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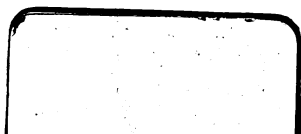
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LIFE
OF
REV. HOSEA BALLOU;

WITH
ACCOUNTS OF HIS WRITINGS,

AND
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF HIS SENIORS AND CONTEMPORARIES
IN THE UNIVERSALIST MINISTRY.

BY
THOMAS WHITTEMORE.

"I AM NOT ASHAMED OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST."—ROM. 1: 16.

VOL. II.

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JAMES M. USHER:
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PREFACE

TO VOLUME SECOND.

It may surprise the reader to perceive that the second volume of the present work, containing about as many pages as the first, does still embrace only about ten years and a half of Mr. Ballou's life, whereas the first embraced forty-six years. The explanation of the fact is this, — the ten years that succeeded Mr. Ballou's removal to Boston were the most active years of all his life, in which he took upon himself a greater amount of both bodily and mental labor than he had ever performed before in the same time. He had no anticipation, when he left Salem to remove to Boston, of the full amount of labor which he should be called upon to do. He knew, indeed, that he was about to enter a new field, and he doubtless believed that his labors would be increased; but we have no reason to think he foresaw what a great weight of care and effort the removal would bring upon him. It was well he did not; for, although he would not have shrunk, it would have created unnecessary and premature excitement with him.

It was not his duties as pastor that exhausted his energies. To these were added frequent journeys into the country, some of them being extended to places quite distant. He was incessantly engaged in controversy. No man could attack what Mr. Ballou honestly believed to be the truth, in his presence, or in any place where he had the opportunity of replying, without being met with promptness and force, but always with a Christian spirit. He believed he was set for "the defence of the gospel;" he believed

the gospel was capable of defence, or God would never have appointed a class of men to defend it; and he was ready and willing to defend it, not merely against "flesh and blood," but against "principalities and powers," and the "rulers of the darkness of this world," and "spiritual wickedness in high places." Not only by his pen did he do this, but also by the living voice, when occasion made it necessary. He never shrunk from any man's presence, through an unwillingness to defend the truth. It was his habit of constant reflection — the incessant pondering which he kept up — that supplied him with subject after subject which the various occasions of his duty required. No man, we think, ever preached a greater number of sermons at dedications, ordinations, installations, conventions and associations, than he. And yet, those even who heard him the most often, heard him with continual interest. No man could tire of his preaching. There was such a vein of sound sense in it, such interesting similitudes, such important exhibitions of divine truth, such lucid interpretations of Scripture, such turning of error upside down, that all would and must be interested.

In bringing this volume to a close, I cannot fail to confess my utter dependence on that divine goodness which has thus far sustained me. The present volume has been wholly prepared since the publication of its predecessor, and in the midst of other and very important duties. It will be seen that the work is not finished. The biography of Hosea Ballou, with sufficient accounts of his travels and labors, cannot be compressed into a small compass; and the writer has been solicited on all hands not to omit anything essential to the work, for the sake of reducing the number of volumes. To God, the preserver of life and the giver of every blessing, may all praise and glory be ascribed!

MAY 1, 1854.

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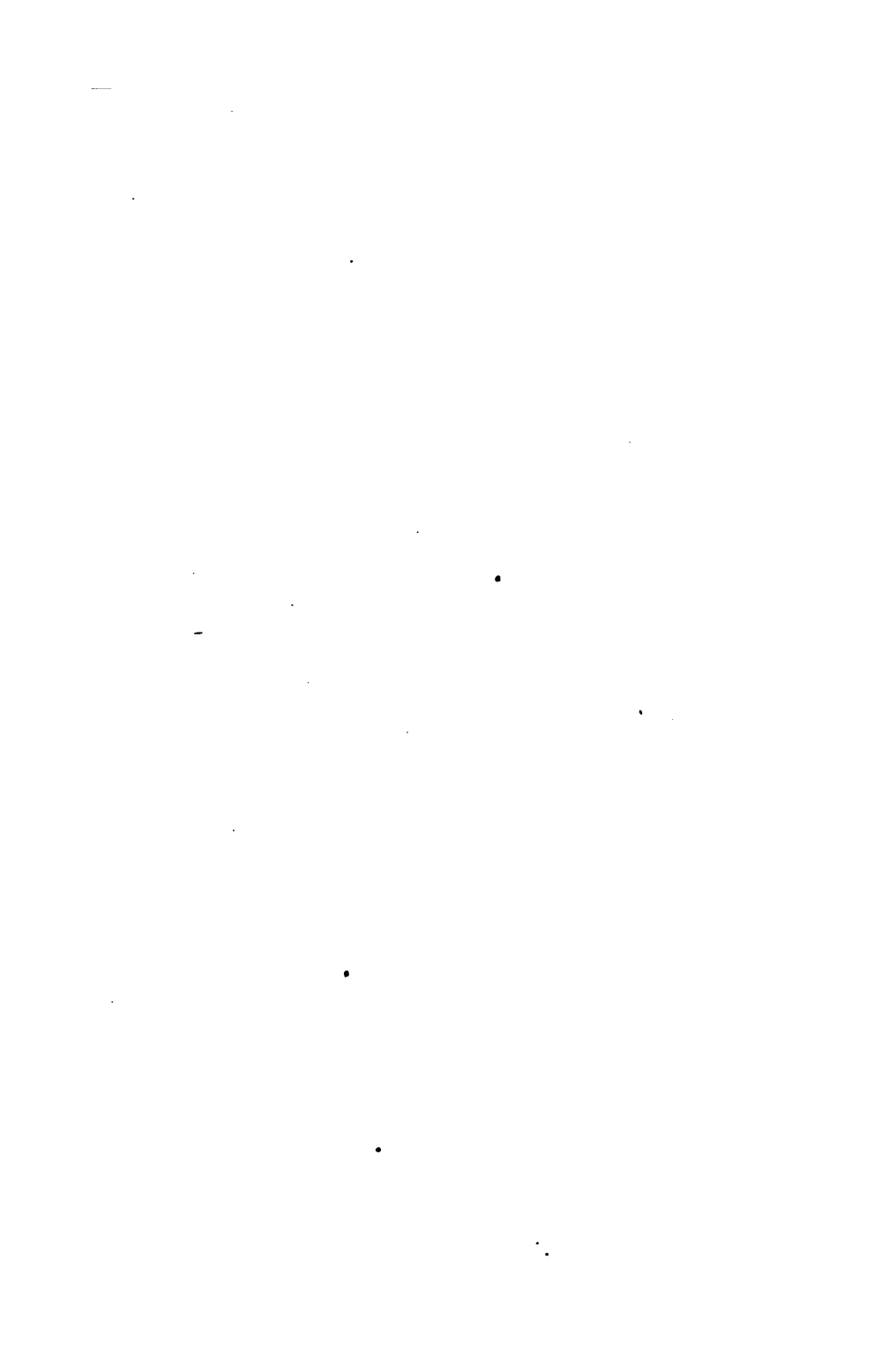
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CHAPTER IX.

MR. BALLOU'S FIRST LABORS IN BOSTON; CONTROVERSIES THAT ENSUED; INFLUENCE OF HIS LABORS IN THE COUNTRY.

FROM DECEMBER 1817 TO JULY 1819.

THE events of these few months were to Mr. Ballou so interesting, and were so important in their influences, that, although occupying but a small portion of time, we give them a distinct chapter.

