains, "They [Fraternal Community No. 1] lack the aesthetic features which a just state of society must wear. They are, moreover, a sect, and thus they cannot act universally, and will always embody certain vicious tendencies."[375] Reverend Paul Dean, Ballou's former friend and Restorationist brother, predicted the ultimate failure of Hopedale's "vainglorious undertaking," along with a number of Ballou's former Universalist brethren. Ballou's frustration with his former associates is evident and he argued their antagonism was primarily a response to his belief

---

[370] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 28-29.
[371] Cross, *The Burned-Over District*, 322.
[372] Ibid, 29.
[373] Evelina A.S. Smith to Caroline Weston, 25 October 1840. Boston Public Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).
[374] Edmund Quincy to Caroline Weston, 27 February 1841. Boston Public Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).
[375] Unknown Author, "The West Roxbury Community," *Philanthropist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (September 17, 1842): 4. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

that Hopedale "had outrun them in rigidly insisting upon the practical application of the principles of our liberal Christian faith."[376]

The negative press that came into Hopedale with the announcement of their plan, was balanced by a stream of encouragement. Soon letters of "inquiry, sympathy . . . as also of caution and admonition, poured in upon us from all directions."[377] The greatest fillip came from the pen of the renowned Unitarian minister William Ellery Channing a year and a half before he died on October 2, 1842 and was a great comfort to Ballou. Channing writes:

> MY DEAR SIR: I received your "Constitution and Exposition" yesterday, and my early reply will prove my interest in your proposed "Fraternal Community." Your *ends, objects,* seem to me important. I see, I feel, the great evils of our present social state . . . . I earnestly desire to witness some change by which the mass of men may be released from their present, anxious drudgery . . . and may so combine labor with a system of improvement . . . . I have for a very long time dreamed of an association, in which the members, instead of preying on one another and seeking to put one another down, after the fashion of this world, should live together as brothers . . . . But the materials for such a community I have not seen. Your ends, therefore, are very dear to me . . . . I trust that this letter will be a testimony of my sincere interest in your movement. I pray God to bless you. I should die in greater peace, could I see in any quarter the promise of a happier organization of society. I am burdened in spirit by what I see. May the dawn of something better visit my eyes before they are closed in death![378]

Channing evinces the zeitgeist of New England prior to the Civil War. Like Ballou, Channing longed to see Christianity actualized with the apparent sinfulness and corruption of the broader United States' cultural and political developments. For Ballou, this was the approval from a man he considered, "centuries in advance not only of the great mass of the nominal Christian church, but of the majority claiming to be *Liberal* Christians." The approval of Channing confirmed Ballou's belief that the "Christianity of the world" was "nominal" without a set of disciples committed to practice it.[379]

Ballou's invitation via the press created interest and new converts committed to Fraternal Community No. 1. With the influx of individuals desiring to join their community, Ballou and the "Executive Council," a group of lay leaders in charge of the finances and overall practical and spiritual support of the community, quickly submitted a series of bi-laws for approval, including a "Law Regulating the Admission of Members." Written by Ballou, this law posed sixty-four questions to determine if one would be admitted into the community. The first questions were easily answered asking if one was "the full age of eighteen years? [and] What is your full name?" As the inquisition progressed, Ballou and the council, sought to determine each future co-proprietor's usefulness in practical matters such as one's "trade, calling, or profession." Also important was how much capital one could "invest" into the joint-stock and when, "Is it your intention to invest the major part of your property in our joint-stock?" Holiness was also determined of the candidate. "Do you hold yourself

---

[376] The location of the letter is unknown and Adin summarizes it in Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 33.
[377] Ibid, 30.
[378] William Ellery Channing to Adin Ballou, in *Practical Christian* vol. 4, no. 14 (December 25, 1841). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[379] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 32-33.

especially bound *never* to do any of the acts prohibited in our Declaration as anti-Christian?" and how do "you regard . . . Intoxicating liquors used as a beverage . . . . Violations of chastity . . . . The use of the tongue [?]"[380]

In addition to holiness, Ballou wanted to determine the individual's commitment to the community constitution and Christ. "Have you sufficiently examined and considered the Constitution of the Fraternal Communion . . . . Can you honestly say you believe in the Religion of Jesus Christ, as he taught and exemplified it, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament?" Lastly, should the community find the individual "a disagreeable companion" and "pay you your just dues . . . do you hereby pledge yourself quietly to depart?"[381] The rigidity of the questions proved too inflexible for many, and Ballou and the council denied individuals who desired fraternity based on their perceived unworthiness.

This rigidness by Ballou and his co-proprietors led to the dismantling of talks to unite the Brook Farm and Ballou's community. From its inception, Fraternal Community No. 1 was poor, but "resolute" in spirit and determined to establish a productive society. In contrast, Brook Farm was relatively rich with members of high esteem and education. George Ripley (founder of Brook Farm) and his associates, corresponded with Ballou for the "free interchange of views and feelings upon the subject of absorbing interest to both parties." It appears Ripley was looking for a group of devoted free-thinking industrious Christians who, along with his group of educated reformers, could mutually create an ideal environment of free thought, hard work, and leisure. Ballou naturally was intrigued by the prospect of uniting with Brook Farm to provide a financial and educational foundation for the immediate and future prosperity of his community. However, talks closed when Ripley and Brook Farm would not sign on to the "Practical Christian Standard." Brook Farm was based on Transcendentalist principles and they would not join with Ballou unless he relinquished Practical Christianity's "tests and obligations."[382] This frustrated Ballou and talks closed in 1841.

Ripley, however, continued seeking a union with Ballou until the autumn of 1842, when he once again informed Ripley of their reluctance and dismissal of uniting in the following letter:

> DEAR BROTHER RIPLEY: Since our last interview I have met our brethren and had a full consultation with them on the points of difficulty on which we are at issue with your friends. We are unanimous in the solemn conviction that we could not enlist for the formation of a community not based on the distinguishing principles of the standard of Practical Christianity so called, especially *non-resistance*, etc. We trust you will do us the justice to think that we are conscientious and not *bigoted*. The temptation is strong to severe, but we dare not hazard the cause we have espoused by yielding our scruples. We love you all, and shall be happy to see you go on and prosper, though we fear the final issue. We are few and poor, and therefore you can do without us better than we without you – your means and your learning! But we shall try to do something in our humble way if God favor us. We beseech you and your friends not to think us unkind or unfriendly on account of our stiff notions, as they may seem, and to regard us always as ready to rejoice in your good success. Let me hear from you

[380] Adin Ballou, *Constitution, Bi-Laws and Regulations of Fraternal Community Number One* (Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[381] Adin Ballou, *By-Law Regulating the Admission of Members*, in *History of the Hopedale Community*, 41-42.
[382] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 19.

> occasionally, and believe me and those for whom I speak, sincerely your brethren in every good work.[383]

Ballou's failure to compromise on his understanding of Christianity, left each group without important farmers, intellectuals, and reformers that may have proved a fruitful union. Ballou once again proved uncompromising in regard to his current understanding of Practical Christianity and any group or individual unwilling to sign on to its tenets could not receive full fellowship.

It is unclear how many people were rejected, but in the first year of existence, members of the community purchased a two hundred fifty-eight acre tract of land known as the "Jones Farm" or "The Dale" in Milford, Massachusetts. They named the estate "Hopedale" joining the word "hope" to signify their desires for their unpropitious beginning and initially lived together in a larger farm house. Ballou and the executive council were very particular with who they admitted. By 1842, there was a total of fifteen families compromising seventy members and enough money in the community to purchase roughly one hundred acres and build nine dwelling-houses, a large mechanic's shop, with water-power and carpentering machinery, and a chapel they used for the community's school.[384] The city of Hopedale was established and with it came the collective aspirations of the community who believed they were the pioneers of a new dawn in Christianity. Ballou believed that by Hopedale's example, the outside world would recognize that Practical Christianity would revolutionize the country and usher in the millennial aspirations of the broader Christian public.

SURVIVAL AND DIVINE APPROVAL

By as early as 1843, Ballou and his co-proprietors were searching for some initiative within Hopedale's financial structure that provided a fair amount of property for both the individual and the community. Fraternal Community No. 1 was the first of what they hoped would be an ever-growing number of communities based on Practical Christianity, and in order to exemplify this lifestyle, a firm financial foundation was needed. In the spring of 1843, Ballou attended a "Property Meeting" of a number of radical reformers living in Boston. At the time, two ideologies were taking root in America among utopian communities, namely Owenism and Fourierism.

Robert Owen, a Welsch reformer, advocated a form of socialism that praised human labor over machinery and proposed a form of communal living where all goods were distributed evenly and owned by the community.[385] Ballou disagreed with Owen and believed his plan insidious because the "fundamental principles of Owenism ignore the religious nature and responsible moral agency of man altogether . . . . They declare man a creature of sheer necessitation." Without using Christ's teachings

---

[383] Adin Ballou to George Ripley, "Important Letters," in John Thomas Codman, *Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs* (Boston, MA: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), 143.
[384] Adin Ballou, "Prefatory Statement" in *Constitution, by-laws, and regulations of Fraternal Community Number One* (Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[385] Krishan Kuman, "Utopian Thought and Communal Practice: Robert Owen and the Owenite Communities," *Theory and Society*, vol. 19, no. 1 (February, 1990): 6-10.

to revolutionize society, Ballou likened Owenism to, "A mesmerizer [who] might as soon think of magnetizing a subject into complete catalepsy, and then urging him to perform the exploits of a Hercules!"[386] Ballou rejected Owen's form of communism and was more partial to Charles Fourier.

Fourier, a French philosopher, believed economic output was based on the labor, capital, and talent of the individuals in the community and each needed to be compensated based on the amount of capital invested and the amount of labor expended. Ballou was sympathetic to Fourier's model of ownership, but not of his philosophy. Ideally, Fourier's "phalanxes" were made up by people who maximized their personal passions, talents, and affinities. He critiqued the accepted ideas of work, wealth, gender, and even sexuality. Fourier, although he began his ideas with the presumption of the existence of God and a divine social order, he used scientifically planned cooperative communities to disentangle his perceived tyranny of the marketplace rather than basing a community on Christ's teachings in the New Testament.[387] Ballou was particularly opposed to Fourier based on Ballou's belief that Fourier founded his system on the laws of nature at the center of his philosophy, rather than the religion and morality taught by Christ. In 1854, Ballou penned *Practical Christian Socialism* and spent roughly sixty pages discussing Fourier. Despite his "ingenious devises" on the distribution of talent and "attractive industry," Ballou believed Fourier's phalanx was "a useless complication, invented to conciliate the present view and interest of wealthy people, and not a rational and practical system of social economy." Ballou acknowledged that "no man has labored with more persevering faith and hope and charity during a whole lifetime," than Fourier, and "Whatever be the faults of the philosopher, the man was one of nature's first nobility," but his system, by not putting Christ's teachings at the center of Fourier's philosophy proved to Ballou that Fourier's system was "false, fanciful, impracticable, pernicious and even abominable . . . . Neither Fourier nor Fourierism can be swallowed whole without mischief."[388] Clearly frustrated by both Owenism and Fourierism's lack of adopting Christianity into their systems, Ballou continued using his own version of a "Christian Joint-Stock Proprietorship," believing this theory of economics provided the best opportunity for Hopedale's survival.

Ballou and other intellectuals in Boston also discussed the meaning of property. In another meeting held in Boston with "male and female philosophers," the idea of whether "one man [can] hold more of this world's gear than is absolutely necessary for his comfortable existence, to the exclusion of others" was discussed. Ballou participated in the debate. A "Mr. Whiting" proposed his belief that the command given by Christ to "love your neighbor as yourself" in regard to property owning was impractical and "you will not live as long as the horse which the Frenchman tried to make exist

---

[386] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism: A Conversational Exposition of the True System of Human Society* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1854), 531. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[387] Charles Fourier, *Selections from the Works of Fourier*, ed. Julia Franklin (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901), 20-22.
[388] Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism*, 450-51, 432, 455.

without eating."[389] Abby Folsom, a radical feminist and abolitionist who Emerson labeled as "the flea of conventions" who "was but too ready with her interminable scroll,"[390] denied Whiting's statements claiming "I have tried it [distributing property] and have lived in a state of perfect love, at No. 46 Myrtle street for the last eight months."[391] Whiting sat down after Folsom's response and John A. Collins arose and promoted the position that "one man has as good a right as another to any of the earth's fruits, no matter by whose industry they may have been produced."[392] Ballou disagreed with Collins and declared, "Man having individual wants, creates the necessity for individual property."[393] Not satisfied with Ballou's response, Collins yelled out "prove that." Ballou responded to Collins:

> A man's right to a particular piece of land, depends upon his occupying and improving it, and the man who takes a portion of the earth as it came from the hands of the Creator, and labors hard and improves it, until by the sweat of his brow he has made it fruitful, has a right to retain possession of it which no other man can have. So a community, who cultivate any particular tract, have a right to its products to the exclusion of others.[394]

Collins remained firm in his position and responded "I deny it." Clearly agitated by Collins, Ballou asked, "Do you mean to say that a settled community, who by their industry produce sufficient for their own wants, have no more right to the fruits of their labors, than any roving banditti who may choose to come and appropriate them?" Collins continued his strategy with short answers and simply said "yes." Ballou's frustration peaked and he demeaningly commented, "I hardly know how to argue seriously against a theory that so plainly violates scripture and common sense."[395] Despite the numerous debates on property throughout New England, Ballou believed individuals and communities maintained possession of worldly things based on his understanding of Practical Christianity. Ballou, although relatively fluid at times with his biblically exegesis, was a strict exegete with his own version of Christianity.

Notwithstanding Hopedale's ambitious beginning, by the end of 1845, Ballou wrote, "The prospects of the Community, though greatly improved . . . are fraught with burdens, anxieties and toils, which the truehearted alone can endure with cheerfulness and by patient perseverance overcome. But, if faithful, God will crown our efforts with success."[396] The fourth annual meeting of the community held in the schoolhouse chapel on January 8, 1845, indicated a net profit of "$456.91." This amount, though meager, excited Ballou and he informed the community and executive council that they could "congratulate themselves and their associates on so cheering a result."[397] The *Practical*

---

[389] Unknown Author with the pseudo name Roch. Repub., "Boston Notions," *Wisconsin Democrat*, vol. 1, no. 36 (June 29, 1843): 3. Andover-Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[390] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Chardon Street and Bible Convensitons," *Dial* III (July, 1842), 100-01. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[391] Abby Folsom in "Boston Notions," 3.
[392] John A. Collins in Ibid.
[393] Adin Ballou in Ibid.
[394] Ibid.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid.
[397] Community Journal and Record Book in Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 95.

Christian reported with enthusiasm that despite the "host of difficulties, more heterogeneous and complex than could easily have been anticipated . . . the achievements of the past assure us of future victory and are a presage of our final triumph."[398] The friendly financial news excited the broader public as well and a host of new recruits attempted to join Hopedale.

In September, however, the Executive Council conducted an internal audit of the financial affairs of the community and recognized some miscalculations. After purchasing some land for a cemetery and the Amos Cook estate, Ballou recalled, this "seemed for a while to stimulate rather than check enterprise among us . . . . Like many other things, not only in Community life but in ordinary human affairs, it [financial system] looked much better in theory than it proved to be in practice, its glowing promise not ripening into a happy fulfillment."[399] Quickly, the council modified the existing financial system and suspended some "questionable" management methods to tie the community over until January of 1846.

This sudden change in policy led to friction among certain members of the leading council. George W. Stacy, who was part of the executive council and was voted in as one of six "Intendants" in charge of managing the "Religion, Morals, and Missions," of the community and controlling the printing office.[400] After the change in policy, Stacy wrote an article printed in the *Practical Christian* entitled "Devotion to Principle" that argued, individuals determine their own destiny and the strength of the community lies in the cooperative labor of free people voluntarily working for the improvement of the community. No "reorganization of society" could sustain the community or create a "good people." Shortly thereafter, Stacy announced his resignation from the community. Clement O. Read who was in charge of the "Manufactures and Mechanical Industry" department at Hopedale demanded Stacy explain his reasons for defecting. Stacy concurred and sighted six grievances published in the *Practical Christian*. He objected to the "artificial and burdensome machinery now in vogue at Hopedale," and that some members (he did not give any names) became corrupted by "capitalist" methods of money making. Stacy disagreed with Clement O. Read's (another leader in Hopedale) assessment that the outside world was "supremely selfish," and Stacy retorted, "Ah, in his [Read's] sweeping language, he too plainly reveals the spirit of false and self-righteous judgment." Stacy found it problematic that many in Hopedale believed it contained a monopoly on virtue, and he observed that despite Hopedale's toleration of ideas and practices, the leaders were intolerant of beliefs contrary to their tenets. In closing, Stacy recognized Hopedale's "unstable" economic arrangements and that the current economic system infringed upon "parental and social rights."[401]

---

[398] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christian*, vol. 5, no. 19 (February 1, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[399] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 97-99.
[400] Community Journal and Record Book in Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 95.
[401] George Whitemore Stacy, "Devotion to Principle" *Practical Christian* (November 29, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

Ballou, responded quickly to Stacy's resignation. In Hopedale, disputes among the community were never published, but Ballou felt a response was necessary. Stacy hoped that his resignation would not destroy his deep relationships with members in the community and especially Ballou. "I hope not to lose the friendship of those for whom I still cherish fraternal feelings," wrote Stacy. He continued:

> Bro. Ballou, whose gifted mind, and goodness of heart have placed him at the helm of affairs at Hopedale, has stood connected too long and unfaltering with me in 'weal and woe' for us to be alienated . . . . And wherever I roam, while my heart shall beat, I shall not cease to love and respect him as a most worthy friend and brother. He knows me too well to question the sincerity of what I here say, and will not condemn me for my opinions, even though he may deem them erroneous.[402]

Ballou's rejoinder to Stacy's affectionate plea was less than charitable. Similar to Ballou's arguments against his cousin Hosea's brand of Universalism, Ballou's response is defensive and even petty. "He accords to me" writes Ballou, "a gifted mind and goodness of heart,' which he says have placed me 'at the helm of affairs at Hopdeale.' But according to his account, how very sadly has that helm been managed!" Ballou, clearly was offended by Stacy and believed he could not remain silent when "an enterprise with such principles, objects and operations as this, dear to me as the apple of my eye, is pierced with such wounds, and held up to such reproach, by a renouncing member, his lips still uttering words of friendship." Ballou accused Stacy of being slothful when asked to perform laborious duties, such as farming and maintenance. Ballou also argued Stacy's neglect of properly training apprentices in the publishing house and specifically calls to attention an incident where Stacy apparently refused to ring a bell at "7 ½ o'clock, A.M., as a general summons to business," and labelled this added duty as "factory despotism [and] intolerable tyranny." Finally, Ballou questioned Stacy's character arguing that his primary reason to leave Hopedale was he could not "be charitable to the poor and distressed."[403] In 1880, nearly forty-years after the incident, Ballou recalled this experience and speculated that Stacy's wife who never formally united with Hopedale may have "quickened" his dislike of the economic and communal affairs in Hopedale, "though he never pleaded it among the reasons for his course."[404] It is unclear if Stacy responded to Ballou's scathing critique, and he peacefully departed from Hopedale. Ballou feared Stacy's sentiments would lead others to foment discord against the financial and spiritual decisions of the executive council. For Ballou, the survival of the community was more important than the individual and despite his affection for Stacy, Ballou was forthright to highlight the character flaws of his once trusted fraternal brother. Ballou's strong response may have also been an attempt to buttress his spiritual control and explain to the community that even though Hopedale allowed various interpretations of scripture, any individual who shirked his or her duty and questioned the merits of Practical Christianity would be met with

---

[402] Ibid.
[403] Adin Ballou, "Reply to Br. Stacy" *Practical Christian* (December 27, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[404] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 102.

disdain. After Stacy's departure, Ballou and the executive council nominated Daniel S. Whitney to the post of "Religion, Morals, and Missions."

By the beginning of 1846, the changes in the financial policy appeared to be working. Another audit ensued and the council excitedly reported a net profit of "$1,143.69." Ebenezer D. Draper, the intendant in charge of "Finance and Exchange," and the wealthiest member of Hopedale who moved his textile business to the city in 1841, also donated an additional amount of $124.61 making the net gain "$1,268.30."[405] The strong financial footing attained by Hopedale provided Ballou with tangible evidence of the brilliance of Practical Christianity. His laudatory remarks at the fifth annual meeting indicate his belief that Hopedale would endure and become a bastion to the world. "This now humble Hopedale is a Bethlehem of salvation to the glorious social future. If others despise it or protrude at us the lip of scorn because we thus esteem it, let them do so." After four years of toil and financial instability, Hopedale was finally protruding out of its worldly affairs and evinced "that sublime destiny which time will assuredly prove to have been decreed to our Community." With high hopes, Ballou reiterated to the assembly, "Our only concern should be to do our duty, our whole duty, manfully, cheerfully, unfalteringly. God will take care of the rest."[406] The strong financial footing attained by Hopedale by the fifth year of its existence enabled Ballou and others to expand their outreach to larger portions of New England.

IN THE WORLD BUT NOT OF THE WORLD

Unlike a number of communities that literally immigrated to remote areas of the United States in order to distance themselves from the world, such as the Shaker and Fruithill societies, Ballou maintained a reasonably comfortable relationship with the affairs of the outside world. This perhaps was part of his post-milllenialist belief that viewed the world as in a state of progression inching closer toward a time of peace and posterity. Ballou and his community maintained fluid relations with New England and he, along with others in the community, were members of various reform movements in New England. A number of Ballou's Practical Christian Newspaper articles, sermons, and guest columns were published in at least thirteen different publications including, *The Harbinger* (George Ripley's Brook Farm Publication), *The Liberator* (Garrison's abolitionist newspaper), *The Huntress* (Anne Royall's expositor of political corruption), *The Massachusetts Teacher* (Samuel Coolidge's newspaper for the Massachusetts Teachers' Association), *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, Old and New* (New England Unitarian publication), *The Ladies' repository; a Monthly Periodical, Devoted to Literature, Art and Religion* (Methodist Episcopal Church publication), *The Radical Spiritualist* (B.J. Butts and H.N.Greene's Spiritualist newspaper), *The Phalanx: Organ of the Doctrine of Association* (Charles Fourier's Journal of Social Science and Reform), *Christian Inquirer* (Unitarian

[405] Community Journal and Record Book in Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 103.
[406] Adin Ballou, "President's Remarks," *Practical Christian* (January 23, 1846). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

Publication in New York), *Circular* (Oneida Community Publication), the *Shaker* (Shaker Community Publication), and *The Dial* (the chief publication of the Transcendentalists). Ballou also published, letters, studies, and ideas from a number of New England and international ministers and thinkers including Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Ripley, Emmanuel Swendenborg, Charles Fourier, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, William Lloyd Garrison, John Humphrey Noyes, Robert Owen and others in *The Practical Christian*. Ballou did not believe the outside world presented a threat against the moral integrity of his community or that the broader public evinced the deterioration of society preached by numerous pre-millenialist itinerants. Ideas were meant to be discussed, debated, and either adopted or rejected. Instead of closing off the community from outside influence, Ballou gave alternative voices an audience to discuss different ideas via the community press and provided a pulpit to important reformers.

Not only did Ballou provide a platform for members of the "outside world" to express their opinions in Hopedale's primary newspaper, he invited important reformers as guests to Hopedale and had them speak to the community and provided safe passage for fugitive slaves. During the first week of April 1842, Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave at the time, stayed with Ballou and spoke to the community. The community journal and record book explain Douglass's visit with enthusiasm, "O, what a fast! A Fast indeed! Such an one as we never observed before. All hearts were moved and melted. The Father and the Son were with us by the communion of their one Holy Spirit." The notes also indicate Douglass gave two speeches, one in neighboring Milford, and one in Hopedale. Milford attracted a number of visitors of the "baser sort" who were "wonderfully overcome by his ingenuity and eloquence. The tide (which was turbulent against him at first) turned strongly in his favor," and his speech in Hopedale was given to a "full house." When Douglass departed from Hopedale, Ballou gave him a departing gift of the *Practical Christian* and fifteen dollars.[407]

Three years later, Douglass returned bringing his young protégé, Rosetta Hall, who was a fugitive slave and former acquaintance of Douglass's during their time in slavery to Hopedale for safe keeping. The Field residence provided shelter for Hall, who was pregnant at the time. Anna Thwing Field later recalled Hall as a "handsome mulatto young woman with a history somewhat like Eliza of Uncle Tom's Cabin . . . . She stayed till after her little child was born, then she too, had gone away."[408] She was "made welcome by our people," remarked Ballou many years later, and "proved herself a girl of most amiable disposition, of engaging manners, and of refined nature generally, winning the respect, confidence, and love"[409] of the Hopedale residents. They continued to provide food and shelter to a number of fugitive slaves who were trying to reach, Worcester, Boston, New York, or Canada.

---

[407] Community Journal and Record Book in Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 55-56.
[408] Anna Thwing Field in *Hopedale Reminiscences: Childhood Memories of the Hopedale Community and the Hopedale Home School 1841-1863*, ed. Lynn Gordon Hughes (Toronto: Blackstone Editions, 2006), 27.
[409] Ballou, *The History of the Hopedale Community*, 98.

Robert Owen, the famed Welsh social reformer, spent some time in Hopedale in 1845. Owen, migrated to the United States in 1824 and invested a substantial amount of money to found the New Harmony utopian society in Indiana sold to him by George Rapp. New Harmony failed, and Owen returned to England and continued trying to establish communities based on his ideas of utopian socialism. In 1845, Owen embarked on a tour of the United States promulgating his philosophies and visiting a number of socialist experiments throughout the United States. Ballou mentions this tour was also an attempt to acquire "one million dollars of capital" to purchase the necessary "lands, buildings, machinery, conveniences, and beautifications for his model Community" Owen wished to establish. "He flatters himself that he shall be able, by some means, to induce capitalists, or perhaps the U.S. Congress, to furnish the requisite means for attaining this object," writes Ballou, but "We [Hopedale] were obliged to shake an incredulous head and tell him frankly how groundless, in our judgment, all such anticipations must prove." Notwithstanding Owen's public addresses in Hopedale that displayed his contempt of private property, marriage, and religion, and his belief in "Pantheism, skepticism, necessarianism, [and] universal excusionism," Ballou wrote a grandiose approval of Owen's character. "He is a remarkable man. In years, nearly seventy-five; in knowledge and experience, superabundant; in benevolence of heart, transcendental; in honesty, without disguise; in philanthropy, unlimited." The superlatives continued calling him, "uniformly kind, calm, patient, conciliatory, and courteous in all his conversation, addresses and proceedings."[410] Despite Ballou and Owen's differences in religion, philosophy, and ethics, Hopedale displayed a willingness to accommodate and enjoy ideas from a variety of reformers.

Hopedale also entertained Theodore Parker, Henry Wright, Sojourner Truth, Samuel J. May, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry "Box" Brown, Edwin Thompson from England, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Charles Burleigh, Lucy Stone, Abby Kelley Foster, Anna Dickinson, and others. Anna Thwing Field, a young girl in Hopedale wrote of the reformers who came to Hopedale that, "Many were honest, earnest men, but some were cranks . . . . I remember the long, long sessions when the various subjects were discussed and the excitement when the adherents and opponents parried questions and answers, till flushed faces and angry gestures followed." Field particularly remembered Parker Pillsbury, "the dark-skinned, dark-haired, scowling man, who stormed across the stage, shook his clenched fists and said things that scared one; ably seconded by Charles Burleigh, who wore his hair and beard long, having vowed he never would cut them till the slave was free." One moment that captivated young Field was when one of the speakers (name unknown) "showed branded in the palm of his uplifted hand the letters S.S."[411] This particular man explained he labored among the slaves in order to help them escape and as a punishment the letters S.S. for Slave Stealer were burned on his

[410] Adin Ballou, "Robert Owen at Hopedale," *Practical Christian* (November 29, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[411] Field, in *Hopedale Reminiscences*.

skin. According to Field, he decided to stay and later married Emily Gay's sister and remained in Hopedale.

Ballou's most profound experience with the various speakers and visitors came from the mouth of Sojourner Truth. On August 1, 1854, Truth was invited along with Henry Wright, Charles Burleigh, and others to speak to the Hopedale Community during the celebration of the Emancipation of the British West Indies. Although this event occurred in 1834, Ballou and other Hopedale leaders celebrated the liberation of the slave in England every year in the community. Truth was born a slave in New York and escaped in 1826 a few months before New York's gradual emancipation law would have freed her. She became a lay preacher in 1843 and a popular anti-slavery orator. Ballou explained that Truth's "impassioned utterances on the occasion were like the fiery outbursts of some ancient prophet of God 'lifting up [her] voice like a trumpet and showing the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins.'"[412] The *Practical Christian* published notes from her speech as follows:

> She . . . said she was one that calculated to live on and live again. She was not satisfied with her life here – none of her race were. She wanted to know who was going to be responsible to God for all those millions of slaves. The blood of Africa cried to God and she believed he would hear . . . . God and she reasoned together, and she got what she knew from him. This was a great deal better than any second-hand knowledge.[413]

So moved by Truth's words was the community, that Ballou proposed a resolution unanimously agreed upon that August 1st would be a day that would turn the community's "eyes to the horrible abominations of American slavery" and "that we abhor and deplore the brazen impudence with which its [United States] government justifies the wickedness of enslaving millions of beings confessedly endowed with unalienable human rights."[414] After Truth's speech, Ballou later recalled that what she preached seemed like a "veritable prophecy written by inspiration from on high."[415]

Most speakers received applause and thanksgiving among the members of Hopedale, but, one speaker, Henry C. Wright, created an uproar among the community. By the 1850s, Wright advocated certain aspects of "Free Love." This particular idea of sexual relations and marriage upset long held traditions of monogamist marriage. Wright's understanding of Free Love gave sole authority to the woman over regenerative and sexual relations thus legitimizing the selection of partners based on mutual attraction rather than marital statutes. Seminal expenditure was only justifiable for the purposes of reproduction, and according to Wright, "transcendental affinities" justified "attractional marriage."[416] Ballou explained Hopedale was a bastion for the dissemination of "new ideas" from

---

[412] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 178.
[413] "First of August at Hopedale," *The Practical Christian*, vol. 15, no. 9 (August, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[414] "Resolutions, 1854" in *History of the Hopedale Community*, 178.
[415] *History of the Hopedale Community*, 178.
[416] Henry C. Wright in Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 338.

whatever source be them "doctrines, good, bad, and indifferent."[417] However, Wright's message of Free Love was met with a "chilling reception, and although he was allowed 'free speech,' [he] was politely 'frozen out.'"[418] The records do not show the exact date when Wright spoke to Hopedale, but it seems his ideas resonated with a man and a woman who were excommunicated based on their second act of infidelity after justifying their actions based on the "new philosophy touching personal liberty, sexual relations, and the conjugal bond . . . they openly and unhesitatingly avowed themselves to be Free Lovers, from conviction and in practice also,"[419] and joined a group of free lovers known as "Individual Sovereigns" located on Long Island.

