

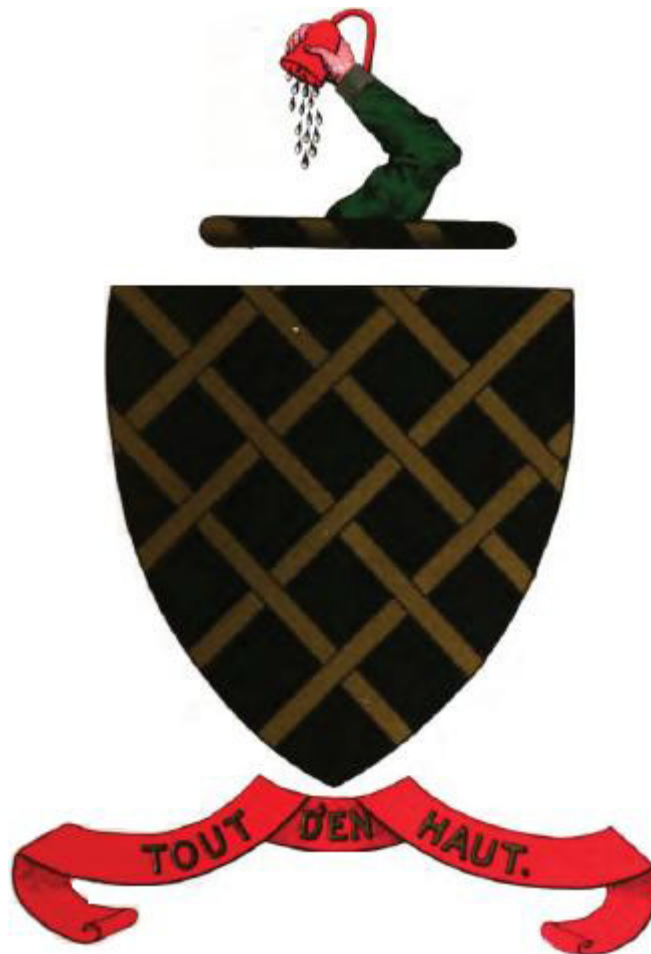
THE REVEREND ADIN BALLOU OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



Adin Ballou was at various points in his life a Six-Principle Baptist, a Christian Connexion convert, a Universalist, a Restorationist, a Practical Christian, and a Unitarian minister. His frequent conversions disconcerted practically everyone.

1803

➡ April 23, Saturday: [Adin Ballou](#) was born to Ariel and Edilda Ballou on a farm in [Cumberland](#) on the border between [Rhode Island](#) and Massachusetts, descendant in the 5th generation of one Maturin Ballou who had come to America about 1640 and had involved himself in the founding of [Providence](#) (the family has even preserved a scrap of paper that was a signed receipt given to them, for something, by the Reverend [Roger Williams](#)). Ballou was instructed that his ancestor Maturin had been the descendant of a French family of [Huguenots](#) that had been driven into exile in England by religious persecution.¹



WIKIPEDIA'S LIST OF HUGUENOTS

1. Later in life he would be forced to the conclusion that this family tradition was probably inaccurate, but the main thing in such influences is that an impressionable age he believed it and was thereby impressed with a putative tradition of suppression. While the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) was creating his communitarian movement in New England, of Christian non-resistance to evil, and was lecturing on this topic before an audience including [Henry Thoreau](#) –an authentic descendant of persecuted Huguenots– in January 1841 ➡ at the Concord Lyceum, he was believing himself to be the inheritor of this sort of religious tradition. Those of us who interest ourselves in this sort of thing would be interested to learn whether Ballou recognized [John Thoreau, Sr.](#), upon his visit to [Concord](#), to be specifically of [Huguenot](#) as well as of French extraction.



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1813



Although reared as a Six-Principle [Baptist](#), [Adin Ballou](#) was, with his whole family, during this year converted in a Christian Connexion revival. Adin wanted to go to college but his father wished him to run the family farm. Inspired by a vision of his deceased brother Cyrus, whose specter pressed him to “preach the Gospel of Christ to your fellow-men” or “the blood of their souls will be required at your hands,” Adin felt called to the ministry. His father suggested in response that he remain on the farm, while pastoring at the local meetinghouse part-time.²

David Benedict's A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE [BAPTIST](#) DENOMINATION IN AMERICA, AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD (London: Printed by Lincoln & Edmands, No. 53, Cornhill, for the Author).

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

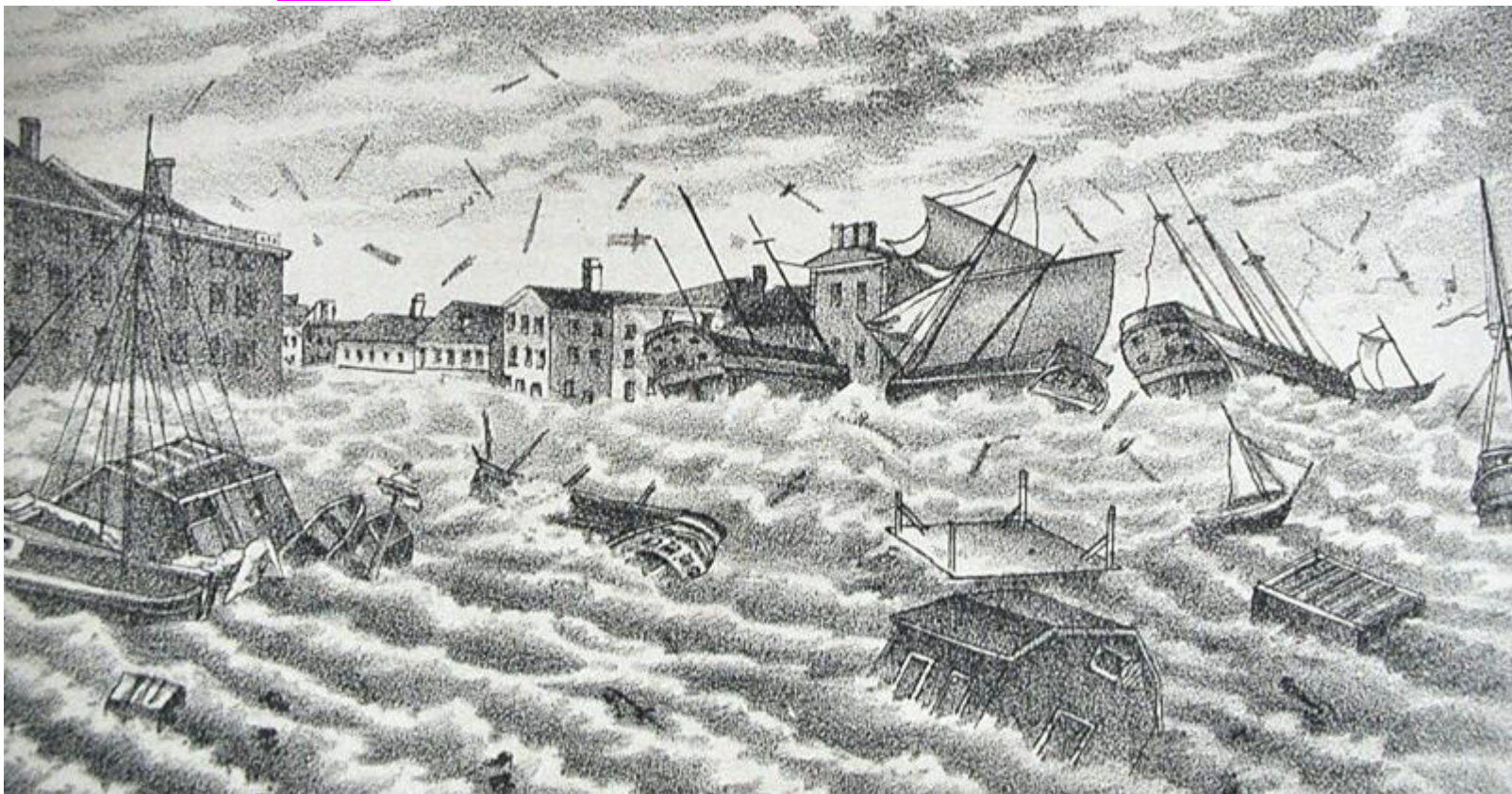
[RHODE ISLAND](#)

2. In fact the son, by that time a Universalist, would at first preach in Bellingham, Massachusetts and other communities near the family farm.

1815

➡ September 23, Saturday: Unable to persuade his king Louis XVIII to appeal to the allies to rescind or modify their ultimatum, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent resigned as Prime Minister of France.

During the 18th Century there had been some 15 violent storms sweeping across New England, but none of them approached the fury of the hurricane that hit the southern New England coastline at 9AM on this day, known as the “Great September Gale of 1815.” The eye of the hurricane came ashore at Old Lyme in Connecticut and the greatest destruction was done along the path of the storm’s “eastern quarter,” such as in [Providence](#).



1815. The glad tidings of Peace were announced here February 12, and our streets were thronged with delighted men and women, and resounded with acclamations of joy. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and although it was intensely cold, the streets were thronged to a late hour by persons of both sexes and of all ages, and the sound of mirth resounded from almost every dwelling. Many, however, who had been carried along by this tide of rejoicing, had cause to mourn when the excitement had subsided, and the “sober second thought” of reflection had returned. They had speculated largely, when prices were high, and vast amounts were invested in merchandise, the value of which, on restoration of peace, “fell, like Lucifer, never to



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rise again." Many failures were the consequence; but to people at large, peace came as a blessing.

This year was signalized by the Great Storm and high tide. The storm commenced Sept. 22, and the wind was violent, and increasing through the night and the succeeding morning, many houses were unroofed, and other blown down. The tide on the 23d, rose to an extraordinary height, the gale from the South-East was of unparalleled severity, both combined, they drove the principal part of the shipping in the harbor from its moorings up the river against Weybosset bridge, which in short time gave way, and the whole was driven up and landed on the northern shore of the cove. A large sloop was left a considerable distance North of Great Point, now the site of the State Prison, and between that point and the upper part of the Canal basin, were upwards of thirty sail, of a burthen from 500 tons downwards. The water entirely filled the lower stories of the buildings in Market-street, west of the bridge, and a portion of the brick wall of the Washington Insurance building, in the third story, was broken in by the bowsprit of the ship Ganges, as she was driven rapidly by in the foaming current. A sloop of some 50 or 60 tons was driven across Weybosset-street, into Pleasant-street, where she grounded. The Baptist meeting-house, built for Rev. Mr. Cornell, near Muddy Dock, now Dorrance-street, was entirely destroyed. Many houses, stores and barns were swept from the wharves in South Water, Weybosset and some other streets, into the cove, where many of them were crushed to pieces. The water at the junction of Westminster and Orange-streets was at least six feet in depth. Two human beings only here lost their lives in this storm, which was matter of great wonder, when so many were perilled. No measures were taken to ascertain the damage done by the storm, but it was estimated at about a million of dollars.



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A large trunk of the public papers of former [Rhode Island](#) governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) were swept out of the house in which they were stored, and lost (Hopkins's house, which now stands adjacent to Benefit Street, at that time stood adjacent to what is now Main Street, within reach of the waters). By noon the storm had passed up into the wildernesses of the north and was breaking up, but the high winds had stalled the ebbing of the high tide, and then over these high waters came rushing the additional waters driven by the storm, pushing up Narragansett Bay and concentrating at the docks of Providence. First there had been the fury of the wind and then came the fury of the water:

Wind:

The vessels there were driven from their moorings in the stream and fastenings at the wharves, with terrible impetuosity, toward the great bridge that connected the two parts of the town. The gigantic structure was swept away without giving a moment's check to the vessel's progress, and they passed to the head of the basin, not halting until they were high up on the bank....

Water:

Stores, dwelling houses, were seen to reel and totter for a few moments, and then plunge into the deluge. A moment later their fragments were blended with the wrecks of vessels, some of which were on their sides, that passed with great rapidity and irresistible impetuosity on the current to the head of the cove, to join the wrecks already on the land.

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Some 500 buildings were destroyed in this city. The Indiaman *Ganges* was forced all the way up Westminster Street to Eddy Street, where its bowsprit pierced the 3rd story of the city's Market House.³



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) would be making a detailed tabulation of the various trees that had toppled in his yard. The salt spray was carried from the ocean 40 or 50 miles inland. Apples and other fruit were blown off the trees, the corn was injured, and fences and trees were prostrated. In particular the

3. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, [Rhode Island](#) (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the [Narragansett Bay](#)) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of [Brown University](#), have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), and the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635. The 5th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 23, 1815.

original apple tree near Woburn MA of the Loammi Baldwin apple got knocked over:



At the time Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s ship was fortunately out of harm's way in New-York and Philadelphia.

In [Newport](#), [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) recorded in his journal that:

7th day 23 of 9 M / This forenoon we had the most severe Gale that Newport ever experienced - it commenced before day break to Rain Thunder & lighten, continued to increase gradually till a little before 9 OC when it suddenly increased & the tide rose with surprising velocity such as was never seen before - The wind & tide making such devastation of Vessels houses Stores & even lives as appalled all Skill to save. The destruction of houses was chiefly on the Long Wharf & on the Point - Andrew Allens wife, three children & a girl that lived with them were all in the house when it went off into the cove & they were all drowned - Over the Beach John Irish in attempting to save his boat was drowned - & two men who lived with Godfrey Hazard in trying to save their Sheep were also drowned. - Shocking was the Scene I have no powers to describe it, tho' at a more lesure Moment I intend to attempt a more full description Our cellar was full of Water, but we lost nothing of consequence. - We were humbly thankful it was no worse




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Many boats were destroyed at [Boston](#) wharves:



I recollect being engaged near my father's saw-mill handling lumber with my brothers [[Adin Ballou](#) was 12 years old 

The tempest, which began about 7 o'clock in the morning, reached its height at noon, when it was little else than a hurricane. Multitudes of people were filled with terror and consternation. I confess that I was, and hastening to my chamber, obtained what relief and composure I could from the unseen world by earnest supplication. I gained something of trust and calmness, but hardly enough to overcome all my fearful apprehensions, for there seemed to be no place of refuge from impending danger and my faith was not of the surest type.

When the storm subsided, the inhabitants of southern New England looked with amazement on the devastations it had caused. Inland the noblest timber lots were covered with prostrate trees and upturned earth, the finest orchards were laid waste, rail-fences, wood, and lumber were scattered far and wide, roads were rendered impassable by accumulated debris, and incalculable damage had been done to buildings on every hand, many of the lighter ones being wholly destroyed. In seaport towns and along the shore, still greater havoc, if possible had been wrought. The ocean rolled in upon the coast its mountainous waves, which, in thickly settled localities, inundated the wharves, streets, and exposed places of business, filled the cellars and lower stories of dwellings and warehouses near the water line, causing the occupants to flee for their lives, and destroying immense amounts of property that chanced to be within reach. The wind drove before it all sorts of sea-craft, even the largest vessels, sinking some, wrecking others, and landing many high on the beach, far away from tide-water. The remains of sloops and schooners, gradually dismantled and abandoned, appeared on the sand banks and along the coast for years, victims of the Storm-King's insatiate power. Such was the "great gale" of 1815, the like whereof has never been seen by New Englanders since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

Many of the trees on the Boston Common were blown down.



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When, in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), Henry David Thoreau would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he was arguing against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of 1815 had devastated the woodlands around [Concord](#), one old farmer exclaimed:

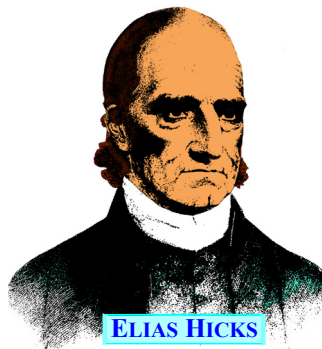
I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.

[A WEEK](#): History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." - "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound -" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."

Many of the local historians of [Concord](#), and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, [Elias Hicks](#)? For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the so-called Blue Laws, laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend Elias was greatly alarmed, that he

*“has
 by recommending a religious act
 united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,
 and broken the line of partition between them,
 so wisely established
 by our enlightened Constitution,
 which in the most positive terms
 forbids
 any alliance between church and state,
 and is the only barrier
 for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down
 all is lost
 and we become the vassals of priestcraft,
 and designing men,
 who are reaching after power
 by subtle contrivance
 to domineer over the consciences
 of their fellow citizens.”*



ELIAS HICKS

The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Thoreau’s attitudes as proclaimed in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) would be identical with this.

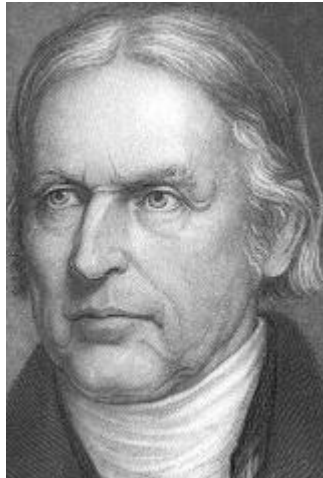
SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Subsequent to this historic gale, and in consequence of it, [John Farrar](#), Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard, who had since 1807 been maintaining and analyzing weather records in Cambridge, would be able to elaborate upon the insights of [Benjamin Franklin](#) into the nature of the “nor’easter” weather phenomenon by conceptualizing such hurricanes as “a moving vortex and not the rushing forward of a great body of the atmosphere” (he had noted not only the lagging times of arrival of the winds at Boston versus New-York and the wind’s opposite directionality, as had Franklin, but had also been able to analyze mathematically the veering of the wind as a fluid phenomenon).

1822

➡ February 24, Sunday: On this day a man colloquially known as “Bluebeard” was [hanged](#) for having burned ten of his wives. His last words were not “Hey, if you have to ask, you wouldn’t understand.”

Early in this year (and I suppose I might as well place this record here as elsewhere, since I do not have a precise date), [Adin Ballou](#) got married with Abigail Sayles. Abigail’s mother, a Universalist, lent him a copy of Elhanan Winchester’s DIALOGUES ON THE UNIVERSAL RESTORATION. This reading and debates with some Universalist neighbors challenged his assumptions about salvation. At a Universalist meeting in nearby Wrentham, Massachusetts that year, Adin, attending as a spectator, was introduced to his distant cousin Hosea Ballou 2d, the Universalist minister from Roxbury, Massachusetts, who encouraged him to seek fellowship



with the Universalists. After a period of study and prayer, Adin would post a letter to his distant cousin announcing his conversion to Universalism. The Christian Connexion would excommunicate him and his father would disinherit him.

(Adin would not marry multiple times and would not be burning any wives, so his name would never become quite so much a household word as Bluebeard’s has become.)

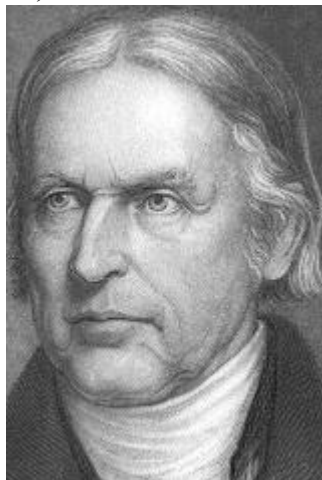
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 2 M / Our morning Meeting was pretty full, a solid [-]oured season – D Buffum was very lively in a short testimony Invitation "Come Brother come Sister let us go up to

*the mountain of the Lord to the House of the God of Jacob.”—
Silent & pretty well attended in the Afternoon – This [-]ning
finished & put a letter in the Office To Stephen Oliver of [-
]em [?] requesting information respecting the difficulties that
[-]it there*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


➡ Fall: [Adin Ballou](#) visited the Boston area and stayed in the homes of both Hosea Ballou II and Hosea Ballou. At this time the Restorationist controversy – a theological, political, and personal dispute between Hosea Ballou and Edward Turner, Paul Dean, and four other Universalist ministers – was about to reach a climax.



Theologically, the controversy concerned the existence or non-existence of a limited period of punishment for sin in the afterlife. Hosea Ballou disbelieved in “future punishment”; his opponents, the Restorationists, held such discipline an essential part of God’s plan. [Adin Ballou](#), who believed in “future punishment,” was assured by Hosea Ballou II that Universalists tolerated diversity in the matter. In his autobiography the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) recalled that his cousins described the controversy as a personal and political vendetta against Hosea Ballou on the part of Restorationists, “represented as mere ambitious factionists and mischief-makers in the order, with no honest, solemn convictions of doctrinal faith or of Christian duty.”




1823

 The Reverend Abner Kneeland's H KAINH DIAQHKH. THE NEW TESTAMENT, IN GREEK AND ENGLISH; THE GREEK ACCORDING TO GRIESBACH; THE ENGLISH UPON THE BASIS OF THE FOURTH LONDON EDITION OF THE IMPROVED VERSION, WITH AN ATTEMPT TO FURTHER IMPROVEMENT FROM THE TRANSLATIONS OF CAMPBELL, WAKEFIELD, SCARLETT, MACKNIGHT, AND THOMSON. IN TWO VOLUMES. BY ABNER KNEELAND, MINISTER OF THE FIRST INDEPENDENT CHURCH OF CHRIST, CALLED UNIVERSALIST, IN PHILADELPHIA (Philadelphia: Abner Kneeland). This Greek-English diglot gave side-by-side the Greek text of Griesbach 1805 and a revision of Thomas Belsham's English version of 1808. Kneeland (April 7, 1774-August 27, 1844) was at this point a [Unitarian](#) Universalist. He changed several verses of Belsham's version according to his opposition to the doctrine of eternal punishment. The Reverend Kneeland would later become a Deist, abandoning Christianity. He would have the distinction of being allowed to do hard time for blasphemy. See Paul Gutjahr's AN AMERICAN BIBLE, pages 95-100.

During the latter half of this year, [Adin Ballou](#) would fill the pulpit of the First Universalist Society in [Boston](#). Though the Reverend Ballou was being seriously considered for this prestigious position, the congregation's call would go instead to an experienced Universalist preacher, Sebastian Streeter. Within months the Reverend Ballou would be accepting a call instead to the Universalist society in Milford, Massachusetts.

1824

 December: When the Southern Association met at Milford, [Adin Ballou](#) was ordained. He would serve a congregation at Milford until 1831 (interrupted during 1827-1828 by a period of service to the Universalist society on Prince Street in New-York).

1827

➡ Abner Kneeland's KEY TO THE NEW SYSTEM OF ORTHOGRAPHY was published early in the year. In it, the Reverend revealed some nonorthographical theological findings to parishioners at his Prince Street church in New-York that soon split his church into warring factions. The reverend author and orthographer, and his supporters, would vote with their feet, forming a new congregation which they would begin to call the 2nd Universalist Society.



Those in the congregation who had been left behind in this departure would be served, during this year and the following one, by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) (on temporary leave from his Milford pastorate). While there he would found and edit The Dialogical Instructor, a short-lived periodical devoted to Universalist apologetics.

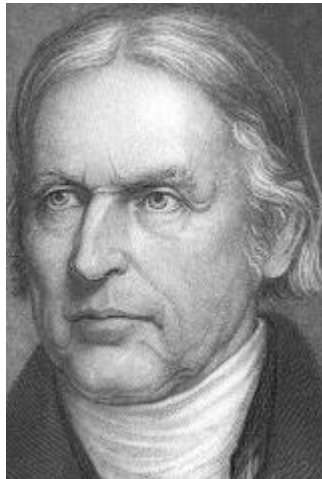
1829

➡ Abner Kneeland's APPEAL TO UNIVERSALISTS, ON THE SUBJECT OF EXCOMMUNICATION, OR THE



WITHDRAWING OF FELLOWSHIP, ON ACCOUNT OF DIVERSITY OF OPINION described how the reverend author had had a falling out with members of his 2nd Universalist Society over his having allowed Fanny Wright, an even more controversial communitarian than Robert Owen, at a time when no one else in New-York was willing to allow her a forum, to speak from his pulpit. Universalist denominational associations as far away as Maine were passing resolutions disowning him. His friend the Reverend Hosea Ballou prepared a document of voluntary suspension from fellowship, and obtained his signature.

FEMINISM



Fanny Wright purchased a small church on Broome Street, near the Bowery of New-York, in order to transform it into a Hall of Science in which she would be able to offer her free-thinking lectures. She was, among other things, urging easier access to safe and effective methods of contraception, and so she was being characterized by some as “the great red harlot of infidelity.”⁴

4. Well, you can't please everybody.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

Fanny Wright's COURSE OF POPULAR LECTURES (also 1836) condemned religion, the influence of religion on



politics, and authoritarianism in education, and sponsored equal rights for women. Describing religion, and marriage, as repressive, she advocated that "free union" replace binding legal contract. She and Robert Dale Owen settled in New-York, where they would put out the Free Enquirer and lead a movement of free-thinkers, calling for liberalized divorce laws, birth control, free secular education run by the state, and the political organization of the working classes. She lectured regularly in a converted Baptist church on Broome Street, with seating for 3,000, which they referred to as their "Hall of Science." She published two editions of her COURSE OF POPULAR LECTURES, AS DELIVERED BY FRANCES WRIGHT...; WITH THREE ADDRESSES, ON VARIOUS PUBLIC OCCASIONS, AND A REPLY TO THE CHARGES AGAINST THE FRENCH REFORMERS OF 1789, and joined the Working Men's Club. Walt Whitman would describe Fanny during this period as⁵

a brilliant woman, of beauty and estate, who was never satisfied unless she was busy doing good – public good, private good. [There was much criticism of her morals but] we all loved her; fell down before her; her very appearance seemed to enthrall us. [She was] the noblest Roman of them all ... a woman of the noblest make-up whose orbit was a great deal larger than theirs – to large to be tolerated long by them: a most maligned, lied-about character – one of the best in history though also one of the least understood.


When [Adin Ballou](#) prepared to go back from his 2-year period of service to the Universalist society on Prince Street to his regular pastorate at Milford, the desperate New-York congregation prevailed on him to help them lure Hosea Ballou away from Boston. [Adin Ballou](#) thought his cousin's tough and devious manner in the salary negotiations inappropriate for a minister. Nor did he appreciate Hosea Ballou's wit when, in answer to a question about future punishment, Hosea Ballou replied, "So then, Brother Adin, you think they'll have to be smoked a little, do you?" [Adin Ballou](#)'s disillusionment with Hosea Ballou was compounded a year later when, at the New England Universalist General Convention, Hosea Ballou used his influence to prevent David Pickering, an out-of-fellowship Restorationist minister, from offering a prayer. Afterward, [Adin Ballou](#) recorded in his diary his resolution "not to attend another convention of that sort."




5.Eckhardt, Celia Morris, FANNY WRIGHT - REBEL IN AMERICA (Harvard UP, 1984), page 189.

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

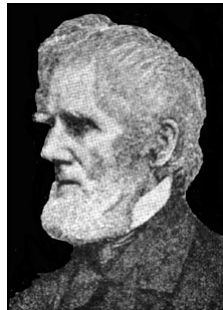
OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

 Early in the year: The winter had been so utterly and unusually mild, that in Philadelphia they had failed for the first time to fill their icehouses.

Abigail Ballou died soon after giving birth to a daughter, Abbie. Of [Adin Ballou](#)'s four children only this Abbie would reach adulthood.

 Late in the year: Early in this year, Abigail Ballou had died after giving birth to a daughter, Abbie. Later in the year the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) became so ill his life was at risk, but he was nursed back to health by Lucy Hunt (1810-1891), daughter of a prominent family in the Milford congregation. A few months after this recovery the two of them would wed, with the Reverend Hosea Ballou II officiating at the ceremony.

Earlier that fall William Lloyd Garrison had attacked a Newburyport MA slave trader by the name of Francis Todd, for transporting about 80 slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans. Having declared in print that such a person ought to be placed in solitary confinement for the remainder of his natural life, Garrison was sued for libel by the [State of Maryland](#) acting on behalf of Mr. Todd, and his sentence was a fine of \$100.⁰⁰ which he was unable to pay, and so he was thrown into prison and, his 4th failure as a newspaper editor, his newspaper ceased publication. However, the warden of the prison was allowing the former editor to have pencil and paper and to have visitors, so he used the last of his business's funds to have published a tract titled "A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison." After 49 days of incarceration Arthur Tappan paid Garrison's fine and

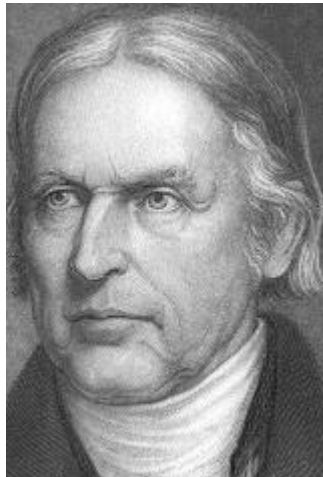


he went on the lecture circuit with an immediatist anti-colonization approach to the elimination of slavery. While lecturing in Philadelphia he was staying in the home of Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#).



1830

➡ The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), preaching in Medway, Massachusetts, gave a pro-future-punishment sermon, “The Inestimable Value of Souls.” His hearers so liked the sermon that they sent it to Boston to be printed on the press of the Universalist periodical, the [Trumpet and Universalist Magazine](#). When the [Trumpet](#)’s editor, the Reverend Thomas Whittemore, however, a disciple of the Reverend Hosea Ballou, read this sermon, he

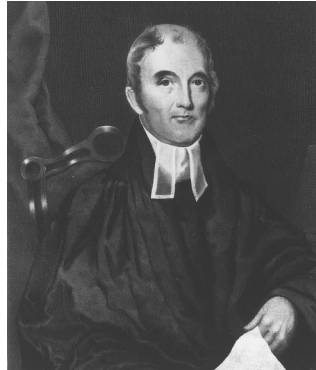


became so outraged that he instituted a campaign to have [Adin Ballou](#) removed from the Milford pulpit. Under fire in the denominational press and in his church, [Adin Ballou](#) joined the [Providence](#) Association, recently founded by Pickering as a haven for Restorationists. Members of this Providence Association would soon be handed an ultimatum: Leave the renegade association, or renounce fellowship with the New England Universalist General Convention, or be repudiated by us.⁶

6. [Adin Ballou](#)’s break with Universalism was thus part of a resurgence of the Restorationist controversy.

1831

Amid a theological controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism, the Reverend Abiel Holmes resigned from the ministry (in replacing him, the First Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts would select a Unitarian minister).



The Reverends Adin Ballou, David Pickering, Paul Dean, and a few other ministers got up a new denomination which they termed the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists and began a new gazette, which they named the Independent Messenger, choosing the Reverend Ballou as its first editor. For four and a half years, until he relinquished these responsibilities to the Reverend Paul Dean, Ballou would engage in journalistic conflict with the editor the Universalist periodical Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, the Reverend Thomas Whittemore. Shortly after the appearance of the first number of this new religious gazette



Ballou was dismissed by his Milford congregation, but he was immediately hired by the Congregational (Unitarian) society in neighboring Mendon, Massachusetts. Although he would serve a Unitarian congregation until 1842, the Reverend Ballou would continue to identify himself as a Restorationist, and would treat with other Unitarian ministers in a manner that was more ecumenical than fraternal. In this period he would form,

with the Reverend Bernard Whitman, the Unitarian minister in Waltham, perhaps the most intense friendship



of his life. Together they would struggle to break down the social, educational, and theological barriers that existed between Unitarians and Restorationist Universalists.

➡ January 1, Saturday: William Lloyd Garrison began publication of [The Liberator](#) in [Boston](#) (this would become the leading abolitionist journal in the United States).

I am in earnest, I will not equivocate – I will not excuse – I will not retreat a single inch. AND I WILL BE HEARD.

400 copies were distributed. In the first year of its publication, this new newspaper would attract only 50 white subscribers — but considerably more subscribers among the free blacks of the North. There were, of course, no slave-state subscribers of either race, and there was no Southern distribution.

... Every place I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states – and particularly in New England – than at the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave owners themselves.... I will be as harsh as the truth, and as uncompromising as justice....

SLAVERY

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

Here is an illustration of the period, indicating what sorts of people the illustrator believed read The Liberator:



In this same illustration, note what the illustrator suspected that such a person might have on his wall, besides an illustration from a Shakespearian play:



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

I've had enough fun, I'll show you the whole illustration:



The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s "Epistle General to Restorationists" in the [Independent Messenger](#) would bring about a confrontation with the Reverend Thomas Whittemore in the [Independent Messenger](#) and the [Trumpet and Universalist Magazine](#).



The following, about early connections between Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison in [Baltimore](#), is from pages 30-31-32 of William S. McFeely's *FREDERICK DOUGLASS* (Norton, 1995):



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

When Frederick was nine, and again when he was twelve, Baltimore was the scene of legal actions involving white men who had insulted each other. The disputes were of seemingly small importance. In the first instance, one party was knocked to the ground and the assailant was fined on dollar; in the second, the man who had done the insulting was jailed, but his punishment was not fierce – the prisoner took his meals with his jailer's family. Yet these quarrels reverberated down through out history.

The man knocked to the ground was Benjamin Lundy; the man put in jail was William Lloyd Garrison. The men with whom they had their disputes were slave traders; the subject of the disputes was slavery.

Austin Woolfolk was a prosperous Baltimore merchant whose place of business was on Pratt Street. Like other businessmen then and since, he was eager to be regarded not only as successful but also as benevolent. In his advertisements he stressed his discretion and kindness. Woolfolk was a slave trader.

The Maryland economy was changing. There were fewer and fewer huge slaveholding enterprises like Wye House. Landowners were looking for nonagricultural sources of income, which, it turned out, were not dependent on slave labor. It was not considered good form for Marylanders of substance to mistreat their people by dividing families, but it was even worse form to slide down the ladder economically. The landowners sold certain assets – slaves – in order to invest in others – mercantile or manufacturing enterprises. The Maryland archives record hundreds of sales of slaves, then in great demand in the cotton belt south and west of Maryland. Frederick's aunt Maryann and his cousin Betty were sold south in 1825, for example. That year, Talbot County slaveowners received \$22,702 from sales of their people to Woolfolk alone. They made their sales discreetly, but they made them.

In 1827, Benjamin Lundy was indiscreet. The unembarrassable Quaker, publisher of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, which he worked on whenever he happened to be on his peripatetic crusade to end slavery, printed an account of Woolfolk's having cursed one of his wares as the black man stood on the gallows, about to be hanged for participation in an attempted seizure of the *Decatur*, carrying him from Baltimore to Savannah. In his narrative, Lundy called the slave trader a "monster in human shape." The merchant sought out the editor and knocked him to the ground. Picking himself up, Lundy did not strike back, but instead went to the courthouse and sued Woolfolk for assault. After many delays, a judge levied a fine of one dollar, saying Woolfolk had been greatly provoked.

A week later in Boston, Lundy described the incident, and the ugliness of the slave trade, to a group that included another editor, the conservative young William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison later credited his commitment to the antislavery cause to this meeting with Lundy, in the boarding house at which they were both staying; soon he was attacking slavery in his Vermont newspaper. Impressed by his convert, Lundy walked from Baltimore to Bennington in the winter of 1829 to persuade Garrison to join him in Maryland.

The following summer Garrison did come to Baltimore – the city



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

where his mother had lived, briefly, and died. He and Lundy stayed at a boarding house on Market Street run by two Quaker ladies. Garrison soon met Jacob Greener, John Needles, and William Watkins, antislavery leaders in the black community. Immediately, the two editors began to take as their primary target in the Genius of Universal Emancipation the locally hated slave trade that resulted in the sale south of slaves who, in Baltimore, held hopes of entering the growing and articulate free black society. Their most sensational attack was on two New Englanders, Francis Todd and Nicholas Brown, the owner and captain, respectively, of a Newburyport ship, the *Francis*, then conveying eighty-five slaves, sold by Woolfolk, from Maryland to a plantation on the Mississippi River south of New Orleans – the site of the most dreaded slave markets. Todd and Brown sued for libel, and Garrison, as author of the piece (which was no more offensive in its rhetoric – “domestic piracy,” “horrible traffic” – than the typical campaign invective of the day) was fined fifty dollars. And when he did not pay the fine, he was sent to jail, and from his cell skillfully assailed slaveholders everywhere. Eager to quell this incipient and effective martyrdom, Garrison’s jailers released him after forty-nine days. The publication of his new newspaper, the Liberator, followed, beginning on January 1, 1831.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day 1st of 1st M 1831 / In commencing the new Year - my mind is engaged to supplicate for a renew'd engagement of heart to love & serve Him who has long been gracious & Merciful - dispensing his favours to me, who am unworthy of them. We know not what we may have to pass thro' from season to season - nor how much we may stand in need of from his Holy hand - but may our minds be gathered increasingly to a humble reliance on his mercy & Holy support. — I was early convinced that the Religion of Jesus Christ stood preeminently above all other sources of consolation & help thro' the various changes incident to this life - All the Philosophy of Seneca & other Moralists falls below, & cannot stand without the aid & help of revealed religion & may we flee to it as our only rock of refuge against which the Storms of time has ever beat in vain. — The days has passed pleasantly & may it be an earnest of the future thro' the coming year. —⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In New-York, the English traveler Thomas Hamilton was experiencing local customs:⁸

It is the custom in New York, on the first day of the year, for the gentlemen to visit all their acquaintances; and the omission of this observance in regard to any particular family, would be considered as a decided slight. The clergy, also, hold a levee on this day, which is attended by their congregation....

The routine is as follows: The ladies of a family remain at home

7. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1829-1832: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7

8. Men and Manners in America would be published anonymously two years later through Carey, Lea & Blanchard of Philadelphia.

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

to receive visits; the gentlemen are abroad, actively engaged in paying them. You enter, shake hands, are seated, talk for a minute or two on the topics of the day, then hurry off as fast as you can. Wine and cake are on the table, of which each visiter [sic] is invited to partake. The custom is of Dutch origin, and, I believe, does not prevail in any other city of the Union. I am told its influence on the social intercourse of families, is very salutary. The first day of the year is considered a day of kindness and reconciliation, on which petty differences are forgotten, and trifling injuries forgiven. It sometimes happens, that between friends long connected, a misunderstanding takes place. Each is too proud to make concessions, alienation follows, and thus are two families, very probably, permanently estranged. But on this day of annual amnesty, each of the offended parties calls on the wife of the other, kind feelings are recalled, past grievances overlooked, and at their next meeting they take each other by the hand, and are again friends.



February: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) was commencing his ministry at Mendon, although he would not be ceremonially “installed” until May 3, 1832, with his close friend the [Unitarian](#) Reverend Bernard Whitman preaching the ordination sermon. (The Reverend Linus B. Shaw would commence a ministry there during



April 1842, although there would be no formal installation, and close it on May 1, 1844. The Reverend George M. Rice would be engaged to supply the pulpit, and would commence his labors on April 20, 1845, and remain until July 1, 1847. The Reverend George G. Channing, brother of the late William Ellery Channing, would begin a supply during October 1847, and continue his services until December 1, 1849. The Reverend William H. Kinsley would be installed during June 1850, with the Reverend E.S. Gannett, D.D. preaching the installation sermon. He would remain in the discharge of his parochial duties until his death on September 7, 1851. The Reverend Robert Hassall would follow, his ministry continuing from April 1, 1852 to the second Sunday during January 1856, after which he would settle at Haverhill. The Reverend Stillman Barber would commence ministerial labors on May 18, 1856, and close them on the second Sunday during April 1860. The Reverend William Tate Phelan would be ordained during May 1863, and would be dismissed at his request on April 27, 1866. The Reverend Richard Coleman would begin to preach on July 1, 1866 and continue his services until February 1868. The Reverend David Philip Lindsley would commence preaching on January 1, 1868 and conclude his services on March 31, 1871. The Reverend George F. Clark, late minister at Castine, Maine, would begin an engagement to supply the pulpit during June 1871 — and so on and so forth.)

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

1832



May 3, Thursday: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) was on this day ceremonially “installed” in his ministry at Mendon, Massachusetts, with his close friend the [Unitarian](#) Reverend Bernard Whitman preaching the ordination sermon.





REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

1834

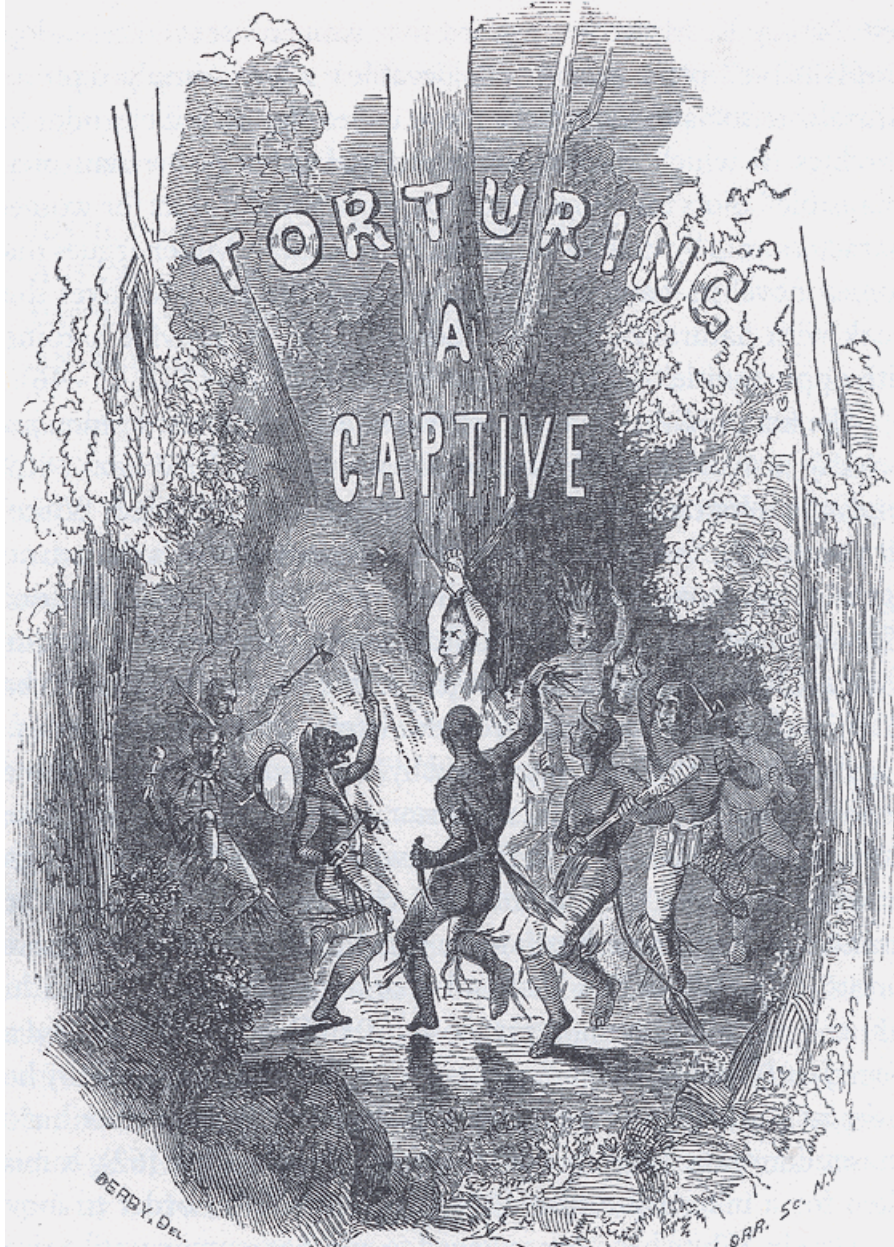


In St. Michaels, [Maryland](#), Frederick Douglass was assigned by his owner to work for a white farmer, Edward “The Snake” Covey, who had the reputation of a “nigger-breaker,” on his 150-acre rented farm some seven miles to the northwest of St. Michaels, but Mr. Covey had a spot of difficulty with this particular nigger. We notice that at no point was Douglass trying to kill Covey, something reasonable and easy, for he was trying to do something considerably more fraught, get such a person’s attention and then talk turkey to him: “I seized Covey hard by the throat.... I told him....” Strange to relate, although in this struggle Douglass drew blood from Covey and could reasonably have anticipated that as soon as order and propriety had been restored he

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

would be tortured to death by “The Snake” and his crowd — he found that instead he was no longer being



lashed. Douglass seems to have attributed this to his master’s economic need to obtain maximum work from him with minimum expenditure of effort. Consider this as bravado, in the face of the fact that the only difficulty Covey would have had in killing Douglass, other than in ordering the other laborers to dig a shallow hole in the field alongside the corpse, would have come when he had to reimburse Thomas Auld for his economic loss:



I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me.

But one wonders whether this hopeless resistance may have inspired Thomas Covey to respect Frederick

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

Douglass as a man and as a human. I offer that this fight in the fields of [Maryland](#) may well have been a turning-point not only in the individual life of Douglass, but also –unfortunately– in the ideology of nonresistance to evil as espoused by William Ladd, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#),



[Abby Kelley](#), John A. Collins, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, Edmund Quincy, John Humphrey Noyes (!),



and William Lloyd Garrison. For later on Douglass would use this memory as fuel for his breach with other antislavery advocates over Garrison’s principled nonresistance to evil and as fuel for the encouragement, by the allies of John Brown, of an indigenous uprising of the black slaves of the South, when Douglass began in 1851 to find alternate funding from the “Liberty Party” created by the intemperate wealthy white man Gerrit Smith.

[Richard Hildreth](#)’s REPORT OF A PUBLIC DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE REVS. [ADIN BALLOU](#) AND DANIEL D. SMITH; ON THE QUESTION, “DO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TEACH THE DOCTRINE, THAT MEN WILL BE PUNISHED AND REWARDED SUBSEQUENTLY TO THIS LIFE, OR AFTER DEATH, FOR THE DEEDS DONE IN THIS LIFE?”

[Hildreth](#) created a pamphlet defending Abner Kneeland against a charge of blasphemy, APPEAL TO COMMON SENSE AND THE CONSTITUTION ON BEHALF OF UNLIMITED FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION.

Suffering from [tuberculosis](#), and clinically depressed, the author and editor sold his share in Boston’s [The Atlas](#) and sought the more healthful climate of Florida. He would find lodgings on a [slave](#) plantation. During 18 months of tropical sunshine he would create the 1st American antislavery novel, THE SLAVE, OR MEMOIRS OF A FUGITIVE, while laboring toward a description of the deleterious effects on our economic and political development of the South’s racist “peculiar institution,” that would see publication in 1840 as DESPOTISM IN AMERICA.

His wife, his child, his toil, his blood, his life,
and everything that gives his life a value, they are not his;
he holds them all but at his master’s pleasure.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

Because the [Reverend Hosea Hildreth](#) had been exchanging services with pastors of the new [Unitarian](#) persuasion, the Essex Association expelled him as Congregationalist minister over the First Parish Church of Gloucester, Massachusetts. Until his death in the following year, the Reverend Hildreth would be serving as minister of a Unitarian congregation in Westboro, Massachusetts.

[HDT](#)

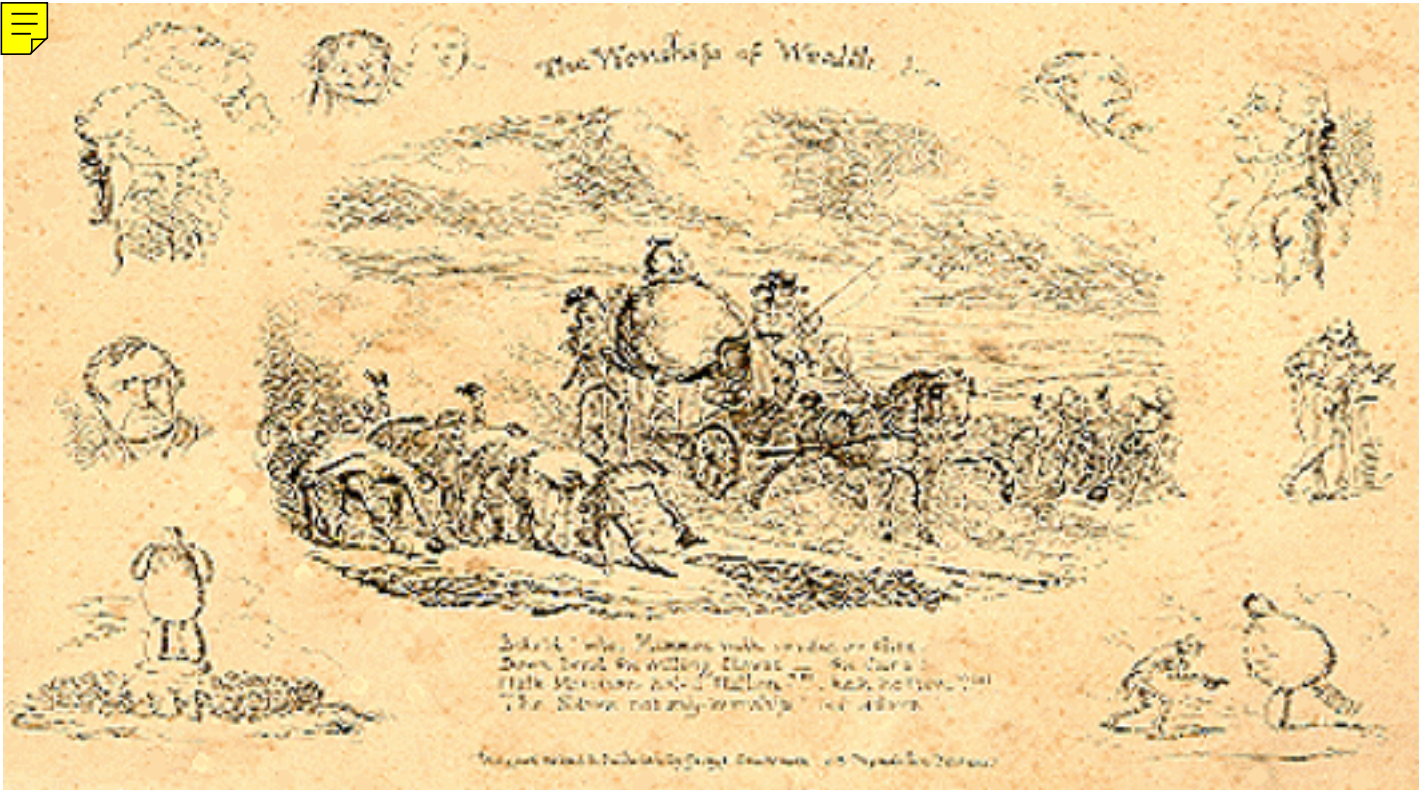
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REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPE DALE COMMUNITY





We see that Frederick Douglass believed he had already put what would become the doctrine of *ahimsa* to the ultimate test, and that he had already discovered this doctrine to be ultimately wrongheaded — and was following the path of Nehru rather than the path of [Gandhiji](#).



January 1, Wednesday: A [Zollverein](#) or customs union among 18 [German](#) states, headed by Prussia, went into effect.

Frederick Douglass later reported that:



At daybreak I was ordered to get a load of wood from a forest about two miles from the house.... I had never driven oxen before.... Once the gate was opened in front of them, my oxen charged through full tilt. They caught the huge gate between the wheel and the cart body, crushing it into splinters and coming within a few inches of crushing me with it.... Covey told me that he would now teach me how to break gates and idle away my time.... [He] ordered me to take off my clothes.... "If you beat me," I thought, "you shall do so over my clothes." After many threats he rushed at me..., tore off the few thin clothes I had on, and proceeded to wear out on my back the heavy goads which he had cut from the gum tree.... [D]uring the first six months there I was whipped, either with sticks or a cowhide whip, every week.... I was sometimes tempted to take my life and that of Covey but was prevented by a combination of hope and fear.

"The morning of January 1, 1834, found me on the road to Covey's. The chilling wind and pinching frost matched the winter of my own mind as I trudged along.... [Chesapeake Bay] was now white with foam raised by a heavy northwest wind." Frederick Douglass the troublemaker who had attempted to set up a Sunday School for black children, had been contracted by his owner to Mr. Edward "The Snake" Covey's on his 150-acre rented farm some seven miles to the northwest of St. Michaels, [Maryland](#) –where discipline was



by whip— to work for the first time as field rather than house slave:

Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

In my new employment, I found myself even more awkward than a country boy appeared to be in a large city. I had been at my new home but one week before Mr. Covey gave me a very severe whipping, cutting my back, causing the blood to run, and raising ridges on my flesh as large as my little finger. The details of this affair are as follows: Mr. Covey sent me, very early in the morning of one of our coldest days in the month of January, to the woods, to get a load of wood. He gave me a team of unbroken oxen. He told me which was the in-hand ox, and which the off-hand one. He then tied the end of a large rope around the horns of the in-hand ox, and gave me the other end of it, and told me, if the oxen started to run, that I must hold on upon the rope. I had never driven oxen before, and of course I was very awkward. I, however, succeeded in getting to the edge of the woods with little difficulty; but I had got a very few rods into the woods, when the oxen took fright, and started full tilt, carrying the cart against trees, and over stumps, in the most frightful manner. I expected every moment that my brains would be dashed out against the trees. After running thus for a considerable distance, they finally upset the cart, dashing it with great force against a tree, and threw themselves into a dense thicket. How I escaped death, I do not know. There I was, entirely alone, in a thick wood, in a place new to me. My cart was upset and shattered, my oxen were entangled among the young trees, and there was none to help me. After a long spell of effort, I succeeded in getting my cart righted, my oxen disentangled, and again yoked to the cart. I now proceeded with my team to the place where I had, the day before, been chopping wood, and loaded my cart pretty heavily, thinking in this way to tame my oxen. I then proceeded on my way home. I had now consumed one half of the day. I got out of the woods safely, and now felt out of danger. I stopped my oxen to open the woods gate; and just as I did so, before I could get hold of my ox-rope, the oxen again started, rushed through the gate, catching it between the wheel and the body of the cart, tearing it to pieces, and coming within a few inches of crushing me against the gate-post. Thus twice, in one short day, I escaped death by the merest chance. On my return, I told Mr. Covey what had happened, and how it happened. He ordered me to return to the woods again immediately. I did so, and he followed on after me. Just as I got into the woods, he came up and told me to stop my cart, and that he would teach me how to trifle away my time, and break gates. He then went to a large gum-tree, and with his axe cut three large switches, and, after trimming them up neatly with his pocketknife, he ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with my clothes on. He repeated his order. I still made him no answer, nor did I move to strip myself. Upon this he rushed at me with the fierceness of a tiger, tore off my clothes, and lashed me till he had worn out his switches, cutting me so savagely as to leave the marks visible for a long time after. This whipping was the first of a number just like it, and for similar offences.

Mr. Covey had a reputation as a “nigger-breaker,” but was going to experience considerable difficulties, even a threat to his professional standing, in his attempts to break this particular nigger.

[We will notice, however, that at no point in the struggle would Douglass try to kill Edward Covey, something reasonable and easy, for he was trying to do something considerably more fraught, get such a person’s attention and then talk turkey to him: “I seized Covey hard by the throat.... I told him....” Strange to relate, although in this struggle Douglass had drawn blood from Covey and could reasonably have anticipated that as soon as order and propriety had been restored he would be tortured to death by “The Snake” and his Christian crowd — he would find that instead he was no longer being lashed. Douglass seems to have attributed this to his master’s economic need to obtain maximum work from him with minimum expenditure of effort. Consider this as bravado, in the face of the fact that the only difficulty Covey would have had in killing Douglass, other



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

than in ordering the other laborers to dig a shallow hole in the field alongside the corpse, would have come when he had to reimburse Thomas Auld for his economic loss:



I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me.

But one wonders whether it was not precisely this hopeless resistance which may have inspired Covey to respect Douglass as a man and as a human. I offer that these fights in the fields of [Maryland](#) may well have been a turning-point not only in the individual life of Douglass, but also –unfortunately– in the ideology of nonresistance to evil as espoused by William Ladd, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#), [Abby Kelley](#), John A. Collins, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, Edmund Quincy, John Humphrey Noyes of the [Perfectionist](#), and William Lloyd Garrison. For later on Douglass would use this memory as fuel for his breach with other antislavery advocates over Garrison’s principled nonresistance to evil and as fuel for the encouragement, by the allies of John Brown, of an indigenous uprising of the black slaves of the South, when Douglass began in 1851 to find alternate funding from the “Liberty Party” created by the intemperate wealthy white man Gerrit Smith. We see that Frederick Douglass believed he had already put what would become the doctrine of *ahimsa* to the ultimate test, and that he had already discovered this doctrine to be ultimately wrongheaded — and was following the path of Nehru rather than the path of [Gandhiji](#).]

SLAVERY

While this sturm-und-drang about becoming free from slavery was going on in [Maryland](#), in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the quietist Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was writing in his journal about becoming free from sin:

4th day 1st of 1 M 1834 / I am thankful in being Able to insert today that is has been a day of some favour - a good day, wherein my soul has experienced some access to the fountain of good, & been enabled to cry in Secret Abba Father.— Our Meeting which was silent was free from conflict which has often awaited me of late. — I rejoice in it & most ardently have I desired for help & preservation.⁹

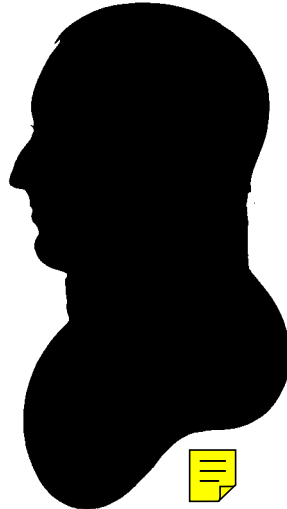
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

9. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1833-1836: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 9 Folder 15: January 1, 1833-August 28, 1836; also on microfilm, see Series 7



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



March 18, Tuesday, 19, Wednesday, and 20, Thursday: In [Boston](#), the Reverends [Adin Ballou](#) and Daniel D. Smith debated each other to a standstill in regard to the burning issue of whether God was going to punish them after death for their sins. Their important remarks in regard to this perplexity would later, of course, be printed out pretty much in full so that those who had not been able to be present for the entire fascinating 3-day slugathon between the two heavyweight divines would be able to profit at their leisure from all this careful intellectual lifting:

REPORT OF A PUBLIC DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE REVS. ADIN BALLOU, AND DANIEL D. SMITH; ON THE QUESTION, "DO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TEACH THE DOCTRINE, THAT MEN WILL BE PUNISHED SUBSEQUENTLY TO THIS LIFE, OR AFTER DEATH, FOR THE DEEDS DONE IN THIS LIFE?" HELD IN BOSTON, ON TUESDAY MARCH 18, A.D. 1834, AND CONTINUED THROUGH WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY.

DAMN YOU TO ALL HELL

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

 May 14, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured at the Lyceum in [Concord](#).

The Reverend [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#) was installed as the [Unitarian](#) pastor of the 1st Congregational Church and society in Canton, Massachusetts.



The installation sermon was preached by the Reverend [George Ripley](#). The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) took an important part in the proceedings and would later describe that sermon and its aftermath as follows:




The council was composed mostly of members of the Unitarian denomination, the sermon being preached by Rev. George Ripley of Boston, from Heb. 13:8: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever." Mr. Brownson was a ripe scholar, an able preacher, and a writer of rare ability. But in theology, metaphysics, ethics, and ecclesiasticism, his convictions, positions, and associations underwent strange vicissitudes. Soon after his settlement at Canton, he became a Transcendentalist, subsequently espousing the "Workingmen's Movement" (of which he was for awhile a distinguished champion), and later went over to the Roman Catholic church, resting there from his religio-philosophical journeyings, and rising to eminence as the author of several works devoted chiefly to the defence of the doctrines, polity, and traditions of the papal hierarchy. Rev. Mr. Ripley afterwards acquired a wide notoriety as the leader of the "Brook Farm" community, and later still, as literary editor for a generation of the [New York Tribune](#).



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

1835

 [Hosea Hildreth](#) died (after being expelled by Congregationalists during the previous year from ministering over their First Parish Church of Gloucester, Massachusetts, he had been serving as minister for a [Unitarian](#) congregation in Westboro, Massachusetts).

Dr. [Charles Follen](#) was no longer to be the Professor of Germanic Literature at [Harvard College](#), new funding having failed to appear perhaps on account of his often-proclaimed abolitionist sympathies but more likely because he had been such an outspoken opponent of the disciplinarian President of Harvard, Josiah Quincy, Sr. His widow and his friend Samuel May would be convinced he had been dropped for being indiscreetly vocal about antislavery, but the attitude taken by Harvard's Dr. Reginald H. Phelps toward this has been that there is nothing whatever in the record which might substantiate such an accusation: outside funds for his professorship, which initially had been being supplied by his wife's relatives, had run out with the Corporation simply neglecting to endow a more permanent professorship in German. Phelps points out that Follen might have elected to continue on at an instructor's status and salary, a point which seems to have been neglected by those who hold that he had been dismissed. The maximum case that might be made for persecution on account of antislavery activities would be, not that he had been sluffed off, but that the powers that be in the academic world had failed to prefer him.

He had an alternative, because the friendship of the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) had drawn him into the [Unitarian Church](#). In this year he was ordained as a minister and called to the pulpit of the 2d Congregational Society at East Lexington, Massachusetts (in 1839 he would build himself an octagonal church, that is now the Follen Church Society-Unitarian Universalist). Instead of continuing at Harvard, but on an instructor's salary and with an instructor's status, this energetic gentleman had simply opted for a different sort of career.

In this year efforts to break down the barriers –social, educational, and theological– between [Unitarians](#) and Restorationist Universalists ended, with the death of the Reverend Bernard Whitman. After this untimely death, although [Adin Ballou](#) would remain a Restorationist, he would take little part in apologetic and ecclesiastical affairs. Instead, already won to the [temperance](#) cause, he would devote his energies to social reform.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



August 9, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#)'s espousal of a "higher law," a need to obey the dictates of one's personal conscience even when this conflicted with the demands of statute law and of custom and precedent, can usefully be compared and contrasted with the attitude of the US Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, toward the South's perceived need to purge abolitionist writings such as the Liberator from the US mail. On this date Kendall wrote to the postmaster of Charleston allowing that he could begin to search the mails for incoming materials like the Liberator, and burn any offending documents:¹⁰

We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the community in which we live and, if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them.

Here is what Lewis Perry has had to say about this concept of the Higher Law, which, he pointed out, was "a phrase with important variations in meaning":



The phrase has been much favored by historians, but was not used frequently by nonresistant abolitionists. The higher law could refer simply to the obligations of Christian conscience which prevented compliance with an unjust civil statute (in which case it was a component of the divine government as understood by non-resistants). It could refer to the embodiment of universal, legal morality within the unwritten code of the land (as in [The Reverend Lysander] Spooner's writings). It could also refer to a Christian standard of politics toward which saints were expected to drive their governments (whether this was a libertarian or authoritarian standard varied among political abolitionists). And in contemporary justification of John Brown it referred to a state of grace in which one man, by virtue of his faith in his ideas, became his own source of law, higher than any government.

Nonresistants may be compared with Transcendentalists to clarify different implications of the higher law. With few exceptions, nonresistants believed that there was one grand source of law outside their sphere of understanding: God. Fear of affronting this authority dictated broad leeway of private judgment. It was clear that intermediate forms of coercion, government, and enslavement violated God's law; the range of options left for private judgment was clearly restricted by God's law. Transcendentalism, generally speaking, assumed correspondence between abstract verities and human impulses, and thus it trusted strictly individual, but nonetheless human, sources of law. Less attention was paid to God the lawmaker. A man had to obey his own nature. Lacking the security of fixed prohibitions, such as that violence and homicide are infractions of the divine law, the transcendentalist might be left in deeper difficulties than the nonresistant by the relativity of private judgment. He might feel unqualified admiration for John Brown as, in Emerson's words, "a pure idealist, with no by-ends of his own," as a man who "believed in his ideas to the extent that he existed to put them all into action; he said 'he did not believe in moral suasion, he believed in putting the thing through.'"

10. This would be termed the "Post Office Lynch Law." It was a volkish attitude worthy of the Third Reich. [Thoreau](#), by espousing a higher law based not upon this putative "obligation to the community in which we live" but instead upon one's personal relationship with God, was at least in part seeking to subvert such racist illegalism. Tongue in cheek, he turned the US Postmaster's own argument quite against these racists and their all-white community.



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Bronson Alcott, the only one of those ordinarily called [Transcendentalists](#) who was also a Garrisonian nonresistant, provided one of the most striking examples of nonviolent action in the 1850s. When armed abolitionists were being repelled in their attempt to deliver a Negro fugitive from Boston's court house, Alcott stepped forward and asked quietly, "Why are we not within?" His dignity was unruffled by a response of gunfire, but no one followed him. Though his action did not free anyone, Alcott furnished one of the rare examples of "practical Christianity" or active nonresistance. It is meaningful to say that he excelled other nonresistants on their own terms. We might conclude that, when the law of intuition was made identical with the Christian injunction of nonresistance, the result was proof against even such temptations as the plight of an imprisoned runaway. Alcott did not need to devise categories to exhort other men to violence. But no one else combined nonresistance and transcendentalism. And even Alcott, when he met John Brown, wrote ominously in his journal: "This is the man to do the Deed."

Most [Transcendentalists](#) spurned nonresistance. Brook Farm criticized [Hopedale](#) for presuming that divine laws, such as nonresistance, could be generalized in a creed. Orestes Brownson carried transcendentalism into a militant espousal of the interests of labor; in this cause he thought that armed resistance could be a Christian necessity. Although he wished that the world might comply with the principle of peace, he was shocked when nonresistants criticized Bunker Hill, "where Liberty and Slavery once met in the death-struggle." Emerson praised the principle of nonresistance lavishly in his diaries, but these private judgments were part of an inner life, walled off from public action. [The Reverend] [Adin Ballou](#) could not admire Emerson for this reason. If some of his "transcendental abstractions" were put into practice, they might "regenerate the world. But the fatal hitch with such moralists is that neither they nor their admirers can sail out of the old ship of society as it is." Emerson had told Ballou that his "utmost" would be to guide his own family above the plane of earthly strife.

[The Reverend Theodore Parker] did not lay the same priority on private life; he was an active abolitionist. Clear on most subjects, he was ambiguous about nonresistance. Although he respected nonresistants, he stated that the doctrine "never went down with me" – and for a transcendentalist it was what went down with him that counted. He admitted that his private opinions had fluctuated considerably on nonresistance; the BIBLE was not altogether clear, but he was not in any case "inclined to settle such questions on the authority of Jesus.... I could not cast down my own nature and be faithless to my own soul." He did not preach on the question, favorably or unfavorably, because his mind was not made up, because men needed no urging to fight, and because nonviolence was right in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. But in being faithful to his own ideas, of course, he was associated with the most violent quarters of antislavery; he was one of the "Secret Six" who conspired with John Brown.

Thoreau deserves special attention since he is often called an anarchist and since his philosophy is sometimes compared to



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Garrisonianism. His views had little in common with nonresistance. Alcott's program for the New England nonresistants was the distillation from their consciences of persuasive simple truths; these were the measures with which he sought to evangelize the coercive world. Thoreau, on the other hand, paid little attention to the existence of universal truths. He placed a somewhat mystical value on particular experiences; he doubted the possibility of universal reform with a Calvinistic vehemence. His few remarks on antislavery, including his praise of John Brown, reveal a violent potential in what often is considered a philosophy of principled nonviolence.

Thoreau was generally critical of the reformers. In 1854, however, after Massachusetts had rendered a fugitive slave back to his owners, he spoke at a protest meeting in Framingham MA. Much of his time was spent in arguing the superiority of the countryside to the city and in attacking newspapers as bulwarks of slavery. He also used higher law to support arguments already familiar to antislavery – any perceiver of truth must judge the judges, law cannot make men free. But it was necessary for Thoreau to explain how he had gotten onto an antislavery platform in the first place: "I had never respected the government near to which I had lived, but I had foolishly thought I might manage to live here, minding my private affairs, and forget it." How he was impressed that his life was passing, not through some neutral zone, but "wholly within hell."

Even this shock did not mean that he joined organized reform. But he was ready, four years later, to condemn it for failing to equal his admiration for the hero John Brown. "A man of rare common sense and directness of speech, as of action; a transcendentalist above all, a man of ideas and principles," was his conception of Brown. This soldier "had no need to invent anything but to tell the simple truth, and communicate his own resolution." His martyrdom fed Thoreau's hatred of the respectable, commercial world. But Thoreau was not opposed to any government except that which disturbed his peace of mind. He explicitly identified Brown with a government needing no suffrage to establish justice and resist tyranny and occupying a Christian beachhead.

Thoreau brooded over the execution of John Brown and, a year later, he set his reflections down clearly. The martyr had been "the embodiment of principle," and therefore it was irrelevant to pass judgment on his means: "The man who does not recognize in Brown's words a wisdom and nobleness, and therefore an authority, superior to our laws, is a modern Democrat. This is the test by which to discover him. He is not wilfully but constitutionally blind on this side, and he is consistent with himself." Harpers Ferry was a test of personal sanctification; sinners could be discriminated from saints according to the ways in which different persons responded to Brown. As Thoreau proceeded to ridicule the ambitions and even the physical appearance of his neighbors, he spoke in terms of original sin:

"It is not every man who can be a Christian,
even in a very moderate sense, whatever education
you give him. It is a matter of constitution



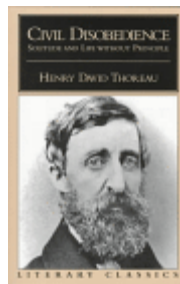
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and temperament, after all. He may have to be born again many times. I have known many a man who pretended to be a Christian, in whom it was ridiculous, for he had no genius for it. It is not every man who can be a free man, even."

We may judge from this last sentence that not even in his veneration of Captain John Brown had Thoreau become an abolitionist.

Brown became Thoreau's personal Christ, a figure of unquestionable authority to liberate him from oppressive visions of authority. In the resulting scheme of law, Brown's importance as a reformer was dismissed; he was simply a vengeful foe of the unregenerate. Thoreau was able to celebrate "Resistance to Civil Government" (this was the original title of his great 1849 essay on civil disobedience).



So intent was he on the signs of his private consciousness, however, that he scarcely spoke of sinless alternatives to civil government. It was enough to worship the heroism -the faith in ideas- of Captain John Brown.

This brief look at the [Transcendentalists](#) gives perspective on the vacillations of the nonresistants in the 1850s. Nonresistants may not have measured up very well to their own original standards of pacifism, but they never ventured to proclaim any man a law unto himself. They also kept their minds on the goal of abolishing slavery more clearly than such a worshiper of John Brown as Thoreau. But transcendentalists and nonresistants shared the problem of how the validity of principles could be fixed between the sovereign individual and the sovereign God. The transcendentalists decided some men could embody principles and bring them to life. The nonresistant was left with the relativity of private judgment.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Morning rose early & Seth Davis took me to the Lexington & returned home in plenty of time to have gone to Meeting, but feeling quite fatigued & unwell, was satisfied to stay at home but attended the Afternoon sitting, it was however to me a season of leanness tho' Father was engaged in testimony & I have no doubt it was a time of favour & good feeling to some -but the body & mind are so connected that when one suffers the other is

very likely to

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1837

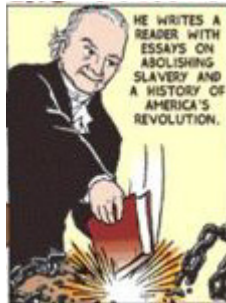


The American Anti-Slavery Society put out the 4th issue of its abolitionist “omnibus” entitled The Anti-Slavery Examiner, containing “The Bible Against Slavery. An Inquiry Into the Patriarchal and Mosaic Systems on the Subject of Human Rights.” (This would be followed by “The Bible ... Human Rights. Third Edition – Revised.” and by “The Bible ... Human Rights. Fourth Edition – Enlarged.”)

TEXT
INDEX

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)’s THE TOUCHSTONE. The Reverend came out publicly as, shudder, an abolitionist. Although this announcement produced turmoil at his Mendon church, the pastor’s supporters would there prevail. He would be less successful in introducing such a reform at this year’s meeting of the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists, his proposal there only producing a rift in fellowship between a group of social reformers and the conservative divines (under the guidance of the Reverend Paul Dean).

[Noah Webster, Jr.](#) instructed a daughter who was being unduly influenced by the abolitionist cause that “*slavery is a great sin and a general calamity – but it is not our sin, though it may prove to be a terrible calamity to us in the north. But we cannot legally interfere with the South on this subject. ... To come north to preach and thus disturb our peace, when we can legally do nothing to effect this object, is, in my view, highly criminal and the preachers of abolitionism deserve the penitentiary.*” Wow, we ought to lock up the Frederick Douglass who followed the North Star to disturb Noah’s daughter’s peace? –With friends like this the American antislavery crusade certainly didn’t need any enemies!



1838

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) converted to a form of pacifism termed “Christian Non-resistance,” that was based on the injunction in the Sermon on the Mount “Resist not evil.”

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December 24: At the suggestion of their pastor, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), a congregation in Mendon instituted a celebration of the holiday known as “[Christmas](#).” (The record does not, however, indicate that they deviated so far toward pagan custom as to exchange gifts with one another on this holy day.)¹¹



Soon after this event, the Reverend Ballou became convinced that it was utterly futile to attempt to evade the command of Jesus “Resist not evil,” utterly futile to attempt to remove evil from the earth by tactics that simply piled evil on top of evil, and renounced, for him finally, all use of that principle relied upon by righteous people everywhere in all ages, “Peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must — the shibboleth of all the defenders of violence and bloodshed since the world began.” He authored a tract titled “Standard of Practical Christianity” only to find that his fellow ministers were “breaking their bond of fellowship” with him on account of the passive perversity of this new leading.¹²

James Thomson, a Roxbury, New York farmer, ... recorded visiting in his diary in several different years, even if he did not always mention that it was [Christmas](#) day:

December 1838 25 Tuesday was Christmas Father went over to Bovina to see John Kirstel and John & Walter Hamelton & Isabela & Helen with old Mary McAdams come here in the Evening a visiting And the School Master Staid all night

26 Wednesday was more pleasent Jenet and Father went to Roxbury and got back a litle after dark. I threshed Some oats

December 1839 25 Wedensday was a fine day being Clear in the morning Father went to the mill. And Walter and Isabel Hamelton come hear a visiting this Evening

26 Thursday was a fine day Jenet & John went to Alexander Johnstons & James Russls with the Sleigh

December 1840 24 Thursday was a Cold day Robert White Came here last night and is here today

25 Christmas was a clear but very Cold day Robert McFarland & me wen to

December 1857 23 Wednesday- It was cold today and the ground frose up we started for home about noon called

11. Thomas Nast is usually credited with creating our modern image of the jolly fat Santa Clause in the red fur-trimmed suit, and this despite the fact that he cartooned in black and white(!) — However, in this Year of Our Lord 1838, before Nast had even been conceived let alone born, Robert Weir had done a number of nice paintings of this Saint Nicholas. See Laretta Dimmick, “Robert Weir’s *Saint Nicholas*: A Knickerbocker Icon,” *Art Bulletin* (Sept. 1984) See also Stephen Nissenbaum’s “Revisiting ‘A Visit from St. Nicholas’: The Battle for Christmas in Early Nineteenth-Century America” in James Gilbert, Amy Gilman, Donald Scott, and Joan Scott, eds., *THE MYTHMAKING FRAME OF MIND: SOCIAL IMAGINATION AND AMERICAN CULTURE* (1993)

12. Baker, Lisa B. *CHRISTIANITY, SECULARIZATION, AND CHRISTMAS IN THE UNITED STATES 1850 AND TODAY*. Religious Studies/Sociology Senior Thesis for Professors Gary Herion and Ed Ambrose, May 1999

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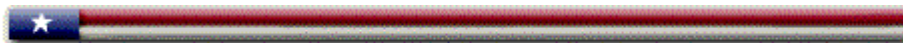
at Margaritsvill & New Kingston & got home after dark
24 Thursday- This was a pritty cold day I went over to
Bovina in the afternoon called at A H & Sandy Johnstons
and at Isaac Maynerds then went to Robert McFarlands and
staid all night (Thomson 1838-40, 1857)

It is hard to say which characters are family and which are
friends, but clearly in the experience of James Thomson, the
Christmas season is for visiting others.

1839



In this year the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), definitely a “struggler,” put out his pamphlet NON-RESISTANCE AND HUMAN GOVERNMENTS.



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Acting with a few ministerial colleagues and some laymen, [Adin Ballou](#) composed the STANDARD OF PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY. The signatories announced their withdrawal from “the governments of the world,” which they judged contaminated by dependence on the use of force to maintain order. While they could not participate in government, neither would they rebel nor “resist any of their ordinances by physical force.” “We cannot employ carnal weapons nor any physical violence whatsoever,” they proclaimed, “not even for the preservation of our lives. We cannot render evil for evil . . . nor do otherwise than ‘love our enemies.’”



He had come to believe that Practical Christians were called to make their convictions a reality — that they should begin to fashion a new civilization. Accordingly, after studying other current utopian community plans, such as Brook Farm, he and his fellow Practical Christians began to design their own community.

September 25: At the 1st anniversary meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May waxed positively Thoreauvian, offering that:

I find that I place every year less value on organization,
as I more clearly discern the power that resides in the individual.



At this meeting the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) advocated that the purpose of nonresistance was “neither to purify nor to subvert human governments, but to advance in the earth that kingdom of peace and righteousness, which supersedes all such governments.” He opined, however, that not everyone was capable immediately of perfect self-government, that there were some humans “who will not be in willing subjection to the **divine**,” and for those, at least in the short run, coercion was “a **necessary** evil.”



**Remarks of Adin Ballou
at the First Annual Meeting
of the Non-Resistance Society,
held in Boston, Sept. 25, 1839.¹³**

Friend President –

‘Where the Spirit of The Lord is, there is liberty.’ I feel that the Spirit of the Lord is in this meeting, and that all who participate in its discussions are at liberty to express their convictions and peculiar views in their own way, without fear of offending each other. We are of various religious connexions, and have not only different opinions on many points, but different modes of thought and expression. Be it so; since we

13. NON-RESISTANCE IN RELATION TO HUMAN GOVERNMENTS (Boston MA: Non-resistance Society, 1839)



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come together in love for the consideration and promotion of that grand virtue of Christianity without which all others become practically unfruitful.

For my own part, I am not only not offended at hearing opinions and ideas expressed here contrary in some respects to my own, but I am happy to hear them delivered with that freedom and independence which evinces the absence of even a suspicion that any one can take offence. This is a sure presage of the triumph of truth over all our errors, whatever they may be, or whoever may hold them.

My views of the subject presented in the resolution just submitted may not entirely coincide with those of my friends; but I offer them frankly, expecting that they will be accepted or rejected, as each individual may judge that they deserve.

I perceive with joy that a divine instinct, if so I may term it, actuates my brethren and sisters of this convention in favor of non-resistance. This instinct is strong, and true as the needle to the pole; while at the same time few of us clearly understand how a non-resistant should carry out his principles, especially with respect to human government. The heart is right though the head may err. We love the blessed principle of non-resistance, though perhaps not sufficiently acute and discriminating, either to state or defend it always correctly. Hence we are not to be argued down by polemic ingenuity and eloquence; which however confounding is yet unconvincing, that on the whole we are not right. If I can contribute any thing towards a better understanding of this important subject, so as to obviate any of its seeming difficulties, I shall deem myself happy in the privilege of being for a few moments a speaker.

The resolution before us is in these words:-'Resolved, That it is the object of this Society neither to purify nor to subvert human governments, but to advance in the earth that kingdom of peace and righteousness, which supersedes all such governments.' In speaking to this resolution, I do so, not formally and technically in the name of this Society (of which I am not a member) but simply as a non-resistant, in defence of the common cause in which we are all engaged. I therefore take the resolution as if it read: 'Resolved, That it is the object of all true non-resistants' &. What then are the capital points which it embraces? It seems to suggest three general inquiries, viz. What is human government? What is divine government? What is the object of non-resistants with respect to human government?

What is human government? It is the will of man-whether of one, few, many or all, in a state or nation - exercising absolute authority over man, by means of cunning and physical force. This will may be ascertained, declared and executed, with or without written constitutions and laws, regularly or irregularly, in moderation or in violence; still it is alike human government under all forms and administrations, the will of man exercising absolute authority over man, by means of cunning and physical force. It may be patriarchal, hierarchal, monarchal, aristocratical, democratical, or mobocratical - still it answers to this definition. It originates in man, depends on man, and makes man the lord - the slave of man.

What is the divine government? It is the infallible will of God



prescribing the duty of moral agents, and claiming their primary undivided allegiance, as indispensable to the enjoyment of pure and endless happiness. In the resolution it is denominated 'the kingdom and reign of Christ.' The kingdom of Christ is the kingdom of God; for what is Christ's is God's. The Father dwelleth in the Son, and without HIM the Son can do nothing. In this kingdom the all perfect God is sole King, Lawgiver, and Judge. He divides his authority with no creature; he is absolute Sovereign; he claims the whole heart, mind, and strength. His throne is in the spirit, and he writes his law on the understanding. Whosoever will not obey him implicitly is not yet delivered from the kingdom of darkness, and abides in moral death.