SECTION I.—THE NEW SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

We have come now to the most active and useful part of Mr. Ballou's life. He removed to Boston in the month of November, 1817. The Second Universalist Society in that town had grown out of a want long felt. The site of the meeting-house in which the First Universalist Society worshipped, although a good one in 1785, when the Universalists purchased it, was felt to be out of the centre; for the town was fast being settled in the south and west parts, and no small number of the Universalists had removed thither. But still another fact made a new society desirable to many. The pastor of

the First Society (Rev. Paul Dean) did not give his attention so much to the *doctrines* of the gospel as a large and very respectable portion of his parishioners felt it desirable that he should do. These facts, added to the strong belief that the time had come for the formation of another society, and that it could be done without any material injury to the First, induced a body of gentlemen in 1816 to petition for an act of incorporation, as the "Second Universalist Society in Boston." The act was regularly passed and signed by the Governor, Dec. 13th, and the first meeting under it was holden January 25th, 1817. Immediate measures were taken to find a site and erect a house of worship, which things were done in the course of the summer and fall of the last-named year, and the house in School-street* was dedicated on the 16th of October. The writer remembers

* This site in part is the precise spot on which the old French church formerly stood, and in the pulpit of which Mr. Murray was stoned in 1774. This French church was built somewhere about 1715—20. In 1748 the society that built it was dissolved, and it was sold to a society of high spiritual pretensions, called the New Congregational Society. They invited Rev. Mr. Croswell, of Groton, Conn., to become their pastor, the same individual who bears so conspicuous a part in the Life of Murray. Thomas Handasyde Peck (the maternal grandfather of the late venerable Thomas H. Perkins) was, at the time, one of the trustees of Mr. Croswell's society, who purchased this house. He adhered to John Murray, and it was probably by his influence that Mr. Murray was admitted to preach in the house. He preached there only a few times. Mr. Croswell died in 1785, at which time, it is supposed, the society became extinct. In 1788, a Roman Catholic congregation, which had been gathered three or four years before, obtained this house, and worshipped in it until they built the church in Franklin-street, which was dedicated in 1803. The old meeting-house in School-street was then taken down, and the land was subsequently sold to the Second Universalist Society.

this occasion very well, as he was present to assist in the services of the choir. The house was thronged, and almost every face was radiant with joy. Mr. Ballou was not present, being at the time in Vermont, whither he had gone to fulfil an appointment previously made. Rev. Mr. Dean sat in the desk, but took no part, on account, it was said, of ill health. Rev. David Pickering offered the Introductory Prayer; Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown, the Dedicatory Prayer; and Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, preached the Sermon, from John 4 : 28. This house was, in effect, built for Mr. Ballou; and the leading members intended to get no other man as their pastor, if they could obtain him. The vote by which he was invited was *unanimous*; and the installation took place on December 25th. Rev. Paul Dean preached on the occasion, from Acts 20 : 24. He gave also the Fellowship of the Churches. Rev. E. Turner, of Charlestown, offered the Installing Prayer and gave the Charge; and Rev. Joshua Flagg, who had succeeded Mr. Ballou at Salem, offered the Concluding Prayer. Thenceforward, until Mr. B.'s death, he maintained the connection which was solemnized by these services.

SECTION II. — MR. BALLOU AT THIS TIME.

On his removal to Boston, he was in his forty-seventh year, in good health, and in the full maturity of his mental powers. Not in every respect were his opinions what they afterwards became, although there was no substantial difference. He never felt himself too old to learn; and on any point, when he found that he had been

in error, he was pleased; and was gratified to speak of it, not because being in error was pleasant, but because he had made an improvement, and had come more fully to the knowledge of the truth. These remarks must be understood as applying rather to interpretations of particular texts than to any fundamental principle. The great central point in his faith was the belief of the final holiness and happiness of all men. He saw that doctrine clearly taught in the Bible, and clearly confirmed by the manifestations of God in nature, and by the teachings of man's natural sense of right, and the affections of the human soul. After the fact of the divine existence, it was the *sun* of his system of theology, around which other points revolved like lesser lights. If that sun were blotted out, all was dark indeed. What was there pleasant to contemplate in the character of the Supreme Being, if he were capable of making his creatures infinitely miserable, or of suffering them to become so? Mr. Ballou believed that all things are in the hands of God; that all agencies are at his command; that God can govern men, and make them subservient to his holy will, without any infringement upon their moral freedom. He believed in the accountability of man, and held that every disobedience to the divine commandments should be visited with due and just punishment. He preached but few sermons in which he did not insist more or less on that great and important fact concerning retribution. But he did not believe that the punishment of sin should be delayed until men enter another state of being. In truth, by this time he had become fully convinced that there is no revelation in the Bible of any punishment in the

future state for the sins of this life. He had, in former years, supposed that certain passages seemed to favor the doctrine of a limited punishment after death; but he had been brought to believe that his past views of such passages had not been correct, and that the Bible revealed no sentient state for man beyond this mortal existence, except such as is known by the blessed name of life and immortality.

He never feared controversy. He had, in the first place, so strong a confidence in the faith he professed, that he almost knew it could not be thrown down. He had been long practised also in the defence of it. The leading men of the opposing sects had often made that doctrine the point of attack; and, for these reasons, as well as from the obligation of the divine precepts, he had been obliged to "be instant in season and out of season," and to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." He saw quickly the weak points in the creeds of his adversaries; he knew how to set them off against each other; he could see at a glance, as it were, all the consequences that flowed from a proposition,—a power which made him a very dangerous antagonist, and enabled him sometimes to bring down the most skilfully built theory at a single move. He had a wonderful readiness; a wonderful knowledge of human nature; a far-sightedness that comprehended at once all an opponent aimed at, and beyond it; he had a clear logical acumen, which always carried him to a climax beyond the point at which other minds generally stopped. He had great simplicity, but wonderful power. Such he was preëminently when he came to Boston.

SECTION III. — HIS FIRST LABORS IN BOSTON.

The labors of Rev. Paul Dean, of the First Universalist Society, had not been effective. He seemed to content himself with discharging as quietly as possible his duties as pastor. The great doctrine of the Universalists had been making but little progress at that time in Massachusetts. There was a portentous lull in the elements. When Mr. Ballou commenced to preach in the new church in School-street, there was indeed a "shaking among the dry bones." There were about sixteen Universalist societies in Massachusetts at this date, and not more than twelve preachers. Mr. Turner was a quiet man, not a controversialist, not a doctrinal preacher, although he did occasionally speak on controverted points. He was not fitted by nature for controversy. At this time there were no periodicals devoted to the interests of Universalism, if we except the *Gospel Visitant*, a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, published once in three months. It continued but two years, the first series in 1811, the second in 1817. Needful was it, then, that there should be a new order of things. Mr. Ballou had been living at Salem for two years, and upwards; but his labors had not produced the effect which afterwards followed them. The time, the circumstances, the wants of the denomination, all demanded his removal to Boston. This was his appropriate field. From the first, the services there were well attended; they were destined soon to be overwhelmed by crowds. People began to say one to another, "Have you heard this new preacher in School-street?" His extempore manner of preaching,

his strong voice, his free and forcible utterance, the reasonableness of his doctrines, the aptness of his illustrations, his occasional pleasant witticisms, his success in the interpretation of the Scriptures, his habit of preaching on difficult points,—these attractions secured him large audiences almost from the beginning. The First Society, under Mr. Dean, was not essentially weakened by Mr. Ballou's influence. He had no wish to weaken it; the world was wide enough both for him and his brother. It remained strong; but the great point of attraction in Boston, at that day, so far as Universalism was concerned, was at School-street. When some opponent, or some honest inquirer, sent in a text to Mr. Ballou for consideration, it was usually one that was thought to have respect to the future judgment; and, in those cases, he would give, perhaps, a week's notice of his intention to consider it. On these occasions the audiences were immensely large. For some five or six years after this, it was usual to see the house filled at the morning service so that it would be very difficult to obtain a seat; in the afternoon many would be obliged to stand, especially in the galleries; and in the evening, not only would every seat be occupied, but the aisles, the entries, the windows, the stairs, the singing-seats, would all be crowded.