Free Love proved to be impossible for Ballou to support or even allow to be critically examined in the community. Not only were the free lovers in his community excommunicated from Hopedale, but he quickly published articles denouncing the attempts by ministers and others to explore the boundaries of sexual and marital relations in this new age of utopian experimentation. In the article, "True Love vs. Free Love. Testimony of A True Hearted Woman," Ballou uses the experience of an unknown woman to rescind the attempts by ministers and others, such as John Humphrey Noyes, to transform the established marital and sexual order. Interestingly, Ballou received the woman's letter from Wright, who, by 1854, also worried that Free Love morphed into sensual forms. Wright, perhaps to appease Ballou's frustration with Wright's role in the dissemination of Free Love, wrote Ballou a brief letter with the attached excerpts from the unknown woman. "Dear Friend" begins Wright, "I thank you for the stand you have taken touching the doctrine of 'Free Love,' as it is now being so earnestly promulgated. Its specious claims may and will deceive many. LET THERE BE LIGHT." Ballou is particularly impressed by this woman's "logic, rhetoric and spiritual force" and believes her testimony will convince those who were "infected with the Free Love delusion" to return back to the long established marital structure. The woman explains that "Free Love . . . [is] a perfect contradiction in terms . . . . According to my understanding of the action OF Love, it is an experience of the heart, which can never result in any such desire for 'freedom' as is professed by the advocates of 'Free Love.'" The woman pits the two words against each other and explains that love and freedom are haunted by an innate desire by the man and the woman to "possess exclusively the affections of the beloved. This desire is commensurate with the intensity and purity of the love. As a woman, I can speak for the heart of woman." She believes the central characteristic of marital love is exclusivity of "soul and body" as opposed to Free Love's attempts to "ultimate the passional attraction in any direction and to any extent; and the only limit proposed is 'the capacity for enjoyment.'" The claim by free lovers for "variety" she argues, is man's attempt to explain that "sexual passion in some men is insatiable, and no one woman can fully satisfy it and live." Although the woman concedes this point, she nevertheless explains that "*sexual desire* is not *love* and I would not have young or old taken

[417] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 164.
[418] Field, in *Hopedale Reminiscences*, 24.
[419] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 165.

captive by an appeal to the senses, under the impression that they are obeying the high behests of Love."[420] For this woman and Ballou, to connect sexual impulses with the lofty aspirations of the term love was degrading to the term itself.

Ballou's warnings about Free Love reached John Humphrey Noyes the famous and infamous preacher and founder of the Oneida Community. Ballou's, "long, strong, and solemn" warning on the subject caused Noyes to retort against Ballou's seemingly endless tirade against free lovers. Noyes may have thought Ballou's attacks were directed at Noyes's Perfectionist community in Oneida that practiced a form of Free Love. Noyes believed sexual intercourse was communal, based on consent, and must be documented and regulated. In an interesting commentary on the Adam and Eve story, Noyes argued that Adam and Eve "sunk the spiritual in the sensual in their intercourse with each other, by pushing prematurely beyond the amative to the propagative."[421] In other words, Adam was not exclusively using his "seed" for procreative purposes in his sexual relationship with Eve.[422] Noyes's exegesis and communal practices of Free Love, he argues, should have been carefully examined and perhaps adopted by Ballou. "Adin Ballou, of the Hopedale society," writes Noyes, has been a teacher of "emancipation and radicalism, to wonder and object when their innovating principles reach the particular domain of domestic life, is unreasonable." Ballou, like other reformers and utopians, "wish apparently to tear up and remodel the whole structure of society, and leave at the same time just one old timber [domestic life] untouched," asserts Noyes. Ballou was one of the "reformers" and as such needed to "meet manfully a question that [he] cannot avoid, and forestall and prevent wild-fire by occupying the ground and setting a true fire. In the midst of whatever disturbances may threaten from the unwise experiments which may be expected on this subject, we as a Community feel safe and protected." The alarm by "Mr. Ballou and others" is short-sided and Noyes believes his example of "Bible Communism" will prove to become the "safety-beacon of the world."[423]

Hopedale proved to be a place where ideas were considered and debated, but when perceived pernicious practices and beliefs contrasted Ballou's understanding of Christianity

---

[420] Henry C. Wright to Adin Ballou, 8 December 1854, in Adin Ballou, *True Love vs. Free Love. Testimony of A True Hearted Woman* (Hopedale MA: Hopedale Press, 1855), 7-10, 15. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

[421] John Humphrey Noyes, *Male Continence* (Oneida, NY: Office of Oneida Circular, 1872), 14. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[422] For a larger discussion on Noyes's Oneida's form of Free Love see Lawrence Foster, "Free Love and Community: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Perfectionists" in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 253-78.

[423] John Humphrey Noyes, "Socialistic Fires" *Circular*, vol. 3, no. 119 (September 7, 1854). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

they were struck down. As he mentioned in the *Practical Christian*, "We love all, but can flatter none." Ballou's understanding of "truth" left him required to forcefully declare certain practices and beliefs were against his understanding of Christianity. By 1848, Hopedale was struggling to gain new converts and Ballou recognized that perhaps, "We are too radical and yet too conservative, too exclusive and yet too liberal . . . . Too visionary and yet too practical . . . to be acceptable to many people." Ballou's at times paradoxically negative view of human beings living outside of Hopedale caused him to frustratingly bemoan, "This public loves to be flattered rather than corrected – to be caressed into sin, rather than chastened into righteousness."[424] Although Ballou and his community displayed an openness to outside ideas, his utopia's purpose was not only to exemplify the correctness of Christ's church in practice, but to correct false teachings disseminated by individuals whose ideas were contrary to Practical Christianity.

SEARCHING BEYOND THE VEIL

With the influx of ideas and beliefs entertained in Hopedale, Ballou found himself captivated by the rise of Spiritualism in the United States. Between 1848-49 he first received reports of the so-called "Spirit Manifestations" appearing in Hydesville, New York, and others appearing in Rochester and other areas. These experiences came from Kate and Maragret Fox, later known as the Fox Sisters, who claimed poltergeists appeared in their home in Hydesville, in March of 1848. The other manifestation was likely that of Andrew Jackson Davis, known as the "Poughkeepsie Seer," a relatively popular Animal Magnetist near Blooming Grove, New York, who also reported divine manifestations from the life beyond. Initially, Ballou dismissed the phenomena and maintained a comfortable distance from individuals claiming communication from the dead. He later wrote in his *Autobiography*, "I was exceedingly skeptical – groping in mental darkness." This apparent mental anguish, Ballou described, was caused by a reflection on his visions he experienced as an eleven-year-old and the visitation from his brother Silas in his nineteenth year. In hindsight Ballou explains, "I had become so infected with modern Sadduceeism[425] as to

[424] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christian*, vol. 12, no 12 (Hopedale, MA: Oct. 28, 1848). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

[425] The polemical term Sadduceeism derives from the Sadducees, a Jewish sect identified in the New Testament who opposed the Pharisees in both political and doctrinal matters. Sadducees rejected immortality, retribution in a future life, and the existence of angels. See Julius Wellhausen, *The Pharisees and the Sadducees* (Macon, GA: Macon University Press, 2001).

presume that I had outgrown the traditions of my childhood and even a part of my own profound spiritual experience."[426]

Prior to certain manifestations arriving in Hopedale during 1849-50, in 1841, Ballou's community tested the merits of the "divining-rod" (a tool used by certain persons to find subterranean water springs). After this experience, Hopedale entertained advocates of Animal Magnetism and clairvoyance. Many individuals in Hopedale became believers in this alternate form of medicine and attempted to use it as a means of spiritual healing. Animal Magnetism, also known as mesmerism, originated from the German doctor Franz Mesmer in the eighteenth century and became popularized in Europe and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. The divining-rod experience made Ballou an "unqualified believer" and he "admonished" himself never again to "allow my self-conceited wisdom to flatter me that I had outgrown all the knowledge of the ancients."[427] This experience with the diving-rod and animal magnetism prepared Ballou to accept or resurrect his initial beliefs in regard to communication with the dead.

Ballou's usual method of biblical perusal in search of biblical authority on the subject of spirit communication was short because he understood the Bible was laced with stories of communication from angels and spirits. Rather than commence another biblical study on the subject, he decided to invite mediums to conduct a series of séances in Hopedale to test the merits of the alleged manifestations going on in his community. These sessions were conducted between 1849 and 1850. The records do not identify the names of the first mediums entertained in Hopedale. Ballou later claimed he had "enough common sense, intellectual discernment, and honesty of purpose, to do justice to the proposed investigation and to accept the issue."[428] Through a long series of séances, Ballou became an unmistaken believer and Hopedale became a bastion for Spiritualism throughout its existence.

Ballou's initial attraction to Spiritualism may have been due to his connections with Universalists and Unitarians. Universalists, compared with other Christian denominations, were disproportionately drawn to Spiritualism. Unitarians were also interested in Spiritualism's role in reconciling religion with science. Prior to Spiritualism, both denominations were interested in phrenology and mesmerism.[429] For Ballou's Practical Christians, Universalists, and Unitarians, Spiritualism evinced each denominations

---

[426] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 372.
[427] Ibid, 373.
[428] Ibid.
[429] John Benedict Buescher, *The Other Side of Salvation: Spiritualism and the Nineteenth-Century Religious Experience* (Boston, MA: Skinner House Books, 2004), viii-x.

willingness to test the bounds of spirituality and even incorporate practices foreign to their predecessors. Similar to his conversions to Universalism and the Christian Connexion, he immediately adopted Spiritualism in his belief and during the 1850s tested the limits of its claims.

In the summer of 1851, Ballou began using Spiritualist techniques in his sermons. "Rappings" as understood by Spiritualists was a method used by mediums as a form of communication between living persons and the spirits of deceased persons by tapping out messages on tables, boards, or something similar. The term came from the Fox Sisters who used this method for celestial communication. Mrs. E.A. Lukens, of Ohio, an abolitionist and member of the American Anti-Slavery Society lodged in Hopedale for a week in August, 1851. She described Hopedale as the "stillest, the busiest of all dales . . . under the auspices of Adin Ballou." On Sunday she recalled, Ballou preached a "most excellent and effective sermon, from a text proposed to him through the 'rappings,' while they were heard in response all over the house, by every one present, and twice a large heavy desk near where he stood was moved." There were people in attendance who were skeptical of Spiritualism and Lukens observed "it wouldn't be altogether inapt to say that many who 'came to scoff remained with him to pray,' or at least to remain respectfully and amazedly silent."[430] Ballou never claimed mediumship, but on some occasions he used Spiritualist techniques to communicate Christian messages from the dead to the community.

By 1852, Ballou was consumed by the phenomena. He preached, lectured, and attended conventions devoted to the cause. At John Gilbert's Grove, in Milford, he was asked to speak on Spiritualism with the medium Lizzie Doten, a famous trance-speaker during the two decades before the Civil War who routinely recited poems allegedly under the "direct spiritual influence" of the deceased William Shakespeare, Robert Burns, and Edgar Allan Poe.[431] Ballou also became an agent of the New England Spiritualists' Association and by 1854 was its vice president.[432]

Ballou was not alone in his fascination with Spiritualism. Among the reformers and socialist communities, communicating with the dead expanded. In 1853, "manifestations" appeared at Abner French's radical North American Phalanx in New Jersey. He later became a leading Spiritualist in the mid-nineteenth century. Josiah Warren's Modern Times

---

[430] E.A. Lukens, "Visit to Hopedale," *The Liberator*, vol. 21, no. 32 (August 8, 1851). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[431] Mary Farrell Bednarowski, *New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), ix.
[432] Buescher, *The Other Side of Salvation*, 244.

Community in Wisconsin recalled similar experiences. Warren Chase, the leader of Modern Times was also a leading figure in the Midwestern reforms of Non-Resistance and Woman's Rights. Disaffected members of Quaker communities adopted Spiritualism in relation to the radical politics of feminism and abolitionism. By the mid-late 1850s, most Quaker factions accepted Spiritualism.[433] Abraham Lincoln's wife was also a proponent of the movement and reportedly Lincoln himself attended a number of séances in the White House.[434] By 1860, *The Spiritual Register*, a Spiritualist newspaper, claimed that an estimated five million "nominal believers" in Spiritualism existed in the United States, however these numbers have been disputed.[435]

Spiritualism during the 1850s became a part of New England culture. Two mainstream magazines, namely *Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly* published a series of editorials commenting on the new movement.[436] The Congregationalist magazine *The New Englander* produced major articles attempting to prove the claims of Spiritualism in "Spiritualism Tested by Christianity," "Spiritualism tested by Science," and "The Literature of Spiritualism."[437] Mediums and clairvoyants found their way into the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Ralph Wald Emerson.[438] In New York City, there were at least one hundred fifty Spiritualist circles and more than sixty different Spiritualist newspapers from Boston to California.[439] The *American Booksellers Guide* in 1871 reported that between 1850-60, an estimated "sale of fifty thousand books and fifty thousand pamphlets" were sold every year from Spiritualist publications.[440]

With the growing number of people interested in Spiritualism, preachers could not avoid sermonizing on the phenomena reaching their communities. Many Christian ministers attempted to reason with the public that Spiritualism, although not contrary to scripture,

---

[433] Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 64-66.
[434] Nettie Colburn Maynard, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist? Or, Curious Revelations From the Life of a Trance Medium* (Philadelphia, PA: Rufus C. Hartranft, 1891), 70-71.
[435] *The Spiritual Register,* in Buescher, *The Other Side of Salvation,* x.
[436] See "Editor's Table," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* vol. 17, no. 47 (June 1858): 121. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[437] "Spiritualism Tested By Christianity," *The New Englander* vol. 15, no. 4 (November 1857): 553-573; "Spiritualism Tested by Science," *The New Englander* vol. 16, no. 2 (May 1858): 225-270; "The Literature of Spiritualism," *The New Englander* vol. 16, no. 3 (August, 1858): 666-90. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[438] Howard Kerr, *Mediums, and Spirit-Rappers, and Roaring Radicals: Spiritualism in American Literature* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 10, 57, 63, 86, 105.
[439] Shawn Michael Trimble, "Spiritualism and Channeling," in *America's Alternative Religions*, Timothy Miller, ed. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), 333.
[440] Ann Braude, "News from the Spirit World: A Checklist of American Spiritualist Periodicals, 1847-1900," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* vol. 99, no. 2 (Spring, 1989): 399-462. Braude lists over 214 different Spiritualist titles published between 1847-1900. Of these, at least sixty were published during the 1850s.

opened individuals to be led astray by the devil. Rev. Charles Beecher, son of Lyman Beecher, recognized a number of the members of his Congregationalist pastorate in New Jersey were overcome by the phenomena and commenced a biblical and scientific study of Spiritualist phenomena. He disputes Spiritualism on many accounts and evokes the ancient apostle Paul's challenge to those who believe mediums were bringing new and revelatory messages to the earth. "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things I write unto you are Lord," writes Paul, and "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed."[441] Beecher's frustration with Spiritualism, is not that manifestations occur, but that the manifestations superseded for many believers the authority of the Bible. After disproving the physical origin of the manifestations, he concedes they can only be spiritual, however, their origin comes in the form of demonic possession. For Beecher, the manifestations naturally affirm communications to be of "spiritual origin," but this experience is "no more wonderful than the fictitious personality affirmed by the insane, the hypochondriac, or even the dreaming brain." The Bible concedes, according to Beecher, that "the spirits of dead men, especially the wicked, were permitted to enter the bodies of men."[442] Beecher's flock, needed to be on guard against the devil who used Spiritualism to detract "Saints" from remaining true to Christianity.

The Christian Review, also published numerous articles denouncing Spiritualism. Beecher's idea that "demons exert a material agency" was not consistent with "Christ's spiritual reign in the souls of men, and with all the plain teachings of both the Old and New Testaments as to our relations to the other world." According to the unknown author of the article, despite Christ's teachings about evil spirits, there was no allusion of anything "permanent and practical, but the *moral* influence of spiritual evil." The idea that unknown spirits communicated materially with the living can nowhere be proven after the resurrection of Christ. "No wonder," writes the author, "the manifest displeasure of the God of all truth attended, and always has attended, such perversion of his spiritual truth . . . . Let the Bible student rejoice in the confidence that he stands on the 'Rock of Ages.'"[443] By supplanting the spirit manifestations with the authority of the Bible, many preachers in New England feared Christians were becoming distracted with ethereal means of connecting with the divine.

---

[441] The Apostle Paul in Charles Beecher, *A Review of the "Spiritual Manifestations"* (New York: B.P. Putnam & Co., 1853), 62.
[442] Beecher, *A Review*, 14, 50.
[443] Unknown Author, "The Agency Employed in the So-Called 'Spiritual Manifestations,' Natural Though Mysterious," *The Christian Review* (October 1, 1853). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

With the onslaught of detractors among religious circles defaming Spiritualism, Ballou was commissioned by the New England Spiritualist Association to write a defense to combat the scoffers. In 1852, he finished *An Exposition of Views Respecting the Principal Facts, Causes and peculiarities Involved in Spirit Manifestations*, a two hundred fifty-eight page work in Spiritualist apologetics. This particular book received a number of reviews throughout New England and found an audience in England. Charles Dickens, in his weekly publication, *Household Words,* offered a positive review of the work and writes, "The Reverend Adin Ballou has been so obliging as to favor the world with his *Spirit Manifestations*."[444] Spiritualism at the time was also popular throughout England and numerous American publications on the subject became popularized. At first glance, it seems unusual for Ballou to spend countless hours on such an undertaking with all of his other duties within the community and the reform movements, but Ballou explains why this work was paramount at the time of its publication:

> 1. Because he [Adin] deems the subject worthy of serious consideration, and desires to aid in commending it to public attention. 2. Because he sees the extremes into which over credulous believers on one side, and pertinacious sceptics on the other, are running, and desires to guard honest minds against all rash and wholesale conclusions. 3. Because he believes that a just and discriminating faith in spirit manifestations, such as he sets forth, will promote the regeneration of mankind individually and socially. 4. Because he believes that only the dawn of these manifestations has yet appeared, and desires to assist in preparing all well-disposed minds for the brightness of the approaching day. And 5. Because his conscience requires him to bear an outspoken testimony for the truth, while it has few adherents and many opposers, and thus to make his position clearly understood by friend and foe.[445]

Throughout Ballou's religious journey, he is compelled to witness to the world in both the printed and spoken word his understanding of religious truth. Interestingly, he believes Spiritualism plays some role in regenerating individuals and mankind. Though Ballou makes it clear in this work of apologetics, that Christ in the New Testament exemplified by both word and deed of the true "Church," Spiritualism was nonetheless an important instrument that would aid and accelerate both the individual and the community into a state of true Christianity.

---

[444] Charles Dickens, "The Spirit Business," *Household Words* No. 163 (Saturday, May 7, 1853). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[445] Adin Ballou, *An Exposition of Views Respecting the Principal Facts, Causes and Peculiarites Involved in Spirit Manifestations: Together with Interesting Phenomenal Statements and Communications* (Boston, MA: Bela Marsh, Publisher, 25 Cornhill, 1853), *ix*-x. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

Even more atypical to Ballou's defense of Spiritualism is his claims of being a Restorationist. Ballou's Practical Christianity was an attempt to return Christ's primitive church in regard to doctrine and practice to the earth. Typical Restorationists such as Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone who historically are known for forming the Restoration Movement, undertook to restore Christ's original society of believers using strict New Testament exegesis. Campbell and Stone would have been appalled by Ballou's use of Spiritualism to restore the primitive church. For Campbell and Stone, the use of mediums and spirits to provide new revelation or settle disputes in regard to doctrine and practice that superseded biblical authority was blasphemous. There could be no new revelations above the Bible.[446] Ballou, despite his belief in his role to restore primitive Christianity, does not have any qualms with testing the limits of the new phenomena or viewing certain communications from celestial visitants as contrary to primitive Christianity.

The personal comfort Spiritualism gave Ballou also played a major role in his promulgation of the movement during the mid-late 1850s. Tragedy again struck Ballou's house with the death of Adin Augustus Ballou on Sunday, February 8, 1851 due to complications with typhoid fever. He was eighteen years old. Augustus, was the pride of the Ballou's and the "inestimable treasure of our hearts and golden staff of our earthly hopes." Ballou later described Augustus as the "star of love, hope, and trust to his family, [and] to the Community."[447] Prior to his death, Augustus, took up the post of teacher at Bridgewater, which was a neighboring community based on Practical Christianity and also created a miniature semi-monthly newspaper for young people entitled *The Mammoth*. Augustus was following in his father's footsteps, and the publication promoted his father's and other "radical Christian principles, a sound mind, well cultivated, stored with useful knowledge and capable of inquiring, reasoning, and judging for itself . . . . In fine, to qualify them . . . for solid usefulness and happiness in all the rightful pursuits and relations of life."[448] Augustus, by sharing stories of how "every Boy who would become a true, and noble, and useful Man,"[449] taught his peers of the joys of frugal and practical Christian living. When Augustus died, Ballou, along with the community, mourned the loss of one of their most promising disciples.

---

[446] Eva Jean Wrather, *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer in Freedom, a Literary Biography* (Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 2005), 170.
[447] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 376.
[448] Adin Augustus Ballou, *The Mammoth*, Vol. 1, no.1, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 378.
[449] Adin Augustus Ballou, "The Brave Boy," *The Mammoth,* Vol. 4, no.1 (14 July, 1847). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).

Letters and news articles expressed remorse for the loss of Augustus. *The Massachusetts Teacher*, a periodical written by members of a Boston teaching association explained "we consider his death an irreparable loss to our School, and to the community generally . . . we sincerely sympathize with the bereaved family of the deceased, and deeply mourn with them the sudden and sad event which has deprived them of a beloved companion."[450] One acquaintance of Augustus, from Wrentham, Massachusetts, wrote a poem titled "To the Memory of A.A.B," and sent it to Ballou and his wife. The last lines of the poem help one understand the irreparable loss Augustus was to Ballou, Hopedale, and the neighboring townships:

> A smile every path he trod,
> A revelation of his God!
> For the blossom have we sorrowed,
> Blooming now in Paradise
> For the jewel, angels borrowed,
> Star that gleams in brighter skies!
> Flower, and star, and fireside gem,
> The Loving Father guardeth them.
> His the arm to guide and strengthen,
> His to deal the heavy blow
> His the power our life to lengthen,
> His to lay the lovely low;
> By His stroke our brother fell
> And "He doeth all things well."[451]

Ballou and his wife responded to the numerous condolences with a "comprehensive public card" in the *Practical Christian* due to the amount of commiserations received at their home. "We, the bereaved parents," begins the letter, "You [the public] have testified your sincere desires to bind up soothe and console our broken hearts. How precious have been your fraternal ministrations!"[452]

The loss of loved ones played a major role in the expansion of Spiritualism as countless believers attempted communication with deceased family and friends. When Augustus passed, Ballou and his wife naturally were heart stricken. The passing of Augustus left Ballou with only one remaining child. Two of his children died during their infancy. William H. Fish, an early minister of Restorationism and co-proprietor of Hopedale, gave

---

[450] Unknown Author, "Resolutions on the Death of A.A. Ballou," *The Massachusetts Teacher*, vol. 5, no. 4 (April, 1852). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[451] Unknown young lady in Wrentham, "To the Memory of A.A.B" in Adin Ballou, *Memoir of Adin Augustus Ballou* (Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1853), 189. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[452] Ballou, *Memoir of Adin Augustus Ballou*, 189-90.

Augustus's funeral sermon. In it he proclaimed that Augustus would be with his parents as "a ministering angel of consolation" during their time of bereavement. Fish announced the possibility that "he [Augustus] may communicate with them in unmistakable ways."[453]

A former Hopedale resident, David W. Scott, who temporarily lived in Hopedale for one summer and one winter in 1850-51 wrote Ballou from Cuba, New York, in 1853 informing him that his fourteen-year-old daughter was controlled by the spirit of Ballou's former son Augustus. Cora, who gained fame throughout the United States and England as a medium known as Cora Hatch and later Mrs. Cora L.V. Richmond, during the 1850s through the 1870s reported one of her first mediumistic experiences came when Augustus entered her life. When Cora was ten or eleven, Abbie E. Heywood, Ballou's lone surviving child, wrote "Cora came to Hopedale with her parents first . . . At that time an interest in the subject of Spiritualism was beginning to be felt in the community . . . . It so happened that her parents, with Cora, were guests at my father's, on her arrival at Hopedale, and she and I occupied the same bed." Abbie recounts that while they slept, they awoke to "raps on the headboard."[454] It is unclear which spirit possessed Cora on that night, but in March, 1852, Augustus, according to Cora, became her lifelong companion, and she labeled him her "spirit control."[455]

The news of Augustus's return excited Ballou and his wife. Cora frequented Hopedale and through her mediumship and Elizabeth Alice Reed's (Hopedale Medium), Ballou reconnected with his former son. Despite all of Ballou's sermonizing on the afterlife, it appears after his son's departure he waivered in his belief in a celestial realm. Ballou recalled in 1858 after the death of his son that, "We had some faith in future life and in re-communication with the departed, yet, we needed more."[456] In 1853, the spirit of Augustus went through Hopedale, and Reed conducted séances with Ballou and his wife from February – April in 1853. Augustus communicated with Ballou fourteen times in the three months of his visitation. Augustus told his parents through the medium, "Let not our hearts be troubled . . . Mother will soon feel better, I think . . . . Mother, this is Augustus writing – do not doubt it." In a question and answer format with Augustus, through the medium Reed, Ballou asked his son a number of questions about the afterlife, for example, "Have you seen any spirits that were really unhappy . . . . Have you dwellings . . . . Can you pass through solid substances . . .

---

[453] William H. Fish, "Funeral Sermon," *Practical Christian* (February 14, 1852, February 28, 1852) in Ann Deborah Braude, *Spiritualism, Reform and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*, Dissertation Presented to the Facult of the Graduate School of Yale University (December, 1987), 143-44.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Abbie E. Heywood to Mr. Barnett, in Mrs. Cora L.V. Richmond, *Life Work of Mrs. Cora L.V. Richmond* ed. Harrison D. Barrett (Chicago, IL: Hack & Anderson Printers, 1895), 39, 741.
[456] Adin Ballou, *Spiritual Age* (Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1858). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

. Can you read our thoughts . . . . Are we in danger from evil spirits?" Ballou also began asking about his deceased sons Adin Jr. and Pearley. Augustus answered through the medium, "I often see them. They have various occupations, as other spirits have, but are not confined to any one thing. They are with me usually when I visit you. They are here now."[457]

Each communication with Augustus confirmed to Ballou the reality of an afterlife, and the correctness of certain beliefs practiced in the Hopedale community. The comfort Augustus provided his grieving parents gave Ballou the zeal to continue his lofty aspirations in Hopedale. Augustus closed his communication with his father by giving him the confirmation from God that what he was undertaking had His blessing and needed to be accelerated to usher in the millennium. "God rules in love; and when his time shall come to do the good work, then will it be accomplished. But ye must work, and hasten it. Work not *for him*, but *with him*. Be steadfast in well doing. God will prosper you, and spirits of the best will aid you,"[458] were the last words of Augusts to his grieving father.

After this experience, Hopedale became a Spiritualist haven during the 1850s. Two residents, Bryan J. Butts and Harriet N. Greene, formed a newspaper entitled the *Radical Spiritualist*, advocating "Spiritualism, Socialism, Anti-Slavery, Non-Resistance, Woman's Rights, Anti-Oath-taking and Office-holding, temperance, Vegetarianism, Anti-Tabacco (Tea, Coffee) and every other Reform which requires the practice of a higher life."[459] Ballou presided at two of the earliest Spiritual Conventions in Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts of which at least twelve Hopedale residents attended.[460] Fanny Davis, Hopedale's leading medium, advocated a number of Hopedale tenets, including non-resistance. John Murray Spear, who was expelled from his Universalist parish, due in part to his radical Spiritualism and non-resistance, declared himself the chosen medium of John Murray, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Benjamin Rush. Spear found safe harbor for his ideas in Hopedale, and Ballou wrote the foreword to Spear's pamphlet "Twelve Discourses on Government: Purporting to have been delivered in Boston, Mass., December, 1853, by Thomas Jefferson, of the Spirit World." Ballou admits there are some "sweeping expressions, notions, and ideas in these Discourses, which he could not endorse . . . [but] whether it be believed that the spirit of Thomas Jefferson actually uttered the things set forth . . . let every one embrace nothing as *true* and *good* which does not commend itself to the soul's highest judgment . . . . the Editor

---

[457] Ballou, *Spirit Manifestations*, 206, 209-17.
[458] Ibid, 227.
[459] *Radical Spiritualist*, no. 69 (January, 1860): 69. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[460] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christian* vo. 13, no. 8 (August 14, 1852), *Practical Christian* vol. 15, no 12 (October 9, 1852). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

respectfully commends them to the careful perusal, and just appreciation of all teachable minds."[461] Spiritualism added new revelatory life to Hopedale and to Ballou.