From this it appears that human government, properly so called, can in no case be either superior to, or coequal with, the divine. Can this conclusion be avoided? There are three, and but three cases, in which human government may dispute supremacy with the divine. 1. When God requires one thing and man requires the contrary. In this case, whom ought we to obey? All christians must answer, with the faithful apostles of old, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' But must we disobey parents, patriarchs, priests, kings, nobles, presidents, governors, generals, legislatures, constitutions, armies, mobs, all rather than disobey God? We MUST; and then patiently endure the penal consequences. Then surely human government is nothing against the government of God. 2. Human government and divine government sometimes agree in prescribing the same duty; i. e. God and man both require the same thing. In this case ought not the reverence of human authority constitute at least a part of the motive for doing right. We will see. Did man originate this duty? No. Did he first declare it? No. Has he added one iota of obligation to it? No. God originated it, first declared it, and made it in the highest possible degree obligatory. Human government has merely borrowed it, reechoed, and interwoven it with the tissue of its own enactments. How then can the christian turn his back on Jehovah, and make his low obeisance to man? Or how can he divide his reverence between the divine and mere human authority? How can he perform this duty any more willingly or faithfully, because human government has reenacted it? Evidently he cannot. He will feel that it is the Creator's law, not the creature's; that he is under the highest possible obligation to perform it from reverence to God alone. Man has adopted it, and incorporated it with his own devices, but he has added nothing to its rightfulness or force. Here again human government is virtually nothing. It has not even a claim of joint reverence with that of the divine. 3. Human legislators enact many laws for the relief, convenience, and general welfare of mankind, which are demonstrably right and salutary, but which God never expressly authorized in detail. In this case has not human authority a primary claim to our reverence? Let us see. What is the motive from which a true christian will perform these requirements of man? Must he not first be convinced that they are in perfect harmony with the great law of love to God and man - that they agree with what list the divine Lawgiver has expressly required? Doubtless. Well, when fully convinced of this, what are they to him but mere amplifications of the



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heavenly law-new applications of its plain principles – more minute details of acknowledged general duty? What, therefore, is demonstrably right, he will feel bound to approve and scrupulously practice, not for human government's sake, but for righteousness sake – or, in other words, for the divine government's sake. This must be his great motive; for no other would be a holy motive. It is one thing to discover new items of duty-new applications of moral obligation-and another to create them. Men may discover and point out new details-circumstantial peculiarities of duty-but he cannot create principles, nor originate moral obligation. The infinite Father has preoccupied this whole field. What then if the Legislature discover a new item of duty, arising out of a new combination of circumstances, and enact a good law for the observance of that duty, with pains and penalties annexed; or what if a Convention like this discover the existence of such an item of duty, and affirm it in the form of a solemn resolution; the duty once made plain, no matter how, would not the truly good man be under precisely the same obligation to perform it? And if the Legislature should afterwards without cause repeat such law, and enact a bad one in its stead; or if this Convention should not affirm the existence of the duty before declared, would not the enlightened christian be under precisely the same obligation still? None of these supposed circumstances ought to weigh a feather upon the conscience. The sense of obligation must look directly to the Great Source of moral perfection, and the grand controlling motive of a holy heart in the performance of every duty must be, God requires it-it is right-it is best. We must perform all our duties as out unto God, and not unto man.

The conclusion is therefore unavoidable, that the will of man [human government] whether in one, a thousand, or many millions, has no intrinsic authority-no moral supremacy-and no rightful claim to the allegiance of man. It has no original, inherent authority whatsoever over the conscience. What then becomes of human government, as contradistinguished from the divine government? Is it not a mere cypher? When it opposes God's government it is nothing; when it agrees with his government it is nothing; and when it discovers a new item of duty-a new application of the general law of God-it is nothing.

We now arrive at the third inquiry suggested in the resolution before us, viz. What is the object of non-resistants with respect to human government? Is it their object to purify it, to reform it? No; for our principles forbid us to take any part in the management of its 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 retire. Separate from what is commonly considered human government all that it has borrowed, or stolen from the divine, and what remains? What is there in the mere human worth purifying-capable of purification? Nothing. Again; is it our object to subvert human government-to overthrow it-to turn it upside down? By no means. We utterly disclaim any such object.



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We are no Jacobins, Revolutionists, Anarchists; though often slanderously so denominated. And here I must be permitted to make some explanations, demanded by the public misapprehension of our real position and general movement. It seems to be taken for granted, that we have started a crusade to force the practice of non-resistance upon nations, states, bodies politic and all existing organizations of human society; which is considered tantamount to an attempt for the violent subversion of human government. This is a very great mistake. We are not so insane as to imagine any such result practicable in the nature of things. We put our enterprize on purely christian grounds, and depend for success wholly on the use of christian means. We have nothing to do with nations, states, and bullies politic, merely as such; for they have neither souls nor consciences. We address ourselves to individuals, who have both soul and conscience, and expect to affect organized masses of men only through their individual members. And as to any kind of force, other than that of truth and love sustained by a consistent example, as non-resistants, we utterly eschew it, with respect to all moral agents, collectively and individually. We very well know that neither bodies politic, nor individuals, can practise christian non-resistance while actuated by the spirit of this world and void of christian principle, that is to say, while they are radically anti-christian in feeling, motive, conduct, and moral character. We are not so wild and visionary as to expect such impossibilities. Nor do we go against all human government in favor of no government. We make no such issue. On the contrary, we believe it to be among the irrevocable ordinations of God, that all who will not be governed by Him shall be governed by one another-shall be tyrannized over by one another; that so long as men will indulge the lust of dominion, they shall be filled with the it fruits of slavery; that they who will not be obedient to the law of love, shall bow down under the yoke of physical force; that 'they who take the sword shall perish with the sword and that while so many as twenty ambitious, proud, selfish revengeful, sinful men remain in any corner of the world, they shall be subject to a human government of violence among themselves. If men will make themselves sick, physic is a necessary evil. If they will not observe the laws of health, they must bow to the dictation of doctors. If they will be gluttons, drunkards, debauches, and pugilists, they must make the best of emetics, cathartics, cautery, amputation, and whatever else ensues. 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. Its restraints are better than no restraints at all-and its evils are preventives of greater. For thus it is that selfishness is made to thwart selfishness, pride to humble pride, revenge to check revenge, cruelty to deter cruelty, and wrath to punish wrath; that the vile lusts of men, overruled by infinite wisdom, may counterwork and destroy each other. In this way human government grows out of the disorder of rebellious moral natures, and will continue, by inevitable consequence, in some form or other among men, till HE whose right it is to reign 'shall be all in all.' Meantime, non-resistants are required by





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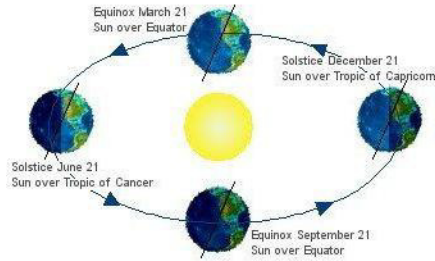
their principles not to resist any of the ordinances of these governments by physical force, however unjust and wicked; but to be subject to the powers that be, either actively or passively. Actively, in doing whatever they require that is agreeable to the law of God, or which may be innocently consented to. Passively, in the patient sufferance of their penalties, whenever duty to the divine government requires that man should be disobeyed. No unnecessary offence is to be given to Caesar; but his tribute money is to be rendered to him, and his taxes quietly paid; while at the same time the things which belong unto God are to be most scrupulously rendered to HIM, regardless alike of the favor or the frowns of all the governments earth. What then is to be the object of non-resistants with respect to human governments-if it is neither to purify nor subvert them? The resolution declares that it is to supersede them. To supersede them with what? With the kingdom of Christ. How? By the spiritual regeneration of their individual subjects-by implanting in their minds higher principles of feeling and action - by giving them heavenly instead of earthly motives. And now, to understand this process of superseding, let us consider the nature of Christ's kingdom. It is not an outward, temporal kingdom, like those of this world. It is spiritual, moral, eternal. When the Jews demanded information about the coming of this kingdom, ignorantly expecting it to appear with unparalleled external majesty, pomp, and circumstance, Jesus replied: 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall men say, lo here, or lo there; for behold, the kingdom of God is within you.' When before Pilate, charged by his enemies with having set himself up against Cæsar as a king, he said-'My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews. But now is my kingdom not from hence.' When his yet worldly minded disciples strove among themselves which should be greatest in his kingdom, he washed their feet with his own hands, for an example, and declared unto them that he among them who would be greatest should be least of all, and servant of all. He forbade them to exercise lordship, after the manner of carnal men among the nations of the earth, but to esteem each other better than themselves, and to regard humility as the only true greatness; to vie with each other-not for the highest, but for the lowest place - not for a chance to rule, but for a chance to serve-not for the blessedness of receiving, but for that of giving-not for the praise of man, but for the approval of God-not for the prerogative of inflicting physical suffering for righteousness' sake, but for the privilege of enduring it. Hence he made himself the great Exemplar of non-resistants; and 'when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to HIM that judgeth righteously; enduring every insult, reproach; cruelty, and torture of his enemies, with unprovokable patience, and unconquerable love; forgiving his most deadly persecutors, and expiring with a prayer upon his lips for their salvation. Thus he overcame evil, with good; and, leaving behind him the Alexanders and Cæsars of this world in their base murderous glory, earned for himself a name which is above every name, whether in this world or that to come; being highly exalted at



the DIVINE RIGHT HAND, 'that unto him every knee should bow, of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth-and every tongue confess him Lord to the glory of God the Father. Such is the Lord and Master of christians; whom they are to obey and vari imitate, rather than Moses, or Samuel, or David, or Solomon, or Elijah, or Daniel, or even John. His kingdom is the kingdom of heaven; wherein all legislative, judicial, and avenging power is vested exclusively in that High and Holy One, who cannot ERR, either in sentiment, judgment, or action. Of this kingdom the apostle truly says-it 'is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' The fruit of its spirit, he further says - 'is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.' 'Now they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts.' Having learned to renounce carnal weapons of defence, worldly honors, political preferments, and a vain dependence on the operations of human government for the care of moral disorders, they cease to avenge themselves on evil doers, either on their own responsibility as individuals, or on that of the State through its penal laws. They deem it their duty to forgive, not punish - to yield unto wrath and suffer wrong, without recompensing evil for evil-rereferring their cause always unto Him who had said, 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay,' - and thus obeying Christ in his injunction, to love enemies; bless them that curse, do good to them that hate, and pray for the despiteful and persecuting.

This is the doctrine and practice which non-resistants profess to have embraced, and according to the tenor of which they propose to supersede all human government with the divine. This is the real object of their present movement. They cease to take any active part in the affairs of human government. They cease to put their trust in the wisdom of man for guidance, or in the arm of flesh for protection. Yet they stand not in the attitude of antagonists to human government; nor can they allow themselves to be mistaken for anarchists, nor be considered as willing to give any just cause of offence to the 'powers that be.' Neither can they enter into any quarrel with professedly good men, who feel called to no higher mission than that of reigning or serving in the kingdoms of this world. But we hear a voice from above, saying - 'What is that to thee? follow thou me.' And we deem it our privilege, through whatever of reproach or suffering we may be called, to show unto all good men whose reliance is even secondarily upon human government for the conversion of the world, 'a more excellent way.' And now, what is there so horrible, so dangerous, so alarming in all this? Why are we so misunderstood, misrepresented and denounced? These principles and this cause must prevail if christianity itself shall prevail; and blessed are they among our opposers, whose mistaken zeal shall not betray them into a warfare against God. But the cry salutes our ears from the open mouths even of professing christians.- 'Non-resistance is impracticable in the present state of the world; you must wait till the millennium.' I answer; 'to him that believeth all things are possible.' Let the power of love and forbearance be faithfully exemplified, and it will remove mountains. And as to the millennium, what is it? Is it a state of things to come about like the seasons, by the

revolution of the planets? Is it to be the result of some



arbitrary mechanical process? or of a mere chemical agency? Is it to be the effect of physical or of moral causes? Alas! how many are expecting the millennium to come 'with observation;' just as the Jews of old were expecting the kingdom of God; not knowing that this millennium and kingdom, must be **within** men, before it can ever be around them. Let us have the spirit of the millennium and do the works of the millennium. Then will the millennium have already come; and then will it speedily embosom the whole earth. What is this cry of impracticability, but a cry of rebellion against the living God? What though under preliminary dispensations he winked at the ignorance of mankind, and even commanded his chosen servants to act a conspicuous part in the great system of governmental violence: this was only until 'the times of reformation.' In Christ He annuls the temporary ordinances of revenge, and commands forbearance – non-resistance to the physical violence of man, even of the most injurious. Hear his 'Revised Statutes,' – '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; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.' Now is it impracticable to obey this holy commandment? Is not God the best judge of what is practicable? Who has a right to question the expediency or practicability of what the Infinite Father through his Son has enjoined. And let us be careful not to narrow down the meaning of this commandment. It is much more comprehensive than most expositors have been willing to allow. It forbids not merely all personal, individual, self-assumed right of retaliation, but all revenge at law—all procuring of punishment to our injurers in the way of legal prosecution and judicial sentence. It goes this whole length. When our Lord says—'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'—he refers



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to the Mosaic Statute Law. By consulting Exodus 21: 22-25; Leviticus 24: 19, 20, and Deuteronomy 19: 18-21, we find the Statutes referred to; according to which life must be given 'for life, breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, and stripe for stripe.' The injured party, or his friends in his stead, had their redress and revenge at law. They might not take the business into their own hands, but must enter their complaint in due form to the elders of their town or city, and have a fair trial of the accused before the proper tribunals. When the sentence of the judges had been pronounced, it was executed in legal form; the criminal being doomed to suffer the same injury to life or limb, which he be(! caused to his neighbor. Thus when a man had received a wound from his fellow man, or lost an eye, or a tooth, a hand or a foot, he had his revenge at law; by due process of which he could thrust out an eye: or a tooth, or cut off a hand or a foot, or inflict any other injury which had been indicted on him. But however salutary this statute, and however necessary to the good order of society in the opinion of political moralists, the great Master of christians has **abrogated it**, and commanded his followers not to resist evil not to resist it even according to law-not to procure punishment to their injurers through the regular judicial medium; but to bear all indignities, insults, assaults and wrongs, with forgiving meekness and patience. Here then is an end to controversy, with all who mean to be wholly Christ's; they **must be non-resistants**. Who dares to question the rectitude, propriety, practicability, or expediency, of doing what the All-wise God has thus plainly required? Is it one who calls Christ Lord and Master? Alas! for the faithless, distrustful man. Do not such hear the words of Christ, in just reproof - saying 'Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I command?'

But all this passes for nothing with many, who exclaim - 'What are you going to do with the wolves and tigers of human kind? Are you going to give them full range for their prey? Will you invite the thief, the robber, the burglar, the murderer-to come and carry off your property, ravish away your treasures, spoil your house, butcher your wife and children, and shed your own heart's blood? Will you be such a fool, such an enemy to yourself, your family and society? Will you encourage all manner of rapine and bloodshed, by assurances that you will never resist, nor even prosecute the basest ruffians?' 'What a terrible appeal is this? how full of frightful images, and horrid anticipations of evil, from the practice of non-resistance. But if I am a christian, will such appeals move me? Am I a christian, and do I doubt that God will protect me and mine against all the thieves, robbers and murderers in the world, while I conscientiously do my duty? Am I more willing to rely upon forbidden means of defence, than upon the power of HIM who doeth his will in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth-and who hath said, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee?' 'But are you sure that God will always render your property, person and life secure from these attacks?' No; for it may be best that I should suffer-that I should even lose all things earthly. What then; is treasure on



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earth my only treasure? is worldly substance my chief good; is this life my only life? What if I should actually lose my money; have I not treasure laid up in heaven, where neither moth, nor rust, nor thieves can touch it? What if I should suffer great cruelties in my person 'for righteousness sake;' should I therefore be miserable? What if I should lose my own life and that of my family; should I not find life eternal for them and myself? I may be robbed, but I shall still be rich; I may be murdered, but I shall live forevermore; I may suffer the loss of all things earthly, but I shall gain all things heavenly. If I cannot confidently say this, am I a christian? 'Who then shall harm us, if we be followers of that which is good?' I have a right to expect, and I do confidently expect, that in practising the sublime virtue of non-resistance for the kingdom of heaven's sake, God will keep all that I commit to him in perfect safety, even here on earth, as long as it is for my good to be exempted from loss and suffering. I do firmly believe that in acting out these principles steadily and consistently, I shall continue longer uninjured, longer in the enjoyment of life, longer safe from the depredations, assaults and murderous violence of wicked men, than with all the swords, guns, pistols, dirks, peace officers, sheriffs, judges, prisons and gallows of the world. If this is the faith of a fool, then am I willing to be accounted a fool, till time shall test the merits of my position. It may not prove to be such great folly after all. 'Well, says the objector, I should like to know how you would manage matters, if the ruffian should actually break into your house with settled intent to rob and murder; would you shrink back coward like, and see your wife and children slaughtered before your eyes?' I cannot tell how I might act in such a dreadful emergency – how weak and frail I should prove. But I can tell how I ought to act – how I should wish to act. If a firm, consistent non-resistant, I should prove myself no coward; for it requires the noblest courage, the highest fortitude, to be a true non-resistant. If what I ought to be, I should be calm, and unruffled by the alarm at my door. I should meet my wretched fellow-man with a spirit, and air, a salutation, a deportment, so Christ-like, so little expected, so confounding, so morally irresistible, that in all probability his weapons of violence and death would fall harmless to his side. I would say – 'friend, why comest thou hither? surely not to injure those who wish thee nothing but good? This house is one of peace and friendship to all mankind. If thou art cold, warm thyself at our fire; if hungry, refresh thyself at our table; if thou art weary, sleep in our bed; if thou art destitute, poor, and needy, freely take of our goods. Come, let us be friends, that God may keep us all from evil and bless us with his protection.' What would be the effect of such treatment as this? Would it not completely overcome the feelings of the invader, so as either to make him retreat inoffensively out of the house, or at least forbear all meditated violence? Would it not be incomparably safer than a rush on the shattered door, half distracted with alarm, grasping some deadly weapon and bearing it aloft, looking fiery wrath, and mad defiance at the enemy? How soon would follow the mortal encounter, and how extremely uncertain the issue? The moment I appeared in such an attitude, (just the thing expected) would



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not coolness and well trained muscular force be almost sure to seal the fate of myself and family? But in acting the non-resistant part, should I not be likely, in nine cases out of ten, to escape with perfect safety? ['Yes,' said a brother, 'in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred." Yea, and perhaps nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand. Not however, to expect too much; suppose the robber should not be wholly deterred; would he, it worst, seek any thing beyond mere booty? Would not our lives and persons escape untouched? It would hardly be worth his while to murder or mangle those who opposed no force to his depredations. But we will make the case utterly desperate. Contrary to all probability, we will suppose that no moral majesty, no calm and dignified remonstrance, no divine interposition, availed any thing towards the prevention of the slaughter of an innocent family; what then would I do in the last resort? I would gather my loved ones in a group behind my person; I would cover their retreat to the farthest corner of our room; and there in their front would I receive the blows of the murderer. I would say to him – 'Since nothing but our blood will satisfy thy thirst, I commend my **all** to that God in whom I trust. He will receive us to his bosom; and may he have mercy on thee. Strike if thou wilt; but thou must come through my poor body to the bodies of these helpless victims!' Well, suppose the horrible tragedy complete, and our butchered remains all lying silent in their gore; what then? We are all dead; we fell clinging to each other in a moment the pains of death were over; the 'debt of nature' is paid, where are we now? Where? Annihilated? Miserable? No! Our happy spirits, conveyed by holy angels, wing their lightning flight to the bowers of paradise – to the home of the blest – to the blissful arms of an approving Redeemer – to the welcome embrace 'of the just made perfect.' Who would not rather pass away thus unstained with blood, into the joys of that Lord, who himself quenched the fiery darts of his malicious murderers with his own vital blood, than to purchase a few days of mortal life by precipitating into eternity a fellow creature, with his millstone of unrepentant crime about his neck? Is it so dreadful a thing for the christian to be hurried to heaven – to be sent into eternal life a little before his natural time – to have all his pains of dissolution crowded into a moment? Is life on earth, (brief at longest, and often embittered by distressing ills,) of so much value, that we would murder, rather than be murdered? O, let me die the death of the christian non-resistant, and let my last end be like his! Let me suffer and die with Christ, that I also may live and reign with him. The conclusion then is, in a vast majority of cases the non-resistant would remain unharmed by the sons of violence, and that in he worst supposable case, he would only be hurried out of this life, with his dear family, into a better. But rejoins the objector – 'I consider it the duty of a christian to look to the good of society at large, and to contribute what he can, in a lawful way, o the security of life, person and property around him. Therefore let him assist in bringing malefactors to justice, and not shrink from aiding the magistrate in preserving the bulwarks of order.' And so we are to throw away God's judgment of what is best, and trample under foot the solemn injunction of Christ! Well, what shall we gain



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by this infidelity and rebellion? 'Nay, – but we are in duty bound to love our neighbor – to seek the peace and welfare of society – to do our part towards protecting the innocent and helpless against the ravages of merciless wolves – to maintain wholesome penal restraints.' Answer. We think we are seeking this great end more effectually, as non-resistants, than we could do by becoming informers, prosecutors, jailers or hangmen. 'An ounce of preventive is worth more than a pound of curative.' But at all events, since we cannot fight, nor go to law for ourselves or our dearest relatives, we must decline doing so for any other description of persons. It is a favorite argument of our opposers, that we are not required to love our neighbors BETTER than ourselves. Whether this argument be sound or not, perhaps it is not now necessary to affirm; but it is certainly a very conclusive one, or ought to be, with the objector in this case, to show the unreasonableness of requiring us to do more for our neighbors in society at large, than for ourselves, our wives and children. We must act on the same principles, and pursue the same general course with respect to all; and in so doing 'we stand or fall to our own master.'

But we want the best men in office, the best laws and the best administration of government. Will you be recreant to your trust as citizens? Will you withhold your votes from the side and cause of light? Will you leave knaves and villains to govern the world?' Answer. We expect to do as much towards keeping the world in order by a straight-forward, consistent, exemplary practice of our principles, nay more, than by voting, office-holding, legislating, or punishing criminals. A truly good man wields an influence on our ground great and salutary wherever he is known. It is not by the poor test of numbers that righteousness can gain its deserved respect in the world. It is not by getting into places of worldly power and emolument, that christians are to promote human welfare. It is not by fighting with carnal weapons, and wielding the instruments of legal vengeance, that they can hope to strengthen the bonds of moral restraint. Majorities often decree folly and iniquity. Power oftener corrupts its possessor, than benefits the powerless. The real power which restrains the world is moral power, acting silently and unostentatiously within and upon the soul. He, therefore, who has the fewest outward signs of authority, will, if wise and holy, contribute most to the good order of mankind. Besides, even unprincipled men in office are compelled to bow to a strong public sentiment, superinduced by the efforts of good men in private life. They are not wanting in vanity to be esteemed the friends of virtue, and from this motive generally conform their laws and proceedings more or less to a right general opinion. If we can do any thing towards promoting a sound morality, as we hope to do we shall make our influence felt without envy, not only in the lowest depths of society, but ion the high places of political power. I expect, if true to my sense of duty, to do as much in my town and community towards preserving wholesome moral order, as if clothed with the official dignity of a first select-man, a representative to General Court, a justice of the peace, or even a member of Congress. Whatever my natural ambition might have coveted in the blindness of unchastened nature, I now envy not Governor, Presidents, or Monarchs, their



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stations of usefulness and glory; but feel that in humble obscurity I have a higher mission assigned me, in the faithful fulfillment of which it may be my privilege to do more for my race, than if elevated to either of their world-envied seats. Every true non-resistant will be a great conservator of public as well as private morals. Away then with the intrigues and tricks of political ambition, the petty squabbles of partizans and office-holders, the hollow bluster of demagogues, and the capricious admiration of a tickled multitude. Let us obey God, declare the truth, walk in love, and deserve the gratitude of the world, though we never receive it.

'But should non-resistants ever become the great majority in any community, pray how would they get on with public affairs. There must be highways, and bridges, and school houses, and education, and almshouses, and hospitals.' Very well; nothing easier than for communities of christian non-resistants to get along with all these matters. Suppose them to meet, in those days, from time to time within each town, or more general community, voluntarily, just as we are here assembled. Suppose them all anxious to know their duty, and ready to do it, as soon as clearly pointed out. Then of course the wisest will speak to attentive ears and upright minds. They will propose measures, discuss them in friendship, and come to a conclusion in favor of the best without wounding personal vanity, or breeding a quarrel with each other's selfishness. The law of love and the counsels of wisdom will prevail without strife, and all be eager to contribute their full share of expense and effort to the object. Instead of the leading few striving, as now who shall be first and greatest, the strife will then be who shall have the least authority. And among the mass, instead of the strife, as now, who shall bear the lightest burden, the only strife will be who shall do most for the promoting of every good work. Happy days, whenever they arrive! If there shall be any poor in those days, or any insane, or any unlettered, or unaccommodated travellers, they will soon be abundantly provided for, without the aid of physical force, pains or penalties. God hasten that blessed era of love and peace, and grant success to all our well directed efforts in this holy cause. Thus finally may all human governments be superseded by the divine government, and the kingdoms of this world be swallowed up in the one all-glorious kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. And now, having freely expressed my views and feelings on the subject of the resolution presented, I submit them to the consideration of the friends; hoping that they will receive into good and honest hearts whatever is worth retaining, and the worthless cast away.

1840

During this decade [Henry C. Wright](#) would be making a transition from nonresistance to spiritualism, that is to say, to communicating with souls who had passed “beyond the veil.” He would hail Andrew Jackson Davis of Poughkeepsie, one of the more notorious of the seers or spirit-communicators, as “a Jesus of this day.” He would shill for the Canadian [Fox Sisters](#) and their toe-joint-popping antics.



SPIRITUALISM

(In all fairness to the Reverend Wright, I must add that the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) and Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) were being similarly gullible.)



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Early in the year [John Adolphus Etzler](#) had returned from the West Indies to New-York. Undoubtedly to meet and suitably impress other reformers, he would there attend the Fourier Society of New York's annual celebration of the French philosopher-utopist [Charles Fourier](#)'s birthday. There he would make the acquaintance of a [Fourierist](#) socialist and humanitarian, C.F. Stollmeyer, also a recent German immigrant, who was at that time readying Albert Brisbane's THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN for publication. Stollmeyer was to become not only the publisher of [The New World](#), but also a primary disciple of Etzler. This SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN, seconded by the writings and lectures of such men as Dana McClean Greeley, Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, and the Reverend [William Henry Channing](#), would stimulate the rise of several Phalansterian Associations, in the middle and western states, chiefest of which would be "The [North American Phalanx](#)" in Monmouth County, New Jersey.

[ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION](#)

[ONEIDA COMMUNITY](#)

[MODERN TIMES](#)

[UNITARIAN HOME](#)

[BROOK FARM](#)

[HOPEDALE](#)

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s "Practical Christians" began to publish a gazette, the [Practical Christian](#), for the "promulgation of Primitive Christianity." He would write in HISTORY OF THE [HOPEDALE](#) COMMUNITY, FROM ITS INCEPTION TO ITS VIRTUAL SUBMERGENCE IN THE HOPEDALE PARISH that this year would initiate "a decade of American history pre-eminently distinguished for the general humanitarian spirit which seemed to pervade it, as manifested in numerous and widely extended efforts to put away existing evils and better the condition of the masses of mankind; and especially for the wave of communal thought which swept over the country, awakening a very profound interest in different directions in the question of the re-organization of society; — an interest which assumed various forms as it contemplated or projected practical results." There would be, he pointed out, a considerable number of what were known as [Transcendentalists](#) in and about [Boston](#), who, under the leadership of the [Reverend George Ripley](#), a [Unitarian](#) clergyman of eminence, would plan and put in operation the Roxbury Community, generally known as the "[Brook Farm](#)" Association. A company of radical reformers who had come out from the church on account of its alleged complicity with Slavery and other abominations, and hence called Come-Outers, would institute a sort of family Community near [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#). Other progressives, with George W. Benson at their head, would found the Northampton Community at the present village of [Florence](#), a suburb of [Northampton](#).



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of [Charles Fourier](#), who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. [Fourierism](#) (Horace Greeley founded the New-York [Tribune](#) to promote Fourier's ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement's history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had



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"a union" (a conversational party), Fourier's Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers' total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier's total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.



According to the dissertation of Maurice A. Crane, “A Textual and Critical Edition of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s The Blithedale Romance” at the University of Illinois in 1953, various scholars have fingered Zenobia as:

- Mrs. Almira Barlow
- [Margaret Fuller](#)
- [Fanny Kemble](#)
- [Mrs. Sophia Willard Dana Ripley](#)
- Caroline Sturgis Tappan

while various other scholars have been fingering Mr. Hollingsworth as:

- Bronson Alcott
- Albert Brisbane
- [Elihu Burritt](#)
- Charles A. Dana
- [Waldo Emerson](#)
- Horace Mann, Sr.
- William Pike
- the Reverend [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), or maybe
- the Reverend [William Henry Channing](#), or maybe
- the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)

Hawthorne should really have told us more than Zenobia’s nickname, and should really have awarded Hollingsworth a first name more definitive than “Mr.”? Go figure!

Lest we presume that an association of this [William Henry Channing](#) with Hollingsworth is utterly void of content, let us listen, as Marianne Dwight did, to the reverend stand and deliver on the topic of “devotedness to the cause; the necessity of entire self-surrender”:¹

He compared our work with ... that of the crusaders.... He compared us too with the [Quakers](#), who see God only in the inner light,... with the Methodists, who seek to be in a state of rapture in their sacred meetings, whereas we should maintain in daily life, in every deed, on all occasions, a feeling of religious fervor; with the perfectionists, who are, he says, the only sane religious people, as they believe in perfection, and their aim is one with ours. Why should we, how dare we tolerate ourselves or one another in sin?

1. Reed, Amy L., ed. LETTERS FROM BROOK FARM, 1844-1847, BY MARIANNE DWIGHT Poughkeepsie NY, 1928.

1841

The “Practical Christians” purchased a farm at Mendon in the western part of Milford near Worcester and christened it “[Hopedale](#).” The conservative Restorationists abandoned both the Practical Christians and the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists and fell back upon their Unitarian connections established over the years. The pro-reform fragment of the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists became the nucleus of the Hopedale Community. The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) was chosen president of the organization, called “Fraternal Communion No. 1” (he would fill this position into 1852). Two couples were the core leadership of the community, the Reverend Ballou and Lucy Ballou and their friends Ebenezer Draper and Anna Draper, who made the largest economic contribution to the joint-stock company. Other important members during the community’s early period were drawn from the Restorationist ministry: George W. Stacy, Daniel S. Whitney, William H. Fish, and David R. Lamson. Due to the soft economy of the period, more people applied for admission to a share of the experiment’s benefits than could readily be accepted, and then there arose during the initial year a disagreement in regard adopting a form of socialism. The poorer members, including David Lamson, sought of course to have all property held in common in according with socialism’s perennial inspiring slogan “What’s yours is ours.” However, it was the consideration of the Reverend Ballou that to defuse tensions within the overcrowded community they needed to be aiming not toward an “absorption of the individual in the community,” but rather “more opportunity for personal seclusion, activity, and development.” The group’s constitution would be amended to allow more privacy and increased economic reward for effort and contribution, and the more intransigent of the communists, including David Lamson, would leave the [Hopedale](#) community.

Charles May, a brother of the Reverend Samuel Joseph May and of Abba Alcott, after serving in the Navy as a chaplain and teaching school in Alabama had become so mentally unstable as to be unable to hold a job. He would be supported by his brother (in what was characterized as a “wren-box” of a house) in this idealistic community.

January: [Henry Thoreau](#) heard the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), founder of the [Hopedale](#) community near Mendon, on the topic “non-resistance.” Then the Concord Lyceum stated two formal debates on the topic



“Forcible Resistance.” The first debate was “Is it ever proper to offer forcible resistance?” and on the occasion of the second debate Bronson Alcott, who did not believe in the principle of nonviolence, was assigned the negative, and the Thoreau brothers the affirmative.¹⁴

[In order to grok the gist of such a debate, we should take fully into consideration the sort of material which would be published by the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher in [The Independent](#) of March 14, 1861 (and I warn you in advance, some of the argument in that journal was made up of fully sanctified Christian anti-Semitism, so now have your children cover their eyes):]

Lecture¹⁵

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
April 11, Wednesday, 1838, at 7PM	Concord ; Masonic Hall	“Society”
January 27, Wednesday, 1841, at 7PM	Concord ; Masonic Hall	“Is It Ever Proper to Offer forcible Resistance?”
February 8, Wednesday, 1843, at 7:30PM	Concord ; Masonic Hall	“The Life and Character of Sir Walter Raleigh”

14. Under the heading “Pacifist, Thoreau not a” on page 163 of CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM, a “history” written by the clairvoyant chauvinist Ruth R. Wheeler, this debate over the ideology of the Sermon on the Mount was cited as one of the author’s two proof-texts, demonstrating that [Thoreau](#) believed in resisting evil, and was characterized as follows:



Henry Thoreau took the affirmative in a debate with Bronson Alcott on the question “Is War ever Justified?” There was no question but Henry Thoreau was obviously not a pacifist.

(We could extend her illogic by suggesting that, since Bronson Alcott was assigned the negative, contemporary accounts of his having supported the Civil War must have been grossly exaggerated!)

15. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag’s THOREAU’S LECTURES BEFORE WALDEN:
AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR.



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Having no speaker for its meeting of 13 January 1841, the Concord Lyceum passed the evening by debating the propriety of forcible resistance. The evening's record, kept by secretary John C. Nourse, states: "The Curators having been unable to procure a lecturer, the following question was discussed. **Is it ever proper to offer forcible resistance?** Rev B. Frost Hon S. Hoar in the affirmative; Mr. A. B. Alcott in the negative. On motion, voted that Mr. Alcott be admitted a member of the Lyceum without the payment of the usual fee. The question was postponed for farther consideration until some evening when we should be unprovided with a lecture; and the Lyceum adjourned" (THE MASSACHUSETTS LYCEUM DURING THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, page 155).

The following week, on 20 January, the Reverend John Russell of Chelmsford MA (later to become Henry Thoreau's friend and an eminent botanist) lectured "On the Science of Geology in Its Economical and Topographical Characters" (THE MASSACHUSETTS LYCEUM DURING THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, page 155), but on 27 January 1841, apparently once again lacking a speaker, the debate over forcible resistance was resumed, with both Thoreau brothers arguing in the affirmative against [Bronson Alcott](#)'s negative. This was the seventh in a course of thirteen Lyceum meetings that season (THE MASSACHUSETTS LYCEUM DURING THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, pages 155-56). Secretary Nourse reported: "The Lyceum, having been called to order by the President [Timothy Prescott], proceeded to the discussion of the following question: **Is it ever proper to offer forcible resistance?** Mr. J. Thoreau Jr. and Mr D.H. Thoreau in the affirmative; Mr A.B. Alcott in the negative. On motion of Mr J. Thoreau Jr, **Ordered**, that this question lie over for farther discussion till some evening when the Lyceum is unprovided with a lecturer. Adjourned" (THE MASSACHUSETTS LYCEUM DURING THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, page 155). The next day, 28 January, Thoreau wrote in his journal, "Resistance is a very wholesome and delicious morsel at times" (JOURNAL 1, 1837-1844, ed. Elizabeth Hall Witherell et al. [1981], page 233). In the days following the debate he added several journal comments about resistance, often employing martial images. He remarked as well about the hurt feelings of friends and about dispensing with apologies — indications, presumably, that the debate with Alcott had touched nerves (JOURNAL 1, pages 233ff).

A week later, on 5 February, the continuing debate over forcible resistance ended, apparently without an audience vote to determine the question. On this occasion there was also a speaker, and a most appropriate one. The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) was for many years the principal propagandist for — and may even have begun — the non-resistance movement in the United States. John Nourse reported on the evening's activities: "The Lyceum was called to order by the President. On motion of Mr. [John?] Thoreau — **Voted** — that, after the lecture, the Lyceum discuss the question of Non-Resistance. A lecture was then delivered by Rev. Mr. Ballou of Mendon on **Non-Resistance**. This question was then discussed by Mr. Ballou, Mr. S. Hoar, Mr. Alcott, Mr. Jenkins & the President. The Lyceum adjourned, without taking the question" (THE MASSACHUSETTS LYCEUM DURING THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, page 155). The next day Thoreau wrote in his journal a comment on the daunting responsibility of rising to perform in public, a comment that, even if a response to Ballou's lecture, perhaps suggests both the significance Thoreau attached to lecturing and the self-conscious trepidation he experienced upon mounting the lecture platform: "In a public performer, the simplest actions — which at other times are left to unconscious nature — as the ascending a few steps in front of an audience — acquire a fatal importance — and become arduous deeds" (JOURNAL 1, page 253).

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February: Early in the month the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) lectured again in Concord in regard to the principle of



non-resistance to evil to which he had been led over the Christmas holidays of 1838 in Mendon. After his talk he met Samuel Hoar and [Waldo Emerson](#) and had a “free conversation between us on questions of reform, but fruitful of no important results.”¹⁶



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16. Much later in the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s life, after listening to a sermon suggested by [Waldo Emerson](#)'s death, and being displeased by the somewhat fulsome panegyric, Ballou would make some comments about Emerson's personality based upon this meeting and upon some, not too lengthy, scannings of Emerson's available publications:



I never read his wonderful writings with much pleasure or spiritual profit. His orphic truisms, when interpretable to common sense, are far better expressed in the language of scripture or by plain old poets; other sayings of his are not to me truths at all, or only in some vague, metaphorical sense.

As to Emerson's moral character, it was amiable, harmless, blameless. But I never understood that his practical ethics lifted him much above the surrounding civilistic, social, and scholastic level. He quietly cogitated and elaborated his own transcendental abstractions, many of which, if carried into individual and social practice, would regenerate the world. But the fatal hitch with such moralists is that neither they nor their admirers can sail out of the old ship of society as it is. They are so serene and softly that they live and die content to magnify their own cherished reveries and speculations. I once said to him, "Mr. Emerson, why cannot you, with your handsome estate and the co-operation of congenial friends, start a community that shall illustrate a true fraternal order of society from which the world may take a pattern?" We had been accordantly deprecating the selfishness and antagonism of the world about us. His reply was: "Mr. Ballou, I am no builder; if I can only set myself and my own family imperfectly right in these respects, it will be my utmost." After some further conversation, the topic subsided. He was a very kind-hearted, well-disposed, and thoroughly honest man on his own plane, but powerless to rise above it.

Such a report from such a person makes me wish he had also had a conversation with [Henry Thoreau](#), upon which he could have reported, or that he had also read some of Thoreau's writings, and commented upon them for our benefit.

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1842

In his work at [Hopedale](#) and elsewhere, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) depended upon a great deal of support from



his wife and kids. In this year the community appointed Lucy Ballou “Director of Housekeeping” in recognition of the fact that in addition to helping to edit her husband’s publications, she was in fact composing some of this material, while running the Ballou household as a free hotel for visitors and prospective community residents. The burdens she was bearing would eventually harm her health, and in later years she would be a semi-invalid. Their son Adin Augustus Ballou worked the printing office, and among his other tasks he produced a newsletter, the [Mammoth](#), for the community’s children. Their daughter Abbie Ballou was the [Hopedale](#) schoolteacher.

April 1: [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke in Harvard, Massachusetts for the Harvard Anti-Slavery Society.



The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) on this day completed his ministry at Mendon, Massachusetts. While residing there he had published an address on the subject of American Slavery, republished in England.

[SLAVERY](#)

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

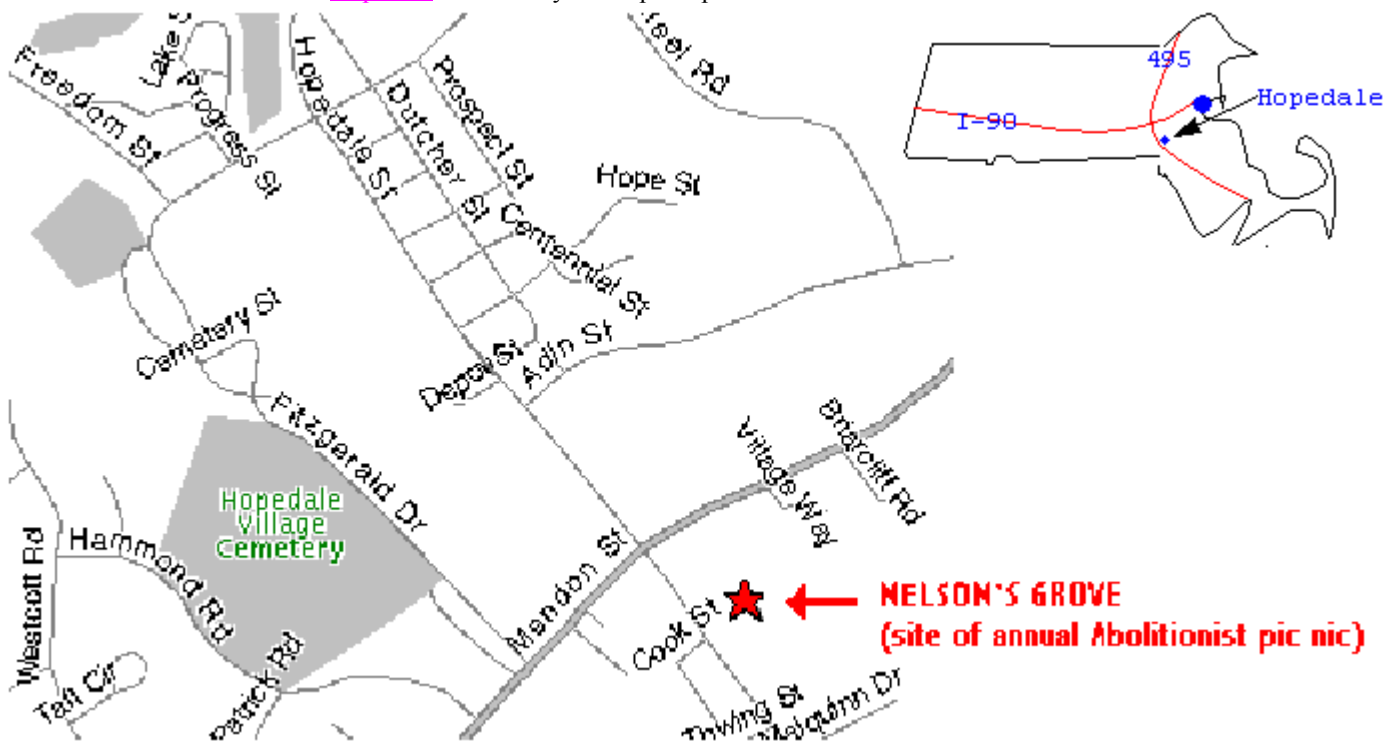
OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

April 3: [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke in Bolton, Massachusetts.