SECTION IV. — HIS FIRST SERMON PUBLISHED.

On the evening of the first Sabbath in January, 1818, he preached a sermon from the text 2 Thess. 1 : 7—9,—
“And to you, who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with

his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." His object in this sermon, in the first place, was to show that the common doctrine of a day of judgment in the future state was not supported by this passage; and he went even further, and maintained that said doctrine was opposed irreconcilably to other points in the popular creeds; and, if those points were correct, the common doctrine of a day of judgment, in which all men are to be tried for the deeds done in this life (for this was the form the doctrine then had), could not be admitted. He then sought to give the true meaning of the text. It was to have been fulfilled "*when the Lord Jesus should be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, &c.*" When did that event take place? Mr. B. advanced a startling proposition for that day. True, it was very plainly revealed in the word of God; but the clergy of our country had not seen it, or, at least, had not avowed that they had seen it.

"As recorded in Matt. 16 : 27, 28, our blessed Redeemer says, 'For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.' In this passage the following facts are particularly expressed: 1st. That the Son of man would certainly make his appearance in his Father's glory, with his angels. 2d. That *at that time* he would reward every man according to his works.

3d. That the time of his coming, and judging, and rewarding every man according to his works, would commence during the natural life of those who heard this declaration." *

These facts he went on to substantiate by a reference to the 23d and 24th chapters of Matthew, and by Mark 8 : 38 ; 9 : 1, and Luke 9 : 26, 27. Thus he fixed the time of the judgment. He then considered the object God had in view in taking vengeance on men :

" Having produced the authority of the Saviour on the subject of his coming to judge and reward men according to their works, let our next inquiry be directed to ascertain the occasion and object of the punishment described in our text. Notice ; ' taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' What is this vengeance taken for ? Because they know not God, and because they obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

" But will this vengeance, this punishment, operate to bring them to a knowledge of God, and to obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ ? If this vengeance and punishment mean endless sufferings in the eternal world, the punished will not thereby be brought to know God, whom to know is life eternal ; nor to obey the gospel, whose law is the law of love.

" You ask a kind and faithful earthly father why he uses the rod of chastisement on his son. He informs you it is because his child is disobedient. You ask him if he intends that punishment as a mean to reclaim his child, and to produce that obedience required. He answers in the affirmative. You are satisfied with this principle and its application. You can pity the folly of

* See " A Sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house in Boston, on the evening of the first Sabbath in January, 1818. By Hosea Ballou, Pastor. Second edition. Boston : Henry Bowen. 1820."

childish disobedience, but you anticipate that the fruits of righteousness and filial love will more than counterbalance the present trial.

“You ask the wisdom of this world why God will punish men. It replies, because they know not God, and obey not the gospel of his Son. You ask this same wisdom whether this punishment be designed as a mean to bring them to the knowledge of God, and to obey the gospel. It answers in the negative. If you expostulate, if you attempt to reason, if you call such extravagant doctrine to an account, you are soon made to understand that this wisdom is the reverse of that which is from above, which ‘is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.’”—pp. 10, 11.

Mr. Ballou held that the severest judgments of God were inflicted in love; that, though they were represented by the terrible metaphor of *fire*, the effect of them was purification. In this sense, they “are true and righteous altogether; more to be desired than gold, yea, than much fine gold.” Psalm 19: 9, 10. When God sends these judgments on men, it is done for the same purpose for which metals are gathered into the furnace, namely, that they may be melted and *purified*; and this is the precise figure which the Jewish prophets of God employed, Ezekiel 22: 18—22. Malachi 3: 1—3. See also the testimony of Paul: “Every man’s work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man’s work, of what sort it is. If any man’s work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man’s work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.” 1 Cor. 3: 13—15.

Mr. Ballou believed, therefore, that when God took vengeance of men in flaming fire, however severe the discipline, it was the vengeance of love. Speaking of the fire mentioned in his text, he said,

“This flaming fire is from heaven; the Lord Jesus and his mighty angels are in it. If this fire is from heaven, it must be heavenly fire; and if the Lord Jesus and his mighty angels are in it, and are happy, it is the fire of which the prophet Malachi speaks, 3 : 1—3.”

Again he said,

“This is the fire of love. It is from heaven. It flows from God, and is the spirit of Jesus; and is the spirit of judgment and of burning. With this fire, the Lord Jesus and his mighty angels, who are his ministers, take vengeance on Zion’s hypocrites. But it is the vengeance of love. ‘God is love: and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.’ This kind of vengeance is mentioned in the 99th Psalm: ‘Thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance of their inventions.’ This is a vengeance worthy of a God of mercy; it is connected with forgiveness, and is aided in its execution by the spirit of grace.”—pp. 12, 13.

This was new doctrine to the divines of Boston. They might well rise up and say, “A strange man has come among us.” They had not heard such thoughts uttered before; they were utterly ignorant of this manner of interpreting Scripture. If the justness of the reasoning were allowed, then the whole foundation of the doctrine of endless torture was thrown down. But Mr. Ballou did not content himself with the scriptural argument merely. He applied the moral argument with

great force, as deduced from the character of the Son of God, to show that the "vengeance" of God's judgments cannot be the "vengeance" of vindictive wrath.

"But that kind of vengeance which we have been usually taught to contemplate, is consistent with nothing but the worst and wickedest of human passions. Surely, one would be led to believe, on seeing the tragical scene of horror generally represented as the fulfilment of our text, that some powerful angel from the imaginary regions of darkness was let loose on mankind! Who would suppose it to be that humble, meek, kind-son of Mary, of whom we have such an account in the New Testament? Will Jesus, who opened the eyes of the blind; who opened the ears of the deaf; who caused the lame man to leap as an hart, the tongue of the dumb to sing; who raised the dead, cast out devils, and cured all manner of diseases among the people of a wicked age and nation, ever appear in our world as a destroyer of human beings? Will that blessed, that adorable Son of God, whose name is music in heaven, and consolation to every believer, who gave himself a ransom for all mankind, and prayed for his murderers on his cross, who taketh away the sin of the world, ever come with hostile intentions against the redeemed, and fulfil all the vain imaginations of superstition, by scattering firebrands of vindictive wrath and eternal death among the offspring of his Father?" — p. 13.

Who could resist such reasoning, unless his heart was encased in prejudice, or hatred of the truth? It shook with excitement the immense congregation to whom it was addressed. The people not merely listened to every word, but they drank in the doctrine, as the thirsty man drinks water. At one time their faces would be radiant with joy; at another, they would be suffused with tears. They honored, respected, loved their new preacher. In his intercourse with their families, he moved among them

without pride, feeling that he had small reason to take credit to himself for his labors; but he rather praised God, who had called him to a knowledge of the truth, and made him the instrument of enlightening his fellow-men.

SECTION V. — "STRICTURES," BY REV. T. MERRITT.