Spiritualism also provided the springboard for Ballou's developing understanding of what he called God's "Infinitarium." His earlier Universalist and Restorationist beliefs likely prepared him for this particular cosmology because of each movements' willingness to redefine orthodox beliefs in the binary understanding of the afterlife, namely a heaven and a hell. Ballou's Practical Christianity was largely created to exemplify Christ's primitive church based on New Testament exegesis by a devoted Christian community, but never in Ballou's Practical Christian scheme did his understanding of Christianity limit him in stretching the boundaries of Christian thought. Ballou explained Practical Christianity did not pay any "deference to the dogmas, opinions, expositions and representations of the Christian Religion, as now held by the nominal Church of the various denominations . . . nor to the decisions of Councils; nor to creeds; nor to any Writings subsequent to those of the Evangelists and Apostles."[462] Through Augustus's communications and the ideas associated with Emanuel Swedenborg, the Swedish scientist, philosopher, and mystic, whose beliefs gained popularity throughout New England from the 1820s to the eve of the Civil War and in particular with Spiritualists including Andrew Jackson Davis, Ballou expanded his understanding of the afterlife.[463]

God's Infinitarium was a series of "earth-orbs" the sun was a "superior earth" the stars were "probably suns, each having its attendant planets" with numberless earths that were superior or inferior to each other. The inhabitants of each dwelling, similar to this earth, were men and women of "higher or lower development." Similar to the natural world, the spirit world contained a limitless number of higher and lower spirits progressing to a state of salvation. According to Ballou, there were a numberless amount of heavens without a common center where God dwells. The Infinitarium was the "*absolute infinity* of things and beings which God governs." Ballou even speculated there were an innumerable "Personalized Manifestations of God . . . and in this sense innumerable Christs."[464] This arguably was Ballou's most expansive and interesting teaching within the Hopedale community.

---

[461] John M. Spear, *Twelve Discourses on Government: Purporting to have been delivered in Boston, Mass., December, 1853, by Thomas Jefferson, of the Spirit World.* (Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1853). Congregational Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).
[462] Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism,* 30.
[463] Braude, *Spiritualism, Reform and Woman's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*, 51.
[464] Ibid, 39, 40, 43.

His musings of the afterlife came at a time when Spiritualism coupled with Swedenborgianism significantly caused a number of ministers to re-envision the celestial realm. Thomas Lake Harris, in a "trance state" produced a poem titled "An Epic of the Starry Heaven," which claims "God ever worketh, everywhere . . . And as the Spirit flies to its own place . . . . The magnet being God's throne, the Spirit Sun, Whereto all Angels in affection run . . . . So on this Planet pure all minds incline."[465] Others envisioned a heaven where families reunited and Mrs. H.M.F. Brown, a proponent of certain aspects of Free Love wedded couples against state regulations because "wedded hearts had no need of legislation to keep them together, they were bound by natural, by eternal laws, and could not, would not disunite"[466] in this life and the next. Spiritualism expanded the utopian impulse of mid-nineteenth-century America into the afterlife and seemingly created new utopian ideas that extended into the heavenly realm.

In order to understand Ballou's willingness to devise seemingly incomprehensible theories on the state of the afterlife while simultaneously being a Restorationist, one must understand the role of Christ's resurrection in Ballou's Practical Christianity. New Testament Christianity and the vast majority of Protestants in antebellum America, viewed the bodily resurrection of Christ as the central event in Christianity and paramount to Christian belief. Many of the problems associated with Spiritualism came in its diminishing emphasis on the significance of Christ's resurrection. For some Spiritualists, including James Martin Peebles, Christ may have been a real person, but displayed mediumistic powers to manipulate "electromagnetism and to invoke and control spirits." Peebles argued that Christ's resurrection was simply the return of his "adept spirit" similar to other spirits, therefore placing the resurrection of Christ as seemingly unnecessary to Christian's understanding of overcoming death.[467] Ballou believed the biblical account of Christ's resurrection as important to understanding Christianity, but did not place it as the crowning event in Christianity. Nor was it final that Christ's resurrection constituted a regeneration of his former physical body. To explain this concept, Ballou implied "that man has not a body in the resurrectional or immortal state, as truly as in this life." Ballou admits the "Christian Scriptures" affirm a form of "literal resurrection of Christ's body" but not as "finally immortal." Christ, according to the biblical account, appears and disappears, sometimes with a tangible body and sometimes manifesting himself to the "spiritual senses" after his death.

---

[465] Thomas L. Harris, *An Epic of the Starry Heaven* (New York: Partridge & Brittan, 1855), vii, 130, 193.
[466] Mrs. H.M.F. Brown in Braude, *Spiritualism, Reform and Woman's Rights*, 257.
[467] Buescher, *The Other Side of Salvation*, 117-18.

His appearances to his disciples after his death was to make an "absolute and unmistakable demonstration to his doubting disciples.[468] For Ballou the "birth, ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus" played a significant role in liberating the masses from sin and death, however, Ballou refrained from sermonizing on the subject or making a belief in the corporeal resurrection of Christ and all mankind a requirement to join Hopedale. In essence, the resurrection would eventually occur, but in what form was a matter left to interpretation. Ballou was able to comfortably interpret passages of scripture that he believed were not definitive and also could use esoteric sources to understand both Spiritualism and scripture. For Ballou, the literal and corporeal resurrection of Christ was not a doctrine needing to be restored. It was a matter left to be debated. Ballou shifted the focus on the bodily resurrection to a new spiritual plane.

However important Spiritualism played a role in comforting and confirming certain beliefs in the mind and heart of Ballou and the Hopedale community, he began recognizing problems with the movement. Spiritualism gave Ballou, the comfort of a joyful afterlife, confirmed Practical Christian tenets, expanded his understanding of the afterlife, clarified doctrines such as the resurrection, and gave him divine approval that Hopedale would prove to be an earthly heaven for all mankind, yet he feared Spiritualism caused many believers to supplant it with New Testament Christianity.[469] Ballou described himself as "a rational, discriminating, Christian Spiritualist," one who could not encourage the "sexual aberrations" taught by Spiritualists throughout New England, but willing to seemingly accept Andrew Jackson Davis's scheme to control the weather dictated to him by spirit communication.[470] During Hopedale's many years of spiritualist experimentation, he believed that not every messenger from beyond the grave could be trusted to give revelatory information. Notwithstanding his lifelong defense of Spiritualism, by the early 1860s and at the eve of the Civil War, Ballou "quietly withdrew" from the "spiritualist assembly" based on what he later recalled as his "unwavering loyalty to Jesus Christ and His religion."[471]

Hopedale and neighboring Milford organized a group called the "Rational Spiritualists" that attempted to give Sunday services to edify Spiritualists. Ballou was called upon to preach for the group, but it failed within a year. In Ballou's later reflections on why Rational Spiritualism came to an end, he maintained that his version of the movement "was

---

[468] Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism*, 68-69.
[469] Edward K. Spann, *Hopedale: From Commune to Company Town, 1840-1920* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1992), 97.
[470] Adin Ballou, *The Practical Christian*, in Ibid, 96-97.
[471] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 387.

too rational and Christian to suit the prevalent taste or because modern Spiritualism lacks the genius of organization and cohesive unity."[472] Other members who were associated with the Rational Spiritualists do not explain its failure. In reality, Spiritualism always was vacant of Ballou's desire for organizational power. From its inception, Spiritualism blended a number of folk beliefs about the physical manifestations of spirits coupled with experimental science including mesmerism and animal magnetism. During the 1850s and the early 1860s, Spiritualism was always in a continual state of flux.[473] Ballou's Rational Spiritualists was yet another branch on the fragmented Spiritualist tree.

While Ballou defended Spiritualism until his death in 1890, by the early 1860s his involvement in the movement all but ended. Ballou fixed his theological and practical attention on the problems associated with the buildup of the Civil War. It seems Ballou took the advice of William Ellery Channing, who died in 1842, but through the mediumship of Reverend John Pierpont, confirmed Ballou's suspicions of the problems with Spiritualism. Channing purportedly explained through Pierpont "true Spiritualism is productive of good, and not evil. Not that I would have you understand me to say that all that purports to be Spiritualism is truly such. No, no, you cannot reckon on more than seventy-five percent as being genuine." The call from Channing was to maintain the Gospel taught in the scriptures and to teach plainly and "do your whole duty, and so spend the remnant of your days as to attain the highest possible point in the grand scale of your progression."[474] Ballou became leery of spirit communications that did not assuage his understanding Christian doctrine. Despite Ballou's unfettered belief in spirit manifestations, it was time to return back to worldly problems threatening to dismantle, not only the Hopedale Community, but the United States as well. Ballou's utopia based on Practical Christianity needed to survive and any belief or system that superseded "Jesus Christ and his religion as the means of human salvation" needed to be appropriated among each individual in relation to the fundamental teachings of Christ in the Bible.[475]

THE END OF PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

---

[472] Ibid, 430.

[473] Stephen D. Andrews, *Which Threatens to Tear our Fabric Asunder: The Opposition to American Spiritualism, 1848-1860*, Dissertation Submitted to the Department of History of Stanford University, (March, 2005), 2. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

[474] William Ellery Channing through medium Revered John Pierpont, "Rev. John Pierpont and Spiritualism," *Practical Christian*, no. 14 (October 31, 1847). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

[475] Adin Ballou, "Mr. Fairchild," *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, vol. 17, no. 8 (August 10, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

By 1854, Hopedale entered its "palmiest" period of its history. The thirteenth annual meeting presented the total value of Hopedale's properties at $54,236.45. In 1844, the total was $8,658. Hopedale's population was two hundred twenty-nine and the council cheerfully concluded, "We do not think that the Community for a long time has exhibited a phase in which so much unity, kindliness and good feeling has existed as at the present time."[476] Although Ballou previously cogitated on creating new Practical Christian communities in the United States, maintaining Hopedale proved far more challenging than anticipated. However, with the recent success of Hopedale, plans were constructed to fulfill the original members' desire to form new Practical Christian communities, thus ushering in a new Christian society. Even with the "differences in opinion, personal grievances, clashing of interests, irritations of temper, outbursts of feeling, etc.," Hopedale was "more expectant than ever before of good and happiness to mankind through the movement of which we deemed ourselves the especial guardians, prophets, and apostles, called of God to the position we occupied and to the work we had undertaken to do,"[477] wrote Ballou. It was now time for the community to expand and become a "Practical Christian Republic."[478]

The ills of society continued to plague the United States in the 1850s. The utopian fever was alive despite a number of the communities withering away, including the Brook Farm and the most successful of the Fourier Phalanxes known as the "North American Phalanx" in 1855. Along with the financial success of Hopedale in 1854, Ballou found confirmations to establish further colonies of Practical Christian Socialism from other sources. In the *New York Independent*, an Orthodox Congregationalist Newspaper, Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, migrated to Iowa after Horace Greeley planted the idea in his head due to Grinnell's frustrations with the state of society, saying, "Go West, young man, go West. There is health in the country, and room away from our crowds of idlers and imbeciles."[479] Grinnell sought further communion with devout Christians in Iowa and believed creating a moral society was a "Christian duty" and one must unite with people "of the same faith . . . . We are made for society; but society is not 'got up in order.'" Ballou printed this article in the Practical Christian to reaffirm the importance of their community as being the "leaven among the ungodly."[480] He also published Reverend J.S. Dennis's sermon entitled, "The

---

[476] "Council Reports," *The Practical Christian* (January 28, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[477] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 169.
[478] Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism*, 221.
[479] Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years* (Boston, MA: D. Lothrop Company, 1890), 86.
[480] Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, "Christian Colonies of the West," *New York Independent* (February 16, 1854) reprinted in Bushnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years*, 89.

State of the Times" to not only explain Hopedale's importance for the broader United States, but to reaffirm to the community its providential role. Dennis believes the evils of the existing order of society can only be remedied by "the adoption of such social and industrial arrangements as will do forever away our fierce competitions and strifes."[481] In reference to pre-millenialist denominations and preachers, Dennis argues:

> Do not let it be said that this state of things cannot be realized and that most easily . . . . When Christianity shall have been made practical, in the manner in which a noble Christian man whose name I delight to mention here today is endeavoring to make it practical, then truly the ills of our present social life will be removed . . . . I refer to Rev. Adin Ballou, who, with a few kindred spirits, is working out at their Community at Hopedale the problem of unity and harmony in labor, by which man is to be led from want and misery to the blessings of abundance and to happiness.[482]

Although Dennis did not join the Hopedale Community, he saw in it a group of committed Christians determined to civilly practice disobedience to the State while providing an alternative form of communal Republicanism. Encouraged by outside voices and the relative prosperity of Hopedale, plans were made by the executive council to spread the message and form communities.

In 1854, Ballou, along with the other leaders of Hopedale, were ready to expand their influence. Ballou penned the "Constitution of the Practical Christian Republic" that was adopted by the members of the Hopedale Community as the defining legal and spiritual foundation for Hopedale and its offshoots. The document contains twelve articles that establish and explain the goals of the Republic. Among the stated ends of the new government is, "To institute and consolidate a true order of human society, which shall harmonize all individual interests in the common good, and be governed by Divine Principles as its Supreme Law." Although there was not a church-state partnership, the only recognizable religion was that of "Jesus Christ, as he taught and exemplified it," specifically outlined by Ballou in twenty-four principles. All members maintained "indefeasible rights, as human beings, to do, to be and to enjoy whatsoever they are personally capable of," including the "right to worship God, with or without external ceremonies and devotional observances, according to the dictates of his or her own conscience," but, "No member of this Republic, nor Association of its members, can have a right to violate any one of its acknowledged divine principles." In order for new societies to be formed, a quasi-federal Constitution was created to unify each branch of the Practical Christian Republic, who would be separated into

---

[481] J.S. Dennis, "The State of the Times," in *Practical Christian* (March 24, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[482] Ibid.

"Parochial Communities, Integral Communities, Communal Municipalities, Communal states, and Communal Nations" that would elect their own officers, teachers, and representatives who would have the "right to frame, adopt and alter its own Constitution and laws" not outlined in the original Constitution of the Practical Christian Republic.[483] This constitutional structure replicated in many forms the United States Constitution. Each community in the Practical Christian Republic maintained autonomy in regard to the needs and economy of the people in each locale, however, constitutional disobedience to the Constitution of the Practical Christian Republic would result in personal and communal expulsion. With their new constitution formed, Ballou penned *Practical Christian Socialism*, a work of over six hundred pages, which explains in detail the perceived brilliance in their plan and the divine endorsement of its implementation. The "declared objects, principles and social polity" of the Practical Christian Republic would prove to be:

> the best, the noblest and the worthiest that human nature can embrace, live for, or die for . . . . Though its beginning [Fraternal Community No. 1] was as a little leaven hid in many measures of meal, it will leaven the whole lump . . . . Keep steadily at work like the industrious ants and bees, each in his or her own best way . . . . Plant one Community after another and consolidate it. Step by step, slowly but surely, advance toward your distant goal . . . . Make your Republic religiously, morally, intellectually, socially, pecuniarily, peacefully and benevolently independent . . . . So shall your banner of truth, love and peace finally wave in serene majesty over every temple turret of regenerated humanity. And then shall the will of our Universal Father "be done in earth as it is done in heaven." "For of him, and through him, and to him are all things; to whom be glory forever. Amen.[484]

With the Constitution formed and the formula for success minutely explained, Ballou believed the culmination of his goals and those of his co-proprietors were finally coming to pass. The Practical Christian Republic would soon expand beyond Hopedale and slowly encompass the United States.

One thousand dollars was initially invested to spread the message of the community. The money was used to provide an efficient missionary operation where tracts and other publications were printed in an attempt to convince the broader public to establish branches of the new Republic. William H. Fish, another leading member in Hopedale and former Restorationist minister, wrote numerous articles in 1854 and 1855, urging the council to invest in a community in the Minnesota Territory. "Western Ho!" an article published in the *Practical Christian* copied a letter written by Mary J. Colburn, a former member who

---

[483] Adin Ballou, "Constitution of the Practical Christian Republic," in Ballou, *Practical Christian Socialism*, 175-76, 180, 182.
[484] Ibid, 654.

immigrated to Minnesota, explaining the climate was not as harsh as believed to be and because of its territorial status, it was not subjected to certain regulatory laws in the eastern United States. Fish, along with other leading members, believed a secure location in the West would redeem it "from the curses of present civilization . . . . I doubt not that the right sort of persons, with right principles, though with moderate means, might in a few years attain to such a position . . . to teach by a living example and with powerful effect a more excellent way of life in its various relations."[485] So convincing was Fish, that in early 1855 two agents were appointed to go West to Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas in search of not only a hospitable environment, but individuals who would commit to Practical Christian Socialism. Ballou and Fish also spent numerous months proselytizing in New England the philosophy and economic strength of joining with Hopedale. Fish spent the better half of 1855 in New York tirelessly searching for converts and philanthropists to help with the expansion of the Practical Christian Republic. He was welcomed by Unitarian and Universalists pulpits, public halls and schoolhouses, but it proved virtually fruitless. After failed attempts to convince New England reformers, the best prospect for expansion proved to be Minnesota.

Two expeditions were sent out six months apart to the Minnesota Territory. The first settlers were both carpenters. George O. Hatch and Elijah S. Mulliken along with their wives were commissioned to find a "good place to locate upon" and spend the winter months in the cold of Minnesota to ascertain "information respecting that most dreaded season of so northern a latitude."[486] Hatch and Mulliken wrote complimentary letters back to Hopedale informing the community of their success finding an area "possessing almost every conceivable natural advantage desirable for such an undertaking,"[487] and called upon the community to send recruits. Ballou responded quickly and in an effort to find volunteers heralded, "What say you friends . . . . Now is the time for action."[488] Four persons immediately volunteered to help the first two settlers. They set off forthwith leaving their "well-furnished homes" and upon arrival were met with severe disappointment. Despite Hatch and Mulliken's initial "hope and zeal" they were unable to build a sufficient dwelling place on the land and were forced to return to St. Paul to find work.

---

[485] William H. Fish, "Western Ho!" *Practical Christian* (November 4, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[486] William H. Fish, [Unknown Title] *Practical Christian* (October 6, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[487] George O. Tatch and Elijah S. Mulliken, "Letter to Hopedale," *Practical Christian* (November 17, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[488] Adin Ballou, "Editor's note of letter" *Practical Christian* (November 17, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

Hopedale was unaware of their troubles before the second group set off. After purchasing lumber, household goods, and provisions, Hatch and Mulliken attempted to resettle the area they claimed under the U.S. Preemption Law, which enabled any one to claim one hundred sixty acres of land without cost. Due to the harsh conditions, they failed again, and were unable to find sufficient employment in St. Paul to launch another attempt and began the long journey back to Hopedale. The second group of settlers were unaware of Hatch and Mulliken's misfortune when they arrived in Monticello, roughly forty miles north of St. Paul. Already on their way back to Hopedale, the two groups slipped past each other without communication. The second group sought council from Hopedale and were advised to stay and seek employment for another attempt at colonization in the spring of 1856. They succeeded in procuring lands and establishing a small village that spring. However, during their toils to establish another branch of the Practical Christian Republic, Hopedale came to an abrupt end.[489]

During the annual meeting in January, 1856, Ebenezer Daggett Draper, the acting president of Hopedale, gave a laudatory report of community finances. Draper, who was one of the founding members of the community in 1841, and its wealthiest member, remarked, "We may rejoice together in considering the degree of harmony that exists at the present time in the Community; greater I think than ever before . . . we shall continue to increase in love and wisdom, and so become more and more a light to those around us, proving to the world that Christian Socialism opens a more excellent way . . . . May the good God prosper and bless us all."[490] Within two months of Draper's cheery proclamation, Ballou, along with others, recognized that the net gain of $7,302 mentioned by Draper in the report did not relate to "Community affairs at all, but to those of individuals" primarily Draper and his older brother George, who was a recent convert to Hopedale. The Draper brothers capitalized on recent developments in the textile industry and became wealthy in 1855 and 1856. George recognized that his brother and himself owned three-fourths of the community stock, and the joint-stock of the community showed a deficit of $145.15 plus dividends on the stock amounting to $1,652, without including the "depreciation in the value of buildings, machinery, tools, etc., which had taken place during the twelvemonth[s] preceding." In essence, Hopedale's stock was worthless and looked doubtful to rebound in the future. George, according to Ballou, "never had more than a half-faith in Community life" and

[489] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 185-186, 196.
[490] E. G. Draper, "Annual Meeting," *Practical Christian* (February 9, 1856). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

slowly began to "win his brother to his own way of thinking and secure his cooperation in withdrawing their joint capital from the Community treasury."[491] Without the Draper brothers' stock, the community would be unsustainable. Ballou, many years later in his *Autobiography*, described George as a "natural born man of the world, given to money-making, impatient of high ideals, but thoroughly honest in his opinions, upright in his dealings, and of unquestioned integrity and honor," but once the brothers decided to pull their stock from Hopedale, "the doom of the Community was irrevocably sealed."[492]

Without the means to continue the Practical Christian Republic and unwilling to incur further debts from outside sources, Ballou recognized his hopes had been dashed by two men. A "deathlike chill settled upon" Ballou and "almost froze [his] heart," he later wrote of the incident. He explained feelings of "mortification, and grief, it would be alike difficult and useless to describe."[493] Ballou's beliefs that the Practical Christian Republic would regenerate humanity were "blasted, [his] noblest ambition was crushed. [He] had been disappointed and deserted before . . . . But now [his] calamity was greater than ever – overwhelming and irreparable. Nothing remained but to submit with the best grace possible to a deplorable failure."[494]

Accordingly, Ballou devised plans to reimburse all the members of Hopedale, and despite the Draper brothers' hasty withdrawal, they agreed to purchase the entire "Joint-Stock property" at a price that would cancel the liabilities of the members of the community. They "willingly" agreed and the written bonds were secured. From that time forward, the Practical Christian Republic became the "Hopedale village . . . losing that distinctive character and the well-earned reputation."[495] A hymn written by Ballou fittingly explains his sorrow and hope of a future state where Practical Christian Socialism would be practiced again:

> Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing,
> Fill our hearts with joy and peace;
> Let us each thy love possessing,
> Triumph in redeeming grace:
> O, refresh us, O, refresh us,
> Traveling through this wilderness.
> So, whene'er the signal's given,
> Us from earth to call away,
> Borne on angels' wings to heaven,
> Glad the summons to obey,
> May we ever, may we ever

[491] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 190-91.
[492] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 402.
[493] Ballou, *History of Hopedale Community*, 191-92.
[494] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 403.
[495] Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community*, 193.

Reign with Christ in endless day.[496]

Ballou attempted to form another community labeled "Commune No. 1," but within a year it incurred too much debt, and he shouldered the "large percentage" of the liabilities. William Ellery Channing proved prophetic in the letter he sent Ballou during Fraternal Community No. 1's embryonic phase with the warning:

> There is a tone of faith and sincerity in your document which gives me hope, and yet I cannot say that I am without fear. I have lived so much out of the world of business, I have had so few connections with society except those of a religious teacher, that I cannot judge of the obstructions you are to meet . . . . I am aware of the many economical advantages arising from the gathering of the Community into one habitation, but there are disadvantages.[497]

Ballou later acknowledged that the "admonitions which Dr. Channing, by his sagacity and candor" explained proved correct in the end. "The very difficulties which he [Channing] suggestively pointed out in his letter, we were obliged to encounter, spite of all our sanguine hopes and resolves, they proved too much for our virtue and wisdom. Instead of rising above and overcoming them, we were in the end overcome by them."[498] Ballou, regrettably returned to his former pastoral occupation, this time under a Unitarian pulpit in neighboring Mendon.

CONCLUSION

Ballou's ultimate utopian failure was one of many that did not obtain its goal to bring the Kingdom of Heaven down to earth. Unlike the majority of utopian experiments who migrated to isolation within the boundaries of the United States, Ballou and his community were both outsiders and insiders in New England who attempted to showcase that individual and communal salvation based on Christianity was not only possible, but destined to be the model imitated by Americans and eventually the entire earth. By allowing various reformers, fugitive slaves, and philosophers to entertain his community and publish in his newspapers, Ballou displayed an openness for new ideas and potentially new interpretations of scripture. However, this willingness to accept outside influence at times was met with scorn as Ballou's rigidity toward Practical Christianity proved unwilling to allow certain ideas and practices, such as Free Love and Owenism, to germinate in the minds of his followers. There was a

---

[496] Adin Ballou, "Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing," in *The Hopedale Collection of Hymns and Songs, for the use of Practical Christians* (Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 1850), 305. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[497] William Ellery Channing to Adin Ballou, February 27, 1841, in Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 31.
[498] Ballou, *History of Hopedale*, 31.

limit for Ballou in the seemingly limitless ocean of philosophies debated in New England during the antebellum era.

Although Ballou was unwilling to adopt the economic and domestic philosophies of other utopias in regard to practical application, through his continued interaction with individuals outside of Hopedale, Ballou expanded his understanding of Christianity through Spiritualism. Once the "rappings" and his former son Augustus began communicating to Hopedale residents, Ballou fully embraced this new form of spiritual inquiry. Henry Raymond, the editor of *The New York Times*, described Ballou as the "hierophant of Hopedale" who was "full of the spirit, and bubbling to pour his ounce-vial of inspiration into the common stock."[499] Spiritualism re-ignited Ballou's previous experiences that thrust him into preaching, assured him of the existence of a hereafter, and provided needed comfort after the death of his beloved son. During Ballou's immersion in Spiritualism, he re-envisioned heaven and obtained providential assurance to move forward with Practical Christianity. Nevertheless, like Ballou's affiliation with other reform movements and denominations, he was unwilling to allow Spiritualism to move beyond his understanding of Christianity. Although he distained preachers and reformers who viewed Spiritualism as "humbug" and "of the devil,"[500] he was unable to unite the broader Spiritualist phenomena under the umbrella of Practical Christianity. However important Spiritualism was to Ballou's understanding of salvation and heaven, the lack of union and the failure of spiritualists to view Spiritualism as an auxiliary of Christianity rather than its crux, left Ballou wondering if those most engaged in spiritualist practices became infidels.[501]

Ballou's utopian experiment and affiliation with Spiritualism evince his determination to somehow keep one foot in heaven and one foot in the world. By doing both, Ballou's Hopedale community proved the difficulty with such aspirations. The "things of this earth" proved more powerful as the Drapers turned Hopedale into an industrial city instead of Ballou's Kingdom of God. Ballou's lofty aspirations to actualize Practical Christianity throughout New England and the United States collapsed leaving him as Hopedale's sage rather than the founder of America's Practical Christian Republic. Unlike Anabaptist movements such as the Amish, who withstood the test of time by remaining separate from the United States, the only remaining echoes of Ballou's utopia are found on the names of the

---

[499] Henry Jarvis Raymond, "The Spiritual Convention," *The New York Times*, September 23, 1852.
[500] Ballou, *Spirit Manifestiations*, 59.
[501] Buescher, *The Other Side of Salvation*, 164-65.

streets in Hopedale, such as “Peace Street.” This particular principle became Ballou’s lasting contribution to the religious history of the nineteenth century instead of Practical Christianity.

CHAPTER 5: THE NON-RESISTANT

INTRODUCTION

In 1900, a monument was erected in honor of Ballou in the town of Hopedale. Despite his failed efforts to establish a Practical Christian Republic, Hopedale continued to advocate certain tenets proclaimed by its founder. The monument reads, "Adin Ballou: Preacher, Author, Reformer, Philanthropist, Apostle of Christian Socialism, and Founder of the Hopedale Community 1803-1890," and written in small type two phrases, "Blessed are the Peacemakers. Not disobedient to the heavenly vision."[502] These last two sentiments identify Ballou's permanent legacy in the historical record. His name appears in numerous books, dissertations, and articles on pacifist thought and civil disobedience in early America.[503] Notwithstanding Ballou's willingness to change course in his understanding of Christianity throughout his religious journey, Christ's call for peace in the Sermon on the Mount and in other parts of the four Gospels, left Ballou unflinching in his defense against any individual, community, or government that advocated returning violence with violence, or punishment with punishment. In regard to Christ's teachings on non-violence, Ballou distanced himself from his own morality that stemmed from following the "spirit" rather than the "code" or "letter" when interpreting scripture.[504] Once converted to Christ's instruction, "That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,"[505] Ballou became unwavering to its dictates in the face of his opposers' claims of the impracticality and illogicality of Christ's admonition. For Ballou, there was no turning back, and his commitment to this tenet became his legacy.