[Thaddeus Mason Harris](#) died in Dorchester (other records assert, in Boston).

On a 258-acre farm in Milford that had previously been named “The Dale,” the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) consecrated the [Hopedale](#) Community to the principle of Christian non-resistance to evil.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

This was the first building used by the [Hopedale](#) community, known as “the Jones farm”:



We know that [Frederick Douglass](#) visited the Hopedale community during this month, before going on to visit the interracial working community in [Florence](#) outside [Northampton](#), so: was or was not Douglass present on April 3rd for this consecration of the community to the principle of Christian non-resistance to evil? (If he did visit there before the 7th, we know that he did not lecture there before the 7th.)

In this initial year of the intentional community’s existence there would be an enrollment of 28 settlers, although at its peak, in 1856, there would be 300 residents of whom 110 would be full members.



April 3: I thank God for sorrow– It is hard to be abused– Is not he kind still –who lets this south wind blow– this warm sun shine on me?

I have just heard the flicker [**Yellow-shafted Flicker *Colaptes auratus***] among the oaks on the hill side ushering in a new dynasty.– It is the age and youth of time– Why did Nature set this lure for sickly mortals– Eternity could not begin with more security and momentousness than the spring– The summer’s eternity is reestablished by this note.

All sights and sounds are seen and heard both in time and eternity. And when the eternity of any sight or sound strikes the eye or ear — they are intoxicated with delight.

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

HELLEN L. THOREAU will open a school for Young Ladies on **MONDAY, May 2d.** Terms —English Branches with Plain and Ornamental Needle-work.....\$4 00
French 2 00
Drawing and Painting in Water Colors.....2 00
Oil Painting.....8 00
Music on the Pianoforte.....8 00
 Scholars from a distance can be accommodated with board in the family with the Teacher at \$2,00 per week
 Apply at **J. THOREAU'S**
 Concord, April 8th, '42. **Sw—14.**

To explore Thoreau's "Distant Drummer" metaphor in the greatest detail

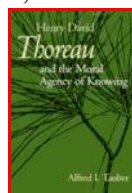


April 3, 1842: I thank God for sorrow— It is hard to be abused— Is not he kind still —who lets this south wind blow— this warm sun shine on me?
 I have just heard the flicker among the oaks on the hill side ushering in a new dynasty.— It is the age and youth of time— Why did Nature set this lure for sickly mortals— Eternity could not begin with more security and momentousness than the spring— The summer's eternity is reestablished by this note.
 All sights and sounds are seen and heard both in time and eternity. And when the eternity of any sight or sound strikes the eye or ear — they are intoxicated with delight.

Dr. Alfred I. Tauber has pointed out that:¹⁷

The mystical experience was couched and even defined in the question of temporality that informs and guides Thoreau's deepest psychological and philosophical efforts. The suspension of time, the glimpse of eternity, were transforming moments of aesthetic and spiritual insight, ones he sought in his youth [for instance, here] as well as in his full maturity.

17. Dr. Alfred I. Tauber. HENRY DAVID THOREAU AND THE MORAL AGENCY OF KNOWING. Berkeley and Los Angeles CA; London, England: U of California P, 2001



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April 7: [Frederick Douglass](#) was in Upton, Massachusetts to speak for the Upton Female Anti-Slavery Society, and at an annual event called “State Fast Day,” the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), who had been fooled in his youth by the “libertarian” crowd of the 19th Century and had been led to side with the slavers against the abolitionists, heard this escaped slave for the first time, and came to recognize the horrible reality of what, in abstraction, he had been considering to be reasonable.



The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) delivered his last sermon in the Federal Street Church in Boston.

1843

In this year the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s tiny home at [Hopedale](#) was being constructed:



The Reverend became the president of the New England Non-resistance Society. In this cause he would work with his friend William Lloyd Garrison — until they would have a difference of ways in regard to Garrison's support for violence in fighting slavery.

At the annual meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society, Garrison attempted, as in the previous year, to advocate disunion: “No Union with Slaveholders.” In the Massachusetts society, he succeeded.

Early March: The great comet was at this point low in the southwest evening skies and as bright as the brightest of the stars, seemingly even brighter than the comet of 1811. Its tail stood upward, straight and narrow, and was 50° in length, extending over a quarter of the sky. Europeans needed to make long journeys in order to be able fully to view this comet in its region of the sky. As the comet approached the sun, it proved to be a sun-grazer, achieving a perihelion, a closest point, of a mere 500,000 miles.¹⁸ This comet, and the one of 1880 that would be known as the “great Southern” comet, may possibly be the two pieces of a sun-grazing comet which had been seen to be splitting apart as it sped past the sun, by Ephorus in the year 372 BCE. Even so, it was a bright comet, noticeable although it was appearing at noontime only a few degrees from the sun.



SKY EVENT

The [Millerites](#), upon the appearance of such a phenomenon in the heavens, of course at once worked it into their Biblical prophecy of the end of time.

MILLENNIALISM

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) of [Hopedale](#) had a comment about this sort of attitude: “The millennium and kingdom must be **within** men, before it can ever be **around** them. Let us have the spirit of the millennium,

18. By way of contrast, the perihelion of Halley’s comet is 55,000,000 miles, and the perihelion of Enke’s is 31,000,000 miles. Since the diameter of the sun is some 840,000 miles, and since this perihelion measurement is made from the sun’s center of gravity, what this means is that the comet grazed along, a snowball in hell, only some 80,000 miles above the outside surface of the sun. Since the closer the graze of the sun the quicker the trip past the sun, this comet must have passed three-quarters of the way around the sun in less than a day, and must have reached a peak speed of some 1,270,000 miles per hour.

and do the works of the millennium. Then will the millennium have already come.”¹⁹



19. “GREAT MARCH COMET, (C/1843 D1=1843 I). Followed with the unaided eye from Feb. 5 until Apr. 3, T=1843 February 27. Object a member of the Kreutz sungrazing group of comets. Spotted on February 5 low in the southwestern sky following evening twilight, magnitude perhaps 3 or 4. Moved rapidly to conjunction with the Sun. On the 28th, visible throughout the day in both Europe and America as a brilliant object immediately adjacent to the Sun; incredibly bright (-6 to -8) and displaying a 3 degree tail against the blue sky! For the next two weeks visible mainly from the Southern Hemisphere. In the first week of March, of magnitude 1 or 2 with a 35-40 degree tail. About March 13, tail 45 degrees long, head 3rd magnitude. By mid month comet once again easily visible from northern latitudes, its head situated near the Cetus/ Eridanus border, the tail extending to the south of the star Rigel. Proceeded steadily eastward. On March 20 the head had faded to about magnitude 4 but the long, straight tail could be traced about 65 degrees. At the end of March tail still nearly 40 degrees long. Comet’s head last detected with the naked eye on April 3 but a good portion of the tail was still apparent.”

1844

January 15: The Reverend [William Henry Channing](#) reported to [The Present](#) that there had been a Fourierist convention in Boston's Amory Hall, the Convention for the Reorganization of Society called by David Mack, [Henry C. Wright](#), and others, which had created a new "Friends of Social Reform" society and had chosen [William Bassett](#) of Lynn as its president, and as its vice-presidents the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Northampton](#)'s George W. Benson, Brook Farm's [Reverend George Ripley](#), [Hopedale](#)'s [Reverend Adin Ballou](#), and James N. Buffum of Lynn:

"It is a pleasure to express gratitude to [Charles Fourier](#), for having opened a whole new world of study, hope and action."

In consequence of this rethinking, [Brook Farm](#) would be changing its name from the "Brook-Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education" to the "Brook-Farm Association, for Industry and Education."



COMMUNITARIANISM

The local evangelist for this sort of Fourierism would be Charles A. Dana, who was being referred to at [Brook Farm](#) as "The Professor." It would be he who would lead them down the primrose path, of constructing a magnificent central "*phalanstère*" edifice in order to achieve the true Fourierist economy of scale, a massive structure which could therefore be destroyed by one disastrous fire accident on one unfortunate night — the primrosy path which would lead to their group's utter collapse and dissolution.



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of [Charles Fourier](#), who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. [Fourierism](#) (Horace Greeley founded the New-York [Tribune](#) to promote Fourier's ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement's history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist



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on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had "a union" (a conversational party), Fourier's Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers' total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier's total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.

February 25, Sunday: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) lectured at Boston's Amory Hall, in the morning on "Non-Resistance as Applied to Government" and in the evening on "Association."





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Lecture²⁰

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
November 29, Wednesday, 1843, at 7PM	Concord ; Unitarian Church, Vestry	“Ancient Poets”
March 10, Sunday, 1844, at 10:30AM	Boston MA; Amory Hall	“Conservatives and Reformers” (I)
March 10, Sunday, 1844, at 7:30PM	Boston MA; Amory Hall	“Conservatives and Reformers” (II)

20. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag's THOREAU'S LECTURES BEFORE WALDEN:
AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR.



Narrative of Event:

The fullest commentary on Henry Thoreau's Amory Hall lectures, the first ones he delivered outside Concord, is by Linck C. Johnson, and most of the following information derives from that article.²¹

From February through April of 1844, Boston's Amory Hall, a rental hall on the corner of Washington and West streets, was the site of a series of lectures and discussions on various aspects of reform. The Sunday lecture series was an outgrowth of four successful lectures on various reform topics delivered in late January by Charles Calistus Burleigh, a Pennsylvania anti-slavery editor and champion of other reforms. So popular were the Burleigh lectures that, after the final one, the audience formed a committee to rent Amory Hall for three months and secure speakers for twelve Sunday meetings. At each meeting there was to be a morning lecture at 10:30 and an evening lecture at 7:30, usually by the same speaker, while a 2:30 afternoon session was devoted to discussion of a reform topic not necessarily related to the day's lectures. Thoreau apparently presented his 10 March lecture on "The Conservative and the Reformer" in two parts, reading from a seventy-eight page manuscript. The afternoon discussion that day was on "non-resistance," a topic introduced on 25 February and now in its third and final week of consideration. Whether Thoreau took part in the discussion is not known.

Johnson identifies the series lecturers and their topics as follows: 4 February, William Lloyd Garrison on "Worship" (morning) and "The Sabbath" (evening); 11 February, William Lloyd Garrison on "The Church" (morning) and "The Priesthood" (evening); 18 February, Charles Lane on "The True Life; Association; and Marriage" (morning and evening); 25 February, Adin Ballou on "Non-Resistance as Applied to Government" (morning) and "Association" (evening); 3 March, Ralph Waldo Emerson on "New England Reformers" (morning and evening); 10 March, Thoreau (morning and evening); 17 March, Charles A. Dana on "Association" (morning), Joseph Rhodes Buchanan on "The Pursuit of Truth" (evening); 24 March, Ernestine Rose on "Social Reform" (morning and evening); 31 March, Wendell Phillips on "Texas" (morning), John Pierpont on "Influence of Slavery on the Religion and Morals of the Country" (evening); 7 and 14 April, the lecturers were not announced in the newspapers but one of the speakers was Robert F. Wallcut, who may have spoken on temperance; 21 April, William Lloyd Garrison on "The Condition and the Rights of Woman" (morning) and a review of the proceedings at Amory Hall (evening). Whereas most of the names on this list were well known in both reform and lecture circles, Thoreau had published little concerning reform issues and had given only three previous lectures (excepting his commencement part), all in Concord. As Johnson suggests,²² he probably owed his somewhat surprising presence at Amory Hall to the recommendation of his mentor, Emerson, who actively promoted his younger friend.

What Johnson calls "the germ of Thoreau's lecture at Amory Hall"²³ is found in a letter to his sister [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#), written five months before on 18 October 1843. To Helen, who was interested in the communitarian (or "association," as it was called) movement, he declared:²⁴

My objection to [William H.] Channing and all that fraternity is that they need and deserve sympathy themselves rather than are able to render it to others. They want faith and mistake their private ail for an infected atmosphere, but let any one of them recover hope for a moment, and right his **particular** grievance, and he will no longer train in that company. To speak or do anything that shall concern mankind, one must speak and act as if well, or from that grain of health which he has left.

21.Linck C. Johnson, "Reforming the Reformers: Emerson, Thoreau, and the Sunday Lectures at Amory Hall, Boston," [ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance](#), 37 (4th Quarter 1991): 235-89.

22.Johnson, "Reforming the Reformers," 236.

23.Johnson, "Reforming the Reformers," 268.

24.THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 147.



On 21 April, in his closing summary of the twelve-week Amory Hall series, William Lloyd Garrison said that the meetings were concluding because their “original design had been consummated” and because “to **perpetuate** them might seem to imply something of outward formality and sectarian imitation.”²⁵ Finding much to object to in the institution of a formal church, William Lloyd Garrison was loath to have the Amory Hall reform assemblage mistaken for a congregation.

Advertisements, Reviews, and Responses:

Essentially the same advertisement appeared on both 8 and 9 March 1844 in three Boston newspapers, the Courier, the Evening Mercantile Journal, and the Post. As it appeared in the Post, the ad read:

Sunday Lectures at Amory Hall

HENRY D. THOREAU, of Concord, will lecture at Amory Hall, in the Morning and Evening of SUNDAY next.

The Discussion on Non-Resistance will be continued in the Afternoon.

Hours of meeting, 10 1/2 A.M., 2 1/2 and 7 1/2 P.M. The public are invited to attend. A Collection will be taken to defray the expenses.

Description of Topic:

The unpublished manuscript of this two-part lecture is housed at MH (bMS Am 278.5, 18A). The manuscript gives no indication of where Thoreau left off reading in the morning. In a note to his excellent article on the lecture, Johnson states, “Thomas Blanding and I are preparing an edited text of the untitled lecture, which will appear in a future issue of ESQ”²⁶; unfortunately, that text has not yet appeared. Johnson also points out in his article, as Blanding himself had a few years earlier,²⁷ that the essay “Reform and the Reformers” in REFORM PAPERS, ed. Wendell Glick (1973) (pages 181-97) “actually consists of two distinct sets of extracts from the original lecture, the first set copied out in 1846 or 1847, and the second in 1848”²⁸ The title of the lecture in the heading above is conjectural.

The lecture begins with Thoreau’s criticism of conservatives for their conformity to the existing social order, then moves to an unflattering assessment of the existing social order and of recent communitarian alternatives to that order, and concludes with Thoreau’s criticism of reformers for their adherence to a proposed new order that would prove just as antithetical to the natural principle of persistent change as the conservative’s conformity. Conservatives and reformers alike, Thoreau argues, lose their individual souls as they embrace collective causes. Instead, Thoreau argues for a disassociative self-reform and ends his lecture with this plea: “So rich is the treasury of God! So various and variegated is life. New things are constantly arriving. Let us not hold fast to any of the old nor to any of the new — But let the gods take care of what they have created — even of ourselves.”²⁹

25. Johnson, “Reforming the Reformers,” 243, quoting from the Liberator (Boston) of 26 April 1844.

26. Johnson, “Reforming the Reformers,” 282n3.

27. Thomas Blanding, in “Thoreau’s Local Lectures in 1849 and 1850,” Concord Saunterer 17, number 3 (December 1984), 22, writes: “Henry Thoreau gave his first lecture before the Lincoln Lyceum, and his first outside Concord, on January 19, 1847 Thoreau’s subject was probably the ‘History of Himself,’ the same or a similar part of the WALDEN manuscript he would deliver in two installments at the Concord Lyceum in February.” In a footnote to this passage (26n3) Blanding cites THE MASSACHUSETTS LYCEUM DURING THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, page 213, and then writes, “Another possibility is Thoreau’s lecture on reformers and conservatives written in 1845-46. The long lecture version of this work, with its added directions for public reading, is unpublished (Houghton Library, bMS Am 278.5, folder [18]A); the text entitled ‘Reform and the Reformers’ in REFORM PAPERS (Princeton, 1973) is an amalgamation of draft pages for A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS and WALDEN, written when Thoreau tried to salvage parts of his old lecture for those extended works (bMS Am 278.5, folder [18]B).”

28. Johnson, “Reforming the Reformers,” 281-82n3.

29. MH (bMS Am 278.5, 18A).

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OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

May 7: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) went with [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) to the 10th Anniversary Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New-York.



1845

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s SUPERIORITY OF MORAL TO POLITICAL POWER.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

Summer: [Abby Kelley](#) attempted to speak for antislavery at a yearly meeting of an orthodox group of [Quakers](#), at Mount Pleasant, Ohio.³⁰



This illustration of the annual meeting there dates to the following year, 1846:



30. The town of Mount Pleasant itself had been laid out in 1803 by Jesse Thomas and Robert Carothers. The 3-story brick building containing an auditorium with a balcony, used for the Quaker Annual Meeting, had been built in 1814 as the first yearly [Quaker](#) meetinghouse west of the Alleghenies and would be in regular use until 1909. It could hold 2,000 Friends. The auditorium could be divided by lowering a wooden partition, so men and women could meet separately.

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

This is what their [Quaker](#) boarding school looked like:



When [Abby Kelley](#) would not be silent and went limp, they carried her bodily out of the building. In dealing with Kelley, we must bear in mind that her sisters Joanna and Diana were married to the brothers Amos and Olney Ballou, cousins of the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), and Joanna and Amos lived at the [Hopedale](#) community run by him in Milford MA, which was based on the principle of non-resistance to evil. (Diana and Olney were also at one point planning to move there.) The Reverend Ballou was president of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Hopedale was only a few miles from the farm on which Abby Kelley grew up. For a number of years between her mother’s death and her marriage, about the only address Kelley would have, as she engaged in her anti-slavery travels, was Hopedale.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

August 1: On West Indian Emancipation Day, in nine abolitionist pic nics in nine Massachusetts towns, Charles King Whipple had arranged for circulation of a pledge not to “countenance or aid the United States government in any war which may be occasioned by the annexation of Texas, or in any other war, foreign or domestic, designed to strengthen or perpetuate slavery.” In Worcester, William Lloyd Garrison, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Stephen Symonds Foster](#), and [Frederick Douglass](#) signed this pledge.



At one of these nine pic nics celebrating the anniversary of West Indian emancipation, in Waltham, Massachusetts, [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured. His remarks would be printed verbatim in the New-York Tribune by Ruchames.

One day after departing from Dresden for the [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) festival in Bonn accompanied by his wife Clara, [Robert Schumann](#) suffered an attack of “anxiety and dizziness.” The trip was aborted and they would travel instead to his family in Zwickau.

An abbreviated obituary of the suicide [Martha Emmeline Hunt](#) appeared in the Concord Freeman.

1846

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) published CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE, IN ALL ITS IMPORTANT BEARINGS, ILLUSTRATED AND DEFENDED, his primary work on his specific version of absolute pacifism. (This is the work that would so impress [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#).)

NON-RESISTANCE TO EVIL

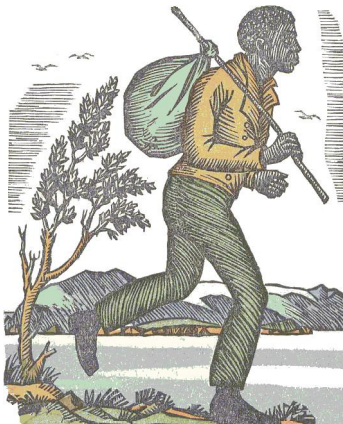
During the [Hopedale](#) years the Reverend had been traveling around New England lecturing on and debating Practical Christianity, Christian Non-resistance, abolition, temperance, and other social issues. In this year he made in addition an anti-slavery lecture foray into Pennsylvania.

The propagating fissure in the Liberty Bell had by this point gotten too bad to permit ringing it any more, unless something was done to stop this propagation and to stop the rough edges of the hairline fissure from rubbing together.

In Boston, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair put out for sale a printing entitled THE LIBERTY BELL, as a fund-raising effort of the “Friends of Freedom”:



- Thompson, George. “A Fragment, Verbatim et Literatim From my Journal in Upper India”
- Howitt, William. “Onward! Right Onward!”
- Atkinson, William P. “The True Reformer”
- Higginson, J. W. “Sonnet to William Lloyd Garrison”
- Parker, Theodore. “A Parable”
- Longfellow, Henry W. “The Poet of Miletus”
- Joshua Reed Giddings. “Fugitive Slaves in Northern Ohio”



- Anonymous. “Our Country”
- Cabot, Susan C. “Thought”
- Anonymous. “Interference: On Reading a Paper, In Defence [sic] of Slavery, Written by a Clergyman”
- Hitchcock, Jane Elizabeth. “All are Needed”
- Parker, Theodore. “Jesus There is No Name So Dear as Thine”
- ---. “Oh Thou Great Friend to All the Sons of Men”
- ---. “Dear Jesus Were Thy Spirit Now on Earth”
- Clarkson, Thomas. “Letter”
- Follen, Eliza Lee. “Song, for the Friends of Freedom”
- Harriet Martineau. “A Communication”



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

- Jones, Benjamin S. “Our Duty”
- Samuel Joseph May. “Extract From a Speech at the Anti-Texan Meeting in Faneuil Hall, 1845”
- Thompson, George. “Early Morning”
- ---. “Sonnet: To Blanche”
- [Fuller, S. Margaret](#). “The Liberty Bell”
- Hornblower, Jane E. “A Fragment”
- Haughton, James. “Pro-Slavery Appeal To the World for Sympathy, Answered from Old Ireland”
- Spooner, Allen C. “Jubilee”
- ---. “Discouragements and Incentives”
- Ross, Georgiana Fanny. “Stanzas On Reading J. H. Wiffen’s Translation of Tasso”
- Browne, John W. “A Vision of the Fathers”
- Watts, Alaric A. “A Remonstrance”
- Lee, E [probably Eliza Buckminster]. “The Dream within a Dream”
- Bowering, John. “Think of the Slave”
- Furness, William H. “Self-Denial”
- William Lloyd Garrison. “Fight On!”
- Howitt, Mary. “Some Passages from the Poetry of Life”
- William Lloyd Garrison “Sonnet . . . Character”
- Wendell Phillips. “The Church”
- [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#). “Lines to the Trans-Atlantic Friends of the Slave”
- Kirkland, Caroline M. “Recollections of Anti-Slavery at the West”

This familiar essay reveals the same lively, ironic style that made the author’s *A New Home: Who’ll Follow?* popular.

- Quincy, Edmund. “Phoebe Mallory; the Last of the Slaves”

A narrative of the life of Phoebe Mallory, the last living person to have been enslaved in Massachusetts. Mallory died in 1845.

- Lowell, James Russell. “The Falconer”
- The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#). “Is there any Friend?”
- Lowell, Maria. “The Slave-Mother”
- [Lucretia Mott](#). “What is Anti-Slavery Work?”
- Clay, Cassius M. “God and Liberty”
- Linstant. “Influence de l’emigration Europeenne Sur le Sort de la Race Africaine aux Etats Unis d’Amerique”
- Weston, Anne Warren. “Sonnet in Memory of [Elizabeth Fry](#)”
- Howitt, William. “The Worst Evil of Slavery”





REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

1847

There was a constitutional modification at [Hopedale](#), to favor individualism even more over communalism.

1848

During the [Hopedale](#) years the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) had been traveling around New England lecturing on and debating Practical Christianity, Christian Non-resistance, abolition, temperance, and other social issues, and in 1846 he had made in addition an anti-slavery lecture foray into Pennsylvania. In this year he lectured on anti-slavery in the state of New York.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

January: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE IN ALL ITS IMPORTANT BEARINGS ILLUSTRATED AND DEFENDED (the book which so much influenced [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#)) was critically reviewed by

NON-RESISTANCE TO EVIL

“C.H.” in the January issue of The Christian Examiner.



CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

The following consists of extracts from that review, a review protected by anonymity and by editorial policy — a review to which the Reverend Ballou could most definitely have provided a full response had the editors granted to him any opportunity to do so:

Mr. Ballou defines his doctrine as follows: -

It is not non-resistance to animals and inanimate things, nor to Satan, but only to human beings. Nor is it **moral** non-resistance to human beings, but chiefly physical. NOR is it physical non-resistance to all human beings under all circumstances, but only so far as to abstain totally from the infliction of personal injury as a means of resistance. It is simply non-resistance of injury with injury, evil with evil. - p. 11.

Mr. Ballou holds that it is wrong in all cases to inflict any punishment of a character injurious to the individual; and that no injustice may be done to his views, we will let him define his own position, and explain his use of the term **injury**.

I use the term in a somewhat peculiar sense, to signify any moral influence or physical force exerted by one human being upon another, the legitimate effect of which is to destroy or impair life, to destroy or impair the physical faculties, to destroy or impair the intellectual powers, to destroy, impair, or pervert the moral and religious sentiments, or to destroy or impair the absolute welfare, all things considered, of the person on whom such influence or force is exerted; whether that person be innocent or guilty, harmless or offensive, injurious or uninjurious, sane or insane, *compos mentis* or *non compos mentis*, adult or infant. Some of the lexicographers define an 'injury' to be 'hurt, harm or mischief **unjustly** done to a person,' thereby implying that any hurt, harm, or mischief done to one who deserves nothing better, or can be considered as justly liable to it, is no injury at all. I reject entirely every such qualification of the term. I hold an injury to be an injury, whether deserved or undeserved, whether intended or unintended, whether well-meant or ill-meant, determining the fact in accordance with the foregoing definition. - pp. 15, 16.



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Having spoken on the subject of resistance, and given a plain indication that it could not in all cases be avoided, with this limitation in view he says, in verse nineteenth, – “Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath [or punishment]; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord,” – I will punish the transgressor. From the doctrine thus laid down, the Apostle draws the following inference, in verses twentieth and twenty-first: – “Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.” The doctrine of the Apostle in this chapter is too plain to be mistaken. He enjoins the exercise of benevolence and love, commands us not to render evil for evil, and, as far as can possibly be done with safety, not to avenge our own wrongs; because God in his providential government will punish the transgressor. An important inquiry here arises, – How, or by what instrumentality, will God punish the transgressor? The Apostle has fully answered this question. He closes the twelfth chapter in the language we have already quoted, and in the very next words he informs us that God has instituted human governments to do this very thing.... The argument of the Apostle is clearly this: – The Gospel requires benevolence and love; hence you are never to render evil for evil, or **retaliate** injuries. As far as possible, you are to refrain from avenging your own personal wrongs; for God, through the instrumentalities of human governments, which he himself has ordained, will punish the violations of law more equitably than you could do; therefore exercise love and forbearance one to another, for this is fulfilling the law.

10th of 2d month: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE, IN ALL ITS IMPORTANT BEARINGS, ILLUSTRATED AND DEFENDED, his primary work on his specific version of absolute pacifism, was republished in Edinburgh. (This is the work that would so impress [Lev Nikolævich Tolstôy](#).)

NON-RESISTANCE TO EVIL

1850

[HOPEDALE](#) COLLECTION OF HYMNS AND SONGS.



We will next present the reader with Mr. Ballou's opinion of the governments under which we live, both state and national.

The governments now under notice are radically, fundamentally, anti-Christian. "The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint." Military and injurious penal power is their very life-blood, – the stamina of their existence. They are as repugnant to non-resistance as pride is to humility, wrath to meekness, vengeance to forgiveness, death to life, destruction to salvation. – p. 220.

If I accept any office of distinction, I must swear or affirm to support the Constitution, not in parts, but entire. In fact, I cannot vote, without either actually taking such an oath or affirmation, or, at least, virtually acknowledging myself to be under the highest obligations of allegiance. Government, in this country, is vested in the voters. They are leagued together by their common declaration of sentiments and mutual covenant –the Constitution– to conduct the government in a certain way, and to maintain its authority by military force. It seems to have been universally taken for granted that military force would be indispensable. It is therefore a gross fraud and imposition for any man to appear at the ballot-box as a voter, who is at heart false to the Constitution, who does not mean in good faith to abide by and support it, and just as it is, till it can be constitutionally amended. this is what a non-resistant cannot do without treason to the Divine government; without trampling under foot the precepts of Jesus Christ.... I will hold office on no such conditions. I will not be a voter on such conditions. I will join no church or state who hold such a creed, or prescribe such a covenant for the subscription of their members. – pp. 221, 222.

These citations put us in possession of Mr. Ballou's sentiments.



...The social nature of man not only prompts him to seek society, but renders society essential to the full development of his powers. "It is not good form man to be alone." The great end of his being would be defeated, if he were to live in solitude. We learn, then, independently of the BIBLE, that God designed man for society. And society requires government and laws, and can no more exist without them than the material world can exist without the laws of gravity. We have, then, Divine authority for the establishment of civil institutions.

...And as all laws imply a penalty, there must be a power residing somewhere to execute the law and exact the penalty. Thus the social nature of man implies society, society implies laws, and these presuppose a civil government in some form or other.

...The numerous thefts and robberies, even in well-regulated communities, show conclusively that without law the world would be overrun with violence.

...We have dwelt longer upon this part of our subject than would otherwise be necessary, because we believe that our position, that God requires human governments, is fatal to the theory of non-resistance.

...[H]uman government, in some form, is designed as a perpetual institution, and hence must be invested with all the powers necessary for self-preservation. It must, to answer the end for which it was designed, possess the power of defending itself and protecting its citizens, of preventing the greatest amount of evil, and of producing the greatest amount of good. It must be clothed with authority to make all laws which the condition of the people may require, and to enforce them with such penalties as may seem best calculated to secure the great end for which it was instituted. In a word, government must be invested with sovereign power. It has, and from the nature of the case must have, the right of self-defence, even if it be by the sword. To deny to government the power of self-defence is practically to defeat the whole object for which it was instituted. Government could neither fulfil the appointment of Heaven, nor promote the welfare of the people, if it were shorn of this vital, self-sustaining prerogative. As the wants of the people demand a government, so they demand the exercise of every power necessary for its preservation. Civil institutions being a blessing to society, every thing indispensable to their preservation must, all things considered, be viewed in the same light. Even war, great as that calamity is, when undertaken in strict self-defence, is justifiable. It is a means, painful and terrific, of averting a greater evil, - anarchy, or unconditional servitude.



...The vague notion entertained by non-resistant Come-outers, that they can live in society, and partake of all the blessings of good government, without incurring any obligation to sustain the government, is preposterous. It is founded on gross selfishness, and is at war with some of the first principles of Gospel morality. It is true, they pretend that they ask no favors of the government, and seek no protection from the magistrate. But all such persons must know that the government throws its protecting ægis over every person, without any application on his part.

But we should do injustice to Mr. Ballou, did we not state that he professes to derive his doctrine of non-resistance from the Scriptures. We will let him speak for himself.

Whence originated the term **Christian non-resistance**? Non-resistance comes from the injunction, "**Resist not evil.**" Matt. v. 39. The words "**resist not,**" being changed from the form of a verb to that of a substantive, give us **non-resistance**... Now let us examine Matt. v. 39. "I say unto you, resist not evil," etc. This single text, from which, as has been stated, the term non-resistance took its rise, if justly construed, furnishes a complete key to the true bearings, limitations, and applications of the doctrine under discussion. This is precisely one of those precepts which may be easily made to mean much more, or much less, than its author intended. It is in the **intensive**, condensed form of expression, and can be understood only by a due regard to its context. — pp. 20-22.

...The Scribes and Pharisees had abused or perverted the Law of Moses, so as to justify personal revenge and cruelty, which Jesus reprobates in the words, "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." ...Our limits will not permit us to remark upon every passage of this class, but we will take the twelfth chapter of Romans, as one of the most striking. The Apostle, in that chapter, discusses the subject of resisting injuries, and adopts almost precisely the same language which Mr. Ballou uses in explaining what he calls his key-text. He presents the subject in various ways, with a marked variety of phraseology, and furnishes us with the reason why we must not avenge our own wrongs. In verse tenth, he says, — "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love"; in verse fourteenth, — "Bless them which persecute you; bless, and curse not"; and in verse seventeenth, — "Recompense to no man evil for evil." Here we have the subject of resistance, or non-resistance, presented in three different forms of expression; but the Apostle, in the very next verse, gives us a distinct intimation that resistance in all cases could not be dispensed with: — "If **it be possible, as much as lieth in you, life peaceably with all men.**"

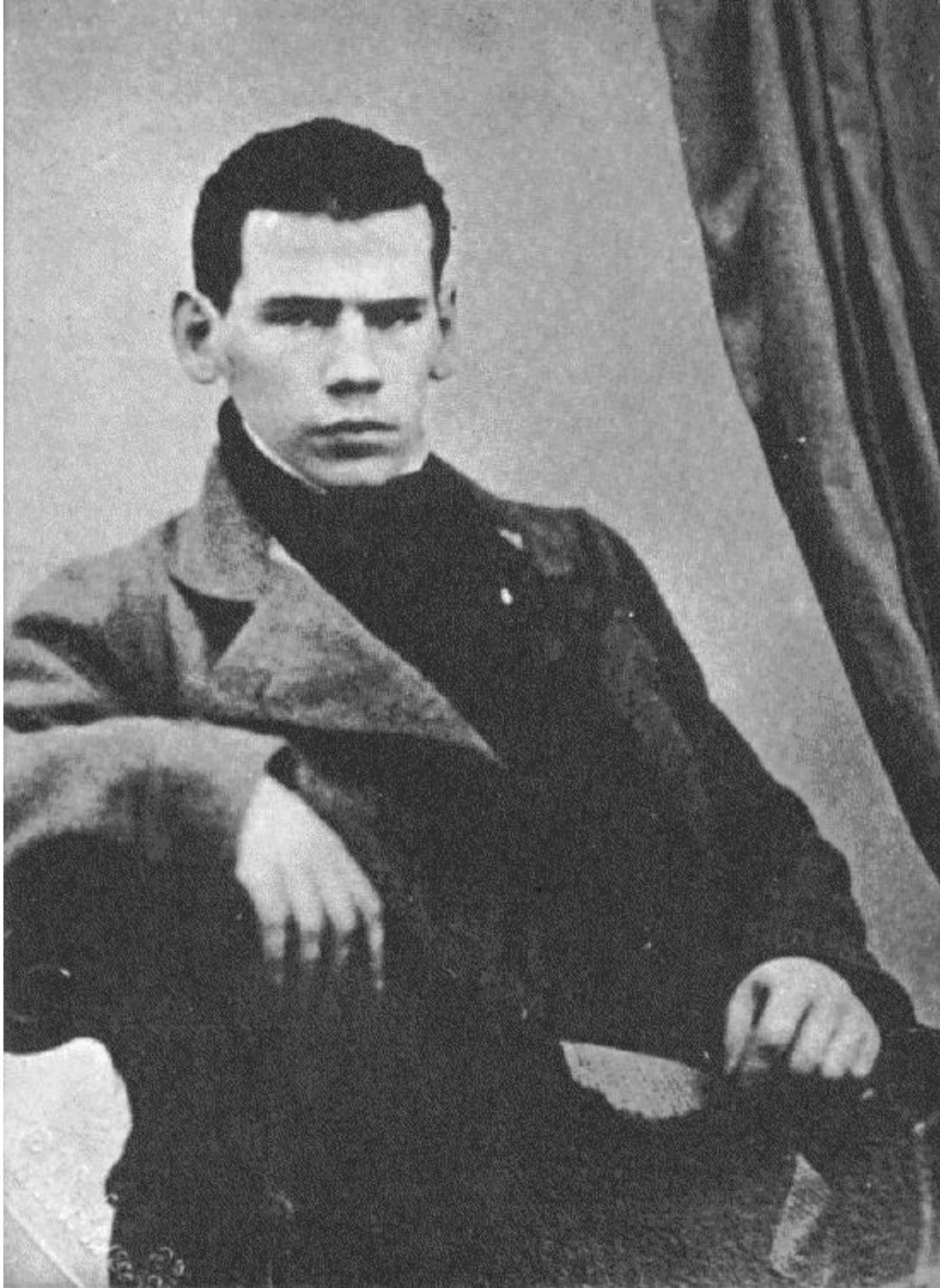
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WHAT?

INDEX

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPE DALE COMMUNITY



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

June 4: The [Fox Sisters](#), Katherine and Margaret, appeared in New-York and caused a sensation. Horace Greeley received them in his home, and his newspaper reported that “it would be the basest cowardice not to say that we are convinced beyond a doubt of their perfect integrity and good faith.”



Kate

Maggie

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) and other residents at the [Hopedale](#) intentional community were receptive to this spiritualism. They readily listened to the Universalist Spiritualist minister John Murray Spear and would publish some of his work on the Hopedale Community Press. During this year there was a flurry of spirit activity in Hopedale. After investigating and testing these phenomena to his own level of satisfaction, the Reverend announced himself to be a [Spiritualist](#).



Today June 4th I have been tending a burning in the woods. Ray was there. It is a pleasant fact that you will know no man long however low in the social scale however poor miserable, intemperate & worthless he may appear to be a mere burden to society—but you will find at last that there is something which he understands & can do better than any other. I was pleased to hear that one man had sent Ray as the one who had had the most experience in setting fires of any man in Lincoln— He had experience & skill as a burner of brush. You must burn against the wind always & burn slowly— When the fire breaks over the hoed line—a little system & perseverance will accomplish more toward quelling it than any man would believe. —It fortunately happens that the experience acquired is oftentimes worth more than the wages. When a fire breaks out in the woods & a man fights it too near & on the side—in the heat of the moment without the systematic cooperation of others he is disposed to think it a desperate case & that this relentless fiend will run through the forests till it is glutted with food; but let the company rest from their labors a moment—& then proceed more deliberately & systematically giving the fire a wider berth—and the company will be astonished to find how soon & easily they will subdue it. The woods themselves furnish one of the best weapons with which to contend with the fires that destroy them—a pitch pine bow. It is the best instrument to thrash it with. There are few men who do not love better to give advice than to give assistance. However large the fire let a few men go to work deliberately but perseveringly to rake away the leaves and hoe off the surface of the ground at a convenient distance from the fire while others follow with pine boughs to thrash it with when it reaches the line & they will finally get round it & subdue it and will be astonished at their own success A man who is about to burn his field in the midst of woods—rake off the leaves & twigs for the breadth of a rod at least making no large heaps near the outside—and then plough around it several furrows—& breake them up with hoes—& set his fire early in the morning before the wind rises. As I was fighting the fire to day in the midst of the roaring & crackling for the fire seems to snort like a wild horse—I heard from time to time the dying strain the last sigh, the fine clear shrill scream of agony as it were of the trees breathing their last—probably the heated air escaping from some chink— At first I thought it was some bird or a dying squirrels note of anguish.— or steam escaping from the tree. You sometimes hear it on a small scale in the log on the hearth. When a field is burned over the squirrels probably go into the ground. The fire stopped within a few inches of a partridge’s nest [[Ruffed Grouse](#) [Bonasa umbellus](#) ([Partridge](#))] today June 4th—whom we took off in our hands and found 13 cream colored eggs. I started up a woodcock when I went to a rill to drink—at the westernmost angle of R.W.E.’s woodlot.

William M. White's version of a portion of the above journal entry is:

*As I was fighting the fire to-day,
In the midst of the roaring and crackling,—
For the fire seems to snort like a wild horse,—
I heard from time to time the dying strain,
The last sigh,
The fine, clear, shrill scream of agony, as it were,
Of the trees breathing their last,
Probably the heated air
Or the steam escaping from some chink.*

*At first I thought it was some bird,
Or a dying squirrel's note of anguish,
Or steam escaping from the tree.
You sometimes hear it on a small scale
In the log on the hearth.*



**A Grouse Nest with 10 Eggs Found by Herbert W. Gleason
at the Base of a Tree Near Brister's Spring**



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

January 19, Saturday: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s editorial, "Non-Resistance and Anti-Slavery," concluded that nonresistance to evil was a "higher and purer" motive than resistance to the evil of slavery:



The work of anti-slavery would be done if the nation repented and declared "the colored people placed on a level with the white population." But nonresistance would still have to calm the continuing hostility between whites and blacks. Furthermore, if nonresistance could reach the slaveholder before antislavery, the blacks would be spared any hostile aftermath. In this eventuality, Ballou expected that freedmen would be loyal to the interests of their former masters and would seek their guidance. "Such slavery would be quite unexceptionable to Anti-Slavery itself." But the reforms were distinct, and it already seemed probable that "Non-Resistance exerts at least a deadening influence on Anti-Slavery zeal, and so is incongruent with it." In making this distinction, he admitted what Garrison, Wright, and the others were never willing to admit: "Anti-Slavery is essentially nothing more than consistent democracy, and ... democracy contends for political justice and natural rights *merely* – not for the duty of patiently enduring wrongs, submitting to outrage, and forgiving injuries." He likewise admitted that it was very hard to agitate for the end of slavery without sometimes feeling an impulse to fight. Here was the most extraordinary concession of all: "Anti-Slavery has a strong natural affinity for political and legal action." What, then, was the "proper sphere" for nonresistants in the antislavery struggle?