The substance of the sermon we have now described, truly wonderful for its effects, was soon published by a young man whose heart had been deeply penetrated by the truth, namely, Mr. Henry Bowen. It had not been long before the public, when Rev. Timothy Merritt, one of the Methodist clergymen of the town, came out with a pamphlet, entitled "Strictures," &c. &c.* The careful reader will perceive that Mr. Merritt did not and could not refute the reasoning of Mr. Ballou. He attempted witticisms,—played on Mr. B.'s words,—divorced facts which belonged unchangeably together; and argued more to the prejudices than to the consciences and judgments of his hearers.

SECTION VI. — MR. BALLOU'S "BRIEF REPLY."

It was not possible for Mr. Ballou, with his views of duty, to let Mr. Merritt's pamphlet lie unanswered. He therefore wrote "A Brief Reply to the Strictures," †

* The whole title was "Strictures on Mr. Ballou's Sermon, delivered at the Second Universalist Meeting in Boston, on the evening of the First Sabbath in January, 1818. By T. Merritt. Boston, 1818."

† See the whole title: "A Brief Reply to a pamphlet entitled Strictures on Mr. Ballou's Sermon, delivered at the Second Universalist Meeting in Boston, on the evening of the First Sabbath in January, 1818, by T. Merritt." By the author of the Sermon. Boston, Henry Bowen. 1818.

in which he sought to rectify certain of Mr. Merritt's mistakes, to take notice of his arguments, and to examine his use of Scripture. Mr. M. had endeavored to raise much prejudice against Mr. B., because, as alleged, he had denied the fact of "the end of the world," so clearly taught in the Scriptures. But Mr. Ballou showed that he had not denied the fact of the end of the world, as taught in the Scriptures; but only in the sense "so long perpetuated by tradition." In "the end of the world," in the sense in which that event is treated of in the Scriptures, Mr. B. most fully believed. This, however, was but one of Mr. M.'s mistakes. In addition to these matters, his arguments were exceedingly loose and fallacious, and he unfortunately fell into many misinterpretations of the Scriptures. Mr. Ballou felt it his duty to point out these things concerning his antagonist's Scriptures, which he did plainly and honestly, but in the spirit of faithfulness and love.

SECTION VII. — MR. MERRITT'S "VINDICATION."

The "Brief Reply" had been but a short time before the public, when Mr. Merritt appeared again, with "A Vindication of the Common Opinion relative to the Last Judgment," &c.* Mr. M. hoped by this pamphlet to close the controversy; but, if Mr. B. wrote again, Mr. M. seems to have doubted whether he should make another reply. At the close he said:

* The entire title was "A Vindication of the Common Opinion relative to the Last Judgment and the End of the World: in answer to Mr. Ballou's Reply. By Timothy Merritt." Boston, 1818.

"The writer of these pages must here take leave of controversy for the present, and he hopes it may prove a perpetual leave. He has engaged in it thus far from a sense of duty; and, should duty still call, he is pledged to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. Should his opponent write again, and use sophistry, declamation and evasion, instead of discussing the merits of the case, he will consider his production as already answered, and take no further notice of it."— p. 31.

SECTION VIII. — REPLY TO THE "VINDICATION."

But this was not the end of the controversy. Mr. Ballou felt the importance of the position in which he had been placed; he felt that the truth was capable of a successful defence. He followed Mr. Merritt's "Vindication," therefore, with his "Brief Reply."* This was a pamphlet of forty closely-printed octavo pages, and was designed to point out certain mistakes of Mr. M., to take notice of his arguments, and to examine his applications of Scripture. The work must be read if one would see the vigor which Mr. Ballou threw into it. His opponent's arguments fell before his pen like blades of grass before the mower's scythe. Pressed for room, as we are, we must give the following extract :

"Having now, according to the best understanding which a careful investigation of this subject has led to, refuted the argument under consideration in all its parts, the other arguments which are connected with the foregoing may be more briefly considered. As it has been clearly shown that eternal unmerciful punishment

* "A Brief Reply to a pamphlet entitled 'A Vindication of the Common Opinion relative to the Last Judgment and the End of the World: in answer to Mr. Ballou's Reply, by Timothy Merritt.' By Hosea Ballou."

is inconsistent with the infinite goodness of God, and also equally dissonant to our obligation to love and obey our Father in heaven, so it may reasonably be expected that no such punishment can be necessary either as a warning to others, or for the security of the divine government.

“ We may ask, in the first place, where this punishment is to serve as a warning to others? Not in this world, surely, for here it is not seen; nor is it even heard of from any who know it to be a fact. But then it may be said that thousands believe it. True, many profess to believe it, and many preach it; but they believe and preach it for somebody else, not for themselves. Again, it is a fact that those men who have been the most wicked have believed in this endless unmerciful punishment. The reader is here cautioned against the supposition that any design exists to represent that all those who profess the doctrine are specially wicked. What is contended for is, that this belief is not necessarily connected with holiness of life. If such a tremendous punishment were inflicted on some, to prevent others from sinning in this world, why should the whole affair be kept out of sight? The King of Babylon once had a furnace in which to burn those who would not worship the image which he had set up; and he had it where the people could see it. This was remarkably effectual, for we have no account of more than three who were not terrified into submission. If there be in reality such dreadful torments in another state, for crimes committed in this world, it seems most reasonable to conclude that they are all kept out of sight of mortals, lest they should have the effect on them to prevent their committing those sins for which it is just to punish them in this unmerciful manner. If this be the scheme, it is not agreeable to it to persuade people to do well.

“ Moreover, the way in which this common doctrine is preached and believed is directly calculated to defeat its pretended utility. The preacher always informs the people that repentance any time before death is sufficiently early to avoid this torment, and to secure heaven forever. And, as it belongs likewise to this system, it is always insisted that righteousness is not rewarded in this world, but attended with a thousand hardships; and that sin and

error form an easy path. When all this is believed, it naturally tends to keep men in sin; for, generally speaking, we all calculate to live to be old, and when we are old it is natural still to keep death at a distance.

"Suppose we were told that the President of the United States will be here at the end of six months. At that time, whoever shall not appear before him dressed in a garment which, on every part of the body, must set so uneasy as to give us scarcely a moment's peace, must be put to the most excruciating tortures. Now, suppose we all sincerely believe this unreasonable report, would it not be natural for us to keep the hated garment off until about the expiration of the time? Should we be likely to get it on immediately? How different is the preaching of the blessed Saviour! 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls, for my yoke is easy and my burden is light.' Give any one to understand that a certain garment becomes his or her person better than any other, that it commends one to the notice of others, and that it is the most comfortable garment that can be worn, and that it costs nothing, he will be likely to wear it; there can be but one objection that any one can make,—that is to the cheapness of it. For, if this garment should become fashionable, it would bring the rich and the poor on a level, than which nothing is more hated by the heart of pride. But in the garment itself is that meekness which removes the whole objection.