This chapter will identify Ballou's struggle and determination to live this teaching by Christ. Through his lens, the debates among religionists in New England will be re-examined and provide an account of the difficulty among clergymen and itinerant preachers to be persuaded of New Testament teachings on war and retribution. First, I will show Ballou's transformation from patriotism to "no-

---

[502] Bryce Taylor photograph of monument (October 12, 2014). Personal Archives

[503] See Valarie Ziegler Morris, "The Early Nineteenth-Century American Peace Movement: From Consensus to Division," *HeinOnline* (J. Church & St., 1985): 499-517. Lee Compton Camp, "The "Primitivist-Pacifism" of Alexander Campbell, Adin Ballou and Leo Tolstoy: An Atypical Type," (Dissertation, The University of Notre Dame, 1999). Michael Ture, "Abby to Abbie: Remembering Worcester's Activist Tradition," *Telegram & Gazette* (April 1, 2001): 1-3. Jayme A. Sokolow, "Leo Tolstoi's Christian Pacifism: The American Contribution," *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 604 (September, 1987): 1-37. Rory William Stauber, "Lifting the Banner of Tolstoyan Non-Resistance in America: Ernest Howard Crosby's Lonely Quest, 1894-1907" (Dissertation, Drew University, 1994), 6-7, 43, 47-70. Benjamin F. Trueblood, "The Historic Development of the Peace Idea" *Advocate of Peace* (1847-1906); Nov. 1905; 67, 10; American Periodicals, 224, Andover Library. Raymond Adams, "Thoreau's Sources for 'Resistance to Civil Government,'" *Studies in Philology*, vol. 42, no. 3 (July, 1945): 640-653. James J. Martin, *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America 1827-1908* (DeKalb, IL: Adrian Allen Associates, 1953), 76-77, Peter Brock, *Freedom from War: Nonsectarian Pacifism 1814-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 91-97. James D. Hunt, "Gandhi, Thoreau, and Adin Ballou," *Journal of the Liberal Ministry*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Fall, 1969): 32-52. Carleton Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1970), 86-87, 323-324. *History of the American Abolitionist Movement*, ed. John R. McKivigan (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 41,45, 475-76.

[504] Adin Ballou, "Exposition of Faith," *Practical Christian* (June 1, 1840): 9-13.

[505] Matthew 5:39, King James Version of the Bible.

governmentalism." Second, Ballou's affiliation with the New England Non-Resistance Society will be examined. Third, Ballou's attempt to biblically and commonsensically justify non-resistance indicates his continued belief to use scripture, common sense, and experience to receive divine approval for doctrinal and practical applications of Christ's teachings. Fourth, the Civil War's influence on non-resistance will be explained through Ballou's lens. The Civil War is the pivotal moment where non-resistants' faith teetered. Ballou's opposition to the Civil War based on non-resistant tenets indicates an unwillingness to perhaps consider the "spirit" of Christ's law. Unlike previous changes in doctrine and practice, the Civil War did not sway Ballou from changing his stance on non-resistance even when leading members of the NENRS, including William Lloyd Garrison, were persuaded otherwise. Finally, Ballou's correspondences with Leo Tolstoy during the last days of Ballou's life evince that in the end, his seemingly fluid understanding of Christianity during the nineteenth century, led him to a fixed, stubborn, and even self-righteous defense of his own version of non-resistance. Unlike his change from annihilationism to Universalism, moderation to prohibition, and civil obedience to disobedience, Ballou could not be persuaded to amend his version of non-resistance. Ballou arrives at this conclusion from a different trajectory than typical pacifists, such as the longstanding traditions of the Anabaptists and Quakers. Ballou's non-resistance was not inbred. It was the fruitage of being immersed in the reform movements and using a particular form of biblical interpretation and common sense. Ballou's belief in non-resistance placed him in opposition to participatory democracy even after the Civil War. Non-resistance, and how Ballou came to understand it, was a product of the religious marketplace of ideas, and as Ballou continued discussing and debating the merits of non-resistance, his own version of it became his guiding principle.

FROM PATRIOT TO PRINCIPLE

At the age of seven, Ballou, in his *Autobiography*, recounts his first experience with the military. The Ballou neighborhood was near a tavern kept by his uncle, Major William Ballou. Ballou was strictly forbidden to go there except on holidays or for business errands. One day, however, Ballou's father gave Ballou permission to attend a military training near the tavern. A parade led by Captain Amos Cook began at the tavern and marched south. Ballou in hindsight recounts, "They had a kettledrum and fife for music, and their officers were arrayed in their accustomed toggery. I was perfectly bewitched with this, my first spectacle in the drama of war." Captivated by the "swords, guns, colors, marchings, evolutions, and above all the music of that drum and fife," Ballou followed "at the heels of this train-band" until eventually he was beckoned home by his older siblings. This experience "effectually inoculated" him with what he later termed, a "pro-war contagion, which fevered in [his] veins for long years afterward." The Ballou's also frequented Beacon Pole Hill in Cumberland Rhode Island that "received its name from a tall mast with a crane attached, from which was suspended a kettle designed to be filled with tar or other combustibles and

lighted on occasions, as an alarm signal during the Revolutionary War."[506] When lit, the Minutemen were called out to support the Rhode Island army.[507]

In 1812, the United States declared war against England. Ballou, who was too young to volunteer, saw his two oldest brothers enlist in the military. Watching his brothers' leave and the martial excitement surrounding rural New England communities, left Ballou saddened he would be unable to fight. "So was I predisposed to patriotism, politics, and war, from the start,"[508] recalled Ballou, and during his brothers' service he read his father's favorite "Republican" newspaper, likely the *Columbian Phoenix* or the *Providence Patriot* (both papers viewed the war with Britain as finishing the Revolution). During the War of 1812, these newspapers promoted not only the United States' war against the British but also Napoleon Bonaparte's. Ballou called the newspaper his "oracle" during his younger years. On occasion, he listened to stories from ex-patriots in Rhode Island who fought in the Revolutionary War. Their tales of adventure and peril delighted him as he envisioned himself heroically defeating the British Crown. Ballou's father, the articles Ballou read, and the larger New England culture, infused patriotic fervor into his young mind. Unable to enlist himself, Ballou was left to read and listen to the experiences of those who bravely defended the New Republic.

After the War of 1812, the United States experienced a period of peace and Ballou joined the Christian Connexion. He became a preacher in the movement and spread the message of Christianity. By 1822, Ballou switched denominations and joined the Universalists and became acquainted with the reverends Hosea Ballou, and Paul Dean. In the summer of 1823, Ballou became a Free-Mason and within two years ascended to Master of a lodge and eventually received his Knighthood in the Mount Lebanon Chapter in Medway Massachusetts.[509] Ballou's connection with masonry led in part to his assignment as a chaplain in the 6th division of the Massachusetts Militia under Colonel Lebbeus Gaskill from 1825-37. Ballou recalls enjoying his time on Gaskill's staff. The various meetings, refreshment tables, and spiritual guidance given by Ballou were "congenial to my taste," and his "military, political, and civic instincts" during this time display a dedication to the United States. Ballou later explained that "I had not at the time a thought or a scruple against war per se as un-Christian and wrong, and of course not against training and preparation for war. Like all others, I claimed to be opposed to wicked wars, under the presumption that there were sometimes righteous ones which I could approve."[510]

This approval of the United States' excellence and providential founding led Ballou to sermonize on the glory of the Republic. Throughout the United States, the Fourth of July was a time

---

[506] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 15-16, 3.
[507] Raymond Palin, "Revolutionary Cumberland: A Note on a Historical Controversy," *Rhode Island History*, vol. 51 (November, 1993): 129.
[508] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 26.
[509] "Masonic Elections," *Masonic Mirror: and Mechanics' Intelligencer,* vol. 3, no. 8 (February 17, 1827). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[510] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 110-11.

for celebration where communities came together for patriotic festivities. The highlight of the celebration was not the music or the games but the sermon. Families and dignitaries came together to hear from the pastor who honored the generation that fought in the Revolutionary War and explained God's providential role in the United States' founding.[511] Ballou was commissioned in 1827, to give the keynote speech at the celebration in Milford, Massachusetts. The sermon, which later became a pamphlet distributed throughout New England, explains God's role in the Revolutionary War. This war coupled with the formation of the United States, was "one of the most remarkable events registered in the annals of human transactions," explains Ballou. Recalling the measures that led to the Revolution War, such as the Stamp Act, taxation without representation, and the Boston Massacre, Ballou explains the tyranny of Britain, and, "From Maine, to Georgia, [a] thrilling voice was heard; when, our fathers rose in their indignation, and appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause, 'determined to die or be free.'"[512] Their prayers were answered:

> With a just cause, native love of liberty, undaunted fortitude and courage, and with such leaders as the beloved WASHINGTON, GREEN, LA FAYETTE and their immortal associates, they were invincible and irresistible. A righteous and just God made them so, He stretched out his omnipotent hand, discomfited their enemies, and gave them a triumphant victory. After eight years of bloody and desolating war, the prize of Independence and liberty was attained.[513]

The blood spilt by American Patriots, was not only justifiable to God, but highlighted His providential role in the war itself, according to Ballou. In closing, he beckons his audience to follow the example of ex-patriots and, "If we have any gratitude to our maker . . . any regard to the welfare of ourselves, mankind, and posterity, we are solemnly conjured . . . to maintain and preserve unsullied our free republican institutions, as they now appear before us in the Federal and the State Constitutions."[514]

Three years later in 1830, Ballou again was commissioned to provide the keynote address on the Fourth of July in the village of Blackstone in Massachusetts. With determined zeal, Ballou proclaimed the greatness of America and elaborated on its divinity. The Revolutionaries were, "Unawed by the frowns of tyranny [and] kindled thereon the pure fire of liberty, and sacrificed to the God of Sabbath the willing offerings of an oppressed but virtuous people," proclaims Ballou, and those "faithful priests and prophets of freedom consecrated it with their tears and blood." In comparison to the Milford sermon given three years prior, Ballou is worried about the people of the United States. He senses discontent among the populace and in order to recommit the crowd to the aspirations of the founders, Ballou gives two suggestions to his audience, namely, "to abstain totally from patronizing or reading any paper, whether political or religious, whose conductor will not

---

[511] See *The Fourth of July: Political Oratory and Literary Reactions 1779-1876*, ed. Paul Goetsch and Gerd Hurm (Tübingen: Müller + Bass, 1992).
[512] Adin Ballou, *An Oration, Delivered July 4th, A.D. 1827, Before the Republican Citizens of Milford, and The Neighboring Towns, at the Universalist Meeting House, in Said Milford* (Boston, MA: True and Green, Printers, 1827), 3, 13. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[513] Ibid, 22.
[514] Ibid, 35.

candidly represent men, measures and things as they are," and elect public officials who do not pervert the "excellent constitutions of government . . . . Therefore let the people search the fountain-head, cleanse it of impurity, and choose faithful servants." This speech was more or less a reflection on what the people of the United States were doing with the freedoms outlined in the Constitution of the United States, and it was the people's imperative to be born again to the Revolutionaries' sacrifice. "May true patriotism glow in the hearts of fathers and children," and when that happens again, "the wisdom and providence of Almighty God [will] overshadow our beloved country,"[515] closes Ballou. With his patriotism on display, Ballou continued to lace his sermons with God's providential hand leading the Revolutionaries to rebel against the British.

By 1837, however, Ballou's affiliation with the reform movements, especially the Anti-Slavery Society, radicalized him as his eyes were opened to the legal and physical brutality displayed by constitutional stewards in regard to the slave. Ballou called for immediate emancipation "throughout the United States and the world"[516] to the chagrin of his congregation who were unwilling to follow him into abolitionism. His home and pulpit were opened to numerous reformers who spoke on Capital Punishment, Women's Rights, Prison Reform, Education Reform, Temperance, Abolitionism, and "various schemes proposed for the bettering the condition of mankind."[517] Ballou's last recorded Fourth of July Sermon in 1837, represents his dismay with the United States' continuation of slavery. Instead of focusing on the Revolutionaries' just-war, Ballou uses phrases from the Declaration of Independence, particularly the "self-evident" argument that "all men are created equal"[518] to explain the North's role in upholding slavery. On this day of independence, Ballou berated those who opposed or were apathetic towards the slaves' plight. Instead of attempting to convert the public to uphold the Constitution of the United States, Ballou's faith in the United States dissipated. Despite his previously laudatory praise of the Revolutionaries, Ballou began questioning his allegiance to the country he previously revered.

Another factor may have played a role in Ballou's antagonism to the state other than the evils outlined by the reformers. In his *Autobiography*, he explains his patriotism as embryonic and natural prior to 1837. However, Ballou grew up as a Six-Principle Baptist in Rhode Island. This group in Rhode Island split from the larger Calvinist Baptists and opposed a church and state partnership. In general, Six-Principle Baptists were suspicious of governmental control and were primarily anti-federalists. It would have been likely for Ballou to hear preachers in the Ballou Meeting House to hear sermons laced with arguments that "if government, or business, or ecclesiastical institutions

---

[515] Adin Ballou, *An Oration Delivered Before the Citizens of Blackstone Village and its Vicinity* (Providence, RI: Cranston & Knowles, 1830), 1, 14, 18. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[516] "Meeting of the Members of the Massachusetts Association of Restorationists," (September 29, 1837) in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 293.
[517] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 296.
[518] Declaration of Independence in Adin Ballou, *A Discourse on the Subject of American Slavery, Delivered in the First Congregational Meeting House* (Boston, MA: Printed by Isaac Knapp, 25, Cornhill, 1837), 5. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

interfered with God's mission for His people, they were to be resisted."[519] His distant grandfather was also a proprietor with Roger Williams in Rhode Island who was one of the first proponents of separating the church and state partnership. Nowhere in his *Autobiography* does Ballou infer that he did not have the support of his family in regard to his growing anti-patriotism.

On June 17, 1838, Ballou preached from Luke 6:33 at his home. A page from Ballou's diary indicates the sermon was "strongly impregnated with the doctrine of peace and non-resistance, the truth of which was rapidly growing to prominence in my mind."[520] Ballou became a convert to non-resistance principles through his affiliation with Garrison and other reformers. The term "non-resistance" in North America can be traced to the Anabaptist movements that emigrated from Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For Anabaptists, the magistrate rightfully held the power to use armed conflict to maintain domestic order or protection of the people from foreign enemies, however, Anabaptists categorically denied taking part in any physical conflict based on their understanding of Christianity. In essence, Anabaptists peaceful disobeyed governmental statutes that infringed upon their religious tenets and willingly suffered the consequences of their disobedience, hence the term non-resistance.[521]

It is unclear if Ballou, prior to 1838, was acquainted with the particulars of Anabaptist teachings on non-resistance, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, non-resistance ideas began appearing in New York and Boston. In 1809, David Low Dodge published *The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World*, and in 1812 the pamphlet, *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ*. Both highlight a literal interpretation of Christ's non-resistance teachings in the New Testament. Dodge formed the first non-denominational peace society in North America in 1815. Four months later, Massachusetts followed suit and established the Massachusetts Peace Society under the leadership of Noah Worcester.[522] By the late 1820s, the American Peace Society merged a number of state and local societies from New York, Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts under its umbrella. Ballou mentions later that his first thoughts on non-resistance came from "persons of high character and of a generous, noble, philanthropic spirit."[523] One of these individuals was likely Samuel J. May. May played a significant role in founding the New England Anti-Slavery Society with William Lloyd Garrison, and probably recruited Ballou into the reform movement during their affiliation with Restorationism. Abolitionism and American non-resistance became closely

---

[519] Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 14.
[520] Adin Ballou Journal entry (June 17, 1838) in *Autobiography*, 301.
[521] Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 4.
[522] Edwin D. Mead Introduction in David Low Dodge, *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ* (Boston, MA: International Union Ginn& Company, 1905), v.
[523] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 306.

intertwined as a guiding principle to free the slave until the early 1850s.[524] Non-resistance was one of the offshoots that branched out from abolitionism.[525]

By the autumn of 1838, Ballou entertained Garrisonian principles of non-resistance and participated in the first meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society. In September 1838, Garrison, during a special peace convention in Boston with members of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the American Peace Society, rallied radical reformers to adopt his philosophy of non-resistance that distanced itself from the American Peace Society and Anabaptist thought. Even though the American Peace Society changed its Constitution in May, 1836 to include an article that stated the Society's guiding principle was "that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel,"[526] aligning with Garrison's belief, the third article that remained in the constitution frustrated him and led in part to the formation of his splinter society. Article three indicates that "persons of every denomination, desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of the society."[527] These two articles attempted to placate both sides of the peace agitators. The third article appeased the wide spectrum of those agreeing to the peace opinion who also remained partial to defensive wars, armed police, and obedience to civil authorities, while the second sought to attract young peace men like Garrison to the movement. He no longer could find common ground with moderate non-resistants, like William Ladd the founder of the American Peace Society, whose primary objective was to eliminate the institution of war rather than require all members to accept absolute non-resistance. Despite Ladd's belief in the pacifist teachings of Christ in the New Testament, Ladd desired a "big tent" organization that included politicians and military men.[528] Garrison became weary of the American Peace Society's belief in United States constitutional governance, and the comingling of associates who did not make non-resistance a priority for all phases of life be it personal or political. Garrison warned a fellow reformer in 1837, "Do not make the American Peace Society and its auxiliaries your pattern. They are radically defective in principle, and based upon the sand."[529]

During the three day convention, Garrison garnered support from the fiery Quakeress and women's rights activist Abby Kelley, and other famous reformers such as, Amos Bronson Alcott, Maria Weston Chapman, Stephen Symonds Foster, Samuel J. May, Henry C. Wright, and Ballou. He, along with the other initial delegates of the newly proposed New England Non-Resistance Society, debated what resolutions should be drafted for a new society that would take non-resistance to the radical level Garrison desired. A committee of nine headed by Garrison drafted a Constitution and a Declaration of Sentiments, although there is evidence that indicates Garrison possibly drafted a

---

[524] Peter Brock, *Freedom from War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 58.
[525] Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*: *Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 56-57.
[526] Unknown Author, "American Peace Society Constitution," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 1, no. 3 (December, 1837): 120-21.
[527] Ibid, (June 1837).
[528] Brock, *Freedom from War*, 50.
[529] Garrison to Orson S. Murray, August 11 1837, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, ed. Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 278-79.

declaration prior to the meeting.[530] Ballou, did not initially sign on to the tenets of the declaration and postponed his signature until 1839 to the document which Garrison declared as the most "fanatical or disorganizing instrument penned by man. It swept the whole surface of society, and upturned almost every existing institution on earth . . . . It will make a tremendous stir, not only in this country, but, in time, throughout the world."[531] The document announced the New England Non-Resistants non-allegiance to the United States and "any human government." Any appeal to "patriotism to revenge any national insult or injury" was unthinkable to this new group of non-resistants whose country was "the world" and countrymen "all mankind."[532] Ballou wrote in a letter to Maria W. Chapman six months after the meeting that he became a "thorough convert to the non-resistance principles, though not without a hard struggle of mind."[533] Once Ballou signed the document in 1839, like Garrison, Ballou no longer aligned himself with United States' governance and began a life of radical non-resistant civil disobedience.

THE NEW ENGLAND NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY

The new organization did not receive the applause of fellow New Englanders. It appears that only one periodical, the *Telegraph* from Vermont wrote anything supportive of the movement. The *Christian Examiner* and the *Universalist Quarterly* were among the newspapers lambasting the ideas of the radical reformers. Arthur Tappan, a wealthy businessman and abolitionist returned his copy of the first edition of the *Non-Resistant* (The New England Non-Resistance Society's periodical) and refused to take part in any group that was "instrumental in disseminating non-government sentiments." Amasa Walker, president of the Boston Temperance Society, believed in non-resistance principles but could not see the propriety of refusing allegiance to the United States. William Ladd in private correspondence with Garrison explained the overall antipathy towards some of the NENRS's sentiments. In regard to the allowance of women to hold positions of authority in NENRS, Ladd explains, "As to the 'woman question,' I frankly avow that so great is my respect for the gentler sex, that I am inclined to look with a partial eye on their whims and fancies . . . . Woman was formed to persuade, rather than to command, and she cannot do both. She must relinquish either one or the other." Despite Ladd's belief in "nine tenths of the resolves passed"[534] by NENRS "there is such a thing as going beyond the millennium . . . . I ardently wish that you and your friends would return within the circle . . . to advance known and partially acknowledged truths, than to spend your time and energies in exploring far distant and unknown regions of speculations." Ladd's valediction indicates

---

[530] See Edmund Quincy to Garrison, August 10, 1838, *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 223-24.
[531] Garrison to Helen Eiza Benson, September 22, 1838, *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 228-29.
[532] Unknown Author, "Declaration of Sentiments," (Boston, MA: Peace Convention, 1838), 1. https://archive.org/details/DeclarationOfSentiments.
[533] Adin Ballou to Maria W. Chapman March 18, 1839, in *The Liberator* vol. 9, no. 31 (August 2, 1839): 124. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[534] Arthur Tappan, in Merle E. Curti, "Non-Resistance in New England," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January, 1929): 47, 77.

his loyalty is both with the gospel and the nation, "Yours, in the bonds of National and scriptural peace."[535]

Notwithstanding the backlash from fellow reformers, Garrison, Ballou, and other members of NENRS forged ahead with their small band of non-resistants. One year after the Declaration of Sentiments was signed, the first annual meeting of the NENRS was held on September 25-28 in 1839 in Boston. The structure of the meeting was loose with ample time given to anyone who desired to give proposals or offer opinions on questions of non-resistance. Ballou was very vocal at the meeting and his impromptu remarks were later published in a pamphlet titled "Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments." NENRS spread this tract throughout New England in 1839. In it, Ballou explains the liberality of the attendees. "We are of various religious connexions, and have not only different opinions on many points, but different modes of thought and expression," but are bound by "that grand virtue of Christianity [non-resistance] without which all others become practically unfruitful." He expresses frustration with "hearing opinions" contrary to his own, but believes the principle of free inquiry is "a sure presage of the triumph of truth over all our errors, whatever they may be, or whatever may hold them."[536] Similar to other reform meetings, there were boisterous arguments and agitators. Abigail Folsom, "that flea of conventions"[537] was carried out of the hall by two "stout nonresistants" after "patience was lost" with her "loquacious" rants.[538] Despite the unrest at times and the lack of gaining new converts, Garrison deemed the meeting a success and wrote to his brother-in-law, George W. Benson, "Our Non-Resistance Convention is over . . . and the peace and blessing of heaven have attended our deliberations. Such a mass of free mind [sic] as was brought together I have never seen before in any one assembly . . . there was much talent, and a great deal of soul."[539] Ballou, Garrison, Abby Kelley, Henry C. Wright, and those in attendance committed to the cause despite their disagreements.

The NENRS sought to unite the various non-resistant beliefs showcased by the diverse signatories of the NENRS and reply to the broader public who viewed members of the NENRS as anarchists. NENRS used Ballou's treatise *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments*, as its quasi-doctrinal defense to both outsiders and insiders. Quincy believed Ballou's writings provided "the best explanation of the true nature of non-resistance principles, and the most effectual reply to the most common objections, that we have yet seen."[540] To outsiders, Garrisonians and non-resistants

---

[535] William Ladd to William Lloyd Garrison, November, 7, 1838 in John Hemmenway, *The Apostle of Peace: Memoir of William Ladd* (Boston, MA: American Peace Society, 1872), 75, 77.
[536] Adin Ballou, *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments* (Boston, MA: Non-Resistance Society, 1839), 3. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[537] Ralph Waldo Emerson in George Willis Cooke, *Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Life, Writings, and Philosophy* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2003), 93.
[538] Peter Brock, *Radical Pacifists in Antebellum America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 125-126
[539] William Lloyd Garrison to George W. Benson, in Brock, *Radical Pacifists*, 126.
[540] Edmond Quincy quoted in *Non-Resistant* (June 1, 1839), 3. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

appeared to advocate "No-Government." James G. Briney, an abolitionist and politician in Kentucky, argued that those affiliated with Garrison threatened "to renew, under the sanction of religion, scenes of anarchy and license that have generally heretofore been the offspring of the rankest infidelity and irreligions . . . . 'No-Government' theory is but a new growth of one of the fungi which sprung up in the Reformation."[541]

Among the NENRS were proponents of "no-organizationism" including Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, an anti-slavery newspaper in New England. Rogers saw any hierarchical structure as coercive including the presence of leaders at supposed non-coercive societies such as the NENRS. Henry Clapp Jr., another non-organizer explained the impulse as seeing "nothing of the beauty of order in a gathering of men and women, each of whim is bitted, and bridled, and kept in check, by an officious chairman."[542] Ballou refuted the claims of anarchy by the outside and attempted to persuade the non-organizers from within that without some structure their efforts would collapse.

Ballou's treatise on non-resistance attempts to placate outsiders' views on the principle and thoroughly explain the merits of non-resistance. His pamphlet attempts to give NENRS a candid and thoughtful response to three questions that long were debated among peace advocates, namely, "What is human government? What is divine government? [and] What is the object of non-resistants with respect to human government?" The last inquiry occupies the majority of the tract and quickly Ballou indicates arguably the most urgent sub-question related to the primary for those espousing non-resistance. "Is it their object to purify it [government], to reform it?"[543] This question loomed large in the minds of the close knit band of reformers in New England, of which Garrison was a prominent figure. All of the members of NENRS were members of various reform movements whose activities sought to not only reform each individual but the government by the passage of laws and the election of just officials determined to uphold democratic principles. However, the NENRS proclaimed in its Declaration of Sentiments their refusal to "repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority . . . neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity."[544] Did this principle require non-resistants to refrain from reforming the government? According to Ballou, this sentiment forbade non-resistants to:

> take any part in the management of its [government] machinery. We can neither fight for it, legislate in it, hold its offices, vote at its elections, nor act any political part within its pale. To purify, to reform it – if such were our object – we must actively participate in its management. Moreover, if human government, properly so called, is what I have shown it to be, there can be no such thing as purifying it. Where there is nothing but dross, there is nothing to refine.[545]

---

[541] James G. Briney quoted in *Non-Resistant,* (June, 1, 1839), 1.
[542] Henry Clapp Jr., *The Pioneer: Or Leaves from an Editor's Portfolio* (Lynn, MA: J.B. Tolman, 12 Exchange-St., 1846), 152. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[543] Ballou, *Non-Resistance in Relations to Human Governments*, 5, 8.
[544] "Declaration of Sentiments."
[545] Ballou, *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments*, 9.

In essence, Ballou believed non-resistants were required to abstain from any attempt by reformers to purify the United States Government. Members of NENRS who were members of other societies, including himself, needed to remain active participants in the various reform movements to help persuade and teach non-resistance principles, however, to believe that their efforts to reform society would lead to a more just government was folly. For Ballou, government was a "necessary evil" to those "who will not be in willing subjection to the divine,"[546] and by exemplifying "christian non-resistance," other reformers would be persuaded to join their ranks. Ballou later preferred to speak of "no Anti-Christian governmentism" rather than the polemic "no-governmentism" slogan adopted by opponents of Garrison. Non-resistance was not a call for a legal, physical, or anarchic revolution, but a spiritual revolution to encompass the United States through individual conversions to the principles of non-resistance.[547]

How Ballou came to the "Anti-Christian governmentism" in regard to non-voting and non-participation was different to traditional pacifists. Ballou, like Anabaptists, viewed voting and paying certain taxes, especially those that were used to support the military, contrary to Christ's teachings. By voting, Ballou believed one participated indirectly to the atrocities performed by the government, such as upholding slavery. However, when it came to being active in the reform movements, Ballou differed from Anabaptists and Quakers. For Anabaptists, such as the Mennonites and the Amish, non-participation in government and the reform movements, such as the anti-slavery societies, was easily adopted based on their two-kingdom worldview. Obviously, God's divine purposes could be realized in the present, but only within the church, not outside of it. By attempting to improve society through the reform movements, or improving the government by participatory methods, one failed to recognize that God's kingdom could not be co-mingled with governments or societies led by people. Quakers, who also were pacifists, differed from Anabaptists in regard to participation in the reform movements. They were active and played a large role in the formation and spread of the reform movements. Quakers came from English Calvinist traditions, who believed it was possible for all of society to be brought into conformity with God's will if only true believers became leaders and legislatures. Their active participation was essentially mandated by their faith tradition.[548] Ballou, however, did not come to his non-governmentism beliefs through his affiliation with a particular denomination or Christian tradition, therefore he easily remained active in reform movements and sought to improve governmental institution without believing he was in defiance with Christianity. Ballou does not believe society through governmental means can become purified, yet he continued his participation in the reform movements that advocated legislation to rid the nation of slavery and alcohol. He remained an advocate of reform and viewed the movements and their aspirations as the offspring of true

---

[546] Ibid, 10.
[547] Adin Ballou, *Learn to Discriminate*, (Non-Resistance Tract. No. 2, 1850), 3-7, 11. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[548] James O. Lehman and Steven M. Nolt, *Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil War* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 31.

Christianity, however, attempting to establish God's kingdom on earth through governmental means was folly. Ballou's non-resistance and participation in government was somewhere in between both traditions.

The NENRS continued its efforts to display their radicalism. Another tract sent out by the NENRS particularly showcased its attempts to excite public opinion of its activities. *Evils of the Revolutionary War*, written anonymously but later attributed to Charles K. Whipple, showcased the radicalism of the NENRS. It appears that the NENRS used this pamphlet to temper United States nationalism among converted Christians. If Christ forbade his followers to resist evil with violence, as the NENRS claimed, "Then the war which gained American Independence, our glorious Revolutionary war, was wrong!"[549] This declaration by Whipple spit in the face of military heroes and national legends including George Washington. By beginning with a violent revolution to British atrocities, revolutionaries established a government based on suppressing evil with evil. Because of this war, other American inhumanities, including slavery, were easily justifiable for the "greater good" of the public. For Whipple, the actions of the revolutionaries were similar to other revolutions throughout the world and the "rightfulness" of such revolutions could not be "found in the New Testament."[550] "Our country," argued Henry C. Wright (another member of NENRS) "is now in a worse condition than it would have been, had there been no revolutionary war."[551] The United States government and others could not be approved by God primarily because of their reliance on coercion to maintain authority. God "never approves of human governments at all,"[552] argues Whipple.

It is unclear if Ballou initially ascribed to Whipple's denouncement of the Revolutionary War. However, by 1846, Ballou reprinted *Evils of the Revolutionary War* in the Hopedale Community Press and affirmed that no war was providentially justifiable. Ballou also did not full heartedly agree with Whipple's declaration of God's absence in governments. The formations of governments, Ballou believes, is one of God's "irrevocable ordinations . . . that all who will not be governed by Him shall be governed by one another . . . . So if men will not be governed by God, it is their doom to be enslaved one by another. And in this view, human government – defective as it is, bad as it is – is a necessary evil to those who will not be in willing subjection to the divine."[553] Ballou's understanding of government encompassed the principle of God's love by allowing the degenerate to having some governmental structure even if it is flawed. Clearly, Ballou struggled with explaining this paradox amidst the calls from fellow non-resistants that God could not have played a role in the formation of any government without being held responsible for the actions of those governments.