They can *think, feel, speak, write, publish*, and in a thousand ways enlighten, purify, and renovate public sentiment. And this, after all, is the great thing to be done. When this has been accomplished, political, legislative and legal action will follow, as the vane conforms to the changing wind.... In this respect [non-resistance] sustains the same position to the Anti-Slavery Society, as to all other noble voluntary associations, which are right in their *end*, but liable to err in their *means*.

It is uncertain what provoked this editorial.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

At the end of the same year, Ballou wrote another, "Pro-War Anti-Slavery," in which he listed affronts to nonresistance. It was bad enough that Frederick Douglass and Theodore Parker, who had been understood to favor the doctrine, were calling for the death of kidnappers. It was much more distressing that "devoted and indomitable reformers," like Stephen S. Foster and Henry C. Wright, "though affirming that they themselves are Non-Resistants, declare it to be the duty of such as hold it right to fight to the death for the poor slave." It resembled the old argument over defensive war. Could they not see that to justify any fighting was to open the door to all fighting? Furthermore, was it not obvious that, if slavery were ended by violence, "both black and white would be subjected to a long series of calamities, moral and physical, which could never be done away, but by the moral means we can now employ with fifty times more advantage?"

These were the stakes. In view of the subsequent history of racial violence and frustrated efforts at reform in the South, they are not trivial. Ballou's contributions to the debate of the 1850s were the ideas that by demanding any kind of force abolitionists would forfeit their ability to criticize the violence which would actually occur and that slavery, if ended by force, would leave a legacy of hatred and poverty which even Christian love would have difficulty in overcoming.

Ballou reiterated similar warnings throughout the decade. Nonresistance might be compelled to separate from antislavery. It was understandable, if not excusable, that foes of slavery should get mad enough to fight. But if abolitionists successfully exhorted slave uprisings, they would simply aggravate the racist fear of "black monsters" in the North. In any case, the effective abolition of slavery required a change in the culture and religion of Southerners, white and black.

This testimony came to a head in 1859. A long, troubled editorial on "Practical Christian Anti-Slavery" suggested the secession from the Garrisonian society was probably appropriate for three principal reasons. First, of course, was the predominance of the war spirit among abolitionists. Second was "a growing disposition among our Anti-Slavery Associates to magnify their movement for the abolition of chattel slavery as including the main substance of Christianity, or of a natural religion much purer than Christianity." Third was an increase in the "egotism, extremeism [sic], exaggerationism, antagonism and contemptuous personality," of which there always had been too much; it followed from the "absurd doctrine[,] the better a man is the worse he is, or at least the most dangerous, so long as he is not a full saint." In order to come out from antislavery, it was necessary to minimize its importance and reject its utility as a test of sinlessness.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

December 21, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF DECEMBER 21

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s editorial, "Pro-War Anti-Slavery," concluded that having a war to end slavery would make the situation far worse rather than any better, for both American whites and American blacks:



The work of anti-slavery would be done if the nation repented and declared "the colored people placed on a level with the white population." But nonresistance would still have to calm the continuing hostility between whites and blacks. Furthermore, if nonresistance could reach the slaveholder before antislavery, the blacks would be spared any hostile aftermath. In this eventuality, Ballou expected that freedmen would be loyal to the interests of their former masters and would seek their guidance. "Such slavery would be quite unexceptionable to Anti-Slavery itself." But the reforms were distinct, and it already seemed probable that "Non-Resistance exerts at least a deadening influence on Anti-Slavery zeal, and so is incongruent with it." In making this distinction, he admitted what Garrison, Wright, and the others were never willing to admit: "Anti-Slavery is essentially nothing more than consistent democracy, and ... democracy contends for political justice and natural rights *merely* – not for the duty of patiently enduring wrongs, submitting to outrage, and forgiving injuries." He likewise admitted that it was very hard to agitate for the end of slavery without sometimes feeling an impulse to fight. Here was the most extraordinary concession of all: "Anti-Slavery has a strong natural affinity for political and legal action." What, then, was the "proper sphere" for nonresistants in the antislavery struggle?

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At the end of the same year, Ballou wrote another, "Pro-War Anti-Slavery," in which he listed affronts to nonresistance. It was bad enough that Frederick Douglass and Theodore Parker, who had been understood to favor the doctrine, were calling for the death of kidnappers. It was much more distressing that "devoted and indomitable reformers," like Stephen S. Foster and Henry C. Wright, "though affirming that they themselves are Non-Resistants, declare it to be the duty of such as hold it right to fight to the death for the poor slave." It resembled the old argument over defensive war. Could they not see that to justify any fighting was to open the door to all fighting? Furthermore, was it not obvious that, if slavery were ended by violence, "both black and white would be subjected to a long series of calamities, moral and physical, which could never be done away, but by the moral means we can now employ with fifty times more advantage?"

These were the stakes. In view of the subsequent history of racial violence and frustrated efforts at reform in the South, they are not trivial. Ballou's contributions to the debate of the 1850s were the ideas that by demanding any kind of force abolitionists would forfeit their ability to criticize the violence which would actually occur and that slavery, if ended by force, would leave a legacy of hatred and poverty which even Christian love would have difficulty in overcoming.

Ballou reiterated similar warnings throughout the decade. Nonresistance might be compelled to separate from antislavery. It was understandable, if not excusable, that foes of slavery should get mad enough to fight. But if abolitionists successfully exhorted slave uprisings, they would simply aggravate the racist fear of "black monsters" in the North. In any case, the effective abolition of slavery required a change in the culture and religion of Southerners, white and black.

This testimony came to a head in 1859. A long, troubled editorial on "Practical Christian Anti-Slavery" suggested the secession from the Garrisonian society was probably appropriate for three principal reasons. First, of course, was the predominance of the war spirit among abolitionists. Second was "a growing disposition among our Anti-Slavery Associates to magnify their movement for the abolition of chattel slavery as including the main substance of Christianity, or of a natural religion much purer than Christianity." Third was an increase in the "egotism, extremeism [sic], exaggerationism, antagonism and contemptuous personality," of which there always had been too much; it followed from the "absurd doctrine[,] the better a man is the worse he is, or at least the most dangerous, so long as he is not a full saint." In order to come out from antislavery, it was necessary to minimize its importance and reject its utility as a test of sinlessness.



1851

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) and Lucy Ballou’s daughter Abbie Ballou married a Practical Christian minister (later a Unitarian), William S. Heywood (who would in a much later timeframe be escorting his father-in-law’s autobiography through the presses).

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1851

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
25/03	Sarah Chesham	42	Chelmsford	Murder
10/05	Catherine Connelly	70 ^a	Cork	Murder
19/08	Mary Cage	40	Ipswich	Murder of husband

a. This set an age record, of sorts.

It seems to be during this timeframe that the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) authored the following material in opposition to capital punishment, referring regretfully to the recent [hangings](#) of [Washington Goode](#), Daniel H. Pierson,³¹ and [John White Webster](#):

Capital Punishment: Reasons For Immediate Abolition

What is Capital Punishment?

It is the infliction of Death on a human being who has been convicted of murder or some other crime, and who is a helpless prisoner in the hands of the public authorities. It is commonly executed by hanging, beheading, shooting, &c.; in our country almost always by hanging.

Who Inflict the Death Penalty?

All the people in the State or Nation who do not unequivocally protest against it. This is emphatically true in our Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Reader, whether voter or non-voter, male or female, adult or youth, thou art either for Capital Punishment or against it. Thou art not a neutral in the case. When one of thy fellow creatures is put to death on the gallows by public authority, with thy approbation or with thy consent, consider the deed as thine own. Nay, if thou lettest it be done without thy solemn protest against it, the deed is virtually thine own. Wince not at this. Know thy responsibility before God in this matter. Unless thou hast cleared the skirts of thy garments by some public, unequivocal and uncompromising

31. In 1848 they had hanged Pierson, a white imbecile of Boston, after he killed his wife and children.



testimony against Capital Punishment, thou art the man or the woman who inflicts it. Thou and thy fellows took the life of [Washington Goode](#), Daniel H. Pierson, and [John W. Webster](#). Say not "the Sheriff did it - the Governor ordered it - the Court decreed it - the law requires it." All true: but in whose name and by whose authority does the Sheriff, the Governor, the Court, the law hang a man? Who made the law, the Court, the Governor and the Sheriff? Answer: the people - the sovereign people. They do all these things. Who are the people? Answer: the voters, together with all who help to form that public opinion which governs voters, legislators and rulers. Whatever public opinion unequivocally demands should be done, is done. Voters, legislators and rulers see that it is done. They see that hanging is done. Why? Because public opinion demands it. And who form public opinion? All men, women and children who think and speak. Public opinion is nothing but the confluence of private opinions; like a mighty river made up of many small streams, rivulets or springs. Reader, remember that thou art one of these streams, rivulets or springs. Thy opinion is for or against Capital Punishment. So if not against it, thou art for it. If for it, thy private opinion is a part of that great river of public opinion which says to voters, legislators and rulers, "Keep on hanging murderers." Therefore thou art one of the executioners of Capital Punishment, acting through thy agents. The deed is really thine. If it be glorious, then glory on. But if it be abhorrent and abominable, hold back thy hand from thy guilty brother's life. Protest against the custom, the law, the public opinion. Let thy testimony be unequivocal, uncompromising and incessant against it, till the death penalty be utterly abolished.

Capital Punishment is Anti-Christian

Noah, Moses, and the ancients generally sanctioned it; but Christ prohibits it. The Old Testament, he knew, contained many sayings which authorized the taking of blood for blood, "life for life, eye for eye," &c. But he took care that the New Testament should record all imperative testimony against thus resisting evil with evil. Referring directly to that whole class of Old Testament sayings which sanction the taking of "life for life," our Lord says: "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil" - that is, by inflicting evil on the evil-doer, as you have heretofore done under the authority of these Noachic and Mosaic sayings. Away with all hatred and vindictiveness. Oppose evil only with good - only by doing what is best both for the injurious and the injured parties. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you," &c. that ye may be the children of your father in heaven, who always acts on this divine principle toward the unthankful and evil. On the same ground he enjoined the duty of always cherishing the spirit of forgiveness. "When ye pray, say ... Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." "For if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." Is it forgiving an offender to take blood for blood, life for life, eye for eye? Is this forgiving as we would have God forgive us? Wilt thou hang thy son's murderer by the neck till he be "dead, dead, dead," and then pray God to forgive thine offences



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as thou hast his! And after this wilt thou still presume to call Jesus Christ thy Lord, and thyself a Christian! Of all such Christ demandeth, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" As Jesus taught, so taught his apostles. Hear Paul: "Recompense to no man evil for evil"; "avenge not yourselves"; "be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." "See that none render evil for evil unto any man." So Peter, John and all the apostles. Hanging the evil doer is recompensing "evil for evil." It is man avenging himself by "rendering evil for evil." It is a vain attempt to overcome evil with evil. Therefore it is utterly anti-Christian. Christ never gave countenance to Capital Punishment, or to the taking of human life for any cause. He exemplified what he taught. He was once called on to adjudge a woman to death for adultery, according to the law of Moses. Did he sanction Capital Punishment? No; but he required those who would have stoned the criminal to death, to be sure first that they themselves were without sin. They felt the rebuke and fled. The woman still remained to receive death, if at all, from his sinless hands. But forbearing to harm her, guilty though she was, he said, "Go and sin no more." Jesus was no patron either of crime or of Capital Punishment. When James and John would have called fire down from heaven upon the unaccommodating Samaritans, "even as Elias did," he turned and rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." So then Christians, following out their Lord's mission in his divine spirit, are not to destroy men's lives, but to save them - even though Noah, Moses and Elias be officiously quoted to the contrary. When will this genuine Christianity come to be understood and exemplified throughout nominal Christendom? In that day will Capital Punishment, as well as War, be denounced and renounced as utterly anti-Christian. Reader, do not attempt to parry the force of the foregoing demonstration by any special pleading. Do not say, as some have, "Christ had no reference to public judicial proceedings; capital punishment, &c., when he gave forth those strong prohibitory precepts against resisting evil with evil; he only referred to petty revenge between individuals in common life," &c. This is groundless assumption, and contrary to the obvious meaning of Christ's language. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye," &c. Where? By whom? See Gen. 9:6, Ex. 21:22-25, Lev. 24:17-20, Deut. 19:16-21. Examine those passages, and thou wilt see that "life for life, eye for eye," &c. were to be taken by public judicial authority. Can we, then, suppose Christ did not forbid legal and judicial resistance of evil with evil, but merely ordinary individual retaliations? No; he forbade all those sayings had authorized; that is, both individual and governmental takings of "life for life, eye for eye," &c. This is too plain to be caviled upon. Neither let the reader say, as some have, Christ did not refer to those sayings of Noah, Moses, &c. but only to certain glosses on them made by some of the Jewish Rabbis. Show us any rabbinical glosses stronger than the original Scripture sayings in the Pentateuch. There are none. It is sheer assumption to plead all such abatement of Christ's obvious meaning. Nor let anyone rise up and say, as some have said, "You make Christ to condemn Moses,



and the New Testament to destroy the Old. Thus you pervert the Word of God." Strange notion! Is not Christ superior to Moses, and the New Testament to the Old? Who doubts this? The Jew may, but not the Christian. He who places Jesus Christ below Moses, or no higher than Moses, or the New Testament below the Old, or no higher than the Old, is anti-Christian, whatever else he may be. This is a settled point. But it does not follow that Christ contemns Moses, or that the New Testament destroys the Old. The less and the greater may mutually corroborate each other. Moses wrote of the Christ, and commanded that when he came, the people should hear him "in all things." Therefore said Jesus to the Jews, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." Moses was a faithful servant, but Christ is the Son of God. He who respects Moses as a servant, will surely respect Christ as the Son of God. And he who, under pretence of reverencing Moses, takes "life for life," regardless of Christ's solemn injunction to "resist not evil with evil," insults both of them. He tramples under foot his acknowledged Lord, and impudently says to Moses, "I will not obey thy command, to hear Christ in all things. I will hear him in nothing that differs from thy old law of "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth." That law suits my own instincts exactly, and I will not allow it to be superseded, even by Jesus Christ!" Would Moses feel honored by such an adherent? No; he would rebuke the self-willed zealot, and say, "No man honors me who does not honor the Son of God more." If the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, who all predicted a more glorious dispensation of divine truth and righteousness to come, could be summoned to give judgment, they would unanimously concur with Paul in his testimony: "If that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious." Instead of subordinating the New Testament to the Old, or lowering down its sublime law, of resisting evil only with good, to the ancient maxims, they would exalt Jesus Christ and his precepts above all, as the true light and life of men. Alas! that anyone should so poorly appreciate either the Old or the New Testament, as to imagine that he can truly honor the former without implicitly obeying the latter as God's revised statutes. The former had a glory which was designed to be superseded by the superior glory of the latter, even as the moon and the stars of night fade away in the radiance of the sun. Does the sun destroy the moon and stars, because he outshines them? No more does the New Testament destroy the Old by superseding its imperfect institutions with diviner ones. The position is impregnable. Capital Punishment, however sanctioned by Noah, Moses and the ancients, is anti-Christian. It ought therefore to be immediately abolished in all professedly Christian States. He who upholds it fights against Jesus Christ.

Capital Punishment is Unnecessary

There is no excuse for hanging a murderer, on the ground that he is outraging the public peace, and endangering the lives of his fellow-creatures. He is a helpless prisoner; completely in the power of the government, and there he can be kept in safe custody - in a custody which will prevent his injuring others, or being injured by others. What more does the public good require? What more does his own good require? What more does any



reasonable, humane, upright man desire? Who is it that clamors for his life - that cries out to have this powerless, pinioned man thrust into eternity from a gallows? O spirit of vindictive cruelty, we know thee all through the dark ages! Thou art thyself a murderer from the beginning. Be thou exorcised from all well-meaning souls. Thou hast often transformed thyself into an angel of light, and seated thyself in the high places of Christianity; but thou shalt be cast down into the pit, whence thou camest. Thou deprecatest and revengest murder, but art forever predisposing mankind to commit it. We know thee; "Get thee behind us, Satan." Capital Punishment is not necessary in order to prevent the criminal's escaping his due recompense. God has not left rewards and punishments to the uncertainty and imperfection of human government. He himself will render to every man according to his deeds. No sinner can escape the divine judgment. No murderer can by any possibility evade a just retribution. He may all mere human punishments, but none of the divine. Who but an atheist doubts this great truth? Then let no man say, "The murderer must be hung, or he will go unpunished." Not so. His going unpunished is an impossibility. Keep him, then, unharmed, where he can harm no one, and let him be made better if possible. Leave him to be punished by the only authority that is competent to do it without error. Why not? Avenger of blood, thou art dismissed. Thy mission is fulfilled. To whom will the putting to death of the criminal do any good? It will preserve no one's life, that could not just as surely be preserved by the judicious confinement of the convict. It will not help God's administration of justice. It will not restore the murdered person to life. It will give no comfort to the murdered one's surviving friends, unless they are depraved enough to find comfort in retaliation. It will do the murderer himself no good. If he be unprepared to die, it will precipitate him into the spirit world against all the dictates of religion; and if he have become a penitent - a regenerate man, forgiven of God - man ought to be both ashamed and afraid to be less merciful. It will do the righteous, the well-disposed and tender-hearted, no good. They are grieved and disgusted by such State tragedies. It will do the wicked, the depraved, the hard-hearted, no good. They love such spectacles, crowd eagerly around them, display all the hateful traits of devils incarnate, and go away ripe for violence and bloodshed. Hence our State authorities will not allow them free access to the place of execution, giving tickets of admission only to a few select witnesses, or respectable amateurs of this kind of tragedy. This is proof positive, if proof were wanting, that the hanging of murderers works no good to the wicked. If it did, the more they should see of it the better. Away with a punishment which is as unnecessary as it is anti-Christian.

This Punishment is Irreparable

Man can take away life; but he cannot restore it. Many have been put to death for crimes which seemed to have been conclusively proved against them, who were afterwards ascertained beyond doubt, to be innocent. Then their judges and executioners would have given worlds for the power to reverse the fatal sentence - to repair the dreadful error. But there was no remedy - no



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reparation. What presumption is it in ignorant, fallible mortals, themselves daily beggars for Divine mercy, to crush the life out of their guilty fellows; to thrust them from the land of the living into the unknown world of spirits! It is the prerogative of the Most High to kill; for He knoweth when and how to take life, and is able, moreover, to restore it at pleasure. Not so man. In his pride and rashness he kills, and there his power ends. He may stare at the ruin he has wrought; he may deplore it; but he cannot repair it. Alas! for the accusers, the jurors, the judges, the executioners, and their abettors, who presume to quench the flame of human life. The guilt of their victims is no justification of their presumption. Vengeance belongeth unto God alone, who ever judgeth righteously, and can do no wrong. Let man content himself with imposing uninjurious restraint on the outrageous and dangerous. Then if he err in judgment, or in methods of treatment, he can correct his errors, repair his incidental wrongs, and prove himself to be, what he ever ought to be the overcomer of evil with good. Read the following extracts, and see how liable human tribunals are to put to death the innocent.

A few years ago, a poor German came to New York and took lodgings, where he was allowed to do his cooking in the same room with the family. The husband and wife lived in a perpetual quarrel. One day, the German came into the kitchen, with a clasp-knife and a pan of potatoes, and began to pare them for his dinner. The quarrelsome couple were in a more violent altercation than usual, but he sat with his back towards them, and, being ignorant of their language, felt in no danger of being involved in their disputes. But the woman, with a sudden and unexpected movement, snatched the knife from his hand, and plunged it into her husband's heart. She had sufficient presence of mind to rush into the street, and scream murder. The poor foreigner, in the meanwhile, seeing the wounded man reel, sprang forward to catch him in his arms, and drew out the knife. People from the street crowded in, and found him with the dying man in his arms, the knife in his hand, and blood upon his clothes. The wicked woman swore, in the most positive terms, that he had been fighting with her husband, and had stabbed him with a knife he always carried. The unfortunate German knew too little English to understand her accusation, or to tell his own story. He was dragged off to prison, and the true state of the case was made known through an interpreter; but it was not believed. Circumstantial evidence was exceedingly strong against the accused, and the real criminal swore that she saw him commit the murder. He was executed, notwithstanding the most persevering efforts of his lawyer, John Anthon, Esq., whose convictions of the man's innocence were so painfully strong, that, from that day to this, he has refused to have, any connection with a capital case. Some years after this tragic event, the woman died, and on her deathbed confessed her agency in the diabolical transaction; but her poor victim could



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receive no benefit from this tardy repentance. Society had wantonly thrown away its power to atone for the grievous wrong.

- Mrs. Child

A young lady, belonging to a genteel and very proud family in Missouri, was beloved by a young man named Burton; but, unfortunately, her affections were fixed on another, less worthy. He left her with a tarnished reputation. She was by nature energetic and high-spirited; her family were proud, and she lived in the midst of a society which considered revenge a virtue, and named it honor. Misled by this false popular sentiment, and her own excited feelings, she resolved to repay her lover's treachery with death. But she kept her secret so well that no one suspected her purpose, though she purchased pistols, and practiced with them daily. Mr. Burton gave evidence of his strong attachment by renewing his attentions when the world looked most coldly on her. His generous kindness won her bleeding heart, but the softening influence of love did not lead her to forego the dreadful purpose she had formed. She watched for a favorable opportunity, and shot her betrayer when no one was near to witness the horrible deed. Some little incident excited the suspicion of Burton, and he induced her to confess to him the whole transaction. It was obvious enough that suspicion would naturally fasten upon him, the well-known lover of her who had been so deeply injured. He was arrested; but succeeded in persuading her that he was in no danger. Circumstantial evidence was fearfully against him, and he soon saw that his chance was doubtful; but with affectionate magnanimity he concealed this from her. He was convicted and condemned. A short time before the execution, he endeavored to cut his throat; but his life was saved for the cruel purpose of taking it away according to the cold-blooded barbarism of the law. Pale and wounded, he was hoisted to the gallows, before the gaze of a Christian community. The guilty cause of all this was almost frantic when she found that he had thus sacrificed himself to save her. She immediately published the whole history of her wrongs and her revenge. Her keen sense of wounded honor was in accordance with public sentiment; her wrongs excited indignation and compassion, and the knowledge that an innocent and magnanimous man had been so brutally treated, excited a general revulsion of popular feeling. No one wished for another victim, and she was left unpunished, save by the dreadful records of her memory.

- Mrs. Child

Hold! all ye vindictives that would take "life for life." It is impious, cold-hearted presumption in man to do this awful deed! It is anti-Christian, unnecessary, irreparable, abhorrent! We challenge a refutation of these reasons for abolishing the death

penalty. They are unanswerable. Let the abomination cease.

1852

The 32-year-old famous explorer [Dr. Elisha Kent Kane](#) began to court 18-year-old [Maggie Fox](#). The courtship would go on for five years before Kane died — then Maggie would have an emotional breakdown. It would be Kane’s skepticism about Spiritualism, combined with Maggie’s continued inability to contact him after his death, that would eventually lead to her confession that it had all been “a humbug from beginning to end.”

SPIRITUALISM



Meanwhile, this Spiritualism was having quite a run. For instance, at [Hopedale](#), after Adin Augustus Ballou died of [typhoid](#), his parents [Adin Ballou](#) and Lucy Ballou, who had become convinced believers in such communications, put out a volume entitled SPIRIT MANIFESTATIONS and were able to find some solace by way of seances and mediums and “messages.”



“...Borrowed Brigham the wheel wright’s boat at the Corner Bridge- He was quite ready to lend it -and took pains to shave down the handle of a paddle for me, conversing the while on the subject of spiritual knocking -which he asked if I had looked into -which made him the slower- An obliging man who understands that I am abroad viewing the works of Nature & not loafing -though he makes the pursuit a semi-religious one -as are all more serious ones to most men. All that is not sporting in the field -as hunting & fishing- is of a religious or else love-cracked character.....”



- [Henry Thoreau](#), [JOURNAL](#), July 1, 1852

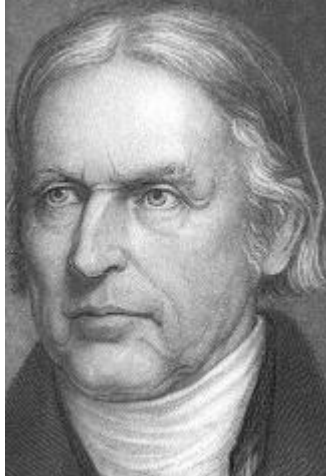
1854

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) wrote his main justification of the [Hopedale](#) Community, PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.



CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

The first section of this treatise would be his only completed work of systematic theology. He asserted that God permeated an “infinitarium,” that is, an infinity of universes, and that both space and time were without center or limit. Every separate one of these universes, of this infinity of universes within this “infinitarium,” he asserted, was going through an unending sequence of “grand cycles,” each one of which could appropriately be characterized as “an eternity.” His Christology was not Unitarian, nor was it Trinitarian, but instead was rather similar to the ancient heresy known as “Sabellianism.” He asserted that Christ was a manifestation of God, proportioned in such manner as to be comprehensible by our finite minds, but he asserted also that Christianity might not be the sole religion to contain divine truth. Like the Reverend Hosea Ballou, the



Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) portrayed atonement as a form of demonstration by God, an appeal to human beings for a spiritual and moral response. He differed from this other Reverend Ballou in asserting that divine punishment in the afterlife was necessary, not only for the sake of justice but also as a mechanism for individual correction and progress. Our human spirits, as they were gradually regenerated, were eventually to become one with God.



This treatise laid out a plan for human society that was as simple and as obvious as the Lord's Prayer. To be perfect as God is perfect is a difficult thing for us human creatures. We all impinge on each other in one manner or another; we are all in life together, on this planet together, and should we fail to forgive "them" their trespasses, no way could our own trespasses be forgiven — for our own trespasses against "them" are in no way more privileged than "their" trespasses against us. When we manage to avoid seeking to retaliate for the harms that are done to us by others, we face only a further obligation. After accepting these harms with no spirit of retribution, no spirit of doing harm in response, we must go on and do more: we must ask that the people who did these things to us be forgiven. And we can ask for this only if we ourselves are ready to grant the prayer. "After this manner, therefore, pray ye... Forgive us our debts, **as** we forgive our debtors." The word "as" in this prayer means "to the extent that." To the extent that we are able to forgive these other people for what they have done to us, to that extent and to that extent only, forgive us for what we ourselves have done against them, and, the inverse also, if there should be lurking in us any residual unwillingness to forgive, to that extent please do not forgive us for what we have ourselves done, but instead take retribution against us. There's no such thing as selective forgiveness, it only works if it is perfectly indiscriminate, and if it is perfectly applied across the board.³²

If, while we sue for mercy, we exercise none; if, while we pray for forgiveness, we meditate vengeance; if, while we ask to be treated better than we deserve, we are trying to respond to others according to their deserts; then we at once display our own insincerity, and our worship is a fraud and God is mocked. Our spirit of partiality is in opposition to the Lord's spirit of indiscriminate acceptance (which seems while we are in this spirit to be mere blind and callous indifference); we stand self-excluded from his presence alike unforgiving and unforgiven. The idea, repeated over and over, is that it is a law of life that only the forgiving can be forgiven. This forgiving is what constitutes our proof of our sincerity. This, not something as trivial as passing the salt to others at the table if we wish others to have the politeness to pass the salt to us, is the meat of the golden rule of doing unto others as we would have done unto ourselves. Our spirits must be fit to receive forgiveness. Then God can commune with us, for we have erected no barrier, we have not held ourselves away from his perfect spirit. It is only in the spirit of human forgiveness that we can receive and enjoy the divine forgiveness.

Yet Christianity has been suborned to authorize, to aid, and to abet the whole catalog of penal injuries, and when they are not enough, capital punishment, and not only that, but also the just war. The Chaplain leads the troops in the Lord's Prayer, while Christians draw near their God with their lips, and hold their hearts far away in a safe place where there may yet be found vengeance.

32. Also, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses" (Matthew 6:12-15). "Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" Jesus said unto him, "I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until seventy times seven" (Matthew 18:21-22). "And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any, that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses; but if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses" (Mark 11:25-26). "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven" (Luke 6:37).

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This, then, would be the foundation of our economic life, that to the greatest extent possible we voluntarily refrain from gaining our bread in any manner that interferes one with another, recognizing that a certain minimal level of such interference is inevitable, and, since we know full well that these residual interferences are unavoidable, we merely be understanding of these residual interferences in a spirit of awareness that we are as likely ourselves to commit such blunders against others, as they are to commit such against us. – The remainder of any economic program, obviously, is just window dressing and agenda and special pleading.

By this point the Reverend John Murray Spear, Medium, of the [Hopedale](#) community, had come to be under the direction of a group of spirits that termed itself “The Association of the Beneficents.” His committee (in sequence according to how long they had been in the spirit realm) included:³³



DIED	PERSONALITY
65CE	Lucius Annaeus Seneca
1546	Martin Luther
1683	Roger Williams
1772	Emmanuel Swedenborg
1790	Benjamin Franklin
1790	John Howard
1809	John Murray
1813	Benjamin Rush
1825	Thomas Jefferson
1834	Lafayette
1842	William Ellery Channing



33. John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore (1732-1809), had been the appointed governor of the Virginia colony. After the battles of Lexington and Concord he had taken gunpowder stores from Williamsburg and moved his seat of government to a British man-of-war anchored off Yorktown. After he had burned Norfolk in 1776, the Americans had been able to drive him back to England from his station on Gwynn’s Island in Chesapeake Bay. It is not clear that John Murray Spear had been named after this earl, and it is not clear that this is the John Murray that he was intending to channel. An alternative hypothesis was that he was intending to channel the father of American Universalism, the Reverend John Murray (-1815) and that somewhere somehow an error has crept in.

What this spiritual committee decided was that voting would not be necessary. All decisions, it seemed, could in the future be made by “a single leading, sound, central mind,” indeed, by the mind of the Reverend John M. Spear, Medium. “The leading mind gathers up, focalizes, concentrates the whole.” (This of course is what we in the 20th Century are familiar with as the *Führerprinzip*.) Spear proceeded to set up a new community of spiritualists in a city to be called Harmonia, in western New York, and to experiment with the creation of a perpetual motion machine. The machine was to be constructed in the Lynn home of the Hutchinson Family Singers, and the spirit of [Benjamin Franklin](#) guaranteed that, when constructed, it would work.



(The community of Harmonia would soon be charged with free love, and would disintegrate.)

1855

During this year the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson sailed with his wife to the Portuguese island of Fayal and back, for her health. There is in existence a letter by the Reverend, in which he describes a trip to Mt. Ktaadn taken in this year by himself, Theophilus Brown, and eight others from Worcester. The five women of this party were wearing bloomers and sensible shoes, and the native guide reportedly commented “There’s



no better grit to be scared up anywhere than them women have.” The Reverend Higginson, and Dr. Seth Rogers,³⁴ also led groups of armed men during this year from Worcester to the Kansas Territory. I don’t know whether the trip to Ktaadn was before or after the Kansas trip. Wendell Phillips contributed \$100.⁰⁰ to purchase carbines for anti-slavery white people emigrating to the Kansas Territory. The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)’s



[Hopedale](#) Community of Christian non-violenters near Worcester sent a party to establish a colony for peace, about 40 miles north of St. Paul, in a location called “Union Grove” near Monticello, Minnesota; however, weather, and difficulties of travel and transport and funding along the way, forced that peace party to sell its wagons and livestock and possessions and return to their origin with but the clothing on their backs.

(Or, perhaps, God forced them to turn back because of the unrighteousness of their temperance.) Because the congregation of the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher funded the award of one Bible and one Sharps carbine

34. Any relation to the Nathaniel Peabody Rogers of [Concord](#), New Hampshire, who put out the [Herald of Freedom](#) prior to his death in 1846, and about whom [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote in the last issue of THE DIAL, or to the Elizabeth Rogers Mason Cabot who so appreciated [WALDEN](#)? This Dr. Seth Rogers was a walking and canoeing companion of Thoreau’s.

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to each member of an anti-slavery group emigrating to the Kansas territory, these deadly ten-rounds-per-minute assault weapons would become known in succeeding years as “Beecher’s Bibles”:



The most warlike demonstration, and one which excited the greatest attention, was at New Haven. Charles B. Lines, a deacon of a New Haven congregation, had enlisted a company of 79 emigrants. A meeting was held in the church shortly before their departure, for the purpose of raising funds. Many clergymen and many of the Yale College faculty were present. The leader of the party said that Sharps rifles were lacking, and they were needed for self-defense. After an earnest address from Henry Ward Beecher, the subscription began. Professor Silliman started it with one Sharps rifle; the pastor of the church gave the second; other gentlemen and some ladies followed the example. As fifty was the number wanted, Beecher said that if twenty-five were pledged on the spot, Plymouth Church would furnish the rest. Previous to this meeting, he had declared that for the slaveholders of Kansas the Sharps rifle was a greater moral agency than the Bible; and from that time the favorite arms of the Northern emigrants became known as “Beecher’s Bibles.”





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According to this textbook, the Southern white “Christians” were organizing in a similar manner:



Yet one notable company was raised through the energy and sacrifice of Colonel Buford, of Alabama. He issued an appeal for 300 industrious and sober men, capable of bearing arms and willing to fight for the cause of the South. He would himself contribute \$20,000, and he agreed to give each man who enlisted 40 acres of good Kansas land and support him for a year. He sold his slaves to provide the money he had promised. Owing to the fervent appeals of the press, contributions from many quarters were obtained, and the enthusiasm was not confined to the men. A daughter of South Carolina sent to the editor of a newspaper a gold chain which would realize enough to furnish one man, and she begged him to let the ladies of her neighborhood know when more money was needed, for then, she wrote, “we will give up our personal embellishments and expose them for sale.”

Buford raised 280 men from South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Many of them were the poor relations and dependents of the wealthy slave-holders; others were poor whites. Some were intelligent, and afterwards proved worthy citizens; but the majority were ignorant and brutal, and made fit companions for the Missouri border ruffians, by whom they were received with open arms. The day that Buford’s battalion started from Montgomery, they marched to the Baptist church. The Methodist minister solemnly invoked the divine blessing on their enterprise; the Baptist pastor gave Buford a finely bound Bible, and said that a subscription had been raised to present each emigrant with a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Three or four thousand citizens gathered on the river bank to bid them farewell, and there were not lacking “the bright smiles and happy faces” of the ladies to cheer them on. A distinguished citizen made them an address, saying that “on them rested the future welfare of the South; they were armed with the Bible, a weapon more potent than Sharpe’s rifles; and, in the language of Lord Nelson, ‘every man was expected to do his duty.’” The South Carolina contingent had not, on leaving home, been provided with Bibles; it had there been proclaimed that all the equipment needed was a good common country rifle.

Further along in this text from which I am quoting, there are presumptive assertions, such as one on page 279 attesting that Sharps rifles were shipped West inside crates stamped **BIBLES**. One may cast doubt upon such tall textbook tales without contesting the existence of the Sharps repeating rifle, or contending that no churchly congregations contributed money toward their purchase, or impugning the fact that these weapons of remote rapid death were in the period humorously (!) being referred to, among the people humorously referred to as “Christians,” as “Beecher’s Bibles.” It has never to my knowledge been corroborated, that actual boxes of these rifles actually were shipped west, actually stenciled with the word **BIBLES** on the outside — it has not to my awareness been substantiated, that this was something more than merely a humorous (!) manner of talking



John Brown reads his Bible:

strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil; and they shall pollute it.

22 My face will I turn also from them, and they shall pollute my secret place: for the robbers shall enter into it, and defile it.

23 ¶ Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence.

24 Wherefore I will bring the worst of the heathen, and they shall possess their houses: I will also make the pomp of the strong to cease; and their holy places shall be defiled.

25 Destruction cometh; and they shall seek peace, and there shall be none.

26 Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour; then shall they seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.

27 The king shall mourn, and the prince shall be clothed with desolation, and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled: I will do unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

CHAPTER VIII.

The idolatries in Jerusalem.

AND it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord God fell there upon me.

2 Then I beheld, and lo a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; and from his loins even upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber.

hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up.

12 Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, The LORD seeth us not; the LORD hath forsaken the earth.

13 ¶ He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do.

14 Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the LORD's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.

15 ¶ Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these.

16 And he brought me into the inner court of the LORD's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the LORD, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the LORD, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east.

17 ¶ Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they put the branch to their nose.

18 Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.

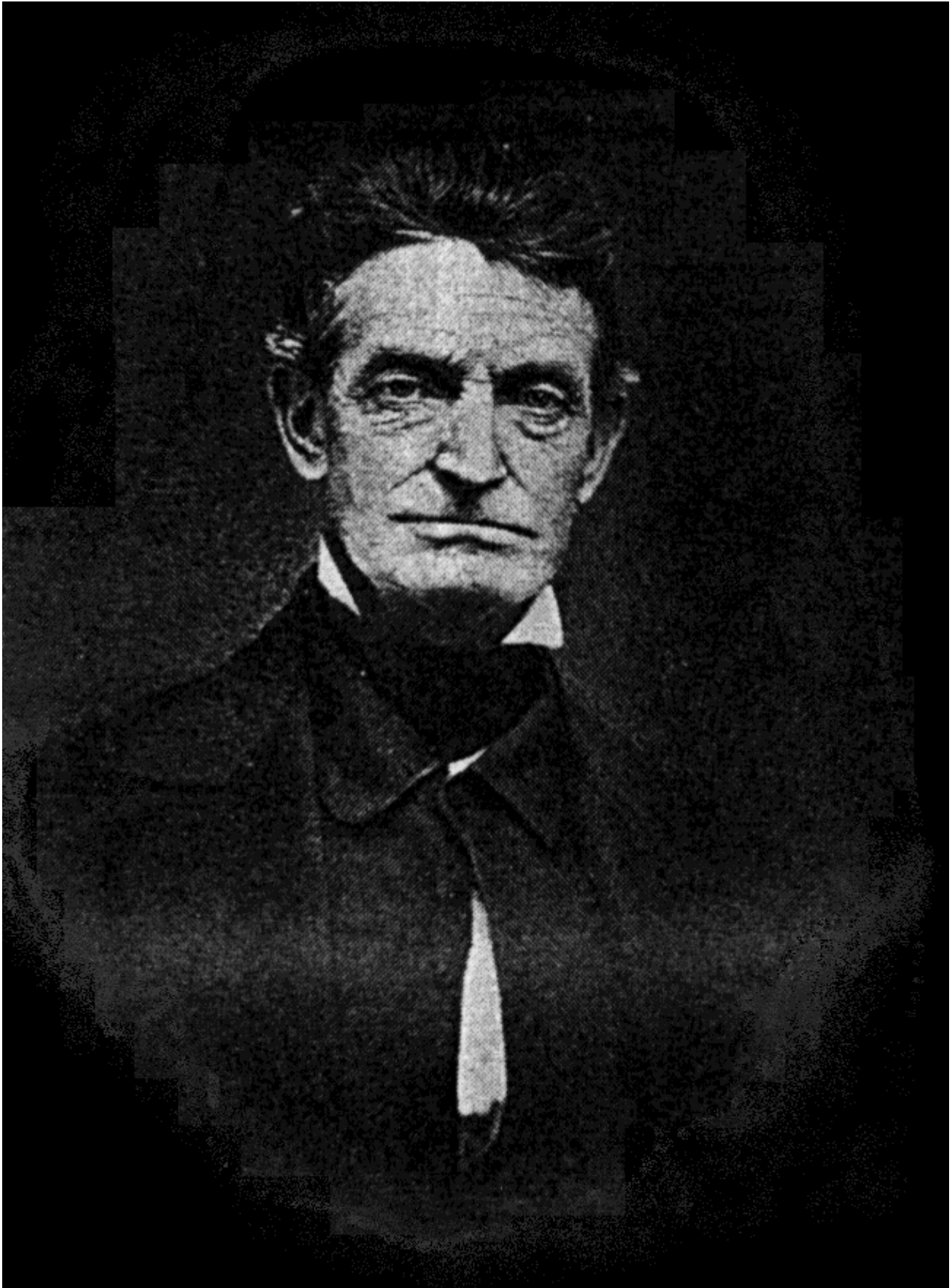
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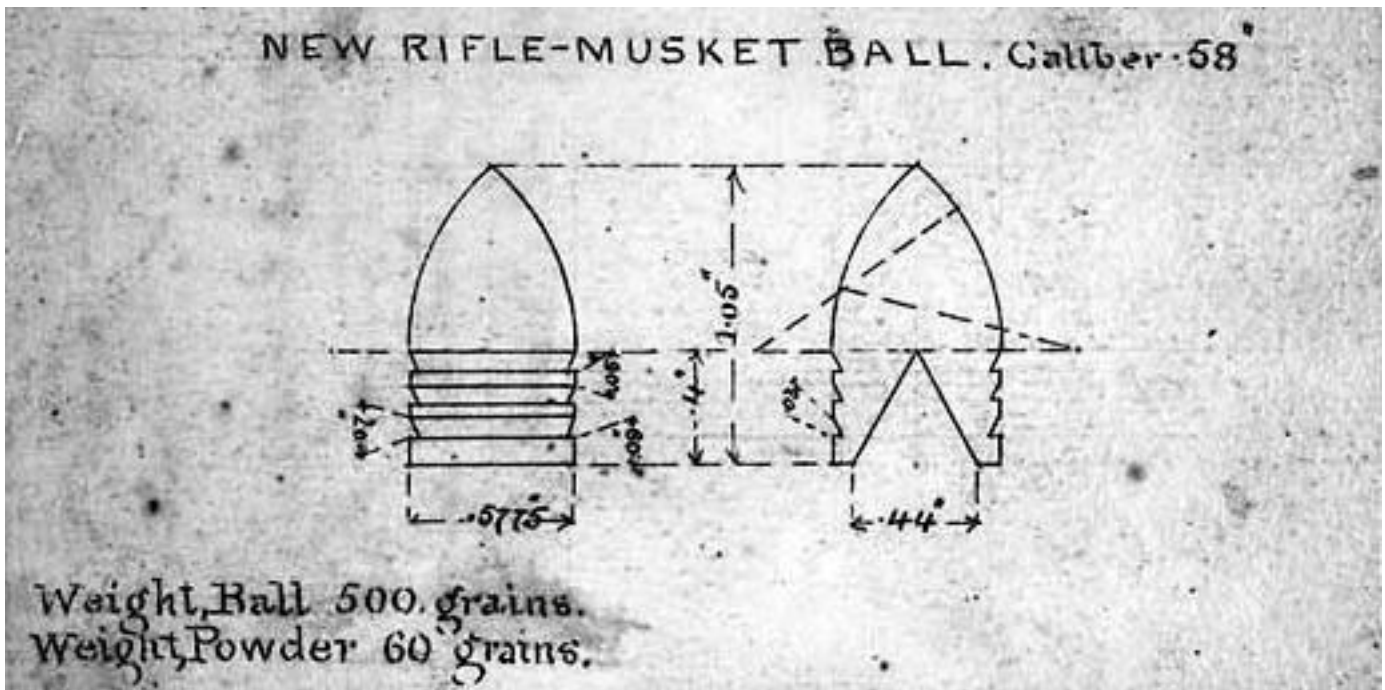
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about this righteous dealing of death.