"As we cannot find the necessity of this doctrine of punishing people in another state to prevent wickedness here, we will endeavor to look for its necessity in the state where it is supposed to exist. And, as our preachers are constantly calling our attention to this awful subject, we will approach it now in good earnest. Well, then, suppose the time is come. This material world is burnt up. Eternity commences. The righteous are received into heaven, and the wicked are sent to hell. What are those poor miserable wretches in hell to be tormented unmercifully and eternally for? Answer, as a warning to others, and for the

security of the divine government. Here the absurdity of the whole scheme stares us in the face. What! must the blessed in heaven be terrified with the torments of hell, to keep them from committing sin? Must the righteous husband see his sinful companion, with whom he lived in this world in love and peace, in the torments of hell forever, in order to keep him from becoming a sinner in immortal glory? Must the righteous wife see her sinful husband, with whom she lived in this world in harmony and love, and raised a family of children, some for heaven and some for hell, in this horrible torment, in order to prevent her from apostatizing from glory? Will it be necessary in heaven for parents to see their own offspring in the burning lake, in order to make them love God? And must children there, in immortal bliss, see their parents in hell, in order to inspire them with the true spirit of devotion to the God of mercy? Will all this unspeakable horror be necessary to heighten the hallelujahs which surround the throne of God and the Lamb? Is this the subject proclaimed by angels to the shepherds? 'Fear not, for behold we bring you glad tidings of great joy, which shall be unto all people.'—pp. 16—19.

Such was the force, such the clearness, such the boldness, with which Mr. Ballou advanced and defended his opinions on this occasion. Mr. Merritt certainly gained nothing by his efforts. His own brethren had no stronger faith in the doctrine of endless torments than before; but the public had been aroused, and the attention of thousands had been drawn by this controversy to the investigation of Mr. Ballou's views. One suspicion which seems to have given Mr. Merritt much anxiety was, if Mr. Ballou's views were generally adopted, sinners would not be led to repentance. In order to produce repentance in the guilty breast, he thought the terrors of endless wrath must be felt. Mr. B., on the contrary, believed that

“the goodness of God leads the sinner to repentance;” and that as all God requires of man is love to God with all the heart, mind and strength, so the best means to produce this love is to declare the love of God. “O that preachers (said he) would preach no other law than that which the blessed Saviour preached!” “God is love (he added); his law is like himself, it is love. It requires nothing but love; it has nothing but love to administer.” Mr. B. closed the whole controversy by saying,

“Before the majesty of this love the writer of these sheets prostrates himself, and to it yields himself a willing captive. Yes, and he avails himself of this opportunity of testifying to the public, and particularly to his opponent, that this love is all his confidence. He knows no God, no law, no gospel, no Saviour, no justice, no holiness, no truth, no life eternal, no solid peace, no substantial enjoyment, but this same love. If the doctrine of universal unchangeable mercy cannot be supported by love, it falls to the ground: but if love divine lies at the bottom of this doctrine, the more it is examined, the more it is opposed, the more it is persecuted, the more it will manifest its immovable foundation.”—p. 40.

This ended Mr. Ballou's *first* controversy after his removal to Boston. The effect was very widely felt.

SECTION IX.—CONTROVERSY WITH REV. E. TURNER.

We showed, in the first volume, that during Mr. Ballou's residence at Salem, a controversy sprung up between him and Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown, on the question as to the existence of any degree of sin and punishment in the future state. Until the time of that controversy, Mr. B. had never denied that

some passages of scripture seemed to admit of the temporary existence of sin and misery beyond the grave. In his youth no one thought of doubting that conclusion, although all Universalists supposed punishment would not be endless. Having obtained satisfaction that none of the human race would suffer *endless* punishment, Universalists had rested on that fact with great satisfaction, nor sought to push investigation so far as to embrace the precise duration of the misery of the future state. This matter began to excite a little attention, now and then, as early, perhaps, as 1814 or 1815; but in the year 1817, Mr. Turner, of Charlestown, and Mr. Ballou, then of Salem (in the spirit of two brothers, so far as we know), for the purposes of mutual satisfaction, agreed to carry on a correspondence upon the subject, each to do as well as he could. Mr. Ballou offered Mr. Turner the choice of sides; and the latter at once undertook to defend the doctrine of future punishment, and left the contrary part to Mr. Ballou. The effect of this discussion, at last, on Mr. Ballou's mind, was decisive. He became entirely satisfied that the sacred writers begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood; and teach that beyond this mortal existence there is no sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality.* The

* *Extract of a Letter from Rev. Hosea Ballou to Rev. Thomas Whittemore, dated Nov. 25, 1829.*

“ Respecting the doctrine of a future state of retribution, there was, in my youth, but little said. Universalists, having obtained satisfaction that none of the human race would suffer endless punishment, thought they had sufficient reason to rejoice with exceeding joy, and to glory in the mercy of God. I never made the question a subject of close investigation until lately. When I wrote my Notes on the Parables,

principal circumstance which had rendered him doubtful, up to this time, was that he had seen no way in which one passage of Scripture (namely, 1 Peter 3: 18—20) ought to be interpreted, without admitting the doctrine of future punishment in some form. In the course of this controversy, however, he became fully convinced that the passage referred to was susceptible of an interpretation vastly more agreeable to prominent passages of the prophetic writings, in which similar phraseology occurred, than that which he had been accustomed to give it.

and my Treatise on Atonement, I had travelled, in my mind, away from penal sufferings so entirely, that I was satisfied that, if any suffered in the future state, it would be because they would be sinful in that state. But I cannot say that I was fully satisfied that the Bible taught no punishment in the future world, until I obtained this satisfaction by attending to the subject with Br. Edward Turner, then of Charlestown. For the purpose of satisfying ourselves respecting the doctrine of the Scriptures on this question, we agreed to do the best we could; he in favor of future punishment, and I the contrary. Our investigations were published in a periodical called the *Gospel Visitant*. While attending to this correspondence, I became entirely satisfied that the Scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood; and that beyond this mortal existence the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality.

“When I sat down to reply to Br. Turner, who urged the passage in Peter, respecting the spirits in prison, I knew not by what means I could explain the text without allowing it to favor the doctrine of future sufferings. I had, at that time, no knowledge of any translation of the text, but the one in our common version. But, on reading the whole subject in connection, the light broke in on my mind, and I was satisfied that Peter alluded to the Gentiles by spirits in prison, which made the passage agree with Isaiah 42d.

“You will be so kind as to excuse me for not being able to give you a more accurate reply to your questions, and permit me to conclude by wishing you abundant success in your laborious undertaking.

“Yours, affectionately,

HOBBA BALLOU.”

The controversy commenced on the part of Mr. Ballou, who, as we have said, offered his brother Turner the choice of sides. The parties were both wary, at first. Mr. T. was more disposed to deal in metaphysics than to make the question a plain matter of appeal to the Scriptures. He thought that Mr. Ballou's position could be maintained only by proving that "death *necessarily* produced such a moral change in the mind of the sinner as to make him at once a willing, obedient and happy subject of the moral kingdom." Mr. Ballou, on the other hand, did not agree to this, because, even if it were proved that death produced a change like the one described, yet this would not secure the *perpetuity* of that desirable condition. Adam and Eve were in that willing, obedient and happy state, at first; but they did not continue in it. In order for mankind to continue to be sinners in the immortal state, there must be the forbidden fruit and the tempter *there*. But, again, even if it were allowed that death would *not* produce the change in men mentioned by Mr. T., might not the Saviour of sinners, who has conquered death and him that had the power of death, do what death could not effect, and clothe the subject in his right mind, as he did the man among the tombs?