---

[549] Charles K. Whipple, *Evils of the Revolutionary War* (Boston, MA: New England Non-Resistance Society, 1839), 3.
[550] Ibid, 14.
[551] Henry C. Wright, "Journal and Commonplace Book," Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[552] Whipple, *Evils of the Revolutionary War*, 14.
[553] Ballou, *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments*, 10.

From 1839-40, the NENRS gained a reputation of extremism and disruption. Garrison's excitement of the society's "free mind" spirit also had consequences for the expansion of NENRS. The society became associated with self-righteousness, eccentricity, and "heretical prattle."[554] One non-resistant (name unknown) who was a Temperance advocate opposed "killing animals, and eats no animal food. Eats nothing which is the product of slave labour. His wife is heart and hand with him,"[555] wrote Henry C. Wright, one of the NENRS leaders. Ultra-vegetarianism that regarded non-injury to all creatures as an essential part of non-resistance was seen by the larger public as both bizarre and against scripture.[556] Some members of the NENRS were known as "comeouters" who displayed their opposition to war in churches by discourteously interrupting church services. Comeouters were individuals who tried and failed to reform society by using institutionalized structures from within but believed those structures represented "Babylon, the symbol of all evil governments" and protested their disillusionment by adopting anti-governmental positions such as non-resistance.[557] Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley's husband, and Parker Pillsbury, an avid abolitionist and women's rights activist, were both well known "comeouters" who tirelessly created disturbances inside church walls throughout New England promoting non-resistance principles.[558] Not only were the principles of the NENRS viewed as radical, the comeouters aggressive approach to spread the message created anger.

In the third annual meeting of the NENRS, Ballou attempted to address the problem of public relations. After "Mr. Garrison" gave the annual report to begin the meeting, Ballou rose and addressed the body. The "Report" given by Garrison, wrote Ballou "carried us back to Christ, as the origin of our cause [and] we have been shown the persecutions of its [non-resistance] advocates." However, Ballou recognized an inconsistency among the members who used aggressive tactics to promote the cause. The society's "malignant opposers" can only "be convinced of its [non-resistance] excellency when our lives shall be consistent with our principles." "Let us be sure not to injure our own cause," pleads Ballou, "and we may rest assured that no others can injure it, with whatever spirit or temper or means they may make the attempt. None can harm us, if we are following of that which is good."[559] It appears that Ballou advocated a soft form of comeouterism displayed by the fellow non-resistant C.K. Whipple, who wrote a letter to the Congregational church in Salem announcing his "coming-out" of the denomination based on his understanding of non-resistance, rather than disruption and

---

[554] Lewis Perry, *Childhood, Marriage, and Reform: Henry Clarke Wright, 1797-1870* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 38.
[555] Wright, "Journal," 38.
[556] Brock, *Freedom from War*, 82.
[557] Jay Beaman, "Introduction," in *Pentecostal and Holiness Statements on War and Peace* ed. Jay Beaman and Brian K. Pipkin, (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 36.
[558] Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 107-08.
[559] Adin Ballou's Remarks Unknown Scribe, "Non-Resistance: Third Annual Meeting of the New-England Non-Resistance Society," *The Liberator* vol. 11, no. 47 (Nov. 19, 1841), 188. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

commotion.[560] It is unclear if Foster or Pillsbury responded to Ballou's objections of their actions, and if they believed they were harming the NENRS.

At the close of the meeting, Wright rose, who from the beginning of the NENRS used his connections with various denominations and reformers to explain non-resistance principles through publications and speeches and distanced himself from Ballou's rather pessimistic outlook on members promoting the cause. Wright argued that non-resistance was rapidly progressing throughout New England because of the NENRS's efforts. "I do not believe that you are aware, my friends, of the general interest excited by our course at this moment, in New-England," declares Wright. At a meeting of the New Hampshire Non-resistance Society, of which Wright attended, "A horror seemed to pervade their minds at the idea of man's butchering his brother. That meeting has sent the discussion of non-resistance into every hamlet among the hills of New Hampshire." Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio also were being convinced of non-resistance principles, argued Wright, and the militia system in these states was "going down."[561] Though Wright admits in other quarters of the United States that "violence is increasing," his laudatory remarks suggest the NENRS's message would continue to grow in the United States despite the negative press.

The first two years of the NENRS proved fruitful, but by the end of 1843, the society was on the brink of collapse. In January, 1839, NENRS published its first edition of *The Non-Resistant*, a semi-monthly newspaper whose slogan was "RESIST NOT EVIL - - - Jesus Christ"[562] printed in bold directly under the mast-head of each issue, and sought to expound non-resistance principles from the bevy of capable writers affiliated with the NENRS and other antiwar materials from the larger pacifist leaning communities. Opponents of non-resistance also occupied columns in the newspaper with rejoinders from antiwar thinkers. This, like other newspapers of the day such as Garrison's *Liberator* and Ballou's *Independent Messenger*, used intellectually stimulating ideas from various authors to widen the conversation and perhaps garner support from a variety of free thinking individuals regardless of denominational or political identification. By 1840, the *Non-Resistant* claimed roughly one thousand subscribers, and in December, 1840, one hundred fifty copies were sent to a variety of colleges and theological seminaries.[563] Its membership appeared to be growing, but by 1841, Edmund Quincy, the chief editor, recognized an apathy growing among the NENRS whose funds were being used for other expenditures. Subscriptions were dropping and Quincy and other members of the editorial board attempted to keep the publication afloat by providing their editorial services without

---

[560] Brock, *Freedom from War*, 83.
[561] Henry C. Wrights Remarks Unknown Scribe, "Non-Resistance: Third Annual Meeting," *The Non-Resistant*, vol. 3, no. 7 (Boston, MA: March, 1839) 188. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[562] *The Non-Resistant*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Boston, MA: January, 1839). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[563] *The Non-Resistant*, vol. 2, no. 19 (Boston, MA: October 14, 1840). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

pay. By mid-1842, the newspaper collapsed and with it the most effective instrument for the society's broader influence.[564]

At the same time, Wright's extended absence to Europe proved problematic. From 1841-43, the NENRS lost its finest propagandist and grass-roots organizer. Garrison in a letter to Wright, who was in Dublin at the time, pled with him to return to the movement in 1843. "We miss you prodigiously. Little has been done, directly, to promote the heaven-born cause of non-resistance since you left." Garrison, along with many members of the NENRS, were reabsorbed into the abolitionist movement and could not productively promote the cause. During the annual meeting in 1843, Quincy declined to act as President, probably due to the lack of funds for the *Non-Resistant*, and "Adin Ballou was chosen in his place . . . . We hope that Adin Ballou will be induced to act as a lecturing agent for a considerable portion of the year,"[565] Garrison explains to Wright. Garrison, and other members of the NENRS, recognized Ballou's unwavering belief in non-resistance by 1843 evinced by his Hopedale utopia, and Garrison during the annual meeting of the NENRS on October 29-30 in 1844, explained Ballou's "lectures on the subject have been frequent, and he has also participated in various public discussions as to its [non-resistance] merits."[566] The aspirations for the NENRS were placed in the hands of Ballou.

Immediately, Ballou tried to resuscitate what life remained in the NENRS. He sent out invitations to various reformers to attend the meetings of the NENRS. These requests were printed in newspapers throughout New England bidding all "friends of peace" to come.[567] In a call to all abolitionists and social reformers, Ballou re-established the *Non-Resistant*. With the recommendation for its resurrection by the NENRS, he published the first edition of the new *Non-Resistant*. "Are you glad to see it resumed?" writes Ballou, and more importantly, "Are you willing to support it . . . and will you contribute a reasonable portion of your pecuniary, intellectual and moral means to bring it before the public?" The new version, akin to the former, would be "open to inquiries, objections and arguments from decent opposers," but its mission consists of defending "the principles and practice of Non-Resistance as taught and exemplified by Jesus Christ."[568] For two years, Ballou edited the *Non-Resistant,* but by 1847 its financial support waned among the NENRS and without a steady flow of new subscribers the *Non-Resistant* failed again. Its subscribers were absorbed by Ballou's *Practical Christian* publication.

---

[564] *The Non-Resistant*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Boston, MA: June 29, 1842). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[565] William Lloyd Garrison to Henry C. Wright, *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison vol. 3 1841-1849* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 237-38.
[566] Garrison in "Non-Resistance: Annual Meeting. Report," *Liberator* vol. 14, no. 45 (November 8, 1844), 180. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[567] Adin Ballou, "Advertisement 2 - - No Title," *Prisoner's Friend: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Criminal Reform, Philosophy, Science, and Literature*, vol. 1, no. 28 (October 8, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[568] Adin Ballou, "Friends of Non-Resistance," *The Non-Resistant*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1, 1845), 1. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

The NENRS also saw a brief up-tick in its influence after James K. Polk declared war on Mexico in 1846. This was seen by the NENRS as an aggressive act primarily to expand slavery. Even moderate peace activists, such as the poet James Russell Lowell and Henry David Thoreau called the war a crime.[569] Ballou went further, advocating the immediate failure of United States troops and prophesied, "Mark the prediction. - Your success will be the ruin of your country."[570] Fellow non-resistants, Quincy and Garrison expressed similar sentiments. Quincy hoped "that we shall be well licked"[571] by the Mexican army and Garrison "as a matter of justice" said, "I . . . desire the overwhelming defeat of the American troops, and the success of the injured Mexicans."[572] Ballou also explained his blamelessness in the United States' war with Mexico.

Notwithstanding the revival of non-resistance during the Mexican-American War, its leading members, including Garrison, spent most of their time in other causes leading up to the Civil War. By 1847 all NENRS activities were absorbed into the Hopedale Community where the principles of non-resistance were practiced by Ballou's community dedicated to non-resistance. He hoped to provide an outward manifestation of the practicality of non-resistance to the increasing tumult in the United States leading up to the Civil War.

BALLOU'S CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE

While Ballou struggled to maintain cohesion in the NENRS, his belief in non-resistance as a guiding principle in all aspects of life expanded. The Hopedale Community became the bastion of non-resistance in New England producing numerous pamphlets and tracts on the subject throughout New England. A popular hymn in Hopedale written by Ballou and sung by children at the Hopedale schools, showcases how imbibed Hopedale became in non-resistance and helps explain Ballou's conversion to its principles:

> 1 When first the Non-resistant name
> Struck my astonished ear,
> I thought the thing an open shame,
> And scarce withheld a sneer:
> I knew not then my Savior's love
> Reflected from the cross
> That love, that Non-resistant love,
> Which triumphed on the cross.
> 2 But wiser thoughts pursued the them,
> Till I at length perceived,
> 'Twas not, indeed, the idle dream
> I blindly had believed:
> I faintly viewed my Savior's love
> Reflected from the cross

---

[569] Brock, *Freedom From War*, 90.
[570] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christian* (May 8, 1846). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[571] Edmund Quincy in Lawrence J. Friedman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 204.
[572] William Lloyd Garrison in Ibid.

That love, that Non-resistant love,
Which triumphed on the cross.
3 With clearer vision soon I saw
A principle profound,
Which magnified the royal law,
And healed its deepest wound:
O then I felt my Savior's love
Reflected from the cross
That love, that Non-resistant love,
Which triumphed on the cross.
4 I laid my carnal weapons by,
And quit the warrior's art,
Resolved by grace I'd sooner die
Than act the murderer's part:
For now I felt the Savior's love
Reflected from the cross
That love, that Non-resistant love,
Which triumphed on the cross.
5 Nor could I share in government
Supported by the sword;
Nor through the ballot-box consent
To disobey my Lord:
For dearer grew the Savior's love
Reflected from the cross
That love, that Non-resistant love,
Which triumphed on the cross.
6 Nor went I more to seek redress
In courts of human law
Or claim protection in distress,
My foes to overawe:
For I could trust the Savior's love
Reflected from the cross
That love, that Non-resitant love,
Which triumphed on the cross.[573]

Ballou's flight from patriotism to non-resistance was similar to others, including Garrison, who initially viewed the founding of the United States with reverence. By using hymns, speeches, and non-resistance principles in Hopedale, children were inculcated with peace doctrines from birth. The subject of non-resistance occupied the pages of the *Practical Christian* more than any other. With articles titled, "The Non-Resistant,"[574] "The End of Violence,"[575] "A Non-Resistance Lecture,"[576]

[573] Adin Ballou, in *The Hopedale Collection of Hymns and Songs, For the Use of Practical Christians* (Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 1850), 218. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[574] Adin Ballou, "The Non-Resistant," *Practical Christian*, vol. 9, no. 9 (September 2, 1848). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[575] G.W.S., "The End of Violence," *Practical Christian*, vol. 3, no, 10 (October, 15, 1842), 43. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[576] Adin Ballou, "A Non-Resistance Lecture," *Practical Christian*, vol. 3, no. 17 (January 7, 1843). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

"Explosion of the 'Peace-Maker,'"[577] and many others, the *Practical Christian* coupled with the *Non-Resistant* flooded Hopedale with countless sermons and articles from various authors defending the non-resistance cause. Ida D. Smith, who was born in Hopedale, recalled an instance where her parents forbade her from going to the neighboring town of Milford to attend a Fourth of July celebration. Smith writes, "this was contrary to the Non-resistance principles of the Community, so when our parents were interviewed we were not allowed to join in the exercises."[578] Ballou and other non-resistants in Hopedale, successfully infused non-resistance principles into the minds and hearts of the residents of Hopedale.

In 1846, Ballou wrote his quintessential work on non-resistance, *Christian Non-Resistance, In All Its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended*. This two hundred fifty-five page "little book" sought to rectify non-resistant principles to the broader Christian public who viewed pacifist thought with contempt. The structure is similar to many of Ballou's other books in which an unknown inquirer asks questions to Ballou as the respondent. This prose creates a question and answer format that seeks to answer all the potential arguments against the principles of non-resistance. The idea is to show the reader that the author has already considered every potential question to the contrary thereby leaving the inquirer to accept the answers given.

The book contains seven chapters and Ballou admits that perhaps this book "is a book for the future, rather than the present, and will be better appreciated by the public, half a century hence, than now." This pessimistic view of the present is immediately supplanted with his post-millenialist thought, "But a better future is even now dawning, and it [*Christian Non-Resistance*] is needed to help develop the coming age of love and peace." Although these statements seem contradictory, they are consistent with Ballou's millennial thought by 1846. Hopedale broke from Christians who looked for God's kingdom to come miraculously, and Ballou recognized mankind's sinful nature as evinced throughout history. For Ballou, the "kingdom of heaven" was "within and among men" and like "leaven hid in three measures of meal" the kingdom of heaven was "destined to ferment and rectify the whole mass."[579] Ballou's book was an attempt to begin this process of non-resistance germination that he believed was destined to encompass the earth eventually.

Ballou begins his book with a method known as typology to validate non-resistance. Non-resistance he argues is "as ancient as Christianity, and as true as the New Testament."[580] This careful wording was used to situate the New Testament as authoritative in matters of doctrine and practice rather than combing both the Old and New Testaments for doctrinal support. By placing the New

---

[577] Unknown Author, "Explosion of the 'Peace-Maker,'" *Practical Christian*, vol. 4, no. 23 (March 30, 1844). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[578] Ida D. Smith in *Hopedale Reminiscences: Childhood Memories of the Hopedale Community and the Hopedale Home School* (Providence, RI: Blackstone Publishers, 2006), 26.
[579] Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance, In All Its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended* (Philadelphia, PA: J. Miller M'Kim, 1846), iii, 179. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[580] Ibid, ii.

Testament as the "law," Ballou used a method called typology that was previously employed at times by the Puritan founders of New England for biblical interpretation that placed the Old Testament in subservience to the New Testament.[581] However, unlike Puritan clergymen, such as Cotton Mather, who viewed the Old Testament as "not merely a Fellow, but a Father to the New [Testament]," and believed the New Testament was a "Sermon on the Old [Testament],"[582] Ballou, like numerous reformers, such as Garrison, disregarded the Old Testament completely in matters of doctrine and practice and did not entirely view the New Testament as a fulfillment of Old Testament. The New Testament, not only confirmed Old Testament prophecy, but was a type and shadow of things to come.

Christian reformers in the nineteenth century primarily utilized the New Testament to reinforce their positions on slavery, capital punishment, and non-resistance. If non-resistance was not explicitly commanded by Christ in the New Testament, other literalist interpretations of the New Testament can easily be dismissed. Ballou believed the "whole Bible, properly considered and interpreted, to be in a general sense the word of God. But I do not admit the Old Testament to be as clearly, fully and perfectly the word of god as the New Testament."[583] Later, in 1849, Ballou explained his position of biblical authority. He called himself a "principalian" who, like other religious liberals, rejected the plenary inspiration of the Bible, but the fundamental principles taught, especially in the New Testament, were divine.[584] Despite the humanness of the authors of the New Testament, non-resistance as explained to them by Christ could be divinely authoritative based on principle without determining the divinity or historical efficacy of the biblical authors.

After explaining the Old Testament in regard to doctrine was specious, Ballou needed to exegetically determine key passages in the New Testament as authoritative. The key passage that needed further explanation by Ballou was Matthew 5:39. This single verse spawned the term non-resistance. When Christ taught, "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,"[585] how ought one to interpret this. "What did the divine teacher mean by the word 'evil,' and what by the word 'resist,'" asks Ballou. Did Christ expect his followers to resist all forms of evil including, "Pain, loss, damage, suffered from causes involving no moral agency, or natural evil?" And didn't Christ explain to his followers to resist all forms of temptations and sins? For Ballou, the only logical and biblical meaning of this passage came in the form of inflicting physical injury "by man on man." To make this conclusion, Ballou pointed to Christ's explanation of Mosaic Law: "'Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil,' i.e. personal outrage, insult, affront –

---

[581] Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 153.
[582] Cotton Mather, *Biblia Americana*. In Phillip Reisner, *Cotton Mather als Aufklärer: Glaube und Gesellschaft im Neuengland der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH, 2012), 77.
[583] Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance*, 66.
[584] Adin Ballou, *The Bible: In its fundamental principles absolutely DIVINE. In its explicative ideas and language properly HUMAN* (Practical Christian Tracts, no. 3, Hopdale 1849), 1. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[585] Matthew 5:39, King James Version of the Holy Bible.

injury. The word 'evil' necessarily means, in this connection, personal injury, or evil inflicted by human beings on human beings."[586]

In theory and principle, non-resistance displayed Christ's love for both the penitent and the enemy, however, what most concerned Ballou and those opposed to non-resistance was of a domestic matter. How can one maintain order in a society without physical force? How could society protect itself against criminal behavior? Did non-resistance entail passivity in the face of injustice? To these difficult questions Ballou believed society needed to "discriminate between no resistance of evil at all, and non-resistance of evil with evil – injury with injury."[587] Ballou sought a middle ground between the self-defense and pacifist arguments. He argued, resisting evil needed to be in a manner pleasing to God and is man's duty, but must be "an uninjurious benevolent physical force."[588] Ballou's understanding of non-resistance determined physical restraint to be consistent with Christ's teachings in the case of lunatics, criminals, and inebriated individuals. These persons, especially criminals, needed proper treatment to reform their behavior:

> Therefore place the unfortunate being under kind keepers, and within limits where nothing but kindness and comfort will surround him . . . . Do not hurt him. Do him all the good you can. Enlighten, reform him. Look well after his physical and mental health. Never give him cause to feel that anybody but God himself punishes him. This is restraint, wholesome, benevolent restraint . . . vengeance belongeth only to God. He alone can use it without abusing it.[589]

These "asylums of kindness, peace, and useful instruction"[590] provided the sinner a chance to reform himself under the care of enlightened restrainers. If criminal behavior persists and the individual continues harming the community, a non-resistant must refrain from uninjurious force and suffer the consequences, even death at the hands of the outlaw.

Ballou's interest in Prison Reform clearly influenced his understanding of how best to rehabilitate the insane. Prison reformers, such as Dorothea Dix and Eliza Farnham, witnessed the brutality inflicted on the inmates of the state and local jails due in part to overcrowding. Those labelled "insane" were locked away in inhospitable cells where they were whipped for misbehavior and children accused of theft were jailed with adult criminals. Due to prison reformers' efforts in Massachusetts, the legislatures approved asylums for deranged individuals to receive treatment and care rather than brutality.[591] Ballou, however, believed Dix's asylum model should include all inmates, including those who were convicted of murder. Any form of violent coercion was never justified, even for the most wretched of human beings.[592] For Ballou, God's wrath was His, and the non-resistant under no circumstance could fatally injure or physically torture another human being.

---

[586] Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance*, 22.
[587] Ballou, *Learn to Discriminate*, 1.
[588] Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance*, 3.
[589] Ballou, *Learn to Discriminate*, 2.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Dorothea Lynde Dix, *Asylum, Prison, and Poorhouse*: *The Writings and Reform Work of Dorothea Dix* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 30-31.
[592] Adin Ballou, *Practical Christianity in Relation to the Superiority of Moral over Political Power* (Hopedale Community Press, 1860), 14. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

Ballou also used historically specious anecdotal stories to illustrate how non-resistance successfully reformed corrupt individuals. In one, a "coloured woman" in New York City is quietly smoking a pipe when a drunk sailor pushes her aside, "and with a pass of his hand" slaps away the pipe from her mouth. He then laughs at her expense whereupon the woman picks up the pieces of her broken pipe, "without the least resentment in her manner, and giving him a dignified look of mingled sorrow, kindness and pity, said, 'God forgive you, my son, as I do!" The sailor is "touched" by the woman's response and immediately repents "thrusting both hands into his full pockets" for money to repay the harm done and leaves her exclaiming, "God bless you, kind mother, I'll never do so again."[593] In another, a young man near Philadelphia is approached by a highwayman who demands, "Your money, or your life." The young man "leisurely and calmly" gives his enemy the money and at the same time explains to the robber the perils of such a career. Frustrated by the young man's advice the criminal shouts "Stop that preaching, or I will blow out your brains." In response, the young man replies, "Friend, to save my money, I would not risk my life; but to save you from your evil course, I am willing to die." Overcome by the young man's response, the highwayman's pistol falls to the ground and "tears began to flow . . . . I cannot rob a man of such principles," remarks the robber and the young man's money is returned.[594] These tales of penance, written by Ballou, attempted to showcase how even the most corrupted individual would not harm someone determined to practice the tenets of non-resistance. The use of these stories tried to show non-resistance as not only a method to reform the sinner but as a defensive mechanism in the face of danger.

The pragmatism of non-resistance proved to be Ballou's biggest challenge against non-resistance detractors. In Hopedale, non-resistance could easily be promulgated and followed by a band of non-resistance disciples hand-picked by Ballou and his utopian contemporaries, but outside of Hopedale, non-resistance appeared to be irrational, especially for notorious crimes, such as rape, murder, and slavery. Even members of the NENRS, including Garrison as displayed in chapter three, reluctantly accepted force to rid the nation of slavery. The events leading up to the Civil War, including John Brown's Raid, the Fugitive-Slave Act, and the Missouri Conflict, fractured non-resistance sympathizers among abolitionists. In response to abolitionists who reluctantly moved from non-resistance arguments to free the slave to armed conflict, Ballou explained his rational for remaining fixed to non-resistance tenets one year prior to the Civil War in 1861. Ballou's "Christian Non-Resistance in Extreme Cases" explains his reasons for remaining opposed to the Civil War and provides a supposed practical response to the "alleged impracticability" of non-resistance.

First, Ballou explains the "three great truths" of non-resistance to help detractors understand his position. "God," explains Ballou, "loves both his enemies and friends with a pure disinterested love, in which he continually seeks the highest good of each and all, - therefore man should do

---

[593] Adin Ballou, "How to Punish those who Injure You," *The Friend; a Religious and Literary Journal*, vol. 21, no. 49 (August 26, 1848), 391. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[594] Adin Ballou, "The Young Man Near Philadelphia," in *Christian Non-Resistance*, 147.

likewise." "All mankind," according to Ballou "are spiritual entities, destined to immortal existence beyond physical death; and therefore ought always to do that which is best for them in view of their whole existence, present and future." With this in mind, "It is best for all mankind, in view of their whole existence present and future, always to treat each other, whether friend of foe, righteous or wicked, in strict accordance with the dictates of pure disinterested love, which worketh no ill its object." These three declarations were not "assumed truths" according to Ballou, but "real truths, immutable truths, glorious truths. Consequently I believe the doctrine of Christian non-resistance is a sound, sublime, irrefutable and sacred doctrine – one never to be trampled under foot, betrayed, abandoned, or disregarded, under any pretext whatsoever." Ballou was "bound to treat" his understanding of non-resistance "accordingly, whoever else may treat it otherwise." If a doctrine be a "true and good doctrine" it must then be "true and good in extreme cases. Those are exactly the cases in which it is most needed." If Ballou could not prove the rationale of non-resistance in the face of heinous crimes, non-resistance was "wrong altogether – virtually good for nothing 'but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men' . . . . There is no middle ground."[595] One sees Ballou's desperation to convince fellow non-resistants to remain committed to the principles of the old NENRS platform signed in 1839. If non-resistance could not be proven in extreme cases, the primary message of Christ was another theory meant for a loftier sphere.

Ballou used two examples of extreme cases to argue how non-resistance is the most effective form of defense for private individuals and families. Two "well authenticated" stories in Scotland and England illustrate the practicality of using non-resistance to prevail against would be assailants. The stories of Robert Barclay, a Scottish Quaker in the late seventeenth century, and Leonard Fell an English Quaker in the mid-seventeenth century were used by non-resistants and pacifists to display the effectiveness of using non-resistance. Barclay apparently was approached by his assailant who asked for his money. With a "firm but meek benignity," he assured his assailant that he was "everyone's friend" and would kindly give him what he desired and could not be "intimidated by a deadly weapon; and then appealed to him, whether he could have a heart to shed the blood of one who had no other feeling or purpose but to do him good." Confounded by Barclay's response in the face of danger, the robber fled from his presence.[596] Ballou's retelling of the story, however, contradicts Barclay's grandson's understanding of what transpired. The grandson explains, Barclay was with his wife, brother-in-law, and Aaron Sonemans a good friend, when they were attacked by "highwaymen." One of the highwaymen pulled out a pistol and Barclay grabbed the man's arm. "The fellow, trembling, dropt the pistol out of his hand." Barclay's brother-in-law was "riffled," and Barclay's brother-in-law was shot in the leg and died a few days later. It is unclear if Ballou was aware of the account told by Barclay's grandson, but non-resistants and pacifists used the hearsay account often when faced with

[595] Adin Ballou, "Christian Non-Resistance in Extreme Cases," *Spiritual Reformer* (Hopedale, 1860): 3. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[596] Ibid, 5.

the question of how to disarm individuals who threaten your life. With Fell, the robber allegedly drug him off of his horse, rifled through his pockets, and threatened "to blow out his brains on the spot" if Fell resisted. Similar to Barclay, Fell reproved the robber and "forgave this wanton outrage on himself." Ballou writes Fell's "expostulation was so fearless, faithful and affectionate, that the robber was struck with compunction, delivered back his money and horse, and bade him go in peace."[597] This retelling is similar to George Fox's account, who was the founder of the Religious Society of Friends in England.[598]

The second scenario described by Ballou introduces non-resistance as a defense mechanism in the face of an attack on one's family. "Suppose you and your family should be attacked by a gang of vile scoundrels, who should design to commit rape, robbery and murder . . . what would you do in that case?" Ballou attempts to reason with the inquirer that even if he attempted to use violent measures against the villains, the odds of overpowering them are minute and their designs of rapine will commence after they have killed the noble defender. Instead of meeting force with force, Ballou greets his assailants after they have knocked down the door unarmed and with a "friendly look" asks, "What brings you thus into our peaceful abode? We desire to be the friends of mankind, the enemies of none. In what way can we do you good? Are you hungry, needy, suffering? What do you wish?" The villains, assumes Ballou, are left with two decisions. Either they must commence their outrage on the submissive family or leave the domicile after recognizing the family wishes nothing but their wellbeing. If, however, the assailants pursue their evil aims, Ballou believes a non-resistant should "remonstrate with all [his or her] moral energy" and yell out, "You have come to commit murder and rapine on a peaceful family who never did you any injury! Will you be guilty of such crimes!" If this does not deter the assailants, Ballou reluctantly must place himself "in front of my wife and children, and cover[s] their retreat to the best of [his] ability, shielding them from outrage with [his] body, and exerting all the unijourious force [he] possessed to protect them."[599] In Ballou's understanding of non-resistance, one is not breaking Christ's command by restraining attackers so long as this is done without physically injuring the criminal. There is room for physical force, but not injurious defense.

Ballou further radicalized himself among the broader New England public by explaining how non-resistance applies to the defense of civil society. Within every nation are all kinds of criminals and the insane. Pretending these individuals do not pose a threat to a community is simply fanciful. How then should society protect each other from members of the populace who purposefully commit crimes? Ballou believes a police force is necessary. These officers are composed of Christian non-resistants who are willing "to lose their own lives rather than kill the worst of wretches, and at the

---

[597] John Barclay, *Memoirs of the Rise, Progress and Persecutions of the People Called Quakers, In the North of Scotland* (Philadelphia, PA: Joseph and William Kite, 1835), 208, 6. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[598] George Fox, 172
[599] Ballou, "Christian Non-Resistance in Extreme Cases," 7-8.

same time strong enough to render all resistance momentary and useless."[600] Prisons would be replaced with "moral hospitals" that would detain criminals and the insane to reform them into non-resistant disciples. Ballou did not view government as an entity outside of Christianity. Ballou believed that non-resistance needed to be the guiding principle in all governmental policies on how to maintain order.