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

This is the Minié .58-inch bullet that was being pioneered during this year at the Harpers Ferry Arsenal by armorer James H. Burton:



A nice “unintended feature” of this bullet being introduced was that since it was hollow behind, the shooter could prepare for battle by rubbing it in feces. That would ensure that any limb struck by the bullet would need to be amputated, because of the probability of sepsis from even a flesh wound that did not shatter bone.



(In other words, bacteriological warfare, but initiated from the bottom up rather than from the top down.)

For Righteousness' Sake, by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)

THE age is dull and mean. Men creep,
Not walk; with blood too pale and tame
To pay the debt they owe to shame;
Buy cheap, sell dear; eat, drink, and sleep
Down-pillowed, deaf to moaning wail;
Pay tithes for soul-insurance; keep
Six days to Mammon, one to Cant.

In such a time, give thanks to God,
That somewhat of the holy rage
With which the prophets in their age
On all its decent seemings trod,
Has set your feet upon the lie,
That man and ox and soul and clod
Are market stock to sell and buy!

The hot words from your lips, my own,
To caution trained, might not repeat;
But if some tares among the wheat
Of generous thought and deed were sown,
No common wrong provoked your zeal;
The silken gauntlet that is thrown
In such a quarrel rings like steel.

The brave old strife the fathers saw
For freedom calls for men again
Like those who battled not in vain
For England's Charter, Alfred's law;
And right of speech and trial just
Wage in your name their ancient war
With venal courts and perjured trust.

God's ways seem dark, but, soon or late,
They touch the shining hills of day;
The evil cannot brook delay,
The good can well afford to wait.
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime;
Ye have the future grand and great,
The safe appeal of Truth to Time!

1856

[Elihu Burritt](#)'s A PLAN OF BROTHERLY CO-PARTNERSHIP OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH FOR THE PEACEFUL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY (New York: Dayton and Burdick). Also, his THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE NATIONS, FOR 1856 (New York: D. Appleton & Co).

There was an attempt at a national crusade to abolish slavery by financial compensation of Southern slaveholders through sale of public lands: simply buy up all slaves, by right of eminent domain or whatever, and then issue them all their [manumission](#) papers. After the raid on Harpers Ferry, [Elihu Burritt](#) would be forced to abandon this crusade as pointless, and when the Southern states actually would secede, Burritt and the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) and Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would urge that the Southern whites be allowed peaceably to set up their own separate American nation — one in which they could all abuse one another relentlessly and generally go to hell whatever way they wanted.



With membership in the [Hopedale](#) community at its peak, 300 residents of whom 110 were full members, the community had substantial assets, including water rights to a considerable power source. In this year, however, Ebenezer Draper was able to buy out all the other members of the association. What happened was that the Draper brothers, Ebenezer and George, who had been building a great fortune on the economic basis of the Hopedale community and who at this point owned fully $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of its joint stock, in order to manufacture a profitable crisis suddenly without any warning announced that they had determined that the community was guilty of unsound business practices, and withdrew all their support.



Subsequently the Draper family would be able sternly and paternalistically to “develop” this complex as a mere factory village, until it would become a quite large and successful manufacturer of textile machinery. This would be where, later, the Northrop loom would be developed, which would make so many people rich.



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The later proprietors of this entity would come to publicly revile the “weak communism” of the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), who had remained ineffectively in the region for the remainder of his life, lamenting that his great attempt “to realize the Kingdom of God on earth” had grounded itself at last in “the shallows of worldly ambition and desire.” He would write that “this overthrow of my most cherished hopes and plans for the regeneration and progress of individual and social humanity” had been “almost unendurable.” He would write that he had felt “like one prematurely consigned to a tomb.”³⁵

For the remainder of his period of years, the Reverend would labor over THE HISTORY OF THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY and an AUTOBIOGRAPHY in order to preserve a legacy for the future. “Times and generations are coming that will justly estimate me and my work,” he would write. “For them, it has proved, I have lived and labored, rather than for my contemporaries. To them I appeal for vindication and approval; to them I bequeath whatever is valuable and worth preserving of my possessions.”



35. Material copied off this town’s current Internet homepage would seem to indicate that the devil has subsequently had his due: “In the late sixties [1960s], control of the Draper Corporation was passed to Rockwell International [aerospace, military manufacture]. Production ceased in the mid-seventies, thus closing the doors, not only to a building, but also to a period of history. Today, the abandoned and some suspect polluted factory site, totalling almost 50 acres, dominates the center of town in its decay. The last two decades [1980s, 1990s] have been tough economically on the people of Hopedale.”

1859

September 3: The 21st anniversary of Frederick Douglass’s freedom, which we may well elect to celebrate in lieu of **an unknown slave birthday**.



“It has been a source of great annoyance to me, never to have a birthday.”

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)’s editorial, “Practical Christian Anti-Slavery,” spoke of the possibility that the Non-Resistants were going to need to separate themselves from anti-slavery activism, because of the express willingness of the anti-slavery activists to utilize improper means:





The work of anti-slavery would be done if the nation repented and declared "the colored people placed on a level with the white population." But nonresistance would still have to calm the continuing hostility between whites and blacks. Furthermore, if nonresistance could reach the slaveholder before antislavery, the blacks would be spared any hostile aftermath. In this eventuality, Ballou expected that freedmen would be loyal to the interests of their former masters and would seek their guidance. "Such slavery would be quite unexceptionable to Anti-Slavery itself." But the reforms were distinct, and it already seemed probable that "Non-Resistance exerts at least a deadening influence on Anti-Slavery zeal, and so is incongruent with it." In making this distinction, he admitted what Garrison, Wright, and the others were never willing to admit: "Anti-Slavery is essentially nothing more than consistent democracy, and ... democracy contends for political justice and natural rights *merely* – not for the duty of patiently enduring wrongs, submitting to outrage, and forgiving injuries." He likewise admitted that it was very hard to agitate for the end of slavery without sometimes feeling an impulse to fight. Here was the most extraordinary concession of all: "Anti-Slavery has a strong natural affinity for political and legal action." What, then, was the "proper sphere" for nonresistants in the antislavery struggle?

They can *think, feel, speak, write, publish*, and in a thousand ways enlighten, purify, and renovate public sentiment. And this, after all, is the great thing to be done. When this has been accomplished, political, legislative and legal action will follow, as the vane conforms to the changing wind.... In this respect [non-resistance] sustains the same position to the Anti-Slavery Society, as to all other noble voluntary associations, which are right in their *end*, but liable to err in their *means*.

It is uncertain what provoked this editorial.



At the end of the same year, Ballou wrote another, "Pro-War Anti-Slavery," in which he listed affronts to nonresistance. It was bad enough that Frederick Douglass and Theodore Parker, who had been understood to favor the doctrine, were calling for the death of kidnappers. It was much more distressing that "devoted and indomitable reformers," like Stephen S. Foster and Henry C. Wright, "though affirming that they themselves are Non-Resistants, declare it to be the duty of such as hold it right to fight to the death for the poor slave." It resembled the old argument over defensive war. Could they not see that to justify any fighting was to open the door to all fighting? Furthermore, was it not obvious that, if slavery were ended by violence, "both black and white would be subjected to a long series of calamities, moral and physical, which could never be done away, but by the moral means we can now employ with fifty times more advantage?"

These were the stakes. In view of the subsequent history of racial violence and frustrated efforts at reform in the South, they are not trivial. Ballou's contributions to the debate of the 1850s were the ideas that by demanding any kind of force abolitionists would forfeit their ability to criticize the violence which would actually occur and that slavery, if ended by force, would leave a legacy of hatred and poverty which even Christian love would have difficulty in overcoming.

Ballou reiterated similar warnings throughout the decade. Nonresistance might be compelled to separate from antislavery. It was understandable, if not excusable, that foes of slavery should get mad enough to fight. But if abolitionists successfully exhorted slave uprisings, they would simply aggravate the racist fear of "black monsters" in the North. In any case, the effective abolition of slavery required a change in the culture and religion of Southerners, white and black.

This testimony came to a head in 1859. A long, troubled editorial on "Practical Christian Anti-Slavery" suggested the secession from the Garrisonian society was probably appropriate for three principal reasons. First, of course, was the predominance of the war spirit among abolitionists. Second was "a growing disposition among our Anti-Slavery Associates to magnify their movement for the abolition of chattel slavery as including the main substance of Christianity, or of a natural religion much purer than Christianity." Third was an increase in the "egotism, extremeism [sic], exaggerationism, antagonism and contemptuous personality," of which there always had been too much; it followed from the "absurd doctrine[,] the better a man is the worse he is, or at least the most dangerous, so long as he is not a full saint." In order to come out from antislavery, it was necessary to minimize its importance and reject its utility as a test of sinlessness.



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September 3: A strong wind, which blows down much fruit. R.W.E. sits surrounded by choice windfall pears.

November 26, Saturday: From his cell in Charles Town, John Anderson Copeland, Jr., who had remained entirely silent throughout his trial, wrote his parents:³⁶

DEAR PARENTS, – my fate as far as man can seal it is sealed but let this not occasion you any misery for remember the cause in which I was engaged, remember that it was a "Holy Cause," one in which men who in every point of view better than I am have suffered and died, remember that if I must die I die in trying to liberate a few of my poor and oppress people from my condition of servitude which God in his Holy Writ has hurled his most bitter denunciations against and in which men who were by the color of their faces removed from the direct injurious affect, have already lost their lives and still more remain to meet the same fate which has been by man decided that I must meet.


36. Letter later in the possession of his sister, Miss Mary Copeland of Oberlin, Ohio.

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The Reverend Andrew T. Foss, who been holding to the nonviolent principles of William Lloyd Garrison and the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) when he took part in the attempt to rescue Anthony Burns in the streets of Boston, had at some later point entered into an alliance with Charles Lenox Remond and ceased to be a Nonresistant. He explained that although he would not press the slaves toward rebellion, “when it comes, God knows, I will pray that the slave may be victorious.” At a meeting of an antislavery society in Worcester County, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) proposed that they reaffirm their original Declaration of Sentiments of December 4,



1833,  inclusive of its words “Our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come.” Charles Lenox Remond responded that he had never supposed, in joining that society, that he had committed himself to such a thing! In fact “I should be glad if a National Vigilance Committee was formed to hang upon every tree and lamppost every slaveholder.”



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[Abby Kelley Foster](#) joined with this challenge to the Reverend Ballou. Then [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) declared that although he was a nonresistant, he claimed also “not to be a fool.”



In response, the Reverend Ballou pointed out the very real scenario, that if America’s blacks freed themselves by means of a bloody massacre, this would render them psychically incompetent to collaborate with whites for many generations, and fill whites with such horror that they also would be animated by loathing and a lust for vengeance: “It may seem hard to wait, but if we do not wait, we shall do worse.” However, the Reverend Ballou’s resolution reaffirming its Declaration of Sentiments, which had been adopted at its founding and which had included the words “Our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come,” was voted down, and the assembly embraced instead this Charles Lenox Remond/Andrew T. Foss viewpoint.

[Stephen Symonds Foster](#) tried to organize a new political party which favored “revolution” over “dissolution” of the union, to be named the New England Political Anti-Slavery Society:

“I claim to be a Non-Resistant, but not to be a fool. John Brown has shown himself a **man**, in comparison with the Non-Resistants.”

A contrasting attitude was taken, however, by the Russian Minister, Edouard de Stoeckl, who reported to the government of the Tzar that



When the sad results of this foray became known, John Brown was proclaimed from the very roof-tops as the equal of our Savior. I quote these facts to point out how far Puritan fanaticism can go. Little by little, the extreme doctrines of New England have spread throughout the land.



November 26, Saturday: P.M.–Walk over the Colburn Farm wood-lot south [OF] the road. I find, sometimes, after I have been lotting off a large wood-lot for auction, that I have been cutting new paths to walk in. I cut lines an inch [SIC] or two long in arbitrary directions, in and around some dense woodlot which perhaps is not crossed once a month by any mortal, nor has been for thirty or fifty years, and thus I open to myself new works [SIC],—enough in a lot of forty acres to occupy me for an afternoon. A forty-acre wood-lot which otherwise would not detain a walker more than half an hour, being thus opened and carved out, will entertain him for half a day. In this case there was a cultivated field here some thirty years ago, but, the wood being suffered to spring up, from being open and revealed this part of the earth became a covert and concealed place. Excepting an occasional hunter who crossed it maybe once in several months, nobody has walked there, nobody has

penetrated its recesses. The walker habitually goes round it, or follows the single cart-path that winds through it. Woods, both the primitive and those which are suffered to spring up in cultivated fields, thus preserve the mystery of nature. How private and sacred a place a grove thus becomes!—merely because its denseness excludes man. It is worth the while to have these thickets on various sides of the town, where the rabbit lurks and the jay builds its nest.

When I ran out the boundary lines of this lot, I could commonly distinguish the line, not merely by the different growth of wood, but often by a kind of ditch which I think may have been produced by the plow, which heaped up the soil along the side of the field when it was cultivated. I could also detect trees variously bent and twisted, which probably had made part of a hedge fence when young, and others which were scarred by the fencing-stuff that had been fastened to them.

The chickadee is the bird of the wood the most unfailing. When, in a windy, or in any, day, you have penetrated some thick wood like this, you are pretty sure to hear its cheery note therein. At this season it is almost their sole inhabitant.

I see here to-day one brown creeper [*Certhia americana*] busily inspecting the pitch pines. It begins at the base, and creeps rapidly upward by starts, adhering close to the bark and shifting a little from side to side often till near the top, then suddenly darts off downward to the base of another tree, where it repeats the same course. This has no black cockade, like the nuthatch.

In the midst of this wood there occur less valuable patches, of an eighth of an acre or more, where there is much grass, and cladonia, shrub oaks, and lichen-covered birches, and a few pitch pines only,—places of a comparatively sterile character, as if the soil had been run out. The birches will have much of the birch fungus on them, and their fallen dead tops strew the ground.



PER MABEE, PAGES 322-4: Even among those who still considered themselves nonviolent Garrisonians, Brown's raid brought excited speculation that slave revolts might sharply increase if abolitionists encouraged them. Becoming uneasy over this speculation and the acceptance of violence it implied, [Adin Ballou](#) once president of the Nonresistance Society and still the leader of the nonresistant community at [Hopedale](#), Massachusetts, brought the issue out into the open. While Brown was still in a Virginia jail, at a meeting of a Garrisonian Worcester County antislavery society Ballou proposed a resolution reaffirming the Declaration of Sentiments, which had been adopted at the founding of the American Antislavery Society, including the words, "Our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come." Ballou interpreted the declaration as a nonresistance pledge.

The Salem Negro Charles Remond —who at the 1843 Negro national



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convention opposed Garnet's calling for slave insurrection but recently had been calling for it himself- grew excited. "I never supposed on becoming a member of this society," Remond told Ballou, "that I committed myself to the nonresistant sentiments to which you have referred. For whenever I have heard the question asked, 'What constitutes a member of the American Antislavery Society?' the only answer I have heard given was this: that a man who believed that the immediate, unconditional emancipation of the slave was right ... is a member of this society." And then Remond made clear the extent to which he had become willing to accept violence: "I should be glad if a National Vigilance Committee was formed," he said, "to hang upon every tree and lamppost every slaveholder. They would be doing a glorious work!" "I am not contending," replied Ballou evenly, "that ... a man cannot be a member of this society unless he is a nonresistant.... What the society should be, as a society, is one thing, and what its individual members should be outside of the society is another thing. In respect to the measures of the society, as a society, it is bound by its declarations.... As a society we are pledged not to resort to ... violence." The Quaker come-outer, Abby Kelley Foster, put Ballou on the spot. She said she would rejoice if the North had gone so far up the moral scale as to point its guns not at slaves, as was then the case, but at slaveholders instead. Would you? she asked Ballou bluntly. Ballou was cautious. "I should rejoice with trembling and sorrow," he replied. Abby's husband, the doughty Stephen S. Foster, spoke up. "I claim to be nonresistant," he said, "but not to be a fool." The audience laughed. "Every man is bound to use the most formidable weapons in his power," Foster continued. "Why should I use the sword when I can do better without it? But," he admitted, "Brown has shown himself a man in comparison with the nonresistants." Foster explained, I want to act more like a man myself. Since slave insurrections are coming in the South, "I want to go down South and guide an insurrection, to preserve it from those excesses which Brother Ballou so much deprecates." Evidently Foster considered that slave revolt by nonviolent methods -such as Birney had hinted at in 1835- was hopeless. He was proposing to be an adviser to slave insurrectionists with the hope of keeping them from the excesses of violence only. Ballou ridiculed Foster's notion that he could guide an insurrection. "How pretty he would look," said Ballou, "undertaking to regulate myriads of raging insurrectionists scattered over the Southern country! A rebellion once started would involve all the outrages in the calendar of crime." Besides, if the slaves were freed by rebellion, Ballou added with prescience, "what is to be done with them for the next hundred years? It would take at least a century to educate them out of the ferocity engendered by such conflict. How are they to be employed, trained for liberty, and organized into well ordered communities? And above all how is this work to be accomplished with the great mass of the whites in the country full of horror, loathing, and revenge toward them? ... Can't we wait the operations of a more peaceful process? Can't we content ourselves with holy efforts to bring about a change of public sentiment, so that this thing may be accomplished, without resorting to such horrible measures? It may seem hard to wait,



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but if we do not wait, we shall do worse." The New Hampshire abolitionist agent, Andrew T. Foss, a long-time Baptist minister, said that he had held to the nonviolent principles of Garrison and Ballou as recently as when he took part in the attempt to rescue Burns in the streets of Boston. But since then he had ceased to be a nonresistant. Indicating Ballou, Foss said, "I do not say that he is not higher than I am. I have an impression, a sort of instinct, that he is. [But] I ask the privilege of working on this platform in my own way.... I don't undertake to justify rebellion [by slaves], but when it comes, God knows, I will pray that the slave may be victorious." The crowd cheered. "Men will come to see," added Foss, "that if our fathers had a right to strike for their liberty, then John Brown had a right to strike for the liberty of the slave." Why did so many abolitionists forget, Ballou replied later in a prophetic statement, "the vast differences between a people trained for liberty and self-government through a century and a half, and millions of long crushed slaves, schooled to servility and studiously kept in ignorance? Such a people need all the help and benefit of a peaceful emancipation." But the meeting accepted the Remond-Foss view. It voted down Ballou's resolution reaffirming the American Society's tradition of nonviolence. Even among Garrisonians, John Brown was reducing faith in nonresistance.

December 2, Friday: The spirit of John Brown, allegedly, to Governor Henry A. Wise:

First Hevan Dec 2

Friend Wise



I got here this Morning at 11 1/2 o'clock Set Peter was at the Door. he said welcom John Brown you are the first man that come here from Virginia in 20 years and I am afraid you will Be the last excep Cook and his friends

Youres &ca

John Brown

P.S. Write soon and send your letter By Cook as that will Be the Last canse you ever will get

J.B

The Reverend Henry Highland Garnet announced at a service in New-York's Shiloh Church that henceforward "the Second day of December will be called **Martyr's Day.**"



"There can be no redemption of sin without the shedding of blood."

We may now allow ourselves to notice what for a long time has not been awarded an adequate commentary, that for this commemorative service which coincided with the hanging of John Brown for treason, [Henry Thoreau](#), [Waldo Emerson](#), and the other "speakers" delivered nothing of their own thoughts. (A local lad named Frank Pierce would later have occasion to recall that he had helped his dad move some sort of heavy musical instrument, a piano or organ, into the hall for this occasion.) The speakers merely took the podium in their turn to read entirely innocuous stuff out of Andrew Marvell, and out of Sir Walter Raleigh, and out of Tacitus. Why were they doing this upon such an occasion? It must have been like drinking Polynesian Double Mai-Tais at a wake. Well, one reason might have been that enflamed Concord townspeople were nearby,

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counting down the minutes as the traitor rode atop his own coffin out to the hanging ground,



until the traitor would swing at the stroke of noon — and as he swung, igniting a hanging effigy of the traitor. These local patriots did not want their world turned upside down, but instead, they wanted that all respect and consideration continue to be accorded to worthy people. They were not ready to begin to accord respect and consideration also to unworthy people, such as coloreds, and criminals. Such patriots constituted an obvious and unpredictable, although local and temporary, hazard. We have the testimony of one participant in this classics-reading, however, that something else, a more permanent and extensive threat, was on the minds of the participants and their audience. What if, as a result of this meeting, they were arrested by officials of the federal government and charged with high treason? In a trial, they would need to be able to defend themselves in some manner, and this would enable to defend themselves on the grounds that actually this meeting had been for the simple and straightforward and entirely innocuous purpose of reading of the classic authors. Not a word had they spoken about this traitor Brown who, coincidentally, was being hanged in another state at that hour. Well, does this make you think less of Henry David Thoreau, that such considerations would have been borne in mind under the uncertainties of the moment? How would you yourself have conducted yourself in the face of such uncertainties? You will please to note that there was all the difference in the world between defending Brown in public while he was merely an accused citizen before a court-martial panel of military officers,



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before he had been found to have committed the capital crime of treason, of having attempted by force and violence to overthrow the government of the United States of America, and defending him in public after that finding of guilt. It may well be that, in critical times, with martial law a very real possibility, one who attempts to give aid and comfort to treason is himself a traitor, and may well anticipate being treated as one. While people have begun hanging people, who can be sure where this spate of hanging is going to stop?

Friday, December 2, 1859, broke clear and summerlike over a nation solemn and awed by the grim business taking place in Virginia. Southerners put up a facade of business-as-usual, but in the free states church bells tolled morning, noon, and night from Cape Cod to Kansas. In Concord, Thoreau argued with the narrow-minded selectmen who refused to endorse the ringing and threatened to fire off the town's minute guns as a countermeasure, but in Albany the council authorized a one-hundred-gun salute in tribute to Brown and in Syracuse the great fire bell in City Hall rang mournfully all through the day.

The above, from page 500 of Mayer's ALL ON FIRE makes it sound as if Thoreau was threatening to fire off Concord's minute-guns because narrow-minded selectmen were refusing permission to knell the 1st Parish bell. No. What Thoreau recorded was that local **opponents** to the commemoration service threatened that if mourners knelled the 1st Parish bell in honor of John Brown's passing, **they** would fire off the town's minute-guns in **celebration** of the traitor's execution.



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Upon expecting that the federal captive John Brown had probably been put to death in Charlestown, Virginia, [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) mused on how his sympathy for Brown's determined endeavor related to the qualms he had as to episodically violent manner in which Brown had conducted himself in response to the constant violence that was the institution of slavery:



To-day at 12 M. John Brown was probably executed at Charlestown, Va., for a noble but apparently ineffectual attempt to emancipate slaves. My sympathy for the brave and self-sacrificing old man has been deeply aroused. His sufferings are now probably all over, and his body rests in peace, the bloody requisitions of the law having been satisfied.... Feeling sad at the mournful close of poor John Brown's life, now I trust with his Father and his God beyond the reach of the tyrant slaveholder. Cloudy this afternoon, and all nature affected with a general gloom, as it were at the loss of the brave old philanthropic hero now lying dead and cold in the hands of his enemies and the enemies of humanity.

John Brown cannot die; his body may perish, but that which was the most himself, his noble, self-sacrificing spirit, will survive, and that object to which he so heartily devoted himself and for which he has died, will be hastened to its accomplishment by his cruel and untimely death, untimely so far as the means used to effect it on the part of his tyrannical captors.

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The Reverend Samuel Joseph May organized a crowd to gather at the Syracuse NY city hall to do honor to



him who had honored in “spirit and letter the great holy doctrine of the [Declaration of Independence](#).”



The reverend termed the action “ill-advised,” condemned its violence, and then repeated the sentiment of John Brown’s closing speech at his trial — that had he acted on behalf of the rich and well-born, the government would be glorifying him rather than killing him, and that therefore the true reason why the courts martial panel was condemning him to death had nothing to do with the nature of his actions in and of themselves, and had everything to do with the fact that he had performed these actions on behalf of the humble people of this world.³⁷ When the appointed time arrived for the federal government to kill its captive, the minister intoned “The day has come, it is slavery or liberty, compromises are at an end,” and the sexton tolled the bell of the city hall 63 times.

Upon the request of Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, [Thoreau](#) borrowed [Emerson](#)’s covered wagon and mare and delivered an unnamed distressed young man at sunrise past the railroad depot in Concord to the railroad depot next down the line, in South Acton. No questions asked or answered, Thoreau simply did as his friends needed. The young man sat in the back seat and talked continuously, insisted that his driver was Mr. Emerson, and at one point attempted to dismount and walk back to Concord. The “Mr. X” whom Thoreau escorted was Francis Jackson Meriam, one of the culprits of the Harpers Ferry fiasco, the last-recruited agent of the Secret “Six”, and it is an open question what would have happened to Henry David Thoreau, had anyone seen through Henry’s “Mr. Lockwood” assumed identity and had Henry been captured while assisting such an escaping

37. Which, of course, was an excellent point, and one which needed to be made.

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“traitor.”



(Meriam had been in Boston coming from Canada, and finally had been induced by friends to head back toward area of St. Catharines, Canada; he eventually would settle in Illinois and marry with Minerva Caldwell of Galena IL and obtain a position as a captain in the 3rd South Carolina Colored Infantry. Erratic and unbalanced, he would often urge wild schemes upon his superiors, and sometimes attempt them. In an engagement under General Grant he would be severely wounded in the leg. In 1865 he would die suddenly in New-York.)



Then Thoreau drove back to Concord from South Acton, returned the wagon, and delivered “The Martyrdom of John Brown” at Concord Town Hall. This was the noon of Brown’s hanging and other residents of Concord, down the street, were hanging Brown in effigy.

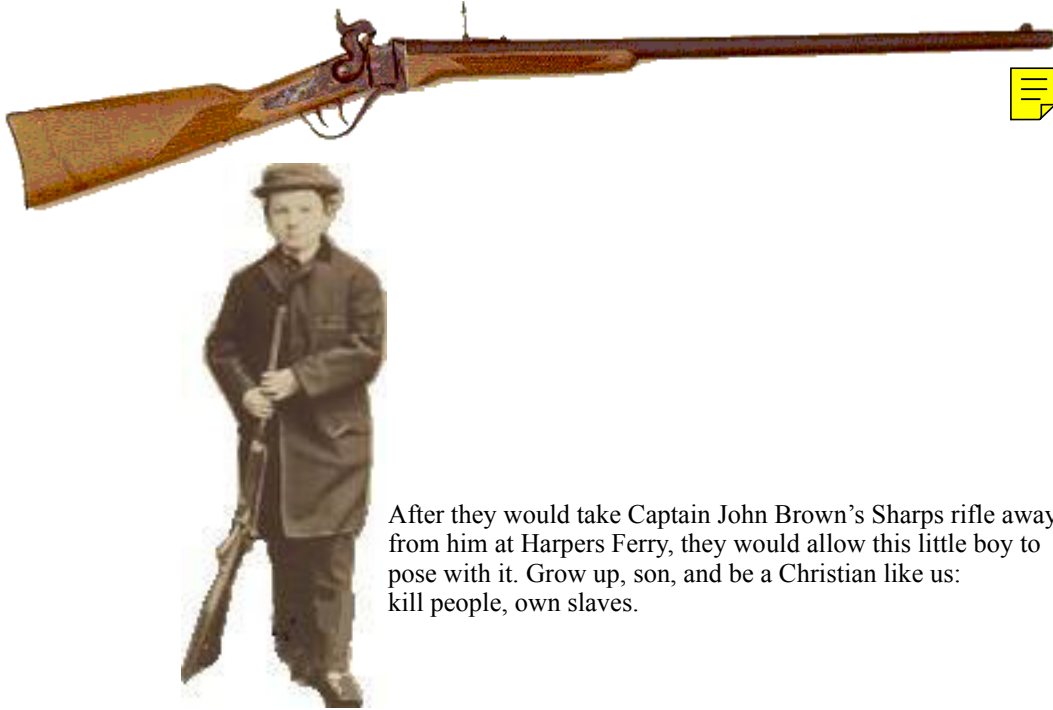


While the condemned man was being [hanged](#), the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) stayed at home and wrote an editorial asking “Are Non-Resistants for Murder?” He had not been much impressed with Brown’s reliance upon pikes,

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or reliance on the readings of the “Beecher’s Bible” (Sharps rifle, ten “verses” per minute).



After they would take Captain John Brown’s Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

Down South, just before noon, as Brown was being taken from his cell to sit on his own coffin in a wagon and ride away in the midst of the troops, a guard handed him a slip of paper and a quarter, requesting an autograph. Brown wrote hurriedly on the slip of paper.³⁸

Charlestown, Va. 2^d December, 1859.
 I John Brown am now quite certain that
 the crimes of this quitty, land; will never be
 purged away; but with blood. I had as I now
 think: vainly flattered myself that without very
much bloodshed; it might be done

We may notice in passing that what John Brown was repeating here was the idea of the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, that Brown had himself caused to be published and distributed. In a speech to a national

38. He handed the man back his quarter.

black convention in 1843, the Reverend Garnet had declared that



“There can be no redemption of sin without the shedding of blood.”

We understand how such a speech, determinedly ignoring (*à la* Robert D. Richardson, Jr.) the vast difference between shedding one’s own blood in the furtherance of one’s agenda and shedding the blood of another, could fit right into a desperate man’s desperate agenda — for Brown had printed and distributed this speech.

**Be sure you grok the logic here:
The logic is not “A black minister said it
and therefore we should pay attention.”
The logic is: “They should die for their sins and set us free;
therefore by becoming murderers we will set ourselves free.”**

Also, on December 2nd, several hundred medical students from Virginia marched through the streets of Philadelphia, with red ribbons on their coats, shouting out how many niggers they owned.

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As John Brown was being led down the corridor in the prison, he kissed the warder John Avis's young son.³⁹



Currier & Ives would record this as the kissing of a black baby:



39. The warder's family, a white family named Avis, lived at the front of the prison. This, plus the fact that Brown had spoken of how desirable it would be to have black people in attendance during his hanging, evidently led to the disgusting and inflammatory and utterly unfounded and unwarranted report in the popular newspapers, that the child he had kissed was **black**.

John Brown of Ossawatomie spake on his dying day:
'I will not have to shrive my soul a priest in Slavery's pay;
But let some poor slave-mother whom I have striven to free,
With her children, from the gallows-stair put up a prayer for me!
John Brown of Ossawatomie, they led him out to die;
And lo! a poor slave-mother with her little child pressed nigh:
Then the bold, blue eye grew tender, and the old harsh face grew mild,
As he stooped between the jeering ranks and kissed the negro's child!
The shadows of his stormy life that moment fell apart,
And they who blamed the bloody hand forgave the loving heart;
That kiss from all its guilty means redeemed the good intent,
And round the grisly fighter's hair the martyr's aureole bent!
Perish with him the folly that seeks through evil good!
Long live the generous purpose unstained with human blood!
Not the raid of midnight terror, but the thought which underlies;
Not the borderer's pride of daring, but the Christian's sacrifice.
Nevermore may yon Blue Ridges the Northern rifle hear,
Nor see the light of blazing homes flash on the negro's spear;
But let the free-winged angel Truth their guarded passes scale,
To teach that right is more than might, and justice more than mail!
So vainly shall Virginia set her battle in array;
In vain her trampling squadrons knead the winter snow with clay!
She may strike the pouncing eagle, but she dares not harm the dove;
And every gate she bars to Hate shall open wide to Love!

— Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)

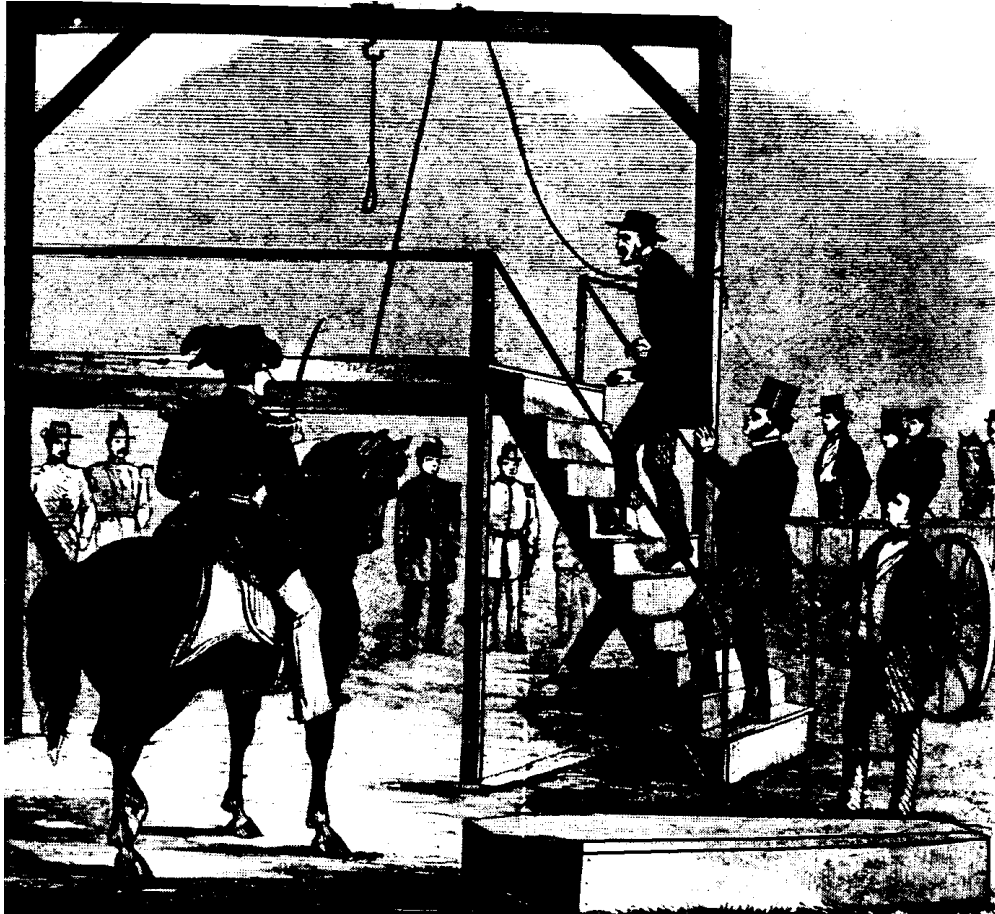
REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

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In 1884, Thomas Hovenden would prepare a painting depicting the famous falsehood, what supposedly had



taken place at the door of the Charlestown jail while John Brown was being led to his execution, and would do at least as good a job of it as Currier & Ives had done at the time. At least this Thomas Hovenden, by following the imagination of the Currier & Ives Sketcher, would get the backdrop for his sentimental picture reasonably accurate, for this would be the Charlestown jail as it would



**It was high noon on 2 Dec 1859 and time for the military ceremony.
 If anyone did, John Brown had a perfect right to dance:
 After giving the lives of a number of *other* people for what *he* believed,
 he had somewhat belatedly gotten the idea of sacrifice
 that Angelina Grimké had tried to explain in 1835:**

*It is my deep, solemn, deliberate conviction that this
 is a cause worth dying for.... YES! LET IT COME – let
 us suffer, rather than insurrections should arise.*

**—and offered his *own* life rather than *somebody else's* life for what *he* believed.
 Then the death roll of the drums of Robert E. Lee's marching band, snares
 loosened, purposefully drowned out John Brown's last words from the
 high scaffold in the stubble field as the black hood was placed over his head.
 (This particular prisoner was not going to address the conscience of the nation
 from this particular pulpit: no famous last words, if you please sir.)**

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appear in the year 1900:



Assorted companies of horse soldiers went into formation about the wagon as three infantry companies were ordered to hold their regular files. A total of 1,500 troops had been amassed to take up formation in the stubble field around the scaffold. "I had no idea Governor Wise considered my execution so important," John Brown commented as he was seating himself atop his coffin in the wagon drawn by a team of white horses, in loose-fitting clothes, carpet slippers, and a hat. One of the Governor's sons was there to be a voyeur, as was a

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militiaman from Company F of Richmond, John Wilkes Booth.⁴⁰ Virginia Military Institute cadets were in



formation behind the scaffold with the commander they called Stonewall Jackson. It was noon and time for the execution when Brown commented “This is a beautiful country — I never before had the pleasure of seeing

40. John Wilkes Booth would lie to his sister, and then to the general public, alleging that he had rushed to Harpers Ferry to aid in suppressing the raiders. The truth was that he had merely ventured from the Richmond, Virginia stage to Charlestown, as a voyeur.

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it.”



He dropped his hat to the ground as the hood and then the noose were lowered over his head. “I can’t see, gentlemen,” he commented, “you must lead me.” When the sheriff asked him if he would like to have some kind of private signal just before the drop, he responded “It does not matter to me — I only want that everyone should not keep me waiting so long.” Then a hatchet was used to chop through the rope that was holding the



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trap door of the platform shut.

A READY RECKONER FOR HANGMEN.

RULE.—Take the weight of the Client in Stones and look down the column of weights until you reach the figures nearest to 24 cwt., and the figure in the left-hand column will be the Drop. See page 167 of this Handbook.