Mr. B. waited for his Br. T. to remove these difficulties, or to lead off the discussion in some other way, if he saw fit. Mr. T., in reply, said he was willing to waive any right he had to lead in the argument; but he thought, even if men did not commit sin in the future state, they might suffer there; for, said he, "I can be a sufferer *to-day* for sins committed a year ago, without supposing

the occurrence of any new temptation." Mr. B. took the ground that the future condition of men might be very different from what it is in this world, without supposing the change to be wrought *by death*; for, if there can be no such change except what is wrought by death, then all who are any purer and holier in the next world than they had been on earth must attribute their change *to death*, and not to him who triumphed over it. If any shall be admitted to a holier condition in the future state than they had on earth, without considering death their Saviour, why may not others? St. Paul said, when on earth, "What I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I." Now, if it was merely *death* that admitted *him* into the state "free from sin," then death may prove as friendly to others. That men suffer on earth for what they had done a long time before they suffered, Mr. B. did not deny; but that the mental powers of man should remain for a considerable time without *temptation*, and without being led into sin, and without being liable to be led into sin, and yet man suffer for sins committed before this period, surely required some evidence, either from actual experience, or some known law of nature, or from the faithful testimony of divine revelation.

SECTION X.—MR. TURNER RELUCTANT TO LEAD.

Thus the discussion went on. Mr. Turner did not lead off with confidence. He was willing to waive his right in that respect; but Mr. Ballou held that he who maintained the *negative* should not indicate the course the discussion should take. Mr. T. said, in reply, he

never had much claim to the character of a close investigator, and still less to that of a deep controvertist; and he should be better satisfied to have Mr. B. aim to prove that there is *no* future punishment, than to open the investigation himself affirmatively.

In the next letter, Mr. Ballou complimented his Br. Turner on having managed the subject very well; and, notwithstanding Mr. T.'s disclaimer, Mr. B. considered him as possessing certain fine talents for controversial writing. Mr. B. submitted the following question for discussion, namely, "Whether the doctrine of future punishment be necessarily embraced in the faith of the gospel, leaving all other questions relative to the subject to be discussed when it shall be thought necessary." If this question were acceded to by Mr. T., it would remain for him to prove that the doctrine of future punishment *is* embraced in the gospel; and Mr. B. suggested, as facts which would have to be considered, First, that there was no intimation of the doctrine of future punishment in the communications which God made to Abraham. "If it be necessary for the Christian to believe in the doctrine of future punishment, why was it not equally necessary for the father of the faithful to embrace this indispensable matter of faith?" On the ground that the doctrine had been communicated to Abraham, when the faith of that patriarch was referred to, in the days of Christ and his apostles, and in all after ages, that doctrine would have been seen to be an indispensable article of faith. Second, in all the cloud of testimonies borne by the prophets concerning the Messiah and his religion, "there appears to be nothing plainly laid down respecting a future state of

punishment." Thirdly, if the belief of future punishment be required as a part of the gospel faith, why did not Jesus preach that doctrine? If it be said that Jesus *did* preach it, and that fact be proved, then the question in discussion would be settled; but Mr. B. thought that forced and far-fetched explanations of the parables of Jesus can never be admitted as proof. Fourthly, the preaching of Jesus was a commentary on the law and the prophets; and the preaching of the apostles was a commentary on the preaching of Jesus. If, then, the design of the law and the prophets, and that of Jesus, were to teach the doctrine of future punishment, why was no mention made of that doctrine by the apostles? "If (said Mr. B.) it be replied that the apostles *have* taught it, let the proof of the assertion be brought," and the question will be settled.

"Fifthly (said Mr. B.), when the Creator laid down the prohibition of the forbidden tree to our first parents in the garden, and laid down the consequence of transgression for their admonition, how can his silence on the subject of future punishment be accounted for in any other way than by supposing that the Almighty Father saw no necessity of Adam's believing in it? And let it be further noticed, that after the transgression, when the Creator delineated the effects and consequences of sin to his unhappy children, he mentioned particular circumstances relative to their mortal existence in this world, but said not a word concerning this future punishment, which is the subject of our inquiry. How is this to be accounted for? Furthermore, when Cain had risen up against his brother and taken his life, God called him to an account for his wicked act, and announced his punishment, but intimated nothing concerning this punishment in a future state. Was neither the sin of Adam nor the sin of Cain a subject to justify the denunciation of this doctrine? Can we

reasonably conceive of a better time, or a more proper occasion, than one of these, to justify a declaration of it?

“ If it were possible to give even a plausible reason why this doctrine was omitted on the foregoing occasions, could we assign a sufficient one for its total omission in all the dreadful threatenings denounced against the rebellious house of Israel, in all the writings of Moses?

“ Having noticed the first declarations found in the word of God, on the subject of the punishment of sin, and finding no intimations of a future state of misery, there seems to be a propriety in looking at the ‘ last plagues,’ as described in the book of Revelations. But here again we find all confined to this mortal state.

“ Notwithstanding you may discover many deficiencies in the foregoing reasoning, and be obliged to exercise uncommon patience with your brother, it is believed that you will find some particulars not altogether unworthy of consideration.

“ You will, no doubt, view this subject as worthy of our deliberate researches, and feel no disposition to grant anything while it may be opposed on scriptural ground; and, as you will carefully maintain this independence for yourself, so you will be pleased to see it carefully preserved by your opponent.”

Thus the way was open for discussing this important question on strictly scriptural grounds.

SECTION XI.—SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

Mr. Turner did not reply to this letter until some little time after its date. Passing by two or three paragraphs, somewhat metaphysical, we are met by Mr. Turner’s notice of the intimations of Mr. B. in regard to the silence of the sacred writers on the subject of future punishment. Mr. Turner held that one reason why the doctrine of future punishment was not more plainly re-

vealed in the word of God is this, namely, that the object of the promise to Abraham, of the prophets, and of Jesus and his apostles, was to prove a deliverance from sin and misery; and, this being admitted, it furnished a reason why a future limited punishment, and, in fact, any punishment of definite duration, should not be made a matter of special revelation. Mr. T. went on further to say :

“The gospel preached to Abraham, and by Christ and his apostles, as well as prophets, is mainly conversant with the final deliverance of mankind from the power of sin and death; but this deliverance has not, as I recollect, any specific period allotted it. The apostle uses this general language, ‘the dispensation of the fulness of times.’ And were it justifiable, on principles of reasoning, might I not employ your own mode of argument, and say, If the doctrine of a deliverance from sin and its consequences, in the article of death, be an evangelical truth, should we not expect to find it plainly expressed, in the before-mentioned departments of Scripture? And, if it be not there expressed, is not the conclusion logical, that such a doctrine is without competent authority?

“But I am not certain, however, that the prophetic and Christian Scriptures are SILENT on the subject of future punishment, though they are not so direct upon the point as upon some others (for reasons above mentioned), and though they do not notice it so often as other subjects. I will say, it is difficult for me to understand the text, 1st Pet. 3 : 19, 20, and also Chap. 4, 5th and 6th verses, without admitting a future punishment as suffered by the persons mentioned by the apostle. It further appears that the apostle expected a second coming of the Saviour, and spake of the event as future, and as involving a judgment of the world, and contemplating a state of suffering. I am, however, willing to see any explanation of these texts which will show the contrary, if such a thing can be done with evangetic propriety. I seek only truth.

“You say, a true knowledge of God, manifested through his Anointed, and a conformity of heart to his moral perfections, alone fit the subject for the kingdom of happiness; and that ‘this may be in a good measure, if not wholly, effected in this world.’ I agree to all this. But does not observation convince us that many pass from this world without the smallest indication of this ‘conformity to moral perfection’? And if so, we ought to have competent evidence that the gospel promises take such subjects up, *immediately*, where death sets them down.”

Mr. Ballou said, in regard to the last intimation, if it were necessary to have proof that the gospel takes up sinners in the future state immediately where death puts them down, then, in the case of St. Paul, or any other saint like him, who felt the infirmities of the flesh, the same rule would hold. And if Mr. T. felt no difficulty in one class of these cases, why should he in the other?