Lastly, Ballou uses the Revolutionary War to explain the fallacy of the United States' war for independence. So fixed in non-resistance was Ballou that he believed had "our revolutionary fathers" been "Christian non-resistants," and "asserted all their rights, remonstrated against all wrongs done them, and then suffered as martyrs for those rights . . . they would not only have conquered, but converted the British nation."[601] Most lives would have been spared and interestingly, Ballou argues that the Revolutionary War led to the "fixture" of slavery as an institution in the United States without any further explanation.

The continued attempts by Ballou to justify non-resistance principles to the New England public led to numerous responses from detractors. From Hopedale, Ballou continued spreading the non-resistance message through tracts and pamphlets. He was also commissioned to preach on non-resistance throughout New England, and published numerous articles on the subject in journals sympathetic to non-resistance principles.[602] This led to debates and opponents who antagonized Ballou's cherished belief. Samuel C. Loveland, a Universalist minister, described Ballou's non-resistance principles as the "ebullitions of eccentric, over zealous, undiscriminating, unsettled minds, and will consume away in their own combustability."[603] Stephen S. Foster, a fellow abolitionist condemned non-resistants who would not take up arms in defense of the slave. "It would be criminal," argues Foster, "for them [non-resistants] not to fight." Foster did not believe in the inviolability of human life like Ballou, and Foster argued that Christ, though the "wisest and best man that ever lived," was not "perfect," therefore his teachings were free to criticize.[604]

Perhaps the most poignant argument against Ballou's non-resistance came from Daniel Mann, a contemporary of Garrison and fellow abolitionist. Non-resistance did not "satisfy" Mann's mind and could not answer the question of self-defense. Mann reasoned that protecting one's own body and community was a "natural instinct" and also a "natural right." In regard to Ballou's non-resistance argument in extreme cases, Mann retorted:

> The same power which gave me a tongue to persuade and legs to run away, gave me hands capable to fight, and, so far as I can see, gave me the right to use either of these three remedies

---

[600] Ibid, 10.
[601] Ibid.
[602] Unknown Author, "Other 1 – No Title," *the Liberator* vol. 18, no. 38 (August 25, 1848), 135. See also Adin Ballou, "How to Punish those who Injure You," *The Friend; a Religious and Literary Journal*, vol. 21, no. 49 (August 26, 1848), 391. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[603] S.C. Loveland, "Reply to S.C. Loveland," *The Non-Resistant*, vol. 1, no. 7 (April, 1845): 103. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[604] Stephen S. Foster, "Non-Resistants Fighting," *New York Observer and Chronicle*, vol. 33, no. 15 (April 12, 1855), 117. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

> against wrong, according to the exigencies, of each occasion. But if it can be shown that it is morally wrong to use force for self-protection in any case, then my hands are debarred from a main resource, though my tongue and feet may still be left free.[605]

For Mann, if God gave human beings the propensity to defend oneself and the defenseless, were not the non-resistants conjecturing Christ's teachings of non-resistance to be applied in every facet of life? "The Arguments or authority drawn from Scripture," argues Mann "are not likely to dispose of this question."[606] Scripture, taken as a whole, did not categorically defame self-defense, therefore Ballou's use of the Bible as the primary source for defending non-resistance was specious. Mann believed Ballou and other non-resistants hid behind a few passages of scripture to defend non-resistant principles. Mann ascribed to the maxim coined by Horace Greeley in regard to the Bible, namely, "Never to bring in a divinity for a purpose not absolutely necessary."[607] The mouth and the legs were not the only apparatuses given to human beings as defense. In the cases of slavery and self-defense, God gave individuals fists to settle disputes that could not be solved in any other way. Mann, similar to Ballou, used common sense reasoning to authorize his claims. Simply using the Bible as the only source of authority could not solve the immediate problem of self-defense and slavery for Mann.

Despite the detractors, Ballou continued vociferously defending non-resistance to reformers and continued teaching its principles in Hopedale schools. Non-resistance became Ballou's North Star on how to respond to the challenges presented in his utopia, and he believed non-resistance was the foundation on which the outside world needed to build. As the Civil War approached in 1861, even Ballou may not have foreseen the destruction it would cause to those sympathetic to his pleas.

NON-RESISTANCE AND THE CIVIL WAR

Prior to the first shots fired on April 12, 1861 by Confederate forces upon Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor in South Carolina, Ballou recognized the war drums were beating. Although his utopian community failed to achieve its goals, and was transformed into a rural village in Massachusetts by 1861, Hopedale remained a champion of non-resistance. Ballou's beloved periodical the *Practical Christian* published its final issue a year prior to the Civil War after twenty years of existence, leaving him without a textual vehicle to proclaim his non-resistance principles. Repentantly, Ballou explains in his "Editorial Farewell" that he has "written some things which need amendment, and which he would correct if he had the opportunity," however, in regard to non-resistance and theological reform, "The divine imperiality of TRUTH and LOVE must be uncompromisingly reverenced."[608] Roughly three months prior to Fort Sumter, Ballou predicted the South's secession and understood a Civil War was imminent. He recognized the hopes of the slaves

---

[605] Daniel Mann, "The Non-Resistance Principle," *Liberator*, vol. 30, no. 11 (March 16, 1860), 44. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[606] Ibid.
[607] Horace Greeley quoted in Ibid.
[608] Adin Ballou, "Editorial Farewell," *Practical Christian*, vol. 26, no. 20 (April 14, 1860). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).

rested on the backs of the Union soldiers, but was unable to support the North. "There is uncertainty and crooked purpose in war,"[609] and it came with the price of corrupting the souls of everyone involved, including those who did not take up arms, argued Ballou.

Without the support of the abolitionist movement that primarily adopted the motto "peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must,"[610] Ballou became indifferent and largely non-existent within abolitionist circles. However, he hoped that his "peace breathing doctrines" would continue to influence his own flock and individuals sympathetic to non-resistance in New England. With "the influx of strangers" that relocated to Hopedale after its collapse, Ballou's cherished non-resistance principles began to be seen as unreasonable to many in Hopedale. "We may yet be pointed at with the finger of scorn as fogies and fossils, clinging tenaciously to a superannuated Christ and a dead past," pronounced Ballou, and if the day comes when Hopedale is no longer a bastion of non-resistance, "then, with our organization remaining still intact, we may purchase us a new location, pack up our archives, take our sacred fire, and bid adieu to this valley – carrying with us all of Hopedale, that represented its primal past."[611] Even in Hopedale, Ballou's spiritual leadership began to be questioned based on his insistence that Hopedalians needed to remain non-participants in the Civil War.

The war spirit was budding in Hopedale during the beginnings of the Civil War. By July 1861, there were roughly fifty remaining members of the once promising Practical Christian Republic, however, there were rumblings within the flock by those adopting war as a means to free the slave. Fearing non-resistance principles were floundering in his village, Ballou passed a series of resolves resurrecting Hopedale's initial cherished principle of non-resistance by the founders in 1840. Those desiring further fellowship needed to sign the pledge of peace. Eleven refrained from agreeing to the old platform, including the highly influential, founding member, and Ballou's close friend George Draper.[612] He admitted to Ballou, that he was "not in spirit or feeling or practice or purpose a Non-Resistant."[613] His son William volunteered for the war in September 1861. Three other members volunteered to work with freed slaves in Port Royal, South Carolina, but were denied by Edward Pierce, who was commissioned to establish schools and help acclimate freed slaves into the Union. Pierce wanted freed slaves at Port Royal to become healthy citizens and the three volunteers from Hopedale would take away what "little manhood left them [freed slaves] by inculcating the doctrine of non-resistance."[614] Even in Hopedale, Ballou recognized that despite his twenty years of defending

---

[609] Ballou, "Christian Non-Resistance in Extreme Cases," 71.
[610] Fernando Wood "Speech," *New York Times*, January, 8, 1861 in John Chodes, *Abe Lincoln's Secret War Against the North* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2015), 11.
[611] Adin Ballou, "Remarks . . . at the Annual Meeting of the Hopedale Community," in *Hopedale Community Record Book No. 2*, January 12, 1859, 6-8.
[612] Spann, *From Commune to Company Town*, 150.
[613] George Draper quoted in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 429.
[614] Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1964), 48. & E.L. Pierce to Charles Sumner, March 20, 1862, Charles Sumner Papers, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

both the logical and divine merits of Christ's peace commands, in the case of the Civil War even some closest to him could not remain loyal to non-resistance in this particular situation.

After losing Draper's commitment to non-resistance, Ballou attempted again to re-entrench those partial to his beliefs within Hopedale and throughout New England. Ballou continued publishing articles, preaching, and lecturing on the subject during the Civil War. In 1862, Ballou denied any connection with Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and resolved by a unanimous vote "to be in the future on guard 'against all solicitations' of that sort."[615] This stance on Lincoln's commitment to defeat slavery differed from Garrison and other abolitionists, who applauded and some wept, believing the proclamation was the initial step to defeat slavery.[616] Ballou could not find any hint in the proclamation to immediately emancipating slaves without force, thus Lincoln's signing of the proclamation violated Christ's admonition of non-resistance according to Ballou. He was particularly frustrated by fellow New England preachers who believed that using physical force was a divine commandment in the cases of self-defense and defensive war.

Ballou's polemical approach to refute detractors fell upon the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, the son of the famed Calvinist minister Lyman Beecher in a "review" of Henry's sermon printed in the *Independent* in 1861. In it, Beecher explains elements of non-resistance that are inconsistent with the Gospel. "The world has been very much divided in opinion as respects the doctrine of combating," explains Beecher, and, "There have been great many non-combatants in the world, who have supposed that physical force and physical violence were inconsistent with a radical conception of Christianity."[617] According to Beecher, Christianity only forbids physical force and physical violence when they are "vengeful; where they proceed merely from the impulse of cruelty; where they seek a selfish end, and originate in a selfish motive." When physical violence or force springs from "affection, or from moral sentiment, they not only are tolerated, but are commanded, by the whole spirit of Christianity . . . . I despise the whole idea of non-resistance. It is false to manhood, and essentially false to Christianity."[618] Sarcastically, Ballou retorts:

> Mr. Beecher holds that physical violence even the most deadly force, against deliberately offending and violent fellow men is right, is Christian, and befits the perfect Christian man; provided only that it be not "revengeful," "cruel," nor "selfish" . . . . Alas for his proviso! . . . . Only he must bully and kill the "scoundrel" in "love," "from affection," without any "selfish motive," under "the control of the moral faculties!" Most sublime ethics![619]

---

[615] Spann, *From Commune to Company Town*, 150. See also the Hopedale Community, *Record Book no. 2*, January 8, 1862. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[616] Fanny Garrison Villard. "How Boston Received the Emancipation Proclamation," *The American Review of Reviews* (February, 1913). In Tonya Bolden, *Emancipation Proclamation: Lincoln and the Dawn of Liberty* (New York, Abrams, 2013), 111. See also, William Lloyd Garrison, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, vol. 5 1861-1867*, Edited by Walter M. Merrill (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 114.
[617] Henry Ward Beecher, "Extract" in Adin Ballou, *Christian Non-Resistance Defended Against Rev. Henry Ward Beecher* (Hopedale, MA: 1862), 3. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections (Hopedale, Mass.).
[618] Ibid.
[619] Ibid, 7-8.

Beecher's explanation of the Christian man's duty to defend and support the oppressed by physical force and to free the slave was seen by Ballou as contrary to scripture. In his review, Ballou points to numerous passages in the Bible that represent the apostles and Christ as non-resistants in the face of immediate and communal danger. By 1862, Ballou believed "Perfect Christianity" required non-injurious uses of force and if those methods failed, one must suffer even as Christ suffered. "So he [Christ] died praying for his enemies," writes Ballou, "leaving us an example that we should follow his steps."[620] Beecher's comments and Ballou's review explain the theological struggle between various preachers and clergymen throughout New England on Christ's teachings of non-resistance.

Ballou and those remaining in Hopedale who committed to non-resistance largely remained outside of the conflict until the end of 1862. However, in the summer of 1863, John Heywood, was drafted into the Union army. The "Enrollment Act" passed by congress in March 1863, forced all males between the ages of twenty and forty-five who intended on remaining United States citizens, eligible for the Union army. There were two exemptions, a payment of $300 or finding a substitute draftee.[621] Ballou and William Heywood, John's father, petitioned the government for an exemption based on religious grounds similar to the Quakers, Mennonites, and Shakers pleas for immunity. The government balked at Ballou and William's request, and Ballou was left with two questions, namely, should John civilly disobey the order and go to jail, or should the community, which was financially struggling, pay the $300? Ballou's understanding of non-resistance viewed existing human governments, however imperfect, as a necessity for degenerate individuals, and submissively paid taxes. If Ballou and the community decided to pay the $300, they understood this money would be spent to support the war effort, thus going against their higher peace principles, but maintaining the advice given by Christ to "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's."[622] It is unclear, but Ballou likely viewed the $300 as another tax he and others were required to tribute. After "considerable hesitancy and discussion," the $300 was paid. In a letter signed by John Heywood and written by Ballou, the Heywood's along with the Hopedale non-resistants explained their position and why they paid the $300. "To the governmental authorities of the United States and their constituents," begins the letter, "the undersigned, John Lowell Heywood of Hopedale . . . respectfully maketh solemn declaration, remonstrance, and protest, to wit." Although the $300 was paid to the government, Ballou used the opportunity to protest against the fine. John's dissent, was "not only for himself but also in behalf of his Christian associates and all other orderly, peaceable, tax-paying, non-[in]juring subjects of the government of whatever denomination or class." The money was given as a subjection to "the powers that be," and viewed as an "infraction" of "natural and indefeasible rights as a conscientious, peaceable subject."[623] This approach differed from some Anabaptist traditions, such

---

[620] Ibid, 14.
[621] Eugene C. Murdock, *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North* (Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971), 197.
[622] Matthew 22:21, King James Version of the Holy Bible.
[623] John Lowell Heywood to Governmental Authorities, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 450-51.

as the Mennonites and Amish, who refused to pay any amount of money in the form of taxation. To do so, would be supporting the Civil War, of which they opposed. Although there were some Mennonites who fought for the Union and the Confederacy, and others in Ohio and Indiana who paid a $200 commutation fee or hired substitutes to avoid service, most Mennonites and Amish remained true to their spiritual convictions despite the turbulent conditions of the Civil War.[624] In hindsight, Ballou regretted their decision to pay the $300. "I have since feared that we acted wrongfully in the matter . . . . I do not recommend a repetition of our course in future cases of a similar sort."[625] Ballou and John's father chose to give in to governmental pressure instead of letting one of their own be imprisoned.

The Civil War also brought wealth to the Draper brothers leading to Ballou's loss of spiritual control in Hopedale. By 1864, government orders for military clothing reinvigorated the Drapers' textile mill that no longer was part of the Practical Christian Republic. Money flooded into the community leading to Hopedale becoming the stronghold of industry through the Drapers, rather than the province of Ballou's non-resistants. The war led to the closing of the Hopedale Home School where students were inculcated with non-resistant tenets. Even Ballou's daughter and son-in-law left Hopedale during the Civil War to find employment elsewhere. By Ballou's sixty-second year in 1865, his once commanding influence over the Hopedale inhabitants diminished. The old community was absorbed by the wealth and promises of the new Union.

When the Civil War ended, Ballou recognized that despite his prophecy in the early months of the Civil War that predicted non-resistance principles would expand after the war, non-resistance did not maintain its once doctrinal or practical power after the war successfully freed the slave. In 1866, Ballou responded to the call by other radical pacifists and non-resistants to meet in Boston to organize the Universal Peace Society, later called the Universal Peace Union in 1868. Ballou, William Heywood, and Anna Draper from Hopedale, were part of the organizing committee that opposed the larger American Peace Society, which focused on preventing international war and supported Union troops during the Civil War. The Universal Peace Society completely espoused pacifism and maintained, "War is a sin against God and opposed to the best interests of mankind, and its immediate abandonment is alike a religious duty, the wisest expediency and an imperative necessity."[626] Similar to the former Garrisonian non-resistants prior to the Civil War, the society disavowed all "defensive wars" and sought to spread their influence by the non-coercive methods of printing, preaching, and lecturing. In 1867, Ballou prepared two discourses in the Hopedale church that were later published by the society. "Human Progress in Respect to Religion" and "The Ultimate Convincement of Progressive Minds in Favor of the Pure Christian religion and Church," attempted to re-ignite non-

---

[624] Lehman, *Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil* War, 31.
[625] Ballou, *Autobiography*, 450.
[626] *Address of the Universal Peace Society to All Persons, Communities and Nations*, 2 in Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 926.

resistance as the most important form of Christian living that Ballou believed would revolutionize the world. This is virtually Ballou's last attempt to convince New Englanders and the United States to adopt Christ's peace principles. The Universal Peace Union, notwithstanding its fervor only garnered roughly four hundred active members and between three thousand to four thousand sympathizers in the United States. The Civil War virtually deflated the non-resistance movement. Ballou's beloved doctrines on non-resistance did not receive wide spread recognition. Not only did his cherished Hopedale Community come to an end, non-resistance seemed archaic to the newly liberated United States. In 1871, Ballou regrettably believed that, "Never since the great apostasy against the primitive peace doctrine of Jesus in the third century have Christian nations exhibited such devotion to military force . . . . At this moment they have more brain, muscle, science, destructive enginery, [and] pecuniary capital invested in the war system than ever before."[627]

A GLIMMER OF HOPE IN HOPEDALE - BALLOU AND LEO TOLSTOY

After the failure of Hopedale and the general apathy towards non-resistance among New Englanders, Ballou's sanguine hopes of restoring Christ's church throughout the world were non-existent after roughly 1872. From 1869-72, Ballou attempted one more time to explain and educate the world on his understanding of Christianity with an extended series of lectures to the public at Hopedale. The series, *Primitive Christianity and Its Corruptions,* was later published in three volumes and attempted to explain the religion taught and exemplified by Christ and how it was corrupted after his death up to the present (1872). The lectures cover a number of Christian subjects that are laced with the history of Christianity. In one of his last discourses "Discourse XXVII," Ballou describes his understanding of the prevailing Christianity in the United States after the Civil War. He believed that the sciences, practical arts, wealth, luxuries, modes of travel, intercommunication, literacy, and "aesthetic accomplishments" in the United States were laudable, however, in respect to the "prevailing morality" of Christians, Ballou sees nothing to be commended. "The nominal Christian world is in a large degree indefinite, elastic, vacillating, time-serving, conventional . . . . It lacks nerve, fiber, strength, persistency; the heroic, kingly element. It is characterized by vague generalities, and glittering sophisms, and sentimental platitudes, [and] rests on temporary expediency, on speculative utility, on respectable and refined selfishness."[628] Ballou exhaustively uses the Sermon on the Mount, and most notably the non-resistance elements of it to explain that Christians continue to only give lip-service to the tenets outlined by Christ. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good unto them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you . . . . Put up thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish by the sword . . . . The son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly

---

[627] Adin Ballou, *Primitive Christianity and Its Corruptions vol. II. Department of Personal Righteousness. A series of Discourses Delivered in Hopedale, Mass., A.D. 1870-71, by Adin Ballou* (Lowell, MA: Thompson & Hill, Printers – The Vox Populi Press, 1899), 405.
[628] Ibid, "Discourse XXVII," 394-95.

Father shall also forgive you,"[629] admonishes Christ, however the "leaders" of the "nominal Church" "proceed to treat them [non-resistance principles] as if they were only vague and glittering generalities, to explain away their evident meaning as their author intended it," frustratingly writes Ballou.

Now sixty-nine years old, Ballou's ministry occupied two pulpits in Hopedale and Milford that were affiliated with Unitarianism. He spent much of his time in the labors of a minister sermonizing, performing weddings, and giving funeral addresses. Ballou grew increasingly frustrated by the Protestant establishment's acceptance of violence as a method to establish peace and viewed the Christianity that encompassed the majority of the populace after the Civil War as repugnant to Christianity's highest ideals. The broader church, according to Ballou, left its followers with "no lofty, sublime, inspiring ideal of . . . love, peace, and joy on the earth . . . . One may laud Christ to the skies . . . but must not follow him too closely or apply his teachings."[630] Ballou seems resigned to the fact that his efforts to establish Practical Christianity had failed, and its purpose was meant for future generations. He explains, "If the present generation should fail to appreciate it [Non-Resistance] encouragingly, I shall leave the world with a comfortable assurance that future ones will hold it in higher estimation."[631]

Ballou's frustrations after the Civil War showcase the diminished role reformers played after the country was unified. The spiritual revolution that occupied the minds of New England reformers prior to the Civil War was virtually exhausted by the mid-1870s. The individual and collective action that birthed new utopias and produced Hopedale had largely dissipated with the unification of the country and the power of industrial society. Two months prior to Garrison's death on May 24, 1879, Ballou responded to a letter from his old co-reformer in regard to the present state of the United States and the current debates in the United States about Chinese immigration:

> I have learned to expect so little devotion to absolute righteousness in these professed lovers of their country and so much devotion to office, self and popular distinction, that they [politicians] cannot astonish me by any of their exploits. I have reduced to consistent practice the precept, "Put not your trust in princes." If they do right, I accept it thankfully . . . . If they play the hypocrite, knave or fool, I deem it no marvel. But I am no misanthropist or pessimist. I do not believe the human race bound to ruin & perdition; though I fear I should, if I had no faith in a supreme overruling all perfect Mind . . . . Our safety from the sins and follies of <u>human governmentalists</u>, with their blarney, <u>ballots</u> and <u>bullets</u> depends chiefly on that divine overruleenent [*sic*] which provides that they shall always be divided against themselves, so that in due time the ruling party is exposed and overmatched by their less vile rivals. Meantime the gullible multitude are made to believe that the millennium has come, or will soon come, through politicians and cannons! O how often the country is saved, or is soon to be saved, through these knights errant of <u>mammon</u> and brute force . . . . No doubt they [Chinese] have their sins and faults which need correction, but no greater ones than their adversaries. As a <u>people</u> they "have come to stay" not only for their own advantage, but for

[629] Ibid, Discourse XXVII," 394-96.
[630] Adin Ballou, *History of the Hopedale Community* (Lowell, MA: Thompson & Hill. – The Vox Populi Press, 1897), 355-60.
[631] Adin Ballou, "Article X.: Primitive Christianity," *The Universalist Quarterly and General Review* vol. 9, (April, 1872): 163. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

> that of this country and the world. Anyhow, let them be treated as human brethren. And woe to them that persecute them. They will pierce themselves through with sorrows as did the persecutors of the slaves and Indians.[632]

Ballou closes the letter with gratitude to his aging friend Garrison. On November 23, 1878, Garrison wrote a complementary letter highlighting Ballou's involvement in the reform movements and attempts to establish a community based on non-resistance. "I must not close without a grateful acknowledgement of that very kind fraternal and encouraging letter from you," writes Ballou, "I have desired and perhaps sincerely aimed to do and be what you describe; but my performances, shortcomings and failures prove me sadly deficient . . . . You have been successful in your chief life work for humanity. God bless you forevermore."[633] The praise given to Garrison indicates that despite Ballou's frustration with Garrison during the John Brown affair, both Ballou and Garrison show mutual respect for their collective attempts to move society into a state of peace. After all, Garrison played the largest role in Ballou's conversion to non-resistance that defined his Hopedale Community and Ballou himself. With Garrison's passing, and the failure of Hopedale to become the citadel of non-resistance in the world, Ballou may have found solace in Garrison's belief that Ballou's "life and pen, have exerted a widespread influence, multiplying converts and shaping human destiny. Let this be comforting to you, even though your aspirations and efforts have failed to accomplish much that you had hoped to realize before seeing the 'last on earth' and entering into rest. You will pardon me for this expression of my feelings."[634] It is unclear why Garrison attempted to comfort Ballou and how Garrison knew about Ballou's struggles, but both reformers attempted to give each other consolation during the twilight of their lives.

In 1880, at the age of seventy-seven, Ballou retired as pastor of the Hopedale Parish. Notwithstanding his frustration with the Draper brothers' role in dissolving the Hopedale Community, the Drapers gave Ballou a pension of four hundred dollars annually to sustain him for the remainder of his life. This allowed him the time to write three additional historical books and relieved him of providing pastoral duties to the community, although Ballou provided these services on a part-time basis until his death in 1890.

One year prior to Ballou's passing, he received a letter from the famed Russian author Leo Tolstoy. Early in the year 1889, Lewis G. Wilson, one of Ballou's confidants and a minister in Hopedale, read Tolstoy's books on religion including, *What I Believe*. Wilson found in them Tolstoy's belief in pacifism and wrote him enclosing a group of books and articles by Ballou on non-resistance. Tolstoy responded to Wilson thanking him for the "treatise and tracts" and commended Ballou for his explanations on Non-Resistance. Tolstoy labeled Ballou as "one of the first true apostles of the 'New Time,'" and despite "those who say that Mr. Ballou 'will not go down to

---

[632] Adin Ballou to William Lloyd Garrison, March 4, 1879. Boston Public Library, Special Collections (Boston, Mass.).
[633] Ibid.
[634] William Lloyd Garrison to Adin Ballou, November 23, 1878, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 480-81.

posterity among the immortals," Tolstoy believes Ballou, "will be in the future acknowledged as one of the chief benefactors of humanity."[635] Tolstoy, similar to Garrison, kindly gives words of consolation. "If, in his long and seemingly unsuccessful career, Mr. Ballou has experienced moments of depression in thinking that his efforts have been vain, he has only partaken of the fate of his and our Master. Tell him, please, that his efforts have not been [in] vain."[636]

After the laudatory remarks, Tolstoy explains where Ballou and his understanding of non-resistance differs and is perhaps at odds with Christ's teachings. Tolstoy does not agree with Ballou's use of non-injurous force to restrain "drunkards and insane people." He argues, "A true Christian will always prefer to be killed by a madman, rather than to deprive him of his liberty."[637] By using physical methods to restrain even the most inebriated persons, Tolstoy believed Ballou, and other non-resistants, misunderstood Christ's commission to his followers to "deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me."[638] Tolstoy's other qualms with Ballou's non-resistance were in his lack of addressing the question of property rights, and his belief that a corrupted form of government is necessary for individuals who are unwilling to follow Divine law. Property rights was the Quakers and Hopedale's "Achillles' heel" remarks Tolstoy and a "true Christian cannot claim any rights of property," and "the term 'government' (very properly defined by Mr. Ballou) cannot have any signification and reality. Government is for a Christian only regulated violence; governments, states, nations, property, churches, - all these for a true Christian are only words without meaning." Tolstoy's explanation of Ballou's non-resistance principles in this first letter was not meant to be a critique or an attempt to convince him of his errors, but was more of the hope for a mutual correspondence of ideas to widen each other's understanding of a principle they both cherished. Tolstoy ends the letter by informing Wilson to tell Ballou that Tolstoy deeply respects and loves him, and that Ballou's words on non-resistance did "great good to my soul."[639]

Lewis brought the letter to Ballou. He then read Tolstoy's book *My Religion* and responded personally to him. On January 14, 1890, Ballou wrote Tolstoy a lengthy explanation of Ballou's frustration with Tolstoy's arguments against Ballou's beliefs on non-resistance. He expresses gratitude for Tolstoy's "approval of my work on Christian Non-Resistance," and explains that Tolstoy's differences are to be expected among "free and independent minds. But I am obliged to say with the same fraternal frankness, that I am confirmed in my persuasion that on the minor points of difference between us I am in the right."[640] Exhaustively, Ballou explains through scripture and common sense his approach to non-injurious force, property rights, and the necessity for government.

---

[635] Leo Tolstoy to Lewis G. Wilson, July 1889 in *The Arena* vol. 3 no. 1 (December, 1890): 4. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[636] Ibid.
[637] Ibid.
[638] Matthew 16:24, KJV of the Holy Bible.
[639] Tolstoy to Lewis G. Wilson, 4-5.
[640] Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy, January 14, 1890, *The Dial*, vol 3, no. 1 (December, 1890): 5. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

The tone of the letter is defensive and rather scathing. Ballou clearly takes offense to Tolstoy's use of the term "True Christians:"

> You say, "True Christians will always prefer to be killed by a madman rather than to deprive him of his liberty." And by parity of reason from the same principle, I suppose you must say, a true Christian, if watching with a delirious sick man would prefer to see him kill his wife, children, and best friends, rather than restrain or help restrain him by uninjurious physical force of his insane liberty. What precept of Christ makes insane liberty thus sacred? Or what dictate of enlightened reason, humanity, or fraternal love demands such conduct towards the insane?[641]

It is unclear why Ballou took offense with the Russian. Ballou's tone is similar to the doctrinal battles of his younger life with Hosea Ballou, Garrison, and Paul Dean. Tolstoy's seemingly innocent letter to Lewis that praised Ballou was responded to with an invitation for a contemptuous theological battle. Perhaps Ballou recognized Tolstoy's international influence and hoped to convince him of the dangers in his pacifist thought. Tolstoy went against Ballou's understanding of Christianity as being "practical." As a Practical Christian, Ballou was not pleased to be told that in order to be a true Christian he ought to suffer martyrdom in order to maintain the personal freedom of deranged individuals.