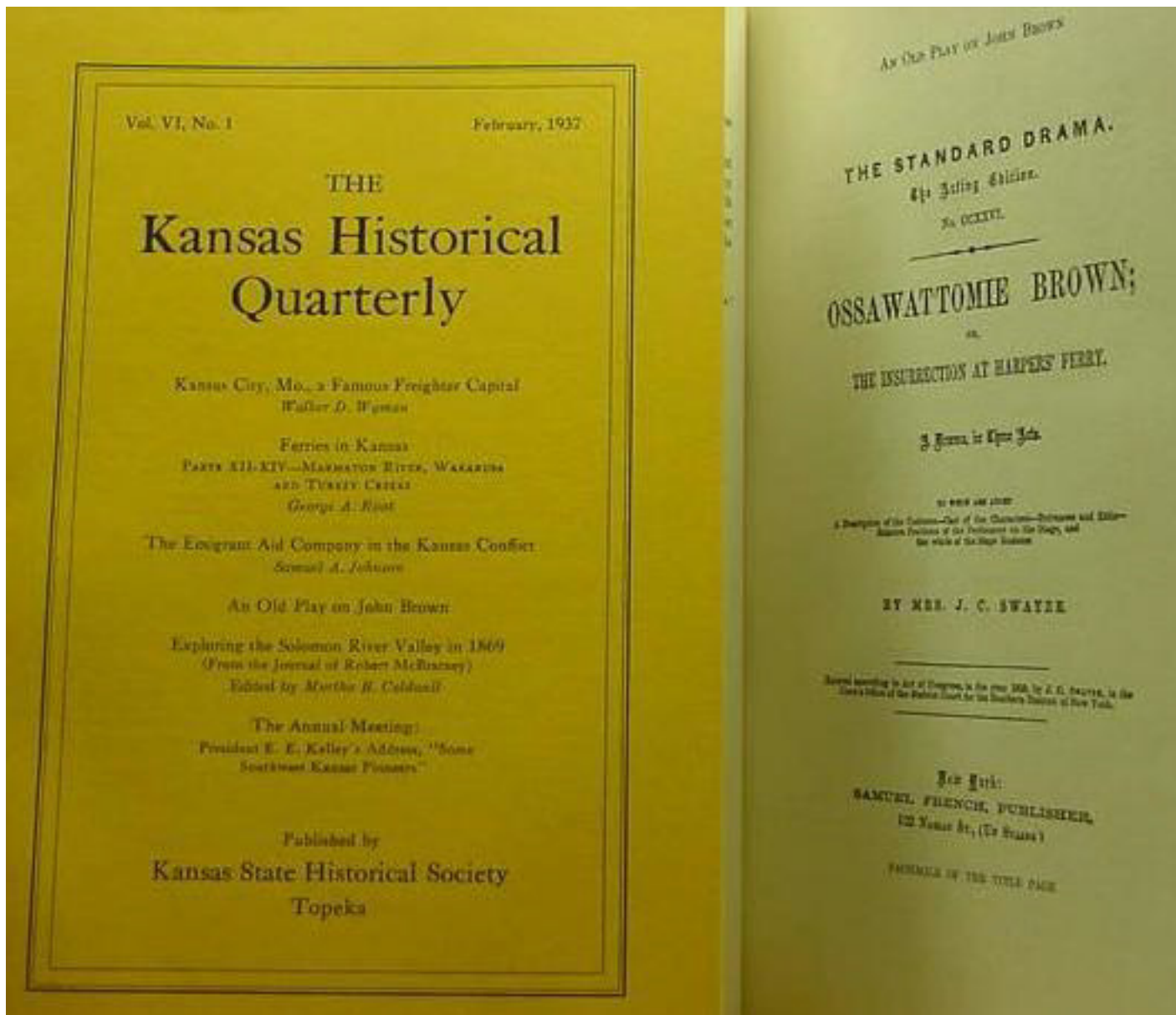
Distance falling in feet. Zero.	8 Stone		9 Stone		10 Stone		11 Stone		12 Stone		13 Stone		14 Stone		15 Stone		16 Stone		17 Stone		18 Stone		19 Stone													
	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.	cwt.	qr.	lb.												
1 ft.	8	0	0	9	0	0	10	0	0	11	0	0	12	0	0	13	0	0	14	0	0	15	0	0	16	0	0	17	0	0	18	0	0	19	0	0
2 ft.	11	0	15	0	13	4	14	0	15	2	16	3	17	1	18	3	19	2	20	1	21	2	22	1	23	1	24	1	25	1	26	3	27	9		
3 ft.	13	3	16	15	2	15	17	1	14	19	0	12	20	3	11	22	2	9	24	1	8	26	0	7	27	3	5	29	2	4	31	1	2	33	0	1
4 ft.	16	0	0	18	0	0	20	0	0	22	0	0	24	0	0	25	0	0	26	0	0	27	0	0	28	0	0	29	0	0	30	0	0	31	0	0
5 ft.	17	2	11	19	3	5	22	0	0	24	0	22	26	1	16	28	2	11	30	3	5	33	0	0	35	0	22	37	0	16	39	2	11	41	3	15
6 ft.	19	2	11	22	0	5	24	2	0	26	3	22	29	0	16	31	3	11	34	1	5	36	3	0	39	0	22	41	2	16	44	0	11	46	2	5
7 ft.	21	0	22	23	3	11	26	2	0	29	0	16	31	3	5	34	1	22	37	0	11	39	3	0	42	1	16	45	0	5	47	2	22	50	1	11
8 ft.	22	2	22	25	2	4	28	1	14	31	0	23	34	0	5	36	3	15	39	2	25	42	2	7	45	1	16	48	0	26	51	0	8	53	3	18
9 ft.	24	0	11	27	0	12	30	0	14	33	0	23	36	0	16	39	0	18	42	0	19	45	0	21	48	0	22	51	0	23	54	0	25	57	0	26
10 ft.	25	1	5	28	1	23	31	2	14	34	3	4	37	3	22	41	0	12	44	1	24	47	1	21	50	2	11	53	3	1	56	3	19	60	0	9

“Dislocation of the neck is the ideal aimed at ...”
 — British Medical Journal, 1817

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This sad material would even, within this same year, become subject matter for a play by Kate Lucy Edwards, “Ossawattomie Brown, or, The Insurrection at Harpers’ Ferry,” at the Bowery Theater in New-York.⁴¹ Eventually, certified hairs from Brown’s head, or, who knows, from his beard, would be being chopped



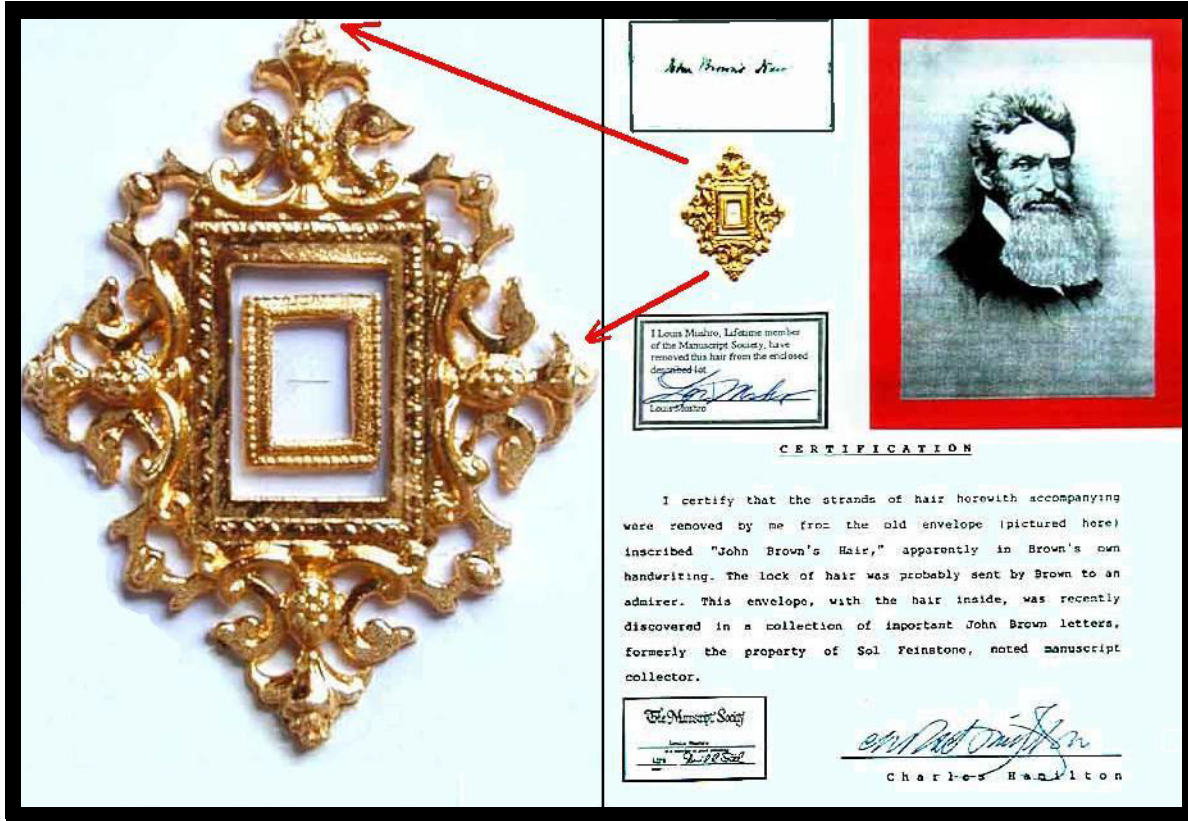
OSAWATOMIE

41. This 3-act play would be published in the Kansas Historical Quarterly in February 1937, complete not only with the original script, but also with the cast of characters with their entrances and exits, and descriptions of their costumes.

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into pieces and offered for sale on Ebay:



There would also be an anonymous journalistic publication, reprinted here in full, bearing the title THE LIFE, TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN KNOWN AS "OLD BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE," WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTED INSURRECTION AT HARPER'S FERRY. COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES. INCLUDING COOKE'S CONFESSION, AND ALL THE INCIDENTS OF THE EXECUTION, printed in New-York by the Robert M. De Witt firm of 161 & 162 Nassau Street:



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OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

**THE
LIFE, TRIAL AND EXECUTION
OF
CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN
KNOWN AS
“OLD BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE,”
WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTED
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INCLUDING COOKE’S CONFESSION, AND ALL THE INCIDENTS OF
THE EXECUTION.

NEW YORK.
ROBERT M. DE WITT, PUBLISHER.

161 & 162 NASSAU STREET.**



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December 10: The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) cautioned, in an issue of the [Practical Christian](#), that to laud John Brown the “military adventurer” as a “self-sacrificing redeemer” on the model of Jesus would be “untruthful, unjust, and utterly absurd.”



December 10. Get in my boat, in the snow. The bottom is coated with a glaze.

December 24: Oberlin College Professor James Monroe returned empty-handed that Christmas Eve to Oberlin, Ohio, having failed to retrieve John Anderson Copeland, Jr.’s body from Virginia authorities.

The Reverend Samuel Joseph May had written to the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) — who had gone off to Rome in part for his health and in part because he knew what was going to happen at Harpers Ferry and very well understood that he would pay for his part in this were he captured by the federal government. Now a belligerent letter arrived from Parker in Italy characterizing John Brown as “an upright & a downright man, who took his life in his hand & said ‘Slavery **shall** go down.’”

[NOTE THAT FRIEND [JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER](#), WHEN OFFERED ONE OF THE PIKES WHICH HAD BEEN INTENDED FOR DISTRIBUTION TO REBELLING SLAVES FOR HIS INSPECTION, WOULD DECLINE WITH THE COMMENT “IT LOOKS TOO MUCH LIKE MURDER,” AND THAT THE REVEREND [ADIN BALLOU](#) HAD JUST INSISTED THAT TO CHARACTERIZE SUCH A MAN AS JOHN BROWN, A MERE “MILITARY ADVENTURER,” AS A “SELF-SACRIFICING REDEEMER” ON THE MODEL OF JESUS WOULD BE “UNTRUTHFUL, UNJUST, AND UTTERLY ABSURD.”]




December 24: P. M.—To Flint’s Pond.

A strong and very cold northwest wind. I think that the cold winds are oftenest not northwest, but northwest by west. There is, in all, an acre or two in Walden not yet frozen, though half of it has been frozen more than a week. I measure the blueberry bush on Flint’s Pond Island. The five stems are united at the ground, so as to make one round and solid trunk thirty-one inches in circumference, but probably they have grown together there, for they become separate at about six inches above. They may have sprung from different seeds of one berry. At three feet from the ground they measure eleven inches, eleven, eleven and a half, eight, and six and a half, or, on an average, nine and a half. I climbed up and found a comfortable seat with my feet four feet above the ground, and there was room for three or four more there, but unfortunately this was not the season for berries.

There were several other clumps of large ones there. One clump close by the former contained twenty-three stems within a diameter of three feet, and their average diameter at three feet from the ground was about two inches. These had not been cut, because they stood on this small island which has little wood beside, and therefore had grown the larger. The two prevailing lichens on them were *Parmelia caperata* and *saxatilis*, extending quite around their trunks; also a little of a parmelia more glaucous than the last one, and a little green usnea and a little ramalina. [Vide specimens in drawer.]

This island appears to be a mere stony ridge three or four feet high, with a very low wet shore on each side, even as if the water and ice had shoved it up, as at the other end of the pond.

I saw the tracks of a partridge [**Ruffed Grouse**  *Bonasa umbellus* (Partridge)] more than half an inch deep in the ice, extending from this island to the shore, she having walked there in the slosh. They were quite perfect and reminded me of bird-tracks in stone. She may have gone there to bud on these blueberry trees. I saw where she spent the night at the bottom of that largest clump, in the snow.

Perhaps yet larger ones were seen here before we came to cut off the trees. Judging from those whose rings I have counted, the largest of those stems must be about sixty years old. The stems rise up in a winding and zigzag manner, one sometimes resting in the forks of its neighbor. There were many more clumps of large ones there.



1860

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s A DISCOURSE ON CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE IN EXTREME CASES (Milford MA: B.J. Butts, Printer, [Hopedale](#), 1860):



Instead of saying that Christian non-resistance would be just the thing, if the world were good enough to practice it, we should more wisely say, It is just the thing this evil world needs to see in extreme cases to elevate it – to make it a better world. When it becomes good enough not to steal, rob, ravish, oppress and murder, non-resistance will be like medicine where there is no sickness.



1861

At this point Underground Railroad activity should have been at its peak. If the reality of this had been anything even remotely resembling the story that white people would be telling each other after the civil war, it ought to have been a thing of magnificence. The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) guesstimated, however, in this year, that but one out of every four [slaves](#) escaping from the southern states was receiving any assistance whatever, on their journey toward the North Star, from any [Underground Railroad](#) operative.



March 14, Thursday: The Reverend Henry Ward Beecher had a sermon on EPHESIANS 4:13 published in The Independent. The proof text in EPHESIANS reads as follows: "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." The question the Reverend Beecher set out to answer, in the light of this Biblical text, was, what is the perfect manhood of the race. Today such a formulation would seem at least sexist, if not racist. But not so in that day, or, at least, not so to the Rev, who was fully capable of sexism and of racism, and whose reading of the Gospels was quite as fully anti-Semitic as had been intended by the author of Matthew:



It is very true that Christianity forbids physical force and physical violence where they are vengeful; where they proceed merely from the impulse of cruelty; where they seek a selfish end, and originate in a selfish motive. But where they spring from affection, or from moral sentiment, they not only are tolerated, but are commanded, by the whole spirit of Christianity. And no man is a perfect man in Christ Jesus who does not know, under appropriate circumstances, how to ward off and how to give the blow. I consider that man as a kind of eunuch who forswears, on proper occasions, physical force... I take it that our sneak-thieves are the children of cowardly Christian ethics... I despise this whole idea of non-resistance. It is false to manhood, and essentially false to Christianity... A perfect man is one that has all the attributes of courage which belong to true bodily strength. It is very certain that these men who will not fight are not much respected among men... I do not believe they are a bit more respected up there than here.

[You will remember that the Thoreau brothers debated the issue under consideration here, back in January 1841 in the Concord Lyceum, against Bronson Alcott, and that in so doing they were debating against another man like the Reverend Beecher who did not agree with the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s straightforward interpretation of Jesus's Sermon on the Mount principle of non-resistance to evil, to with, that no matter how difficult it would be for us to obey his instructions, Jesus had meant precisely what he had said to us.]



[THOREAU MADE NO JOURNAL ENTRY FOR 14 MARCH]

The Reverend [Leonard Withington](#) wrote from [Newbury, Massachusetts](#) in regard to Mr. Hosea Hildrith, a teacher at Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire:

My dear Sir:



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OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

The first I heard of Mr. Hildreth was as a Teacher of Phillips Academy, in Exeter, under Dr. Abbot. I heard him represented then as a man of the Liberal school, gradually verging towards Orthodoxy; and he was somewhat celebrated for a series of articles he published, I think in an Exeter paper; but I am totally unable to recover the definite recollection of the subject and the date. After he came to Gloucester, I became rather intimate with him, and our intimacy continued for several years. He was an impressive preacher – he had a beautiful clear style, which reminded you of Dr. Paley. At Gloucester he seemed to vibrate back to the most conservative type of Unitarianism. He associated much with Dr. Lowell of Boston; but still I supposed him not to be a doxided Unitarian. He wished Dr. Perry, of Bradford, (now Goochland,) and myself to unite with him in a series of meetings. We went to see him, and told him if he would do as Dr. Parish had done, under imputed defections, – publish a Sermon on the Deity of Christ, such as we supposed he had, we would come; but we did not wish to be misunderstood. The meeting was calm and pleasant until we were about to part – then he burst into a torrent of feeling, wept like a child, and said that if all his friends forsook him, his Saviour would not. He spoke of dying a martyr to his own cause, though I did not know definitely what it was. I could not but suspect something morbid in the state of his mind at that time. But my recollections of him are exceedingly pleasant, as a man of a superior mind and highly cultivated taste, a correct and perspicuous writer and a perfect gentleman.

Yours truly,
LEONARD WITHINGTON.

1862

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE DEFENDED AGAINST REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER, IN HIS DISCOURSE ON EPHES. IV:13, PUBLISHED IN "THE INDEPENDENT" OF MARCH 14, 1861; BEING A REVIEW, IN PART, OF SAID DISCOURSE, BY ADIN BALLOU. (Hopedale MA: B.J. Butts, Printer, 1862).
Extracts are on the following pages:





OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

OBJECTION 1. Then all governments which do not repudiate physical violence, death penalties and war, as their dernier resorts, are to be denounced as **wholly** or **mainly** evil. **Ans.** Not so. They are not wholly nor mainly evil. They have more good than evil in them, and on the whole are comparatively good in their place, as always better than something worse which, as the world is, would exist if **they** did not. They are the natural outgrowths of human society on the unregenerate moral plane. But they are below the Christian plane, and fundamentally **unChristian** in many respects. Therefore Christians should transcend them.

Objection 2. Then Christians are to make moral war on these governments, by denouncing and opposing them. **Ans.** Not so. They are to live above them, to show "a more excellent way," to purify the moral atmosphere of general society, so as to check the evil and encourage the good in them, and thus prepare the way to have them superseded peacefully with Christian governments. In order to this, they are to imitate Christ, the apostles and primitive Christians, in an orderly submission to them without being ensnared and demoralized by participation in them.

Objection 3. This withdrawal of Christians from unChristian governments would leave them wholly in the hands of unChristian people, so that they would grow worse and worse. **Ans.** Not so. This is fallacious. Governments rise and fall in their moral character very much as the moral atmosphere of general society is made higher or lower by religious and intellectual conditions. The personal religious professions and character of their co-participators is of secondary importance.



Mr. Beecher expresses rank contempt for Christian Non-Resistants. In his estimation they are **poltroons**, **cowards** and **sneaks...** And from their grand Exemplar, Jesus Christ, down to the present time, their history is a history of moral heroes, who have unflinchingly faced all forms of suffering, even unto death, for their principles' sake... "No man is a perfect man in Christ Jesus who does not know, under appropriate circumstances, how to ward off and how to give the blow"; that is, how to beat, bruise, maim, kill and destroy any fellow man who is brutal, or wicked, or foolish enough to be his "deliberate" assailant. 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!... Are the Confederate Rebels less confident in the justice of their cause than the Unionists? Not a whit... They "despise this whole idea of non-resistance" as heartily as Mr. Beecher himself. Does this prove that they are **new creatures** in Christ – eminently developed Christians?!... Here is the rub. In all these bloody conflicts, both parties contrive some how very sincerely to believe that their own motives are good, and those of their enemies bad. Who shall decide when Christian warriors disagree? Alas, brute force – physical violence –the sword must decide! Thus, practically, all this fine talk about the manhood and Christian perfection of fighting for justice, in love, ends in the Satanic conclusion, [HAND-SYMBOL WITH POINTING FINGER HERE] "MIGHT MAKES RIGHT." ...as Bonaparte ironically remarked, [HAND-SYMBOL WITH POINTING FINGER HERE] "God is always on the side of the strongest battalions!" How long will men in the sacred name of Jesus Christ, disgrace his religion, stultify themselves, and obfuscate the minds of the multitude, with this absurd twaddle, that Christians, under proper circumstances, ought to smite, kill, slay and destroy their offenders, enemies, and even fellow saints: only they must be careful to do it in pure love, with holy affections, for the sake of justice, without pride, envy, selfishness, revenge or cruelty?! ... Does this sound like the teachings of Jesus Christ and his apostles on this subject? ... They laid down no such elastic rule of conduct – a rule which installs every one judge of his offender's motive and spirit at the very moment when he himself is smarting with pain. It is more than an impartial, cool headed man can often do, to sound another man's spirit, and pronounce on his motives. How much more an offended, irritated man, judging in his own favor against an assailant! ... If this be Christianity, we may as well have no Christianity! ... Let Mr. Beecher and his belligerent Christians answer. And if they "despise this whole idea of non-resistance," let them consider whether they do not despise Jesus Christ and his primitive followers.

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



1865

Volume I of [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#)'s *VOYNA I MIR* (WAR AND PEACE), which would be completed in 1869.

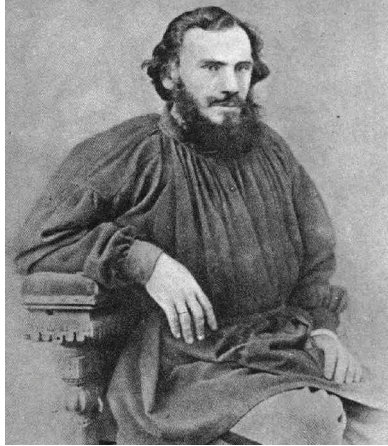
Friend Pam Rider has made some comments about her continuing fascination with the novel WAR AND PEACE which have caused me to go back to that literary production for a fresh look. Very typically, Tolstòy's life is said to have started anew after what is termed his "Arzamas terror," in 1869 shortly after he had completed that massive novel *VOYNA I MIR*. This accounts for the more than a decade of what was for him relative silence, before he released in 1883 his *V CHEM MOIA VERA?*, or WHAT I BELIEVE. But was this a shift in essence, or was it a mere shift in tactics of presentation, from a masked didacticism to an in-your-face sermonizing?

I now understand what Christ meant when he said, "You were told an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; and I tell you, Do not resist evil, and endure it. Use no violence, do not take part in violence, do no evil to anyone, even to those whom you call your enemies."



I now understand not only that in the proposition about nonresistance to evil Christ was telling what would immediately result for each man from nonresistance to evil, but that ... it was to be the foundation of the joint life of man and was to

free humanity from the evil which it inflicted upon itself.



This is not *utterly* different from what has gone before. For instance, in [Tolstòy](#)'s 1847 diary he is already struggling, in an admittedly inchoate manner, with the general idea of becoming a more perfect human being by the possession of a useful mission:

I would be the most unhappy of men if I did not find a goal for my life, a common and useful one, useful because the immortal soul, once it has developed, naturally turns into a being which is higher and corresponds to it.

We may note that in *WAR AND PEACE*, the summons to resist not evil is already making its appearance. When Prince Andrei lies mortally wounded after the battle of Borodino, he perceives what his error has been:

Sympathy, love for our brothers, for those who love us, love for those who hate us, love for our enemies; yes, the love that God preached upon earth, that Marie sought to teach me, and I did not understand....

It is the simple faith of the character Platon Karataev, his acceptance of everything that happens as somehow part of God's universe, which effects a transformation in the character Pierre Bezukhov, who winds up explaining to himself that "If there were no suffering man would not know his limitations, not know himself." Platon faces a French firing squad unresistingly, acceptingly, in a manner foreshadowing the Tolstòy of the later philosophizing about the redemptive power of Christian nonresistance.

It was in 1886 that [Tolstòy](#) began to study the literary remainders of William Lloyd Garrison and the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) of Massachusetts, which eventually resulted in 1893 in his *TSARSTVO BOZHIE VNUTRI VAS* (THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU).

The activity of Garrison the father ... convinced me even more than my relations with the Quakers, that the departure of state Christianity from Christ's law about nonresistance to evil is something that has been observed and pointed out long ago, and



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that men have ceasingly worked to arraign it.



It was also in this year that the Reverend Ballou began his reciprocal study of the Russian's thought (this Universalist minister and Hopedale commune leader would not die until 1890). The material which had come to his attention at this point was the 1883 *WHAT I BELIEVE*, in English translation. However, he had "mellowed" in his approach over the years, and no longer thought of his earlier ideas as categorically correct in all applications, no longer thought of rigid non-resistance as the spell which would dissolve all the world's evil. Specifically what happened was that Wendell Phillips Garrison, Garrison's son, had read an 1885 English translation *ON RELIGION*, and sent the author of it a precis of his father's similar attitudes (his father had died in 1879). Tolstoy was especially intrigued by the text of the 1838 *DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS* of the New England Non-Resistance Society. (The dates on the relevant still-extant letters of this period are March-April 15, 1886, May 5, 1886, May-December? 1886, November 10, 1888, November 12, 1888, October 12, 1889, January 1890?, July 28, 1890, August 22, 1890, September 17, 1890, October 15?, 1890, January 22/23, 1892, February 12, 1892, February 16, 1892, February 19, 1892, April 1, 1892, April 5, 1892, May 20, 1892, June 3, 1892.) As they were prepared, the son shipped out to Tolstoy the first two of the volumes he wrote about his father's life, and so over the 1886-1889 period Tolstoy was studying this American pre-Civil War philosophy.

The context of this was a struggle within the American Peace Society, founded in 1828, which had resulted in 1838 in the establishment of the New England Non-Resistance Society. One of the incidents which had hastened and illustrated this difference in philosophy had been the death in 1837 of the abolitionist printer Elijah Lovejoy, failed Quaker, gun in hand, attempting to defend his printing press against a pro-slavery Illinois mob. The American Peace Society had embraced the idea of the defensive war, the licit use of force to protect persons and property. The new society was to adhere firmly to the Peace Testimony and reject all coercion as illicit.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government, because we recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which Mercy and Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other; ... and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

In June 1889 a neighbor of the Reverend Ballou, the Reverend Lewis G. Wilson, forwarded to [Tolstoy](#) a photograph of Ballou along with copies of his works *NON-RESISTANCE IN RELATION TO HUMAN GOVERNMENTS* (Boston MA: Non-Resistance Society, 1839), *CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE, IN ALL ITS IMPORTANT BEARINGS, ILLUSTRATED AND DEFENDED* (Philadelphia PA: J.M. M'Kim, 1846), and Volume I of

NON-RESISTANCE TO EVIL

the three volumes of *PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY AND ITS CORRUPTIONS* (Boston MA: Universalist Publishing House, 1870-1900). [Wilson did not send *PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM* (NY: Fowlers and Wells, 1854).] Tolstoy was actually more impressed by Ballou, who at this point was dying, than Ballou had been earlier by him.



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Tell him, please, that his efforts have not been in vain. ... I cannot agree with the concessions that he makes for employing violence against drunkards and insane people. ... Please tell him that I deeply respect and love him, and that his work did great good to my soul.

(The dates of the correspondences are June 22, 1889, June 23, 1889, August 1889, November 1, 1889, January 14, 1890, February 21-24, 1890, March 30?, 1890, June 30, 1890.)

In November 1890 [Tolstòy](#) wrote of his bewilderment to a Russian friend:

How could these ideas, the most important for humanity, ... how could such thoughts, so strongly expressed, printed, published, be so silenced that neither the son of Garrison, whom I asked, nor all those Americans I saw (ten persons, and all religious people) had ever heard anything about this and do not know the name of Ballou?

In 1890 [Tolstòy](#) received the last two volumes of the son Wendell Phillips Garrison's study of his father William Lloyd Garrison's life and beliefs. It was as a result of his efforts to translate the DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS into Russian, along with one of the shorter works of the Universalist Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) of the commune [Hopedale](#) (established in 1841 near Worcester, Massachusetts), that Tolstòy began work on what eventually would become THE KINGDOM OF GOD. Tolstòy, and his daughter Tatyana, began to correspond also with Wendell Phillips Garrison's brother Francis Garrison.

It has been pointed out, however, that this is glossing over important differences between Garrison and Tolstòy. Garrison had been a triumphalist, that is to say, he had had the idea that if only a sufficient number of persons were to be induced to experience their inner moral revolutions, there would actually result a perfect society governed forever by the laws of Christ's kingdom. Tolstòy, quite on the other hand, was a rationalist believer in *razumnoe sozhanie* with a quietist bent, who repudiated such triumphalist fantasizing. Garrison thought political action was the solution, Tolstòy thought it was the problem. Had Tolstòy inspected the life of Garrison with greater care, he would have detected disturbing compromises with violence – which the filial son had quite glossed over. I am not myself, for instance, convinced that Garrison was innocent of all knowledge of the raid being planned in Boston, on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia in 1859, before this raid took place, while the Sharps carbines to be used in the raid itself and the pikes to be used then by the revolting slaves were still being manufactured. Garrison would even tolerate a military encampment to be named in his honor, during our civil war. The idea of American nonviolence had become “We have to kill these people in order that the world will become safe for our nonviolence.” [Tolstòy](#), when he came to see the reign of terror which resulted in the American South under Reconstruction, with its Christian white knights of the Ku Klux Klan, would need to call upon Americans to return to their own abandoned principle of nonviolence. It was the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), not William Lloyd Garrison, who had remained true to the principles the New England Non-Resistance Society had enunciated in 1838.

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OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

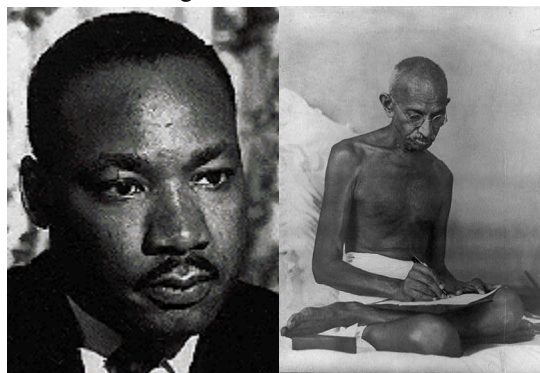
[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) edited [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s notebooks for a series of articles in [The Atlantic Monthly](#); they would in 1868 be collected under the title [PASSAGES FROM THE AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS](#).



When Andrew Dickson White visited [Tolstòy](#) at Yasnaya Polyana shortly after publication of [THE KINGDOM OF GOD](#), they discussed American literature and Tolstòy exhibited a familiarity with [Emerson](#), [Hawthorne](#), [Whittier](#), and the Reverend Theodore Parker. So White asked Tolstòy who he regarded as the foremost of American authors. The response White received astounded him:

That greatest of all American writers was – Adin Ballou! Evidently, some of the philanthropic writings of the excellent Massachusetts country clergyman and religious communist had pleased him, and hence came the answer.

Although it is most common in the circles in which I travel to see Tolstòy quoted as having confessed that he had been influenced by the “Civil Disobedience” of Henry Thoreau, along with the Reverend [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) and [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#), I have been quite unable to discover any hard evidence in support of such a self-characterization. I have formed a hypothesis that Tolstòy was instead influenced by this less known nonresistant reverend who had founded a commune within walking distance of Concord and knew Thoreau, and of course by the organizer Garrison, and that Tolstòy had merely substituted the known name Thoreau for such names while discoursing with one or another of his American visitors.





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We should study the similarities between Ludwig Wittgenstein and Henry Thoreau. In regard primarily to their handling of time and eternity, but also in regard to Thoreau being a type of Wittgenstein's happy man in agreement with the world. May I ask you a question? Here we have Wittgenstein going around urging people to read [Lev Nikolavich Tolstoy](#), in fact buying them copies of his stories, and before that we had Tolstoy going around urging people to read Thoreau. Here we have Wittgenstein, Tolstoy, and Thoreau all three vastly and obviously influenced by Matthew's version of the sermon on the mount. Here we have Wittgenstein going off and doing a Thoreau thing in a cabin he builds on a fjord. As a topping on this banana split, we have an enormous amount of biography and influence study by people who do know a whole lot about English philosophers and a whole lot about Continental philosophers but who understand absolutely nothing whatever about Thoreau, people who still in fact buy into the old thing about Thoreau being merely an imitation or low-rent [Emerson](#). Maybe a literary figure, maybe not, but certainly not a philosopher, why he never expressed an opinion about the existence of other minds! To name names, tentatively, subject to correction, I put McGuinness, with whom I have corresponded, and Anscombe, with whom I have talked, into that category. Can we be quite sure that Tolstoy/Thoreau/Wittgenstein derived essentially independent influences direct from the words in Matthew? Is there not a possibility that Wittgenstein was reading Thoreau on the fjord before the war, and was thus prepared to find the gospels in that bookshop in Silesia, but that none of his intellectual biographers have had the background to pick this out of the original materials which they have consulted, primary materials which are of course never seen by you and me? I am having difficulty imagining how otherwise to account for the fact that, of all the figures in Western philosophy down the ages, it is Thoreau in the 19th Century and Wittgenstein in the 20th Century who have alone elaborated virtually identical attitudes toward the relation between time and eternity — toward what I would myself describe as “the gift-giveness of the present presented.”

December: In a reaction against the compromising tactics adopted by the American Peace Society during the civil war, a Universal Peace Union was launched in Boston, planned by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), [Friend Alfred Henry Love](#), [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), [Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#), and William Lloyd Garrison. This group favored amending the US Constitution to remove the power to make war.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

1867

Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote a number of [Newport](#) essays, such as “Driftwood Fire,” that would later be published in the collection OLDPORT DAYS. He helped found the Boston-based Radical Club and the Free Religious Association. The first convention of this Free Religious Association was held in Boston, with Unitarians such as [Waldo Emerson](#) and Bronson Alcott attending. “It has been a great hindrance to genuine progress that religion has not been free, and freedom has not been religious.” [Lydia Maria Child](#) was quick to notice that although she was being given zero credit, what this convention was doing was embracing the principles of the two volumes of THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS, THROUGH SUCCESSIVE AGES that had been published by her in 1855. So it goes.



She would be attending the Free Religious Association meetings regularly during her stays in Boston, and more frequently subsequent to her husband David’s death in 1874.

Those Unitarians who could not stomach this new Free Religious Association separated themselves as the conservative “National Conference of [Unitarian](#) Churches” (a wound which would not heal over until 1938).

The [Hopedale](#) Community had feebly survived in the form of a religious organization — until in this year it was converted into the Hopedale Parish. Three months later the religious society was accepted into the local [Unitarian](#) association.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

1870

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY AND ITS CORRUPTIONS.

During this decade Ebenezer Draper of [Hopedale](#) would lose his fortune through unprofitable investments — but his brother George would continue to prosper in the manufacture of textile machinery.

Here is the [Hopedale](#) plot map as of this year (Nelson's Grove, which had been the site of the annual abolitionist pic nic, was at about the location of the big "D" of the big "HOPEDALE" at the bottom of the illustration):

1875

From this year into 1882 the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) would be compiling his HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF MILFORD, WORCESTER COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO 1881: FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO 1881.

1880

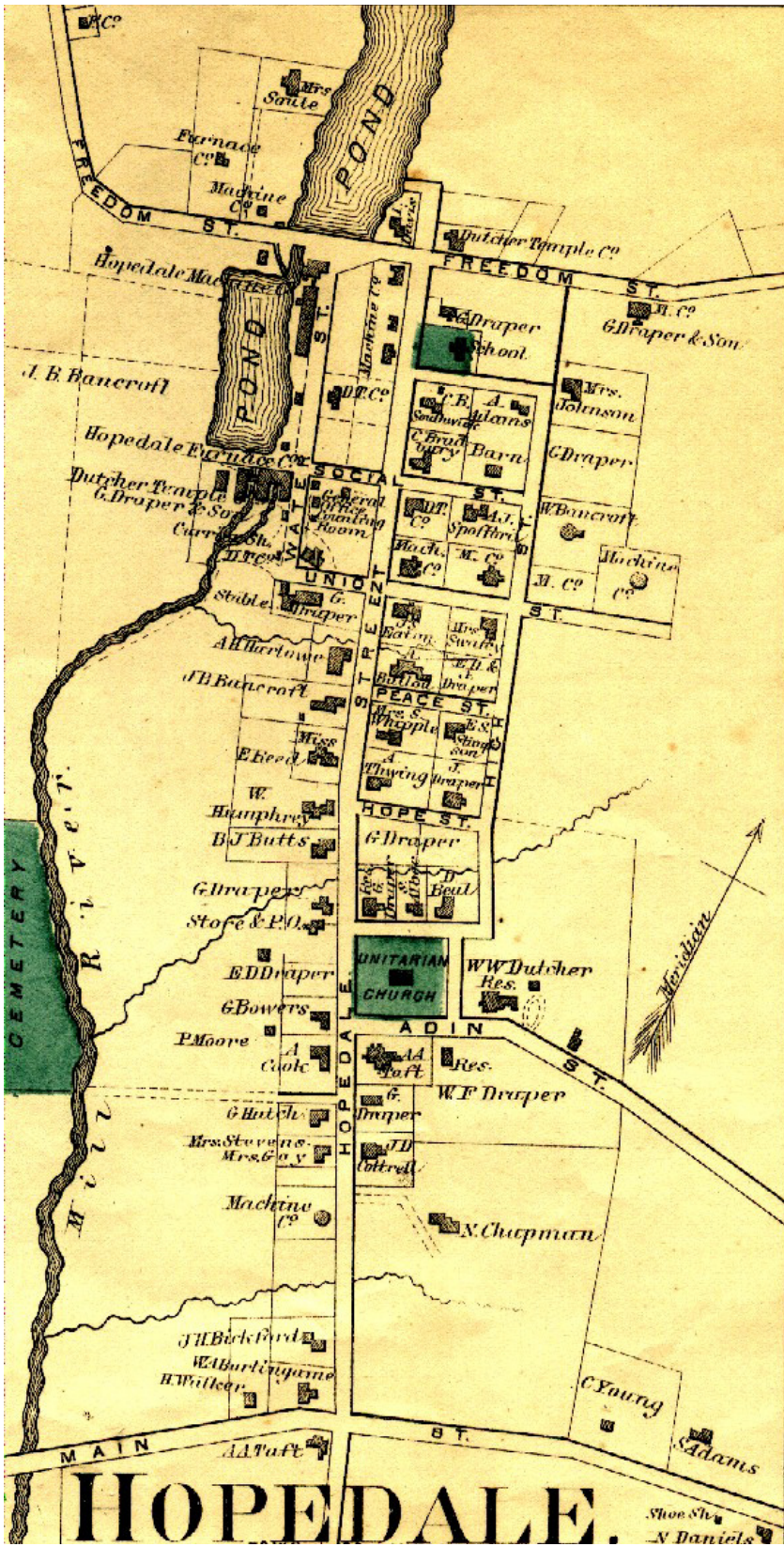
Until this year, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) continued as pastor of the [Hopedale](#) church. He commented that "as a religious body, the [Unitarians](#) in some respects were quite below my ideal of Practical Christianity." He thought them lukewarm on the subject of moral regeneration and did not like their theologically radical wing. Nevertheless, he allowed "they were an intelligent, tolerant, and courteous people, having among them truly elect souls, with whom I could heartily sympathize and co-operate for good and noble ends." The Reverend would spend his later years doing historical writing.

1882

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF MILFORD, WORCESTER COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO 1881: FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO 1881. From this year into 1888, with the help of his wife Lucy Ballou, the Reverend would be compiling a massive genealogical volume AN ELABORATE HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE BALLOUS IN AMERICA.

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project

1886

➡ As you are aware, there is a claim that [Henry Thoreau](#) has inspired [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#) and the Reverend Dr. [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#), via [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#), in their use of nonviolent tactics of political confrontation. In this regard we may consider here an interesting exchange of correspondence between the retired Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) of the failed [Hopedale](#) Community of non-resistance to evil—a man who had



once lectured on nonviolence to Thoreau among others present at the Concord Lyceum— and Count Tolstòy of Russia, on the subject of nonviolent political tactics, and note that in this correspondence Thoreau’s name

simply does not come up:



Upon the appearance in this country of the first of the translated writings of this Russian author and the consequent heralding of him as a new interpreter of the gospel of Christ and as a restorer of primitive Christianity as Jesus taught and exemplified it, Mr. Ballou availed himself of an early opportunity of becoming acquainted with the views and principles upon which such unusual representations were based. From what he learned incidentally through the public press, he hoped to find in this previously unknown author a man after his own heart – a consistent and radical advocate of peace, a friend of all true reform, and a wise counsellor in the work of inaugurating a new order of society from which all injurious force should be excluded and in which all things should be subordinated to and animated by the spirit of pure love to God and man. That his hopes in this direction were not realized – that he was seriously disappointed indeed in both the man and his teachings, the sequel clearly shows.