SECTION XII.—CONCERNING THE “SPIRITS IN PRISON.”*

Mr. Ballou reflected deeply on the passage, 1 Peter 3: 18—20. Was it the intent of the apostle to teach that these “spirits” were in prison *in the future state*, and that Christ went to them there and preached? If, as Mr. T. intimated, the prophetic and Christian Scriptures were *not* silent on the subject of future punishment, then Mr. B. thought that the natural and safe way, in which to bring forward the proof, would be to begin with the prophets, and show what they taught concerning this matter, and then to adduce the testimony of the apostles.

* See vol. I. of this work, p. 366.

In this way, the one would help to illustrate the other, being taken in the order of time in which they were delivered. But these considerations Mr. B. waived, although he might have pressed them. He had, within the last few months, given deep thought to the passage in Peter, and an entire revolution had taken place in his mind in regard to the true interpretation thereof. He was ready to avow the change to the world, for he believed it honorable to a Christian to confess past errors, and "to grow in grace and in the knowledge of Christ." The following was the result of his inquiries :

"AN INQUIRY CONCERNING ST. PETER'S DECLARATION OF CHRIST'S PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit : by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison ; which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few; that is, eight souls, were saved by water.'—1 PETER 3 : 18—20.

"It appears that different opinions have been entertained of this passage by Christian commentators. The Papists make use of it to support their views of a purgatory, and a deliverance from a state of punishment hereafter. St. Augustine, as well as some other of the fathers, is said to have held the same opinion of the passage.

"Mr. Winchester, with some others, who have maintained the doctrine of universal restoration, also agreed with the Papists in the use of this passage. But Protestants in general make a very different application, and suppose that Christ preached to those people in the days of Noah whose spirits were in the prison of hell in the time of Peter.

"By looking at the different methods by which commentators

of various systems explain particular passages of Scripture, it appears that the general system of the commentator governs his application. Now, as it is very certain that many passages have, in various ways, suffered violence by reason of this arbitrary manner of interpretation, so there is room to believe that the one under consideration has not escaped this influence.

“In the present attempt, arguments will be offered to disprove both the above-mentioned opinions; followed by an interpretation that is thought to be more correct and consistent with Scripture in general, and especially with the subject on which St. Peter was treating.

“To suppose that the passage teaches that Christ preached in the days of Noah to those whose spirits were in the prison of hell at the time Peter wrote this epistle, does not well agree with the words of the text: ‘Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit: by which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison; which some time were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.’ It is the *disobedience* which the apostle states to have been in the days of Noah, not the *preaching*. Again; ‘By which, also, he went and preached.’ By what did he go and preach? The relative *which* must either refer to Christ’s being quickened by the spirit, or to the spirit. If it refer to being quickened, it then puts the preaching subsequent to Christ’s being put to death in the flesh: if it refer to the *spirit*, it means that Christ was the preacher; and the spirit by which he was quickened was the spirit by which he preached. This also implies that the preaching was subsequent to Christ’s being put to death in the flesh.

“Should it be urged that Christ possessed the same spirit in the days of Noah by which he was quickened after being put to death in the flesh, and that he preached by that spirit to the people of the old world, it may be replied, that, though Noah is called a preacher of righteousness, we are not informed that he preached to the people of his day, or that he preached by the spirit of Christ; and, moreover, the apostle does not make Noah the preacher, but Christ, who was quickened for that purpose after he was put to death in the flesh. If it had been the intention of Peter to state

the fact we have here disproved, he would have been more likely to have said: By which spirit Noah preached to those who were disobedient in his day, whose spirits are now in prison. That the preaching of which Peter here speaks was in the days of Noah, seems so foreign from the text, there is no probability of its ever having been thought of, but from the necessity of taking the passage away from the use to which the Papists put it; which use shall now be examined.

“ Examination of the usual Application made by Universalists.

“The opinion founded on this passage, that Christ went to a place where the spirits of the literally dead were imprisoned for the purpose of preaching the gospel to them, is subject to many objections, some of which are the following :

“1st. This event, which must be considered, if true, of equal moment with any particular circumstance attending the ministry of Jesus Christ, was never once mentioned by him, that we have any account of.

“Why he should be particular in informing his disciples that he should be betrayed by one of them, that they all should be offended because of him, that he should be delivered into the hands of sinners, that he should be crucified, and that he should rise the third day, — and, moreover, that he would go before them into Galilee, and never mention, before or after his crucifixion, the weighty fact of preaching to spirits in prison in the future world, — if it were a fact, would be difficult to account for.

“If he thought best not to mention it before, it seems he would have communicated it after the event had actually taken place. An opinion involving so much as the confining of spirits in a prison from the days of the flood to the time of Christ's crucifixion, and of the Redeemer's going to them after he was quickened by the spirit, and preaching the gospel to them, seems of too much consequence not to have been spoken of by the blessed Agent himself.

“It may be proper to mention here that the temporal circumstances of the people before the flood were noticed by Christ,* and

* See Matt. 24: 37—39.

compared with the state in which the Jews would be found at the time of their destruction ; but no mention is made by him of their condition after the flood.

“ 2d. None of the prophets, who spake of the glorious things which the Messiah should do, made mention of this mission to the spirits in prison, if the meaning of it be as Universalists have generally interpreted it. And yet none of them have spoken of any particular event of the Messiah’s mission which is of greater moment than this, if it be a fact.

“ 3d. No writer of the New Testament has mentioned this supposed fact, except St. Peter. St. Paul, whose writings occupy so large a part of the New Testament, mentioned not a word of this important mission to the spirits in prison, in the sense in which our brethren have usually explained it.

“ If it be said, although this subject be not spoken of by any other writer in the holy Scriptures, as St. Peter has mentioned it, that as much consequence ought to attach to it as if mentioned by many, or ever so often, it is again objected, that Peter does not mention it by making it of the consequence of a main subject of communication or argument. He only makes an allusion to it, while writing on another subject.

“ The subject on which he was treating was that of suffering for righteousness’ sake, to which he exhorts his Christian brethren. In doing this, he mentions the sufferings of Christ as an example. In this example Christ suffered the just for the unjust, to bring the latter to God. He names this to incite his brethren to act upon the same principle, and to suffer for righteousness’ sake, if need be, that it might operate to bring the unrighteous to God.

“ *The True Application.*

“ The particular subject to which he alluded when he spake of Christ’s preaching to the spirits in prison (in consequence of being put to death in the flesh, and quickened by the spirit), is thought to be this, namely, *he went and preached to the Gentiles who were dead in trespasses and sins, and of a character similar to those people who were destroyed by the flood.*

“ During the life of Jesus Christ, he confined his ministry to

the Jews, charged his disciples to go to none of the cities of the Gentiles, and said that he was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But, after his resurrection, he enlarged the mission of the gospel, and ordered it to be preached to every creature.

“ Now, if we duly consider that St. Peter was writing a general epistle to Christian professors, throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, comprehending multitudes of the Gentile believers as well as converts from among the Jews, the application now given will appear the more probable. It was saying to the Gentiles, Christ has suffered in the flesh for you : although he was just and holy, yet for your sakes, to bring you to God, to the true God, and away from your idols, he was led as a lamb to the slaughter. And, being quickened by the spirit, he comes to the Gentile world with the gospel of peace and salvation.