A few months passed before Ballou received anything from Tolstoy. On March 26, 1890, Ballou received Tolstoy's response. His letter indicates his reluctance to engage in a theological battle with Ballou. "I will not argue with your objections," begins Tolstoy, "It would not bring us to anything." Tolstoy clarifies a few points from his previous letter and in regard to property rights inquires, "Only when I profess daringly that a Christian cannot have any property, will I not in practice come near to the ideal of Christ?" This letter is clearly an attempt by Tolstoy to bring the two sides into a relationship of mutual respect and understanding rather than attempting to focus on petty arguments. "But the differences of opinion on these subjects seem to me of little consequence . . . . I would be very grateful to you should you send me a line." The end of the letter also informs Ballou that two of his "tracts" were translated into Russian and "propagated among believers, and richly appreciated by them. With deep veneration and tender love, I remain, Your brother and friend."[642]

Tolstoy's peace offering resonated with Ballou. On May 30, 1890, Ballou responded apologetically. "I have delayed my acknowledgement of its [Tolstoy's letter] receipt much beyond my original intention. Old age slackens my activity, and you must excuse my tardiness." Ballou feared that his previous "bluntness with which [he] stated some points of dissent from [Tolstoy's] views may have seemed hardly courteous" and wished to put it behind them. The "kindness" of Tolstoy's reply and further clarifications by him respecting non-resistance put to bed their differences. "I am far from desiring controversy or argumentation concerning our wordy differences. Let them sleep." Ballou is elated by the Russian translations of his works and sends with the letter "more of [Ballou's]

---

[641] Ibid, 7.
[642] Leo Tolstoy to Adin Ballou, March 26, 1890, *The Dial*, vol 3, no. 1 (December, 1890): 10-11. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).

publications." Ballou does not expect Tolstoy to embrace all of Ballou's non-resistance teachings but hopes Tolstoy will "find time and patience to read them."[643] Although Ballou previously told Tolstoy that, "I am an old man of little distinction or fame in this world, and must soon pass into the realm of the Invisible,"[644] he is "highly gratified to know that I have a goodly few Non-Resistant brethren in Russia." Ballou informed Tolstoy that portions of his daily prayers gave thanks to "our heavenly Father that he has begotten them [Russian Non-Resistants] into this supernal faith, and that my writings minister in any degree to their edification." In the United States Ballou lamented to Tolstoy, "I wish I could report more growth of this heavenly doctrine in my own country. It is gradually leavening many minds; but the bewitching influence of worldly politics, and the temporal advantages which the old system, founded on deadly compulsion affords to multitudes of professional aspirants are almost omnipotent." Despite Ballou's lack of influence among the United States populace, in Tolstoy and his band of non-resistants, Ballou found a glimmer of hope for the principle that came to define him and gave him perhaps some solace that there was still a lonely band of non-resistants in Russia. Perhaps, thought Ballou, non-resistance would "finally be thus re-embraced."[645]

[643] Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy, May 30, 1890, in Frederic I. Carpenter, "A Letter from Tolstoy," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 4 (October, 1931): 780-81.
[644] Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy, *The Dial*, vol 3, no. 1 (December, 1890): 5. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).
[645] Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy, May 30, 1890, 780.

CONCLUSION

When Ballou's great, great, great, grandfather Mautrin emigrated to Providence, Rhode Island in the first third of the seventeenth century, he joined Roger Williams and other religious reformists who were some of the first advocates of religious freedom. Mautrin established a farm, built the "Ballou Meeting House," and began the story of the Ballou's in America. By 1803, when Ballou was born, Williams' desire for the separation of church and state arrived and was in its embryonic faze. What came during Ballou's formative years was a wave of religious movements and practice that effectually Christianized American society and the Ballou's family. His once passive father and oldest brother were caught in the religious fire that swept through Rhode Island bringing young Ballou along with them. Unlike the Puritan years of the past where obedience and acceptance of clerical authority was mandated by law, Ballou was inculcated with cries from the pulpit and the press to appeal to one's capacity to reason, to experience God, and read the Bible for oneself rather than accept and support the educated clergy. When Ballou responded to the call of his deceased brother to preach at the age of nineteen, Ballou understood that attending divinity school was unnecessary and even problematic if one desired acceptance from the public. Armed with common sense, experiential authority, and the Bible, Ballou began his ministry understanding that he was equipped to spread the Gospel in this new age of Christianity.

By 1833, every state in the union disbanded the church and state relationship. Coupled with the establishment of the free press, a new form of separatism emerged one seemingly without bounds. Without any state support, preachers and denominations were left on their own to compete in this new marketplace of Christian ideas. Preachers and prophets used the newly freed press to print an astonishing amount of tracts, magazines, books, and hymnals to spread their own versions of the gospel. Ballou's supposed fixed beliefs associated with the Christian Connexion denomination became uncomfortably challenged when bombarded with Universalist ideas. Using again his reasoning capabilities, experiential confirmations, and the Bible, Ballou accepted Universalism and became a staunch supporter of the movement. However, within Universalism schisms appeared and fractured the denomination. With every member and preacher in each denomination thinking for themselves, the sustainability of denominations was difficult. Ballou found in Universalism the same problem in the Christian Connexion – disunity. Universalism struggled to maintain cohesion from pastors and congregants who thought and experienced for themselves. Even though Ballou desired communal unity, he arguably played the largest role in the second Universalist controversy. Universalism was unable to assuage Ballou's conscience in matters of doctrine and practice, so instead of remaining with the movement, Ballou formed a splinter group with other Universalist ministers entitled the Massachusetts Association of Universalist Restorationists, hoping that this new movement would restore the perceived unity of Christ's primitive church. MAUR however proved to be another failed attempt to unify Christians under one banner. Once Ballou witnessed that highly influential ministers in MAUR, including Paul Dean, were unwilling to proclaim that the reform movements,

such as Anti-Slavery and Temperance, needed to be united with Christianity, Ballou could not remain associated with MAUR and formed yet another church. This time it would be Ballou's brand of Christianity called "Practical Christianity" that he believed would revolutionize the world and bring the peace and prosperity that remained unseen during the tumultuous antebellum era in the United States. With his small band of Practical Christian disciples, Ballou created his utopia near Boston to be the example of a society that was bound together by "true" Christianity, thus proving that Christ's teachings were moral and practical, temporal and celestial.

Ballou's utopia was filled with the spirit of reform. Instead of distancing themselves from society compared to many other utopian communities, such as New Harmony, Ballou's disciples joined and participated in virtually every reform movement. Attempts by reformers to create a temperate, just, and emancipated public showcased for Ballou that society was eager to begin the millennium. However, Ballou's affiliation with the reformers waned as the Civil War approached due to the majority of reformers' insistences that legal coercion provided the best method to combat Temperance and free the slave rather than moral suasion. In turn, Ballou's inactivity caused frustration among leading abolitionists who chastised him for supposing the reform movements ought to have been a quasi-Christian denomination. Ballou's stubbornness to accept alternative methods to free the slave, such as force of arms, was based on his own understanding of Christ's command in the New Testament that advocated non-violence. Ballou was unable to accept that abolitionism was not to be comingled with Christianity. Abolitionists' retorted, stating they had but one goal, to free the slave, not to convert the United States to Practical Christianity. Ballou's unwillingness to declare both Practical Christianity and abolitionism as mutually exclusive, led to his disenchantment with the Anti-Slavery society. Ballou remained staunch that freeing the slaves did not have providential support if done by taking up arms for emancipation.

Amidst the broader calls for reform during the antebellum period, Ballou's Hopedale community performed its labors. Their ultimate goal to establish the kingdom of God on earth began in 1840. Society was not reforming quickly enough and Ballou's social Christian experiment was one of many sprouting up in New England and the western borders. In Hopedale, ideas were discussed and debated. Numerous reformers from differing social, political, philosophical, and religious backgrounds were given the pulpit and the community press to disseminate their messages to an eager public. However, Ballou by this juncture in his spiritual journey, proved at times too practical and self-righteous to allow potentially beneficial connections to develop. Neighboring Brook Farm extended the hand of fellowship to Ballou, which would have provided Hopedale with education, finances, and outside influence, but Brook Farm's transcendental principles proved too self-serving for Ballou's Christian disciples. Although he displayed an openness to outside opinions, anything that did not sanction his understanding of Christianity was effectually silenced. Yet, Spiritualism found a haven in Hopedale. The "rappings" and other Spiritualist phenomena reignited Ballou's formative religious experiences. Once his deceased son began speaking to Ballou through a medium, Ballou

became one of Spiritualism's most prolific defenders. Spiritualism brought with it whispers from the eternal world that enabled Ballou to expand his own understanding of the celestial realm. Spiritualism provided revelatory confirmation, Ballou believed, that his Practical Christian experiment had the approval of deity. Nevertheless, Spiritualism lacked the cohesion Ballou sought after. The messengers from the eternal world brought with them innumerable revelations that led many Christians to believe these celestial visitants carried with them messages that superseded biblical authority. Ballou was grateful for Spiritualism's resurrection of his previous beliefs and approval of his contemporary ideas, but once spiritualists pushed the movement far beyond the limits of Practical Christianity, Ballou relaxed his communication with mediums. Spiritualism frustrated Ballou as much as it enlightened him.

Eventually Hopedale floundered. The once promising Practical Christian Republic was perhaps too close to the outside world as industry and wealth proved too formidable an opponent to maintain the Joint Stock Proprietorship. When the Draper brothers pulled out their stock, Ballou reluctantly understood Hopedale was over. After over twenty years of existence, Ballou failed to show the world that Practical Christianity was meant for this earth rather than the life beyond. All of Ballou's sanguine hopes disappeared with Hopedale's failure. Reluctantly, he returned to his position as a pastor, performing weddings, funeral services, and service to the community.

Ballou's lasting legacy in the historical record began in 1837 when through the reform movements he became convinced that the use of force by individuals and governments was a violation of the essence of Christ's teachings. William Lloyd Garrison's band of non-resistants, including Ballou, radicalized the American Peace Union by promoting disestablishment with the United States based on its continuation of slavery and the use of arms to maintain federal authority. Once Ballou's patriotism faltered, he became arguably the staunchest supporter of this brand of radical non-resistance. He produced tracts, newspaper articles, and wrote books defending non-resistant principles. Hopedale became the bastion of non-resistance in New England. As the Civil War approached, non-resistance advocates, such as Garrison, struggled to understand if union troops were necessary to defeat slavery after the failure of the courts to emancipate the slaves in the Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Garrison's perceived defection to just war principles, according to Ballou, frustrated him. Ballou proved to be immovable on non-resistance and instead of applying his usual "spirit" rather than the "letter" of the law method to understand doctrine and practice, he became inactive in the Anti-Slavery movement. Maintaining the ideals of Practical Christianity and the utopia he created were perhaps more important than trying to find God's approval to free the slaves by force.

Ballou's closed canon approach in regard to his version of non-resistance reached Leo Tolstoy during the twilight months of Ballou's life. Tolstoy read Ballou's teachings with enjoyment and engaged in a letter exchange with him. Initially, Ballou found Tolstoy's non-resistance impractical and even blasphemous. Ballou berated Tolstoy's approach to non-resistance. For Ballou there was no amending or debating his own brand of non-resistance. His stubbornness and even self-righteousness

proved once again that he was unable to compromise or cordially respond to someone who revered him. Ballou's non-resistance was for him commonsensically, spiritually, and biblically confirmed and anyone, including the famed Russian, who debated Ballou's non-resistance needed to be corrected. By the end of his life, Ballou believed that he had found the essence of Christianity found in his own version of non-resistance.

On Ballou's eighty-seventh birthday on April 23, 1890, he sensed his life was drawing to a close. On that day he wrote an outpouring of thanksgiving to the God he came to know during his ministry. Recognizing his ailing body, Ballou expressed his final desires to the "all-perfect God – the supreme Divine Mind,"[646] asking, "And now, Father, keep me in Thy bosom and in the guardianship of Thy holy angels during the few remaining days of my mortal pilgrimage, till the work Thou has given me to do. Then take me to the home Thou deemest suitable for me in the higher life."[647] Ballou's speech, eyesight, and pulmonary problems increased during the last weeks of his life and on his final day, Ballou asked his daughter to read to him passages in the bible and his account of a "highly gratifying séance with Rev. T.L. Harris," who was an eminent Spiritualist seer and medium in New England. At 4:45 a.m. on August 5, 1890, Ballou died surrounded by the remaining members of his family and Mrs. Sarah Jane Hatch.[648]

Word quickly spread of Ballou's death in Hopedale and New England. Tributes and condolences from numerous friends and colleagues arrived to Ballou's mourning wife, daughter, and son-in-law. William Lloyd Garrison's daughter Francis regrettably informed Ballou's son-in-law William Heywood, that she could not be present at the funeral, but she wrote that "you and your wife need no assurance of our profound respect for Mr. Ballou, or of the regret with which, as the few surviving veterans of the anti-slavery conflict pass on to rejoin their comrades, we hear our 'Moorings to the past Snap one by one.'"[649] Frances C. Colburn who wrote from Geneva, Switzerland, expressed her "sympathy for the great loss we all feel in the death of your father,"[650] and Mary L. Draper attempted to comfort Ballou's wife Lucy by writing, "May the sweet consolation which so often fell from your inspired husband's lips flow into your darkened life, and lift you into the light of God's infinite love, is the prayer of your sympathizing friend."[651]

New England Newspapers reflected the sentiments of Ballou's colleagues and friends. The *Milford Journal, Milford Gazette, Boston Herald, Boston Journal, Woonsocket Evening Reporter, Hudson Enterprise, Banner of Light, Christian Leader,* and *Christian Register* all wrote extensive articles explaining Ballou's ministry and importance after his death. Daniel A. Cook wrote that despite Ballou's "peculiar religious tenets," he will be remembered as one who "had a large heart"

---

[646] Adin Ballou, Adin Ballou, "[Funeral] Sermon," in *Autobiography*, 549.
[647] Adin Ballou, "Excerpt from Journal" in *Autobiography*, 518.
[648] William S. Heywood, "The Last on Earth," in *Autobiography*, 522-23.
[649] Francis J. Garrison to William S. Heywood, August 6, 1890, in *Memorial of Adin Ballou* (Cambridge, MA: Printed at the Riverside Press, 1890), 63.
[650] Frances C. Colburn to Abbie Ballou Heywood, in Ibid, 62-63.
[651] Mary L. Draper to Lucy Hunt Ballou, in Ibid, 63.

who "had been into more homes to stand between the living and the dead, than perhaps any man who performed like service in this or any other land,"[652] in reference to the countless funerals Ballou oversaw during his ministry. Another author (name unknown) explained Ballou's "incessant . . . theological warfare" that "assailed every species of society evil – intemperance, war, slavery, business dishonesty, etc. – with all the vigorous ability of voice and pen."[653] The majority of the articles reference Ballou's tireless zeal and determination to reform individuals and society.

Prior to Ballou's death, he penned his own funeral sermon to be read during the service. This departure from traditional funeral sermons that were usually delivered by a revered ministerial colleague or local pastor indicates Ballou's desire to be heard once more and provide a platform to explain his beliefs and remediate the desires of his life. "It may seem strange to my relatives, friends, and former hearers," writes Ballou in reference to authoring his own funeral sermon, but to those suspect of his motives he assures them that he "felt moved to it by influences from the spiritual world as more likely to do justice to the proper demands of the occasion than might otherwise be done."[654] Ballou's lengthy epitaph of himself is surprising. Assuredly there were numerous colleagues who would have provided Ballou with a fitting commemoration, however, it seems fitting that he wanted the last word. His religious journey through nineteenth-century New England could only be described by himself, and Ballou did not want to be misunderstood.

Ballou perhaps anticipated a full house for his funeral service, and his funeral sermon would be used to preach his cherished beliefs one more time to a large congregation. The funeral was attended by numerous people. Samuel May, the son of Ballou's former Restorationist colleague and co-reformer explained the multitude who gathered for the service. "It was a sight to witness as I left the church, finding an even greater throng outside, apparently, than that which filled the edifice, with the double lines of carriages of all kinds extending far beyond the church doors."[655] Those attending heard Ballou's last words written on earth. First, Ballou asks for forgiveness. This death bed confession of sorts is used as an opportunity to explain his belief in the Universalist teachings on grace. Ballou's sins "of commission and omission" which caused him "shame" would be forgiven "a thousand times" by the "omnipresent Spirit and the Father of all intelligent finite spirits, whose love, wisdom, and power are illimitable." Ballou then explains the fundamental "doctrines, principles, and duties" he no longer views as debatable. "You may forget me," explains Ballou, "but do not forget them." The theological tenets Ballou now believed as "truths" included the existence of "one infinite, all-perfect God," and Christ was the "Lord to the glory of God the Father," and "the brotherhood of man and the vast neighborhood of all moral natures, and taught that each should love every other as himself and do unto every other as he would be done unto." Ballou believes these principles are from "Heaven and will ultimately prevail." He explains how he came to these "truths." By using "reason

[652] Daniel A. Cook, August 7, 1890, *WoonSocket Evening Reporter*, in Ibid, 80.
[653] Unknown Author, *Banner of Light*, in Ibid, 82.
[654] Adin Ballou, "[Funeral] Sermon," in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 547.
[655] Samuel May letter to Mrs. Heywood, September 20, 1890, in *Memorial of Adin Ballou*, 64.

and religion, the understanding and moral sentiment, faith and practice, the head and heart,"[656] Ballou believes his truths are definitive. This method of acquiring knowledge allowed him to interrupt the Bible as authoritative so long as one did not simply use the "letter" or "verbalism[s]," he explains, but identifies biblical truth by "strict accordance with their essential spirit and highest fundamental principles – never otherwise."[657] By the end of his life, Ballou believed he had the formula on how one best uses the Bible as an authoritative source. The Bible contained the truth in doctrine and practice so long as it could be commonsensically and practically applied. Ballou seems to be inviting his audience to use the Bible, their reasoning capacity, and personal experience, to do what he did throughout his life in regard to religious matters.

Lastly, Ballou seeks to identify himself as a practical Christian disciple in both theory and practice and to combat those who potentially would view him as "nothingtarian" or an adherent to "non-committalism." At length, Ballou explains his outward manifestation of temperate living, his association with abolitionism, and "total abstinence from all war," as reflections of his inward beliefs. In the end, Ballou reiterates his own position while simultaneously explaining, unknown to him at the time, the consequences and triumphs of becoming a Christian in tumultuous nineteenth-century New England:

> I have not belonged to the indefinite, creedless school of religionists, always seeking and never finding the truth, groping my way through a maze of uncertainties and doubtful speculations, with unsettled convictions about this world and the future world. I have indeed been a free inquirer, but not a schooled doubter, on the gravest questions of religious concern. I have tried not to be a self-sufficent, traditional Pharisee on the one hand, nor on the other, a self-sufficient Sadducee, too learned and proud to feel the force of evidence in support of immortality or the existence of angels . . . . Having satisfied myself as to the great truths of religious faith and the great duties of practical righteousness, I declared them and bound myself to them by unmistakable pledges . . . . I have "finished my course" and "the ministry which I received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."[658]

Indeed Ballou rightfully proclaims his non-affiliation with unbelievers. In the Christian world of nineteenth-century New England, finding an individual without a "creed" was difficult especially when one, like Ballou, was convinced that common sense and experience trumps education and ritual in understanding spiritual matters. However, Ballou did "grope in darkness" at times through the seemingly endless Christian movements, reforms, utopian experiments, and doctrines promulgated. The "maze of uncertainties;" described by Ballou; were rather a labyrinth filled with preachers professing truth. It seemed like once a path was chosen, on the path there appeared new ideas to debate, new phenomena to unlock, and new doctrines to either accept or reject. Ballou's last words explain the paradox of many nineteenth-century New England Christians, always fixed but never settled. Through the struggles and triumphs of Ballou's religious journey through nineteenth-century New England, Ballou found the truths he sought after. Truths that in the end were his own creation.

---

[656] Ibid, 549.
[657] Ballou, "[Funeral] Sermon, in Ballou, *Autobiography*, 548-50.
[658] Ibid, 560.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY WORKS

Adams, John. *The Works of John Adams in Ten Volumes*. Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Boston, MA: 1856.

Allen, Ethan. *Reason, the Only Oracle of Man; or a Compendious System of Natural Religion*. Boston, MA: J.P. Mendum, Cornhill, 1854.

A.G.S. "John Brown . . . Non-Resistance." *The Liberator, vol. 30, no. 15* (April 13, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Asbury, Francis. *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury Journal I*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1958.

Austin, Benjamin Jr. *Constitutional Republicanism in Opposition to Fallacious Federalism*. Boston, MA: 1803. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Ballou, Adin. "Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy." *The Dial, vol. 3, no. 1* (December, 1890). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy, January 14, 1890." *The Dial, vol. 3, no. 1* (December, 1890). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoy, May 30, 1890." In Frederic I. Carpenter. "A Letter from Tolstoy." *The New England Quarterly, vol. 4, no. 4* (October, 1931): 777-82.

—. "Adin Ballou to Maria W. Chapman March 18, 1839." *The Liberator, vol. 9, no. 31* (August 2, 1839). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Adin Ballou letter to Thomas Whittemore." *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. 1, no. 40* (April 4, 1829). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *A discourse on the Subject of American Slavery, Delivered in the First Congregational Meeting House, In Mendon, Mass., July 4, 1837*. Boston, MA: Issac Knapp & Cornhill, 1837. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Advertisement 2 - - No Title." *Prisoner's Friend: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Criminal Reform, Philosophy, Science, and Literature, vol. 1, no. 28* (October 8, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America; Carefully Compiled and Edited by Adin Ballou; with Numerous Artistic Illustrations*. Providence, RI: E.L. Freeman & Son, State Printers, 1881. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *An Exposition of Views Respecting the Principal Facts, Causes and Peculiarities Involved in Spirit Manifestations: Together with Interesting Phenomenal Statements and Communications*. Boston, MA: Bela Marsh, Publisher, 25 Cornhill, 1853. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "An Inquirer Answered." [S.I.: s.n., 1854?]. Collection Development Department, Widener Library, Harvard University.

—. "A Non-Resistance Lecture." *Practical Christian, vol. 3, no. 17* (January 7, 1843). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *An Oration Delivered Before the Citizens of Blackstone Village and its Vicinity, Mendon, Mass. July 5, A.D. 1830*. Providence, RI: Cranston & Knowles, Printers, No. 4, market-St., 1830. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *An Oration, Delivered July 4th, A.D. 1827, Before the Republican Citizens of Milford, and The Neighboring Towns, at the Universalist Meeting House, in Said Milford*. Boston, MA: True and Green, Printers, 1827. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Article X.: Primitive Christianity." *The Universalist Quarterly and General Review, vol. 9* (April, 1872. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *Autobiography of Adin Ballou*. Lowell, MA: The Vox Populi Press. Thompson & Hill, 1896.

—. *Autobiography of Adin Ballou. 1803-1890. Containing an Elaborate Record and Narrative of His Life from Infancy to Old Age. With Appendixes.* Edited by William S. Heywood. Philadelphia, PA: Porcupine Press, 1975.

—. *Catalogue of the Private Library of the late Rev. Adin Ballou, Hopedale, Mass.* Boston, MA: C.F. Libbie & Co. Book and Art Auctioneers, 1916.

—. *Christian Non-Resistance, In All Its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended*. Philadelphia, PA: J. Miller M'Kim, 1846. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Christian Non-Resistance in Extreme Cases." *Spiritual Reformer* (Hopedale, 1860). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Constitution, Bi-Laws and Regulations of Fraternal Community Number One*. Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 1845. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Constitution of the Fraternal Communion." (1841). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Dialogical Instructer." *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. 1, no.3* (Boston, MA: July 19, 1828). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Editorial Address.” *Dialogical Instructer, vol. 1, no. 1*. (January, 1828). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Editorial Address.” *Dialogical Instructer, no. 1*. (January 1, 1831). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Editorial Farewell.” *Practical Christian, vol. 26, no. 20* (April 14, 1860). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Editor’s note of letter.” *Practical Christian* (November 17, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Exposition of Faith.” *Practical Christian* (June 1, 1840). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Faith and Sight No. 5.” *The Independent Messenger, vol. 3, no. 63* (September, 1838). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Freedom in Kansas vs. Christian Non-Resistance.” *Liberator, vol. 25, no. 18* (May 2, 1856). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Friends of Non-Resistance.” *The Non-Resistant, vol. 1, no. 1* (January 1, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Genius of Reform.” *Independent Messenger, vol. 3*. (1837). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *History of the Hopedale Community*. (Lowell, MA: Thomason & Hill – The Vox Populi Press, 1897.

—. *Hopedale Community: its Existence of 17 years; Principles, Objects and Achievements as explained by its Founder*. (1851). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “How to Punish those who Injure You.” *The Friend; a Religious and Literary Journal, vol. 21, no. 49.* (August 26, 1848). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Independent Messenger, vol. 3* (September, 1837). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Learn to Discriminate*. Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1850. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Letter from Adin Ballou to Hosea Ballou 2d.” *Universalist Magazine, vol. 24* (August, 1822). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing.” In *The Hopedale Collection of Hymns and Songs, for the use of Practical Christians*. Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 1850. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Memoir of Adin Augustus Ballou*. Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1853. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Memorial of Adin Ballou Containing A Biographical Sketch, Some Account of the Funeral Services, Tributes from Friends, and Condensed Notices of the Public Press*. Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1890.

—. "Mr. Fairchild." *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. 17, no. 8* (August 10, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments*. Boston, MA: Non-Resistance Society, 1839. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Non-Resistance: Third Annual Meeting of the New-England Non-Resistance Society." *The Liberator, vol. 11, no. 47* (November 19, 1841). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Notice of the Liberator." *Practical Christian, vol. 1* (1840). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Practical Christian Socialism: A Conversational Exposition of the True System of Human Society*. New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1854. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Practical Christianity in Relation to the Superiority of Moral over Political Power*. Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1860. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Presidential Remarks." *Practical Christian* (January 23, 1846). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Primitive Christianity and Its Corruptions, vol. II. Department of Personal Righteousness. A series of Discourses Delivered in Hopedale, Mass., A.D. 1870-71, by Adin Ballou*. Lowell, MA: Thompson & Hill, Printers – The Vox Populi Press, 1899.

—. "Reply to Br. Stacy." *Practical Christian*. (December 27, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Review of a Lecture Sermon, The New Birth, Delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-House on the Evening of the Third Sabbath in January, 1820, by Hosea Ballou, Pastor*. Providence, RI: Printed by Miller & Hutches, 1821. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Robert Owen at Hopedale." *Practical Christian* (November 29, 1845). Bancroft

—. *Spiritual Age*. Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1858. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Standard of Practical Christianity." *The Practical Christian, vol. 1, no. 1* (April, 1840). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *The Bible: In its fundamental principles absolutely DIVINE. In its explicative ideas and land language properly HUMAN*. Hopedale, MA: Practical Christian Tracts, no.3, 1849. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *The Furious Priest Reproved.* Providence, RI: John Miller, Printer, 1823. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "The Glorious Gospel of Endless Misery." *Dialogical Intructer, vol. 1, no. 6*. (March 15, 1828). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Inestimable Value of Souls, A Sermon delivered before the Universalist Society in Medway, Massachusetts, May, 1830*. Boston, MA: Trumpet office, 40, Cornhill, 1830. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "The Non-Resistant." *Practical Christian, vol. 9, no. 9* (September 2, 1848). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "The Practical Christian." *The Liberator, vol. 30, no. 2* (January 31, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "The Temperance Controversy." *The Practical Christian, vol. 1, no. 60* (October 14, 1843). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "The Universalists' Second Coming." *Circular, vol. 2, no. 42* (April 9, 1853). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "To Mr. Laithe." *Universalist Magazine, vol. 3, no. 11* (October 6, 1821). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *True Love vs. Free Love. Testimony of A True Hearted Woman*. Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Press, 1855. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *True Scriptural Doctrine of the Second Advent; an Effectual Antidote to Millerism, and all other Kindred Errors*. Milford, MA: Community Press, Hopedale, 1843. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Untitled." *Practical Christian* (May 8, 1846). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Untitled." *Practical Christian, vol. 5, no. 19* (February 1, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Untitled." *Practical Christian, vol. 12, no. 12* (October 28, 1848). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Untitled." *Practical Christian, vol. 13, no. 8* (August 14, 1852). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Untitled." *Practical Christian, vol. 15, no. 12* (October 9, 1852). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Ballou, Adin Augustus. "The Brave Boy." *The Mammoth, vol. 4, no. 1* (July 14, 1847). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Ballou, Hosea. *A Treatise on Atonement*. Portsmouth, NH: Oracle Press, 1812.

—. *An Examination of the Doctrine of Future Retribution, on the Principles of Morals, Analogy and the Scriptures*. Boston, MA: Published at the trumpet office, 1834. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The New Birth*. Boston, MA: Published by Henry Bowen, Congress-Street, 1821. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Barclay, John. *Memoirs of the Rise, Progress and Persecutions of the People Called Quakers, In the North of Scotland*. Philadelphia, PA: Joseph and William Kite, 1835. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Beecher, Charles. *A Review of the "Spiritual Manifestations."* New York: B.P. Putnam & Col., 1853. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Brown, John. "A Letter." *Liberty Chimes*. Providence, RI: Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, 1845. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Brisbane, Albert. *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association*. New York: J.S. Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1844. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Beecher, Lyman. *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D. vol. 1*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1865.

Bentley, William. *The Diary of William Bentley, vol. 3*. Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911.

Blanchard, Joshua Pollard. *Review of a "Letter from a Gentleman in Boston to a Unitarian Clergyman of . . ."* Boston, MA: Wait, Green, & Co. 13, Court Street, 1828. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Briney, James G. "Untitled." *Non-Resistant* (June 1, 1839) Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Campbell, Thomas. *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington*. Washington, PA: Brown & Sample, 1809. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Channing, William Ellery. *A Sermon Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Jared Sparks, to the Pastoral Care of the First Independent Church in Baltimore, May 5, 1819*. Boston, MA: Hews & Gross., 1819. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Complete Works of William Ellery Channing: Including the Perfect Life and Containing a Copious General Index and a Table of Scripture Reference*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2006.

—. *Unitarian Christianity*. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957.

—. "William Ellery Channing to Adin Ballou." *Practical Christian, vol. 4, no. 14* (December 25, 1841). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Clubb, Henry, S. *The Maine Liquor Law: Its Origin, History, and Results, Including a life of Hon. Neal Dow*. New York: Published for the Maine Statistical Society, By Fowler and Wells, 308 Broadway, 1856.