The first mention of the new luminary in the religious firmament made by Mr. Ballou was in his journal of Feb. 16, 1886, as follows:

Commenced reading a lately purchased book, Count Tolstoi's "My Religion." Found many good things in it on ethics, with here and there an indiscriminating extremism in the application of Christ's precepts against resisting evil with evil, and in his views of penal judgment and covetousness, or mammonism. But on theology found him wild, crude, and mystically absurd. His ideas concerning the divine nature, human nature, eternal life, Christ's resurrection, humanity's immortality, and the immortality of individuals, etc., are untrue, visionary, chaotic, and pitiaibly puerile. So it seems to me in this first perusal. But I will read further and think him out more thoroughly.



Further reading and more thorough thinking, however, did not bring him to a more favorable conclusion. "The saying of Christ, 'Resist not evil,' Tolstoi interpreted in its most literal sense, making it inculcate complete passivity not only toward wrong-doers but toward persons rendered insane and dangerous by bad habits, inflamed passions, or unbalanced minds, to the exclusion of non-injurious and beneficent force under any and every circumstance of life." To Mr. Ballou's apprehension this was carrying the doctrine of Non-resistance to an illogical and extravagant extreme, warranted neither by the teachings of Jesus nor by a true regard for the welfare of the evil-doer, the irresponsible maniac, or society at large, which often required wholesome restraint and physical force exercised without accompanying harm or injury to any one. Moreover, the distinctively religious expositions and indoctrinations of Tolstoi, as expressed in the book specified and in subsequent works, met with little favor from Mr. Ballou, whose ideas of God, man, immortality, etc., were as definite and pronounced as his ethical principles, and in his estimation as essential to a high type of personal character or a true order of social life.

Some three years after Mr. Ballou began to acquaint himself with the writings of Tolstoi, Rev. Lewis G. Wilson, then pastor of the Hopedale parish and an interested reader of the latter, sent him some of the former's published works, with his photograph and an explanatory letter. On the 5th of July, 1889, he received a responsive communication in which the Count highly commended, in their principle features, the views contained in the publications forwarded to him, though subjecting some of their applications, especially the one relating to the rightful use of uninjurious force as mentioned above, to emphatic protest and denial. This communication Mr. Wilson handed to Mr. Ballou for perusal and a reply if he chose to make one. This he did in due time, taking up the more important points of Tolstoi's dissent - those pertaining to the practical application of Non-resistant principles, the right to hold property, and no-governmentism particularly, and answering them by extended argument and illustration. Thereto were added also some comments upon certain theological positions assumed in "My Religion."



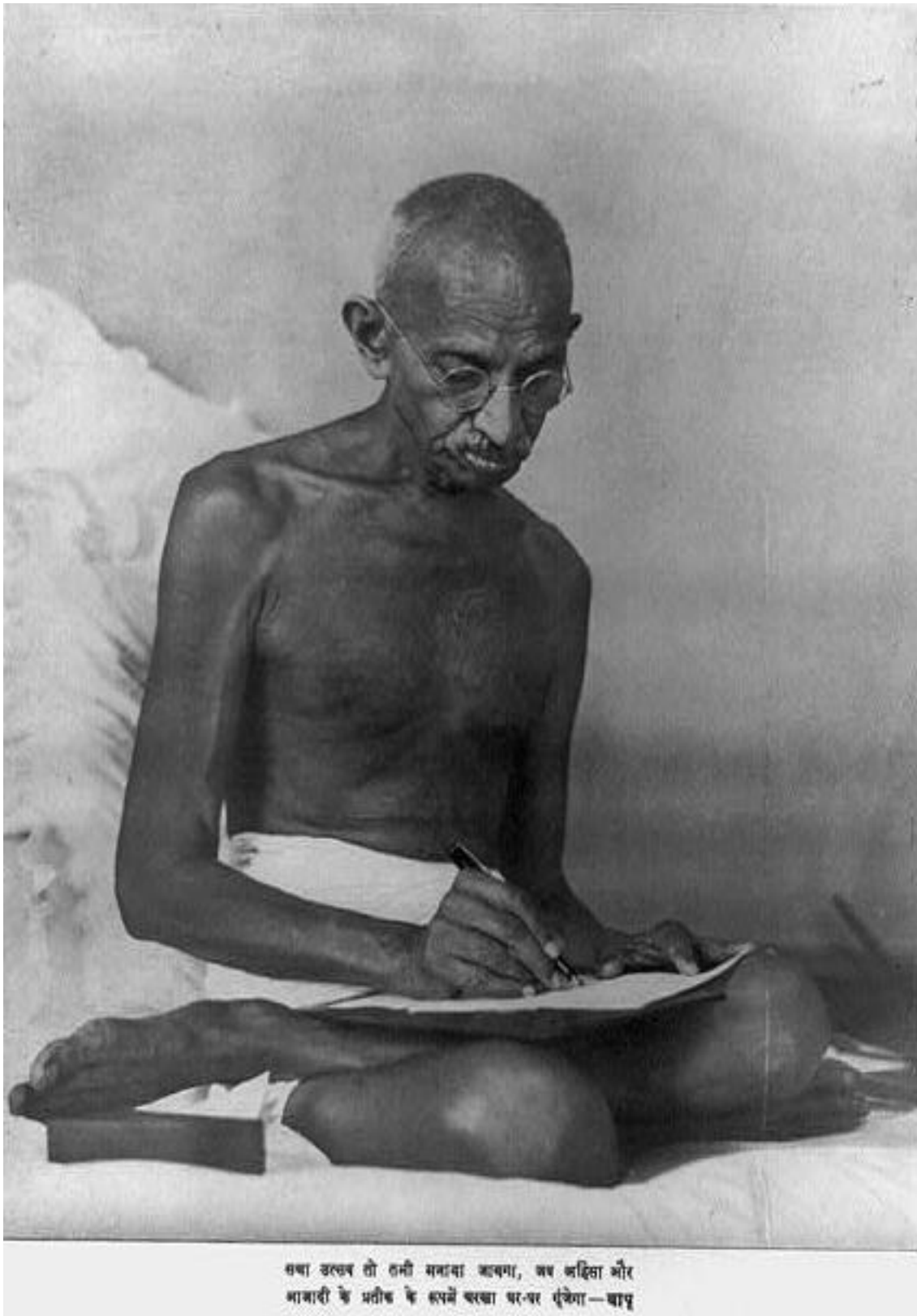
On the 26th of March, 1890, the mail brought a rejoinder to this missive, of which the recipient writes: "It relates to some points of difference between us as expressed in a letter sent him some months ago. He declines to argue and refers me to one of his published works, yielding nothing of his extreme Non-resistance even against madmen, but saying, 'I exposed all I think on those subjects.' 'I cannot now change my views without verifying them anew.' The dictum with which the letter opened, 'I will not argue with your objections,' characterized its entire contents and put an end to all discussion. It closed, however, with the statement that 'Two of your tracts are translated into Russian and propagated among believers and richly appreciated by them.'" Tolstoi's communication was answered about two months afterward, but no acknowledgment ever came back, by reason, no doubt, of the writer's death a few weeks later, — an account of which was sent by Mr. Wilson to the distinguished author, whose daughter responded, "Your tidings are very sad, and my father is deeply grieved."

Of the relation between Mr. Ballou and Count Tolstoi, nothing further need be said save that Mr. Wilson embodied the correspondence between them with collateral letters of his own in a sermon read to his congregation on Sunday, April 20, 1890, of which the diary says: "We were all deeply interested, pleased, and enlightened. I never was so much gratified with Brother Wilson's performance. His scripture-reading, prayer, hymns, etc., were all in harmony with Christian Non-resistance, and he dropped not a word or hint that implied reserved dissent from my views." It may be added that the substance of this discourse was subsequently rearranged by the author and published in the Arena for December 1890 — a portion of the last letter of Mr. Ballou to Tolstoi being omitted.



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY





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Only in private correspondence, such as in a letter to Parker Pillsbury in April 1861, where he advised “Ignore Fort Sumter, and old Abe, and all that; for that is just the most fatal, and, indeed, the only fatal weapon you can direct against evil, ever,” did Thoreau embrace nonresistance to evil. It became almost an esoteric doctrine, almost for experts only: per Job, do shun evil, do depart from it; per Yehoshua, whatever we do we mustn’t attempt to resist it; per Thoreau, indeed we must successfully ignore it. Only as an afterthought to his journal on October 22, 1859, an afterthought which he omitted on October 30 when he read his jottings in three citizens’ meetings, can we see that, had it come to killing or being killed, Thoreau would have chose to be killed (October 22, 1859): “I do not wish to kill ~~or~~ nor to be killed, but I can foresee circumstances in which both of these things would be by me unavoidable. ~~In extremities I could even be killed~~” (strikethroughs indicate changes from journal to speech). Thoreau believed that, whether the sacrifice of others’ lives was legitimate or not (even the Brown slaughter of children of slaveowners in Kansas with modern expensive weapons the Thoreaus had helped purchase), nothing John Brown had ever done under the duress of his “leading” could overshadow his willingness to sacrifice his life on the gallows. And Thoreau, clearly toying with such a fate for himself, at this point was unwilling to cheapen Brown’s martyrdom by publicly re-raising a bypassed issue of “resist not evil.” He thus enabled [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#) to misunderstand him, and adopt nonresistance only as a tactic for attaining political ends in [India](#) and only for so long as this was the most effective tactic for attaining these political ends.⁴² I am sorry that this is so, but it is so. The utterly pure nonresistance attempted by [Lev Nikolavich Tolstoy](#) has had a respectful audience, but not an accepting audience, and Thoreau’s lack of public clarity on this point has had unfortunate consequences.

The “activist pacifist” still expects to win. [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#) is a case in point, since he frankly acknowledged that had *ahimsa* no chance of succeeding against the British, he would have encouraged [India](#) to choose some other, more effective, tactic. As another case in point, consider the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison who, converted to the ethics of nonresistance to evil, authored a DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS ADOPTED BY THE PEACE CONVENTION, HELD IN BOSTON IN 1838. In this declaration he stated “[W]e expect to prevail through the foolishness of preachings” and expressed a calm and meek reliance on “certain and universal triumph.” Wasn’t there some football coach who learned how to say “Winning’s not the thing, it’s the only thing”? And how does this differ from that?

1888

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)’s AN ELABORATE HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE BALLOUS IN AMERICA.

THE BALLOU FAMILY


42. Although Gandhi stated this many times to many people, he has been as thoroughly misunderstood by the wishfulness of American popular culture as has the liberator Lincoln, who stated many times to many people that if he could he would preserve the Union without freeing a single slave. Gandhi had more interest in the writings of Emerson than in those of Thoreau, saying that Emerson’s essays “to my mind contain the teaching of Indian wisdom in a western guru” (Louis Fischer, *THE LIFE OF MAHATMA GANDHI*, NY 1950, page 93).



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

1889

 [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) and [Adin Ballou](#) corresponded.⁴³



Tolstòy was pleased with a chance to correspond with the forgotten American, Adin Ballou. He translated several of Ballou's works into Russian, and in 1889 and 1890 the two men exchanged letters on points where their opinions differed. But Ballou was extremely bitter and argumentative, and the correspondence became rather unfriendly. Ballou died shortly afterward. Tolstòy was never able to satisfy his own curiosity concerning the rise and fall of nonresistant anarchism in America. Nevertheless, the discovery of Garrison and Ballou plainly held great significance for him, and he referred to the antebellum Americans frequently. They were associated in his mind with the excitement of his own conversion, "the spring of my awakening to true life." In addition, they testified to the existence of a radical tradition of Christian believers whose convictions differed from those of the institutional churches and states. Nonresistance was a universal expression of Christianity with a history going back at least as far as the Reformation and, ultimately, to the life and teachings of Christ. This tradition had received some of its most enthusiastic statements in America before the Civil War. Tolstòy urged American to rediscover the writings of Garrison, Ballou, and Henry David Thoreau.

Although Tolstòy could not learn much about the disappearance of nonresistant anarchism in America, he surmised that radical pacifist doctrines must have been discarded in the belief that they encumbered the cause of the [slave](#). Because the country evaded these doctrines, it marched into a fratricidal war which ended the particular form of coercion known as [slavery](#) but left a hideous pattern of interracial violence and injustice. This pattern could be effaced, in Tolstoi's view, only by returning to the principles which Garrison and Ballou had tried to teach.



Though the American reverend would disapprove of the passivity of the Russian count's pacifism and would

43. Count Leo Tolstoy and Rev. Adin Ballou, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance ... Unpublished Correspondence Compiled by Rev. Lewis G. Wilson," [Arena](#), III (December 1890):1-12



consider his theology to be “untrue, visionary, chaotic, and pitifully puerile,” the Russian would nevertheless be much impressed with this American. In THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU, in 1894, he would write “one would have thought Ballou’s work would have been well known, and the ideas expressed by him would have been either accepted or refuted; but such has not been the case.” He hypothesized that there must be in existence in America “a kind of tacit but steadfast conspiracy of silence about all such efforts.”



One thing Tolstòy understood perfectly from his own anarchistic perspective: Garrison’s followers had been inclined toward anarchism not in addition to hating [slavery](#) but became they hated [slavery](#). He made the connection succinctly:

Garrison, a man enlightened by the Christian teaching, having begun with the practical aim of striving against [slavery](#), soon understood that the cause of [slavery](#) was not the casual temporary seizure by the Southerners of a few millions of negroes, but the ancient and universal recognition, contrary to Christian teaching, of the right of coercion by some men in regard to others.... Garrison understood ... that the only irrefutable argument against [slavery](#) is a denial of any man’s right over the liberty of another under any conditions whatsoever.

One of Tolstoi’s most anarchistic works was entitled THE [SLAVERY](#) OF OUR TIMES. An enlarged definition of [slavery](#) came to him as naturally as the open-ended definition of brigandage he had used in conversation with William Jennings Bryan. He was not interested in the reform of a few narrowly defined institutions; he was a perfectionist to whom social justice meant nothing less than the eradication of sin from human society. All men, he preached, must renounce violence and coercion and in that way give their support to the kingdom of God. From this viewpoint he made the exciting discovery of the kinship of his beliefs with those of American abolitionists; it seemed obvious that an anti-slavery movement should have been pacifistic and anarchistic.

1890

August 5: [Adin Ballou](#) died at his home in [Hopedale](#).



August 24: The Reverend Carlton Albert Staples delivered an eulogy which would soon be printed as a pamphlet, REV. [ADIN BALLOU](#) / A SERMON GIVEN IN THE UNITARIAN CHURCH AT MENDON, AUG. 24, 1890 / BY / REV. C.A. STAPLES.



EULOGY FOR ADIN BALLOU



1891

Lucy Ballou died at her home in [Hopedale](#).

1896

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ADIN BALLOU. 1803-1890. CONTAINING AN ELABORATE RECORD AND NARRATIVE OF HIS LIFE FROM INFANCY TO OLD AGE. WITH APPENDIXES. COMPLETED AND EDITED BY HIS SON-IN-LAW, WILLIAM S. HEYWOOD:

BALLOU AUTOBIOGRAPHY

January 12: Letter from [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) to Ernest Howard Crosby about Christian nonresistance as exemplified for fully half a century by the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), as translated by Professor Leo Wiener in 1905:

My Dear Crosby: – I am very glad to hear of your activity and that it is beginning to attract attention. Fifty years ago Garrison's proclamation of non-resistance only cooled people toward him, and the whole fifty years' activity of Ballou in this direction was met with stubborn silence. I read with great pleasure in Peace the beautiful ideas of the American authors in regard to non-resistance. I make an exception only in the case of Mr. Bemis's old, unfounded opinion, which calumniates Christ in assuming that Christ's expulsion of the cattle from the temple means that he struck the men with a whip, and commanded his disciples to do likewise. The ideas expressed by these writers, especially by H. Newton and G. Herron, are beautiful, but it is to be regretted that they do not answer the question which Christ put before men, but answer the question which the so-called orthodox teachers of the churches, the chief and most dangerous enemies of Christianity, have put in its place.

Mr. Higginson says that the law of non-resistance is not admissible as a general rule. H. Newton says that the practical results of the application of Christ's teaching will depend on the degree of faith which men will have in this teaching. Mr. C. Martyn assumes that the stage at which we are is not yet suited for the application of the teaching about non-resistance. G. Herron says that in order to fulfil the law of non-resistance, it is necessary to learn to apply it to life. Mrs. Livermore says the same, thinking that the fulfilment of the law of non-resistance is possible only in the future.

All these opinions treat only the question as to what would happen to people if all were put to the necessity of fulfilling the law of non-resistance; but, in the first place, it is quite



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impossible to compel all men to accept the law of non-resistance, and, in the second, if this were possible, it would be a most glaring negation of the very principle which is being established. To compel all men not to practise violence against others! Who is going to compel men?

In the third place, and above all else, the question, as put by Christ, does not consist in this, whether non-resistance may become a universal law for all humanity, but what each man must do in order to fulfil his destiny, to save his soul, and do God's work, which reduces itself to the same.

The Christian teaching does not prescribe any laws for all men; it does not say, "follow such and such rules under fear of punishment, and you will all be happy," but explains to each separate man his position in the world and shows him what for him personally results from this position. The Christian teaching says to each individual man that his life, if he recognizes his life to be his, and its aim, the worldly good of his personality or of the personalities of other men, can have no rational meaning, because this good, posited as the end of life, can never be attained, because, in the first place, all beings strive after the goods of the worldly life, and these goods are always attained by one set of beings to the detriment of others, so that every separate man cannot receive the desired good, but, in all probability, must even endure many unnecessary sufferings in his struggle for these unattained goods; in the second place, because if a man even attains the worldly goods, these, the more of them he attains, satisfy him less and less, and he wishes for more and more new ones; in the third place, mainly because the longer a man lives, the more inevitably do old age, diseases, and finally death, which destroys the possibility of any worldly good, come to him.

Thus, if a man considers his life to be his, and its end to be the worldly good, for himself or for other men, this life can have for him no rational meaning. Life receives a rational meaning only when a man understands that the recognition of his life as his own, and the good of personality, of his own or of that of others, as its end, is an error, and that the human life does not belong to him, who has received this life from some one, but to Him who produced this life, and so its end must not consist in the attainment of his own good or of the good of others, but only in the fulfilment of the will of Him who produced it. Only with such a comprehension of life does it receive a rational meaning, and its end, which consists in the fulfilment of God's will, become attainable, and, above all, only with such a comprehension does man's activity become clearly defined, and he no longer is subject to despair and suffering, which were inevitable with his former comprehension. "The world and I in it," such a man says to himself, "exist by the will of God. I cannot know the whole world and my relation to it, but I can know what is wanted of me by God, who sent men into this world, endless in time and space, and therefore inaccessible to my understanding, because this is revealed to me in the tradition, that is, in the aggregate reason of the best people in the world, who lived before me, and in my reason, and in my heart, that is, in the striving of my whole being.

"In the tradition, the aggregate of the wisdom of all the best



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men, who lived before me, I am told that I must act toward others as I wish that others would act toward me; my reason tells me that the greatest good of men is possible only when all men will act likewise.

"My heart is at peace and joyful only when I abandon myself to the feeling of love for men, which demands the same. And then I can not only know what I must do, but also the cause for which my activity is necessary and defined.

"I cannot grasp the whole divine work, for which the world exists and lives, but the divine work which is being accomplished in this world and in which I am taking part with my life is accessible to me. This work is the destruction of the discord and of the struggle among men and other beings, and the establishment among men of the greatest union, concord, and love; this work is the realization of what the Jewish prophets promised, saying that the time will come when all men shall be taught the truth, when the spears shall be forged into pruning-hooks, and the scythes and swords into ploughshares, and when the lion shall lie with the lamb."

Thus, the man of the Christian comprehension of life not only knows how he must act in life, but also what he must do.

He must do what contributes to the establishment of the kingdom of God in the world. To do this, a man must fulfil the inner demands of God's will, that is, he must act amicably toward others, as he would like others to do to him. Thus the inner demands of a man's soul coincide with that external end of life which is placed before him.

And here though we have an indication which is so clear to a man of the Christian comprehension, and incontestable from two sides, as to what the meaning and end of human life consists in, and how a man must act, and what he must do, and what not, there appear certain people, who call themselves Christians, who decide that in such and such cases a man must depart from God's law and the common cause of life, which are given to him, and must act contrary to the law and the common cause of life, because, according to their ratiocination, the consequences of the acts committed according to God's law may be profitless and disadvantageous for men.

Man, according to the Christian teaching, is God's workman. The workman does not know his master's whole business, but the nearest aim to be attained by his work is revealed to him, and he is given definite indications as to what he should do; especially definite are the indications as to what he must not do, in order that he may not work against the aim for the attainment of which he was sent to work. In everything else he is given complete liberty. and so for a man who has grasped the Christian conception of life the meaning of his life is clear and rational, and he cannot have a moment of wavering as to how he should act in life and what he ought to do, in order to fulfil the destiny of his life.

According to the law given him in the tradition, in his reason, and in his heart, a man must always act toward another as he wishes to have done to him: he must contribute to the establishment of love and union among men; but according to the decision of these far-sighted people, a man must, while the fulfilment of the law, according to their opinion, is still



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premature, do violence, deprive of liberty, kill people, and with this contribute, not to union of love, but to the irritation and enragement of people. It is as though a mason, who is put to do certain definite work, who knows that he is taking part with others in the building of a house, and who has a clear and indubitable command from the master himself that is to lay a wall, should receive the command from other masons like him, who, like him, do not know the general plan of the structure and what is useful for the common work, to stop laying the wall, and to undo the work of the others.

Wonderful delusion! The being that breathes today and disappears tomorrow, that has one definite, incontestable law given to him, s to how he is to pass his short term of life, imagines that he knows what is necessary and useful and appropriate for all men, for the whole world, for that world which moves without cessation, and goes on developing, and in the name of this usefulness, which is differently understood by each of them, he prescribes to himself and to others for a time to depart from the unquestionable law, which is given to him and to all men, and not to act toward all men as he wants others to act toward him, not to bring love into the world, but to practise violence, to deprive of freedom, to punish, to kill, to introduce malice into the world, when it is found that this is necessary. and he enjoins us to do so knowing that the most terrible cruelties, tortures, murders of men, from the Inquisitions and punishments and terrors of all the revolutions to the present bestialities of the anarchists and the massacres of them, have all proceeded from this, that men suppose that they know what people and the world need; knowing that at any given moment there are always two opposite parties, each of which asserts that it is necessary to use violence against the opposite party, – the men of state against the anarchists, the anarchists against the men of state; the English against the Americans, the Americans against the English; the English against the Germans; and so forth, in all possible combinations and permutations.

Not only does a man of the Christian concept of life see clearly by reflection that there is no ground whatever for his departure from the law of his life, as clearly indicated to him by God, in order to follow the accidental, frail, frequently contradictory demands of men; but if he has been living the Christian life for some time, and has developed in himself the Christian moral sensitiveness, he can positively not act as people demand that he shall, not only as the result of reflection, but also of feeling.

As it is for many men of our world impossible to subject a child to torture and to kill it, though such a torture may save a hundred other people, so a whole series of acts becomes impossible for a man who has developed the Christian sensitiveness of his heart in himself. A Christian, for example, who is compelled to take part in court proceedings, where a man may be sentenced to [capital punishment](#), to take part in matters of forcible seizure of other people's property, in discussions about the declaration of war, or in preparations for the same, to say nothing of war itself, finds himself in the same position in which a good man would be, if he were compelled to torture or kill a child. It is not that he decides by reflection what



he ought not to do, but that he cannot do what is demanded of him, because for a man there exists the moral impossibility, just as there is a physical impossibility, of committing certain acts. Just as it is impossible for a man to lift up a mountain, as it is impossible for a good man to kill a child, so it is impossible for a man who lives a Christian life to take part in violence. Of what significance for such a man can be the reflections that for some imaginary good he must do what has become morally impossible for him?

How, then, is a man to act when he sees the obvious harm of following the law of love and the law of non-resistance, which results from it? How is a man to act -this example is always adduced- when a robber in his sight kills or injures a child, and when the child cannot be saved otherwise than by killing the robber?

It is generally assumed that, when they adduce such an example, there can be no other answer to the question than that the robber ought to be killed, in order that the child be saved. But this answer is given so emphatically and so quickly only because we are not only in the habit of acting in this manner in the case of the defence of a child, but also in the case of the expansion of the borders of a neighbouring state to the detriment of our own, or in the case of the transportation of lace across the border, or even in the case of the defence of the fruits of our garden against depredations by passers-by.

It is assumed that it is necessary to kill the robber in order to save the child, but we need only stop and think on what ground a man should act thus, be he a Christian or a non-Christian, to convince ourselves that such an act can have no rational foundations, and is considered necessary only because two thousand years ago such a mode of action was considered just and people were in the habit of acting thus. Why should a non-Christian, who does not recognize God and the meaning of life in the fulfilment of His will, kill the robber, in defending the child? To say nothing of this, that in killing the robber he is certainly killing, but does not know for certain until the very last moment whether the robber will kill the child or not, to say nothing of this irregularity: who has decided that the life of the child is more necessary and better than the life of the robber?

If a non-Christian does not recognize God, and does not consider the meaning of life to consist in the fulfilment of God's will, it is only calculation, that is, the consideration as to what is more profitable for him and for all men, the continuation of the robber's life or that of the child, which guides the choice of his acts. But to decide this, he must know what will become of the child which he saves, and what would become of the robber if he did not kill him. But that he cannot know. And so, if he is a non-Christian, he has not rational foundation for saving the child through the death of the robber.

But if the man is a Christian, and so recognizes God and sees the meaning of life in the fulfilment of His will, no matter what terrible robber may attack any innocent and beautiful child, he has still less cause to depart from the law given him by God and to do to the robber what the robber wants to do to the child; he may implore the robber, may place his body between



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the robber and his victim, but there is one thing he cannot do, – he cannot consciously depart from the law of God, the fulfilment of which forms the meaning of his life. It is very likely that, as the result of his bad bringing up and of his animality, a man, being a pagan or a Christian, will kill the robber, not only in the defence of the child, but also in his own defence or in the defence of his purse, but that will by no means signify that it is right to do so, that it is right to accustom ourselves and others to think that that ought to be done.

This will only mean that, in spite of the external education and Christianity, the habits of the stone age are still strong in man, that he is capable of committing acts which have long ago been disavowed by his consciousness. A robber in my sight is about to kill a child and I can save it by killing the robber; consequently it is necessary under certain conditions to resist evil with violence.

A man is in danger of his life and can be saved only through my lie; consequently it is necessary in certain cases to lie. A man is starving, and I cannot save him otherwise than by stealing; consequently it is necessary in certain cases to steal.

I lately read a story by Coppee, in which an orderly kills his officer, who has his life insured, and thus saves his honour and the life of his family. Consequently in certain cases it is right to kill.

Such imaginary cases and the conclusions drawn from them prove only this, that there are men who know that it is not right to steal, to lie, to kill, but who are so loath to stop doing this that they use all the efforts of their mind in order to justify their acts. There does not exist a moral rule for which it would be impossible to invent a situation when it would be hard to decide which is more moral, the departure from the rule or its fulfilment. The same is true of the question of non-resistance to evil: men know that it is bad, but they are so anxious to live by violence, that they use all the efforts of their mind, not for the elucidation of all the evil which is produced by man's recognition of the right to do violence to others, but for the defence of this right. But such invented cases in no way prove that the rules about not lying, stealing, killing are incorrect.

"Fais ce que doit, advienne que pourra, –do what is right, and let come what may," – is an expression of profound wisdom. Each of us knows unquestionably what he ought to do, but none of us knows or can know what will happen. Thus we are brought to the same, not only by this, that we must do what is right, but also by this, that we know what is right, and do not know at all what will come and result from our acts.

The Christian teaching is a teaching as to what a man must do for the fulfilment of the will of Him who sent him into the world. But the reflections as to what consequences we assume to result from such or such acts of men not only have nothing in common with Christianity, but are that very delusion which destroys Christianity.

No one has yet seen the imaginary robber with the imaginary child, and all the horrors, which fill history and contemporary events, have been produced only because men imagine that they



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can know the consequences of the possible acts. How is this? Men used to live a beastly life, violating and killing all those whom it was advantageous for them to violate and kill, and even eating one another, thinking that that was right. Then there came a time, when, thousands of years ago, even in the time of Moses, there appeared the consciousness in men that it was bad to violate and kill one another. But there were some men for whom violence was advantageous, and they did not recognize the fact, and assured themselves and others that it was not always bad to violate and kill men, but that there were cases when this was necessary, useful, and even good. And acts of violence and murder, though not as frequent and cruel, were continued, but with this difference, that those who committed them justified them on the ground of usefulness to men. It was this false justification of violence that Christ arraigned. He showed that, since every act of violence could be justified as actually happens, when two enemies do violence to one another and both consider their violence justifiable, and there is no chance of verifying the justice of the determination of either, it is necessary not to believe in any justifications of violence, and under no condition, as at first was thought right by humanity, is it necessary to make use of them. It would seem that men who profess Christianity would have carefully to unveil this deception, because in the unveiling of this deception does one of the chief manifestations of Christianity consist. But the very opposite has happened: men to whom violence was advantageous, and who did not want to give up these advantages, took upon themselves the exclusive propaganda of Christianity, and, preaching it, asserted that, since there are cases in which the non-application of violence produces more evil than its application (the imaginary robber who kills the child), we must not fully accept Christ's teaching about non-resistance to evil, and that we may depart from this teaching in the defence of our lives and of those of other men, in the defense of our country, the protection of society from madmen and malefactors, and in many other cases. but the decision of the question as to when Christ's teaching ought to be set aside was left to those very men who made use of violence. Thus Christ's teaching about non-resistance to evil turned out to be absolutely set aside, and, what is worse than all that, those very men whom Christ arraigned began to consider themselves the exclusive preachers and expounders of His teaching. But the light shineth in the dark, and the false preachers of Christianity are again arraigned by His teaching. We can think of the structure of the world as we please, we may do what is advantageous and agreeable for us to do, and use violence against people under the pretext of doing good to men, but it is absolutely impossible to assert that, in do so, we are professing Christ's teaching, because Christ arraigned that very deception. The truth will sooner or later be made manifest, and will arraign the deceivers, even as it does now. Let only the question of the human life be put correctly, as it was put by Christ, and not as it was corrupted by the churches, and all the deceptions which by the churches have been heaped on Christ's teaching will fall of their own accord. The question is not whether it will be good or bad for human



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society to follow the law of love and the resulting law of non-resistance, but whether you -a being that lives today and is dying by degrees tomorrow and every moment- will now, this very minute, fully do the will of Him who sent you and clearly expressed it in tradition and in your reason and heart, or whether you want to act contrary to this will. As soon as the question is put in this form, there will be but one answer: I want at once, this very minute, without any delay, without waiting for anyone, and without considering the seeming consequences, with all my strength to fulfil what alone I am indubitably commanded to do by Him who sent me into the world, and in no case, under no condition, will I, can I, do what is contrary to it, because in this lies the only possibility of my rational, unwretched life.

1897

[Adin Ballou](#)'s HISTORY OF [Hopedale](#) was published.

1900

[Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) responded to a letter from Edward Garnett:

[I]f I had to address the American people, I should like to thank them for the great help I have received from their writers who flourished about the fifties. I would mention Garrison, Parker, Emerson, Ballou and Thoreau, not as the greatest but those who I think specially influenced me.

THEODORE PARKER

ADIN BALLOU



1900

October 27, Saturday: DEDICATION OF THE [ADIN BALLOU](#) MEMORIAL INCLUDING THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE / A HISTORICAL STATEMENT WITH FORMAL PRESENTATION AND RESPONSE / COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESSES AND ACCOMPANYING EXERCISES AT [HOPEDALE](#), MASSACHUSETTS / OCTOBER 27 / 1900



ADIN BALLOU MEMORIAL



1910

January 31: In his 82nd year [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) began a collection of aphorisms, “Path of Life.” In this Emerson appears, according to a current index to a republication of the collection, 17 times, Thoreau 9 times, the Reverend Channing 9 times, but the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) only 6 times (however, I do not know whether the current published edition is complete, or whether perhaps this published material represents only an editorial selection).

[There is a 1997 publication by Scribner, which purports to be the 1st translation into English of Leo Tolstòy’s final major work, *KRUG CHTENIA*, offered as A CALENDAR OF WISDOM: DAILY THOUGHTS TO NOURISH THE SOUL WRITTEN AND SELECTED FROM THE WORLD’S SACRED TEXTS BY LEO TOLSTOY, translated from the Russian by Peter Sekirin. In the fine print there appears the word “Selections.” In this work, which the elderly [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) is said to have regarded as his very most important, done during the opening years of the 20th Century, he cites [Henry Thoreau](#) 14 times and [Waldo Emerson](#) 21 times. I have just begun last night to look at the Thoreau ascriptions, and, as given in this new “1st English edition,” quite frankly, I am having difficulty with them. I will key them in below for everyone’s benefit. Perhaps someone will be able to offer advice. In the roundtripping of the English into Russian and then into English, the thought that has been preserved can only be characterized as uninteresting and uninspiring –even jejune– and this raises the intriguing possibility that Tolstòy could not possibly have been influenced by Thoreau simply because, due to such linguistic difficulties, the Russian did not comprehend what the American was offering.]

- January 1: Read the best books first, otherwise you’ll find you do not have time.
- January 9: Only when we forget what we were taught do we start to have real knowledge.
- January 28: We live a short period of time in this world, but we live it according to the laws of eternal life.
- February 24: The only way to tell the truth is to speak with kindness. Only the words of a loving man can be heard.
- April 6: The biggest happiness is when at the end of the year you feel better than at the beginning.
- May 27: A man cannot do everything; but this cannot be an excuse for doing bad things.
- July 23: The body is the first student of the soul.
- August 8: For the majority of mankind, religion is a habit, or, more precisely, tradition is their religion. Though it seems strange, I think that the first step to moral perfection is your liberation from the religion in which you were raised. Not a single person has come to perfection except by following this way.
- August 27: When you feel the desire for power, you should stay in solitude for some time.
- September 14: Our life would become wonderful if we could see all the disgusting things which exist in it.
- September 16: A wise man has doubts even in his best moments. Real truth is always accompanied by hesitations. If I could not hesitate, I could not believe.
- September 25: It is not enough to be a hardworking person. Think: what do you work at?
- November 22: When I sit on the seashore and listen to the waves beating on the sand, I feel free from any obligation, and I think that all the people of the world can change their constitutions without me.
- December 12: The most tender plants can push their way through the hardest rocks, and it is the same with kindness. Nothing can stop a truly kind and sincere person.



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[The translator, Peter Sekirin, alleges that there has been a critical edition in German, done by E. Schmidt and A. Schkaravan and published in Dresden in 1907 by Karl Reissner, which includes the sources for these quotations. He does not, however, cite the title of that critical edition, and I am not able to locate any reference to it by publication date or by author/translator name.]

1949

May 16: [Adin Ballou](#)'s "Lesson in May," an "after reading Thoreau" sonnet, appeared in the New York Herald Tribune.



1956

July 26: Off Nantucket Island, the *Andrea Doria* sank with at least 52 dead or unaccounted for.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

[Adin Ballou](#)'s "Thoreau's Concord River," an "after reading Thoreau" sonnet, appeared in the New York Herald Tribune.



Israel charged before the UN Security Council that Jordan had been guilty of 101 border violations since April

In Alexandria, [Egypt](#) President Gamal Abdel Nasser announced the nationalization of the [Suez Canal Company](#) and a plan to use the revenue to build a high dam at Aswan on the Nile River, precipitating an international crisis. A Marine battalion from the US Sixth Fleet evacuated US nationals and other civilians from Alexandria.

USMC



1979

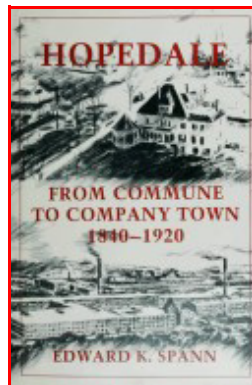
Adin Ballou. AFTER READING THOREAU: SONNETS / BY ADIN BALLOU. Seal Harbor ME: Printing Office at High Loft, 1979. Who was the "Adin Ballou" (1881-1960) who wrote this, which was first published in 140 copies in 1979 by "A.H."? Whoever he was, he also wrote a volume of poetry titled THE TOWPATH, from which the following is a most sensitive and relevant excerpt:⁴⁴

XIV Poet's Purchase

These old New England fields you ramble over,
Men have held deeds of them before your birth —
Before you walked, their wanderer and lover,
Across the rock-fenced squares of furrowed earth.
Here are high pastures - bare, bleak, hard and thorny —
With hip-roofed houses, firm upon their sills;
And swamps and wood lots which some town attorney
Has classed as "widows' thirds," in Concord wills.
They are all ours - each river, pond and clearing,
Each upland road that leaves the farms behind.
Acres become your own, while men are hearing
No land is sold but when a deed is signed.
Some Peterboro Hill you bought today —
Your pages being the one price you pay.

1992

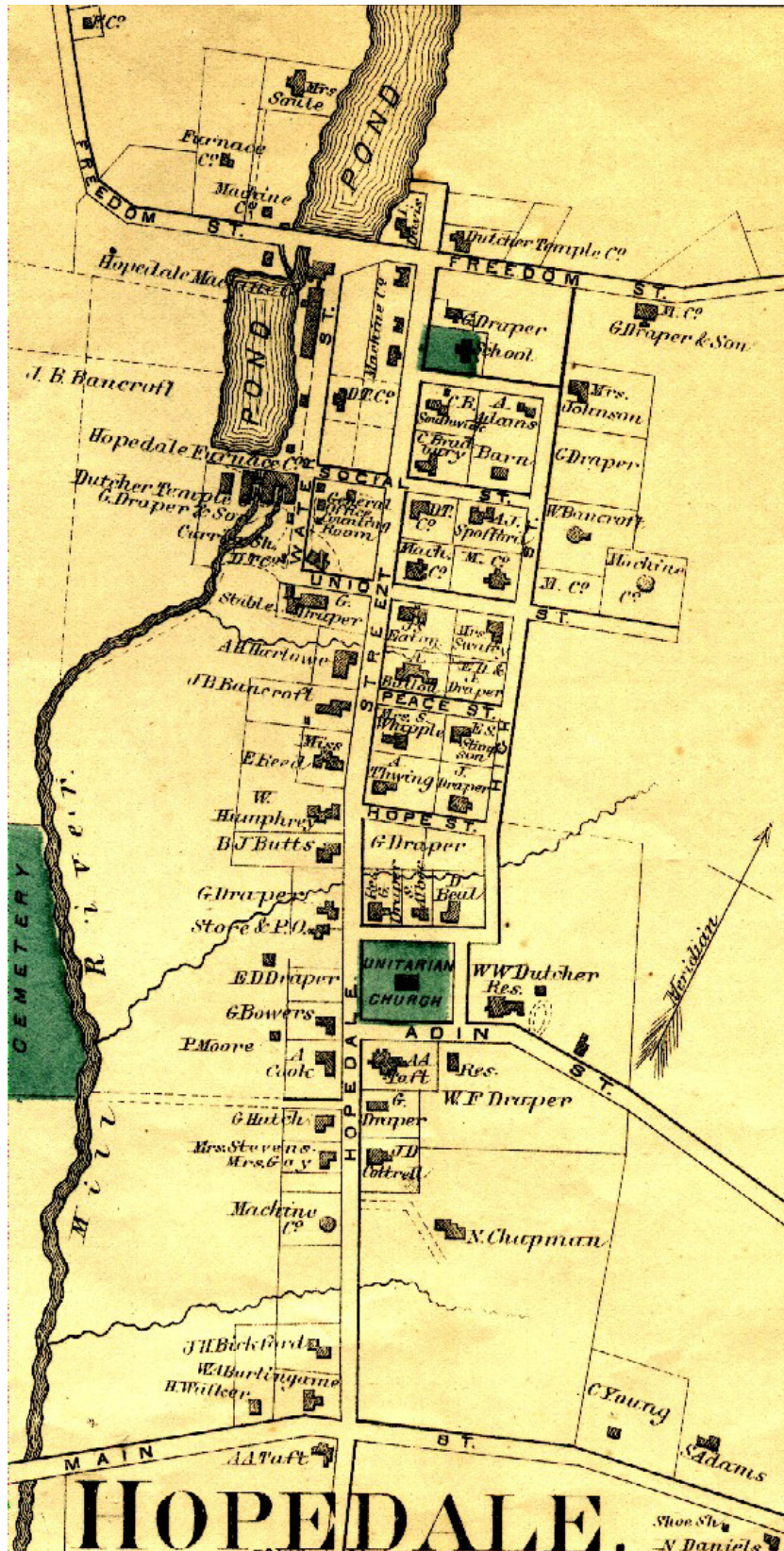
Edward K. Spann's HOPEDALE: FROM COMMUNE TO COMPANY TOWN 1840-1920.



44. A copy of this is in the Gunst Special Collection of Greene Library at Stanford University as Z239.P973.B35.

REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY



"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project



REVEREND ADIN BALLOU

OF HOPEDALE COMMUNITY

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."
- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: June 16, 2013

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place your requests with <Kouroo@brown.edu>.
Arrgh.



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