Choate, Mr. "Repeal of the Fifteen Gallon Law of Massachusetts." *Journal of Intemperance, vol. 4, no. 3* (March, 1840). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dennis, J.S. "The State of the Times." *Practical Christian* (March 24, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Dickens, Charles. "The Spirit Business." *Household Words, no. 163* (Saturday, May 7, 1853) Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dow, Lorenzo. *History of Cosmopolite; or the Four Volumes of Lorenzo's Journal, Concentrated in One: Containing his Experience & Travels, From Childhood to 1814, Being Upwards of Thirty-Six Years*. New York: John C. Totten, No. 9 Bowery-Lane, 1814.

—. *Opinion of Dow; or, Lorenzo's Thoughts, on Different Religious Subjects, in an Address to the People of New-England*. Windham, CT: Printed by J. Byrne, 1804. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *Perambulations of Cosmopolite; or Travels and Labors of Lorenzo Dow in Europe and America*. Rochester, NY: Printed for the Publisher, 1842.

Draper, E.G. "Annual Meeting." *Practical Christian* (February 9, 1856). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Edwards, Jonathan. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, A.M. With an Essay on his Genius and Writings by henry Rogers: and a Memoir by Sereno E. Dwight in Two Volumes*. London: Ball, Arnold, and Co., 34 Paternoster Row, 1840.

—. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards: Religious Affections*. Edited by John E. Smith. New Haven, CT: 1964.

—. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 18, The "Miscellanies".* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2000.

Elkins, Hervey. *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers: A Narration of Facts, Concerning that Singular People*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Press, 1853.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "The Chardon Street and Bible Conventions." *Dial, vol. 3* (July, 1842). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 2*. Edited by Ralph L. Rusk. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Farr, Jonathan. "Correspondence and Intelligence: A Letter to the Rev. Adin Ballou on the Subject of Exchanges Between the Restorationists and Unitarians." *The Unitarian, vol. 1, no. 1-12* (May 14, 1834). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Finney, Charles Grandison. *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, Written By Himself*. New York: A.S. Barnes & Company, 1876.

Fish, William H. "Western Ho!" *Practical Christian* (November 4, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Untitled." *Practical Christian* (November 17, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Flavell, John. *A Token for Mourners*. Rattleborough, MA: William Fessenden, 1813. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Foster, Stephen S. "Non-Resistants Fighting." *New York Observer and Chronicle, vol. 33, no. 15* (April 12, 1855). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Fowler, J.H. "Physical Resistance and 'Non-resistance.'" *The Liberator, vol. 30, no. 14* (April 6, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 10*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907.

Fourier, Charles. *Selections from the Works of Fourier.* Edited by Julia Franklin. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901.

Furness, William H. "Put up thy Sword." *The Liberator, vol. 30, no. 15* (April 13, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Garrison, William Lloyd. "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention." *The Liberator, vol. 3, no. 50* (December, 14, 1833). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Declaration of Sentiments." *The Liberator, vol.8, no. 39* (September 28, 1838). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Editorial." *The Liberator, vol. 1, no. 1*. (January 1, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "No Union With Slaveholders." *The Liberator, vol. 29, no. 50* (December 16, 1859). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Non-Resistance: Annual Meeting Report.” *The Liberator, vol. 14, no. 45* (November 8, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “The Great Crisis!” *The Liberator, vol. 2, no. 52*. (December 29, 1832). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison vol. 1-10*. Edited by Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

—. “To the Public.” *The Liberator, vol. 1, no. 1* (January 1, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Goodrich, Samuel. *Recollections of a Lifetime, vol. 1*. New York: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1856.

Greene, Mrs. H.N. *The Little Angel: A Temperance Story for Children*. Hopedale, MA: Hopedale Community Press, 18--. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

G.W.S. “The End of Violence.” *Practical Christian, vol. 9, no. 9* (September 2, 1848). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Harris, Thomas L. *An Epic of the Starry Heaven*. New York: Partridge & Brittan, 1855.

Hopedale Reminiscences: Childhood Memories of the Hopedale Community and the Hopedale Home School 1841-1863. Edited by Lynn Gordon Hughes. Toronto: Blackstone Editions, 2006.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Jefferson Writings: Autobiography, Notes on the State of Virginia, Public and Private Papers, Addresses, Letters*. Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984.

—. *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth*. New York: Wilfred Funk, inc., 1941.

LAITHE. “Ballou versus Ballou.” *Universalist Magazine, vol. 3, no. 9* (August, 25, 1821). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Loveland, Samuel C. *The Christian Repository, Devoted, Principally, to Doctrine, Morality, and Religious Intelligence*. Boston, MA: July, 1820. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Lovejoy, S.C. “Reply to S.C. Loveland.” *The Non.Resistant, vol. 1, no. 7* (April, 1845). Congregational Library, Special Collections, Boston, Massachusetts.

Lukens, E.A. “Visit to Hopedale.” *The Liberator, vol. 21, no. 32* (August 8, 1851). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Macpherson, Rev. John. *Hand-Books for Bible Classes and Private Students: The Confession of Faith Second Edition.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, 1882.

Mann, Daniel. "The Non-Resistance Principle." *The Liberator, vol. 30, no. 11* (March 16, 1860). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Mather, Cotton. *A Cloud of Witnesses.* Boston, MA: *circa*, 1700.

—. *Manductio ad Miniserium*. Boston, MA: 1726. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

—. *The Nightingale: An Essay on the Songs Among Thorns*. Boston, MA: B. Green, 1724.

McKim, J. Miller. "Practical Christian Anti-Slavery." *The Liberator, vol. 29, no. 39* (September 30, 1859). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Noyes, John Humphrey. *Male Continence*. Oneida, NY: Office of Oneida Circular, 1877. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Socialistic Fires." *Circular, vol. 3, no. 119* (September 7, 1854). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Paine, Thomas. *The Age of Reason*. New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1898.

Palin, Raymond. "Revolutionary Cumberland: A Note on a Historical Controversy." *Rhode Island History, vol. 51* (November, 1993): 129-34.

Pickering, David. *The Effects of Intemperance, A Discourse*. Providence, RI: Miller & Grattan, 1827. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Pierpont, Rev. Jon. "Rev. John Pierpoint and Spiritualism." *Practical Christian, vol. 14* (October 31, 1847). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Quincy, Edmond. "Untitled." *Non-Resistant* (June 1, 1839). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Raymond, Henry Jarvis. "The Spiritual Convention." *The New York Times*, September 23, 1852.

Rich, Caleb. "A Narrative of Elder Caled Rich." *Candid Examiner, vol. 2* (April 30-June 18, 1827). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Richmond, Mrs. Cora L.V. *Life Work of Mrs. Cora L.V. Richmond*. Edited by Harrison D. Barrett. Chicago, IL: Hack & Anderson Printers, 1895.

Rush, Benjamin. *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind, with an Account of the Means of Preventing, and of the Remedies for Curing Them*. Exeter, England: Josiah Richardson preacher of the Gospel, 1819. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Smith, Elias. *A Discourse Delivered at Jefferson Hall, Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1802; and Redelivered (by request) the Wednesday Evening Following, at the Same Place: The Subject,*

Nebuchadnezzar's Dream. Portsmouth, NH: 1803. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith written by Himself*. Portsmouth, NH: Beck & Foster, 1816. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Whole World Governed by a Jew: or the Government of the Second Adam, as King and Priest*. Exeter, NH: 1805. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Smith, Joseph. "History, circa Summer 1832." Joseph Smith Papers Project. http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/history-circa-summer-1832?p=1#!/paperSummary/history-circa-summer-1832&p=3 accessed September 13, 2014.

—. *Book of Moses*. https://www.lds.org/scriptures/pgp/moses/7.18 (accessed September 22, 2014.)

—. *The Doctrine and Covenants.* https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/dc/76?lang=eng (accessed February 16, 2015).

Spear, John M. *Twelve Discourses on Government: Purporting to have been delivered in Boston, Mass., December, 1853, by Thomas Jefferson, of the Spirit World.* Hopedale, MA: Community Press, 1853. Congregational Library, Special Collections, Boston, Massachusetts.

Stacy, George Whitemore. "Devotion to Principle." *Practical Christian* (November 29, 1845). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Stearns, Norris. *Religious Experience of Norris Stearns, Written by Divine Command*. Greenfield, MA: Printed for the Author, at the Herald Office,+ 1815.

Streeter, Sebastian. "Sympathy and Resignation." *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. 1, no. 20* (April 4, 1829). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Tatch, George O. and Elijah S. Mulliken. "Letter to Hopedale." *Practical Christian* (November 17, 1855). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

Tolstoy, Leo. *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. Translated by Constance Garnett. New York: Watchmaker Publishing, 1951.

—. "Leo Tolstoy to Adin Ballou, March 26, 1890." *The Dial, vol. 3, no. 1* (December, 1890). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Leo Tolstoy to Lewis G. Wilson, July 1889." *The Arena, vol. 3, no. 1* (December, 1890). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Unknown Author. "American Peace Society Constitution." *Advocate of Peace, vol. 1, no. 3* (December, 1837). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Annexation of Texas." *The Liberator, vol. 14, no. 1.* (March 8, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Anti-Slavery Convention.” *The Liberator, vol. 14, no. 9* (March 1, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Anti-Slavery Lectures in Lynn.” *Liberator, vol. 8, no. 39*. (September 28, 1838). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Boston Notions.” *Wisconsin Democrat, vol. 1, no. 36* (June 29, 1843). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Confusion Among the Abolitionists.” *African Repository and Colonial Journal, vol. 20, no. 7* (July, 1844). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Curiosities of Voting: The Letter. For Governor. For Lieut. Governor. For Senators.” *Liberator, vol. 17, no. 48* (November 26, 1847).

—. “Declaration of Sentiments.” (1838). https://archive.org/details/DeclarationOfSentiments (accessed April 11, 2015.

—. “Editor’s table.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine, vol. 17, no. 47* (June 1858). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Explosion of the ‘Peace-Maker.’” *Practical Christian, vol. 4, no. 23* (March 30, 1844). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “First of August at Hopedale.” *The Practical Christian, vol. 15, no. 9* (August, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. “Introduction to the American Edition of the Prize Essay, Anti-Bacchus.” *Journal of the American Temperance Union, vol. 4, no. 2* (February, 1840). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Masonic Elections.” *Masonic Mirror: and Mechanics’ Intelligencer, vol. 3, no. 8* (February 17, 1827). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. “Other 1 – No Title.” *The Liberator, vol. 18, no. 38* (August 25, 1848). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *Proceedings of the Temperance Convention, Held in Boston, on the Twenty-third September, 1835, In Pursuance of an Invitation of the Massachusetts Temperance Society to the Friends of Temperance with An Address to the Friend of Temperance*. Boston, MA: John Ford, Agent of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, Temperance Press . . . . Wilson’s Lane, 1836. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *Proceedings of the Trustees & Executive Council of Fraternal Community No. 1, Book 1*. Hopedale, MA: January, 29, 1841. Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. *Radical Spiritualist, no. 69* (January, 1860). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

—. "Resolutions on the Death of A.A. Ballou." *The Massachusetts Teacher, vol. 5, no. 4* (April, 1852). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Rhode Island A.S. Society." *The Liberator, vol. 21, no. 46*. (November 14, 1851). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *Ten Dialogues on the Effects of Ardent Spirits*. New York: American Tract Society, 1831.

—. "The Agency Employed in the So-called 'Spiritual Manifestations,' Natural Though Mysterious." *The Christian Review, vol. 74* (October 1, 1853). Harvard

—. *The Cold-Water-Man; or A Pocket Companion for the Temperate*. Albany, NY: Packard and Van Benthuvsen, 1832.

—. *The History of the Striped Pig*. Boston, MA: Whipple Damrell, 1838.

—. "The Maine Liquor Law." *Illinois Daily Journal, vol. 4, no. 464* (December 20, 1852). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Patriot, or Scourge of Aristocracy, vol. 1. no. 1* (October, 1801). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*. (March 7, 1829) Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "The Universalist Bible: Answer Universalists according to their Universalism." *The Anti-Universalist Magazine, vol. 12, no. 12* (January, 14, 1829). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Unknown Painter. *The Tree of Life* (Baltimore, MD: Printed for John Hagerty, 1791). Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore, Maryland. http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel07.html (accessed March 21, 2015).

Whipple, Charles K. *Evils of the Revolutionary War*. Boston, MA: New England Non-Resistance Society, 1839.

White, Andrew Dickson. *The Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White Part II*. New York: The Century Company, 1904.

Whitman, Bernard. *A Discourse on Christian Union: Delivered at the Installation of Adin Ballou*. Boston, MA: E.M. Stone, 1833. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Whittemore, Thomas. "Review of the Medway Sermon." *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine* (July 3, 1830. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Winchester, Elhanan. *The Universal Restoration, Exhibited in Four Dialogues between a Minister and His Friend*. (Boston, MA: Benjamin B. Mussey, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Wood, Fernando. "Speech." In John Chodes, *Abe Lincoln's Secret War Against the North*. New York: Algora Publishing, 2015, 11.

Woolf, Virginia. *Books and Portraits*. Edited by Mary Lyons. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

Wright, Henry C. "Journal and Commonplace Book." Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

SECONDARY WORKS

Abzug, Robert H. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Adams, Raymond. "Thoreau's Sources for 'Resistance to Civil Government.'" *Studies in Philology, vol. 42, no. 3* (July, 1945): 640-53.

Ailes, Jane and Marie Tyler-McGraw. "Leaving Virginia for Liberia: Western Virginia Emigrants and Emancipators." *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies, vol. 6, no. 2* (Fall, 2012): 1-34.

Albanes, Catherine. *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2007).

Andrews, Dee E. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760-1800 The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Andrews, Edward Deming. *The People Called the Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2011.

Andrews, Stephen D. *Which Threatens to Tear our Fabric Asunder: The Opposition to American Spiritualism, 1848-1860*. Dissertation Submitted to the Department of History of Stanford University. (March, 2005).

Arrington, Leonard J. *Building the City of God: Community & Cooperation among the Mormons*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976.

Barclay, John. *Memoirs of the Rise, Progress and Persecutions of the People Called Quakers, In the North of Scotland*. Philadelphia, PA: Joseph and William Kite, 1835.

Barry, John M. *Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul*. New York: Penguin Group, 2012.

Basler, Roy P. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/lincoln/lincoln1/1:294?rgn=div1;view=fulltext (accessed April 19, 2015).

Beaman, Jay. "Introduction." In *Pentecostal and Holiness Statements on War and Peace*. Edited by Jay Beaman and Brian K. Pipkin. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013.

Bednarowski, Mary Farrell. *New Religious and the Theological Imagination in America*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Bender, Harold S. "The Anabaptist Vision." *Church History, vol. 13, no. 1* (March, 1944): 3-24.

Bisel, Debra Goodrich. *The Civil War in Kansas: Ten Years of Turmoil*. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2012.

Bolden, Tonya. *Emancipation Proclamation: Lincoln and the Dawn of Liberty*. (New York, Abrams, 2013).

Braude, Ann. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001.

—. *Spiritualism, Reform and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. (December, 1987).

Brekus, Catherine A. *Sarah Osborn's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America.* New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2013.

Briceland, Alan V. "The Piladelphia Aurora, The New England Illuminati, and the Election of 1800." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 100, No. 1* (January, 1976): 3-36.

Brown, Candy Gunther. *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America*. Raleigh, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Brumberg, Joan Jacobs. *Mission for Life: The Study of the Family of Adoniram Judson*. (New York: Free Press, 1980.

Bilkes, Gerald M. "The Preaching of Samuel Davies." *Reformation & Revival A Quarterly Journal for Church Leadership, vol. 9, no.1* (Winter, 2000).

Braude, Ann. "News from the Spirit World: A Checklist of American Spiritualist Periodicals, 1847-1900." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 99, no. 2* (Spring, 1989): 399-462.

Brock, Peter. *Freedom from War: Nonsectarian Pacifism 1814-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

—. *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.

—. *Radical Pacifists in Antebellum America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Bryant, Scott. *The Awakening of the Freewill Baptists: Benjamin Randall and the Founding of an American Religious Tradition*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011.

Buehrens, John and Forrest Church. *A Chosen Faith: An Introduction to Unitarian Universalism*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2009.

Buehrens, John A. *Universalists and Unitarians in America: A People's History*. Boston, MA: Skinner House Books, 2011.

Buescher, John Benedict. *The Other Side of Salvation: Spiritualism and the Nineteenth-Century Religious Experience*. Boston, MA: Skinner House Books, 2004.

Bumbaugh, David E. *Unitarian Universalism: A Narrative History*. Chicago, IL: Meadville Lombard Press, 2000.

Bushman, Richard. *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2005.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Camp, Lee Compton. "The "Primitivist-Pacifism" of Alexander Campbell, Adin Ballou and Leo Tolstoy: An Atypical Type." Dissertation, The University of Notre Dame, 1999.

Church, Forrest. *The Cathedral of the World: A Universalist Theology*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2009.

Clapp Jr., Henry. *The Pioneer: Or Leaves from an Editor's Portfolio*. Lynn, MA: J. B. Tolman, 12 Exchange-St., 1846. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Codman, John Thomas. *Brook Farm Historic and Personal Memoirs*. Boston, MA: Arena Publishing Company, 1894.

Coleman, Peter, J. *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607-1900*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974.

Commager, Henry Steele. "The Blasphemy of Abner Kneeland." *The New England Quarterly, vol. 8, no. 1*. (March, 1935): 29-41.

"Communication." *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, vol. 3, no. 32* (February 5, 1831). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Conway, Daniel Moncure. *The Life of Thomas Paine*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

Cook, George Willis. *Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Life, Writings, and Philosophy*. Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2003.

Crothers, Glenn. *Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florid Press, 2012.

Curti, Merle E. "Non-Resistance in New England." *The New England Quarterly, vol. 2, no. 1* (January, 1929): 34-57.

Delano, Sterling F. *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia*. Boston, MA: Belknap Press, 2004.

Dix, Dorothea Lynde. *Asylum, Prison, and Poorhouse: The Writings and Reform Work of Dorothea Dix*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.

Dodge, David Low. *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ*. Boston, MA: International Union Ginn & Company, 1905.

Drescher, Seymour. *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Eddy, Richard D. *Universalism in America: A History, vol. 1*. Boston, MA: Universalist Publishing House, 1886.

Edwards, Jonathan. *The Life and Diary of David Brainerd*. New York: Cosimo, 2007.

Elliot, Emory. "The Dove and the Serpent: The Clergy in the American Revolution." *American Quarterly, vol. 31, no. 2* (Summer, 1976): 187-203.

Emlen, Robert P. "The Great Gale of 1815: Artifactual Evidence of Rhode Island's First Hurricane." *Rhode Island History, vol. 28, no. 2* (May, 1990): 1-58.

Encyclopedia Britannica, volume 3. Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911.

Etcheson, Nicole. *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era*. Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Felton, R. Todd. *A Journey Into the Transcendentalists' New England*. Berkeley, CA: Roaring Forties Press, 2006.

Finkleman, Paul. "Garrison's Constitution: The Covenant with Death and How it was Made." *Prologue: A Quarterly Publication of the National Archives and Records Administration*. (Winter, 2000): 231-45.

Foster, Lawrence. "Free Love and Community: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Perfectionists." In *America's Communal Utopias*. Edited by Donald E. Pitzer, 253-278. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Friedman, Lawrence J. *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Garr, Arnold, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard Cowan. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 2000.

Greven, Philip. *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979.

Grinnell, Josiah Bushnell. *Men and Events of Forty Years*. Boston, MA: D. Lothrop Company, 1890.

Ham, Thomas D. *The Quakers in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1989.

Hayman, Robert W. *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence vol. 1*. Providence, RI: Diocese of Providence, 1982.

Hemmenway, John. *The Apostle of Peace: Memoir of William Ladd*. Boston, MA: American Peace Society, 1872.

Hind, Silliam Alfred. *American Communities & Co-Operative Colonies*. Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1908.

Hinton, Richard. *John Brown and His Men*. Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, 1894.

History of the American Abolitionist Movement. Edited by John R. McKivigan. Ney York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999.

Huhes, Richard T. *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of the Churches of Christ in America*. Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University Press, 2008.

Hughes, Peter. "Edward Turner." Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography. April 27, 2001. http://uudb.org/articles/edwardturner.html (accessed January 18, 2015).

—. "Paul Dean." Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography. http://uudb.org/articles/pauldean.html (accessed May 3, 2015).

—. "The Ballou Family." Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography. http://uudb.org/articles/balloufamily.html (accessed May 12, 2015).

—. "The Restorationist Controversy." February 19, 2002. http://uudb.org/articles/restorationist.html (accessed January 17, 2015).

—. "The Restorationist Controversy: Its Origin and First Phase, 1801-1824. *Journal of Unitarian Universalist History Vol. XXVII* (2000): 1-57.

Hunt, James D. "Gandhi, Thoreau, and Adin Ballou." *Journal of the Liberal Ministry, vol. 9, no. 4* (Fall, 1969): 32-52.

Journal of the American Temperance Union, vol. 4, no. 2 (February, 1840). Boston Public Library, Special Collections, Boston, Massachusetts.

Kellner, George H. and J. Stanley Lemons. *Rhode Island: The Independent State*. Woodland Hills, CA: Winslow Publications, 1982.

Kerr, Howard. *Mediums, and Spirit-rappers, and Roaring Radicals: Spiritualism in American Literature*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Knight, Richard. *History of the General or Six Principle Baptists, In Europe and America: in Two Parts*. Providence, RI: Smith and Parmenter, Printers, 1827. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Kuman, Krishan. "Utopian Thought and Communal Practice: Robert Owen and the Owenite Communties." *Theory and Society, vol. 19, no. 1* (February, 1990): 1-35.

Lehman, James O. and Steven M. Nolt. *Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil War*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Lutz, Alma. *Susan B. Anthony Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1959.

Mabee, Carleton. *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War*. London: The Macmillan Company, 1970.

Marini, Stephen A. *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Martin, James J. *Men Against the State: the Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America 1827-1908*. DeKalb, IL: Adrian Allen Associates, 1953.

Maynard, Nettie Colburn. *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist? Or, Curious Revelations From the Life of a Trance Medium*. Philadelphia, PA: Rufus C. Hartranft, 1891.

McEmrys, Aaron. "Brook Farm." Unitarian Universalist History & Heritage Society. http://uudb.org/articles/brookfarm.html (accessed April 12, 2015).

McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Melton, Gordon J. *Encyclopedia of American Religions.* Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group Inc., 2003.

Miller, Russell E. *The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America, 1770-1870: A Finding Aid*. Boston, MA: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1979.

Minkema, Kenneth P. "Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade." *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, vol. 54, no. 4*. (October, 1997): 823-34.

Mintz, Steven. *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Morris, Thomas D. *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861*. Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd., 1999.

Morris, Valarie Ziegler. "The Early Nineteenth-Century American Peace Movement: From Consensus to Division." *HeinOnline* (1985): 499-517.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

Murdock, Eugene C. *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North.* Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971.

Nevins, Allan. *Ordeal of the Union: Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852*. New York: Collier Books, 1992.

Newman, Albert Henry. *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

Noll, Mark. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Nordbeck, Elizabeth C. *Hidden Histories in the United Church of Christ, vol. II*. Edited by Barbara Brown Zikmund. New York: United Church Press, 1987.

Nordhoff, Charles. *The Communistic Societies of the United States*. New York: Hillary House Publishers, Ltd., 1961.

Papa, Stephan and Peter Hughes. "Abner Kneeland." Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography. 2001. http://uudb.org/articles/abnerkneeland.html (accessed July 18, 2015).

Perry, Lewis. *Childhood, Marriage, and Reform: Henry Clarke Wright, 1797-1870*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

—. *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Porterfield, Amanda. *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in The New American Nation*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Puritans and Puritanism in Europe: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia. Edited by Francis J. Beamer and Tom Webster. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.

Reichert, William O. "The Philosophical Anarchism of Adin Ballou." *Huntington Library Quarterly, vol. 27, no. 4* (August, 1964): 357-74.

Reisner, Phillip. *Cotton Mather als Aufklärer: Glaube und Gesellschaft im Neuengland der Frühen Neuzeit*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH, 2012.

Richardson, Robert. *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, vol. II.* Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1870.

Richey, Russell E., Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt. *American Methodism: A Compact History*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2012.

Robinson, David. *The Unitarians and the Universalists*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Rolde, Neal. *Maine: A Narrative History*. Gardiner, ME: Harpswell Press, 1990.

Rorabaugh, W.J. *The Alcoholic Republic an American Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Rose, Willie Lee. *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1964.

Roth, Randolph. *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Rowe, David L. *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985.

Schaff, Phillip. *The Creeds of Christendom, with A History and Critical Notes in Three Volumes*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1877.

Scudder, Moses Lewis. *American Methodism*. Hartford, CT: S.S. Scranton & Co., 1867.

Sharf, Robert H. *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. Edited by Mark C. Taylor. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* New York: Oxford Press, 1991.

Smith, Bonnie G. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History, vol. 4*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Smith, Timothy L. *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*. New York: Harper & Row, 1957.

Spann, Edward K. *Hopedale: From Commune to Company Town, 1840-1920*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1992.

Speer, John. *Life of Gen. James H. Lane, "The Liberator of Kansas" with Corrobative Incidents of Pioneer History*. Garden City, KU: 1897.

Sokolow, Jayme A. "Leo Tolstoi's Christian Pacifism: The American Contribution." *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, no. 604* (September, 1987): 1-37.

Some Extraordinary Instances of Divine Guidance and Protection, and Awful Warnings of a Just Retribution, Through Dreams and Visions. Philadelphia, PA: Printed and sold by Joseph Rakestraw, 1814. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Stauber, Rory William. "Lifting the Banner of Tolstoyan Non-Reistance in America: Ernest Howard Crosby's Lonely Quest, 1894-1907." Dissertation, Drew University, 1994.

Steward, Donald H. *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period*. Albany, NY: State University New York Press, 1969).

Stockham, Richard. "The Misunderstood Lorenzo Dow." *The Alabama Review: A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History, vol. 26, no. 1* (January, 1963): 20-34.

Stokes, Mack B. *The Bible in the Wesleyan Heritage*. Nashville, TN: 1971.

Sullum, Jacob. *For Your Own Good: The Anti-Smoking Crusade and the Tyranny of Public Health*. New York: The Free Press, 1998.

Tager, Jack. *Boston Riots: Three Centuries of Social Violence*. Charlotte, NC: Northeastern University Press, 2000.

The Fourth of July: Political Oratory and Literary Reactions 1779-1876. Edited by Paul Goetsch and Gerd Hurm. Tübingen: Müller + Bass, 1992.

Tracy, Joseph. *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield*. Boston, MA: Tappan and Dennet, 1842.

Trimble, Shawn Michael. "Spiritualism and Channeling." In *America's Alternative Religions*, edited by Timothy Miller, 331-38. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995.

Trueblood, Benjamin F. "The Historic Development of the Peace Idea." *Advocate of Peace, vol. 67, no. 10* (November, 1905). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Ture, Michael. "Abby to Abbie: Remembering Worcester's Activist Tradition." *Telegram & Gazette* (April 1, 2001): 1-3.

Unknown Author. "Council Reports." *The Practical Christian* (January 28, 1854). Bancroft Memorial Library, Special Collections, Hopedale, Massachusetts

—. "Fire Ruins Historic Cumberland Building, Barn in Woonsocket." *Providence Journal*, October 2, 1962.

—. "Spiritualism Tested By Christianity." *The New Englander, vol. 15, no. 4* (June, 1858). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "Spiritualism Tested by Science." *The New Englander, vol. 16, no. 2* (May, 1858). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "The Literature of Spiritualism." *The New Englander, vol. 16, no. 3* (August, 1858) Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. *The Temperance Almanac by the New York State Temperance Society*. Albany, NY: Packard & Van Benthuysen, 1836. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "The West Roxbury Community." *Philanthropist, vol. 7, no. 8* (September 17, 1842) Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

—. "To the Churches of the Christian Connexion." *The Christian Herald, vol. 4, no. 1* (July, 1821). Andover-Harvard Theological Library, American Periodicals, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Verenburg, Michael, *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Weisberg, Barbara. *Talking to the Dead: Kate and Maggie Fox and the Rise of Spiritualism.* San Francisco, CA: HarpeOne, 2005.

Wellhausen, Julius. *The Pharisees and the Sadducees*. Macon, GA: Macon University Press, 2001.

Wesley, Alice Blair, Peter Hughes, and Frank Carpenter. "The Unitarian Controversy and Its Puritan Roots." October 13, 2000. http://uudb.org/articles/unitariancontroversy.html (accessed January 3, 2016).

West, Robert. *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948.

Whalen, Robert. "Calvinism and Chiliasm: The Sociology of Nineteenth Century American Millenarianism." *American Presbyterians, vol. 70, no. 3* (Fall, 1992): 163-72.

Whittemore, Thomas. *Life of Hosea Ballou; With Accounts of His Writings, and Biographical Sketches of His Writings, and Biographical Sketches of His Seniors and Contemporaries in the Universalist Ministry*. Boston, MA: James M. Usher, 1854.

—. *The Modern History of Universalism, from the era of the Reformation to the Present Time*. Boston, MA: Published by the Author, 40, Cornhill, 1830.

Wiebe, Robert H. *Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

Wilentz, Sean and Jonathan H. Earle. *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787-1848 Second Edition*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2008.

Williams, George. *American Universalism: A Bicentennial Historical Essay*. Boston, MA: Skinnen House Books, 2002.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

—. "The Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution." *Leadership in the American Revolution* (Washington, 1974): 63-89.

—. "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism." *New York History, vol. 61* (1980): 358-86.

Wrath, Eva Jean. *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer in Freedom, a Literary Biography*. Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 2005.