“ It appears not to have been necessary for Christ to suffer the just for the unjust, and to be quickened by the spirit in order to preach the gospel to the Jews, for this he did in his own person and by his disciples during his life. But, concerning the mission of the gospel to the Gentiles, St. Paul speaks to the Ephesians ; and though he does not use the same figure of speech as St. Peter did in the passage we are considering, the subject is evidently the same. See Chap. 2 : 11, &c. : ‘ Wherefore, remember, that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that which is called the circumcision in the flesh, made by hands ; that at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world. But now in Christ Jesus, ye who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us ; having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances ; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace ; and that he might reconcile both unto God, in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby,’ &c.

“ It appears to have been necessary, in St. Peter’s view, for

Christ to be put to death in the flesh, and to be quickened by the spirit, that he might go and preach to the spirits in prison, to bring those to God who knew him not. So, also, by the words of St. Paul, we see that it was by the cross that the middle wall of partition between the Jews and the Gentiles was removed, the enmity slain, and a way prepared for the Gentiles, who were without God in the world, to be brought to God, and to be reconciled in one body with the Jews.

“ If we examine what St. Peter says in reference to this subject in the next chapter, our application of the passage we are examining will be further strengthened. This chapter begins on the main subject of his exhortation. ‘ Forasmuch, then, as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind.’ Verses 3, 6. ‘ For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries; wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you; who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead. For, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.’ Here it is evident that the apostle was speaking of the *idolatrous Gentiles*, who remained *dead in sin*, notwithstanding the gospel had been preached to them. And it is furthermore apparent, according to his words, the gospel was preached to them, that they might be on an equality with the Jews, to whom the gospel was preached while they were in the flesh, or in the law covenant, and be judged according to men in the law, but live according to God in the spiritual religion of the gospel.

“ That the Jews, while they remained attached to the law of works, were, on that account, said to be in the flesh, we learn from St. Paul. See Rom. 7 : 5, 6. “ For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sin which were by the law did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness

of the letter.' The spirit of which the apostle here speaks is the spirit in which the believing Gentiles lived, as expressed by St. Peter. And this is that spirit in which the Jews and the Gentiles are made anew in Christ. Again, see Gal. 3 : 2, 8. "This only would I learn of you, received ye the spirit by the works of the *law*, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish, having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect by the *flesh*?' Hence *law* and *flesh* have a like meaning.

"If either of the opinions we have disproved be allowed, how shall we account for this particularizing the people who lived in the days of Noah? Were not the wicked who lived in after times as much the subject of divine government? Instance the Israelites, to whom the law was given: if the spirits of those of the old world went into a state of imprisonment after death, is it not reasonable to suppose that the thousands of Israel who were destroyed for their sins, in the days of Moses, went also to this state of confinement? yea, and all the wicked from Adam to Christ? If this be allowed, then why does St. Peter mention those only who were 'disobedient while the ark was preparing'? Will it be contended that, when the Saviour descended into hell to preach the gospel to the spirits in prison, he preached to none but those who were disobedient in the days of Noah?

"Again, it may be proper to ask, what this allusion to those who were literally dead — this preaching to spirits in another world — had to do with the subject of the apostle's immediate argument? In order to show that believers ought to imitate Christ by suffering for righteousness' sake, surely there was no necessity of referring to the condition of spirits in another state of existence. Nothing could have been further from his subject. But if by 'spirits in prison,' and by those who were dead, the apostle meant the unbelieving Gentiles, who in character resembled the people of the old world, and were shut up in the prison of moral darkness, then it will appear that the writer kept to his subject. For, if Christ suffered for such benighted and wicked men to bring them to God, then those who by such means had been themselves brought out of this 'prison-house,' from darkness to light, and from death to newness of life, by the quickening

spirit of Christ, surely ought to arm themselves with the same mind, and suffer in the same cause, by which others might be redeemed in the same manner.

“Allowing *our* interpretation of the passage in Peter to be generally correct, it is seen at once that the apostle alluded to a subject on which many prophecies had been delivered, on which Christ himself had spoken with much plainness, and on which St. Paul labored with great strength of argument.

“*Illustrations from the Prophets.*”

“The prophet Isaiah no doubt had this subject in his mind when he delivered the following testimony (chap. 42: 6, 7, 8): ‘I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house. I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another; neither my praise to graven images.’ Here the Gentiles, who were worshippers of images, are represented as blind and in prison, of which infirmity they were to be healed, and from which condition they are promised deliverance by the hand of God’s elect. Again, chap. 61: 1: ‘He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.’ 49: 9: ‘That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves.’ Zech. 9: 10, 11, 12: ‘And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen; and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth. As for thee also, by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water. Turn you to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope.’ These quotations from the prophets are quoted to show that St. Peter’s language was similar to the language of the prophets on the same subject. I forbear enlarging this communication with what our

Saviour has said on the subject, or with what St. Paul has written on it.

“It is believed that most of the erroneous applications of particular passages of Scripture are made in consequence of an unwarrantable departure from the main thread of discourse into which they were introduced; and the best way to rectify such mistakes is to draw a straight line of thought from the beginning of a subject to the end of it, and then to be careful that every intervening passage be placed contiguous to this line.

“Though but little has been here said, compared with the extent and importance of the subject, it is thought that its general features are made sufficiently apparent for a candid mind to judge of them.

“If the reasoning be found wanting, when carefully weighed in the balance of divine truth, a hope is entertained that no prepossessions on my part will prevent a compliance with what shall appear to be more scriptural. On the other hand, it is hoped that notions long imbibed, which have no real foundation in truth, may not prevent your mind from a consent to what is both reasonable and well supported by Scripture.

“After thus noticing this passage in Peter, it seems proper to suggest that what you, dear brother, say respecting the apostle’s views of a future judgment and sufferings is thought too general to render a reply convenient. It is, therefore, hoped that such testimony, relative to those subjects, as is relied on, will be brought forward in due form, by which its force may be seen and carefully considered by *

“Yours, affectionately.”

* This view of 1 Peter 3:18—20 was entirely original with Mr. Balou, as he had never read any author who had looked at the subject in the same manner. Like Heb. 9: 27, 28 [see vol. i. of this work, p. 381], the true sense was brought out by the working of his own discerning mind, without any aid except a diligent and sincere study of the Scriptures. Yet it should be stated, concerning the passage in Peter, that others had come to the same conclusion, although Mr. B. knew it not. In fact, this view had been taken by eminent critics in the church for ages. We give two in this place.

SECTION XIII.—EFFECT OF THE CONTROVERSY.

The controversy was continued by the publication of one or two other brief letters on each side; but nothing

Grotius, who wrote A. D. 1650, says the preaching was after Jesus ascended into heaven, and refers to verse 22; John 14: 2, 3, 12, 28; 16, 28. He adds, "Christ is said to have preached to the Gentiles, because the apostles did so in his name and power, 2 Cor. 5: 20; Acts 13: 47; Rom. 15: 16; Gal. 2: 8; Eph. 2: 17."

Whitby, whose Commentary was published 1683, is more full: "By those in prison we may understand the Gentile world, in bondage and captivity to sin and Satan, and held in the chains of their own lusts and in the bonds of their iniquity. For by this phrase the evangelical prophet doth thrice express the preaching of the gospel by our Lord Jesus Christ; as in those words, 'I gave thee for a covenant to the people, for a light to the Gentiles, to open blind eyes, to bring the prisoners out of the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.'—Isa. 42: 7. And again, 'I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth, that thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth.'—Ch. 49: 9. And a third time, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those that are bound.'—Ch. 61: 1, 2." See an article from the pen of Rev. L. R. Paige, in *Trumpet*, vol. xxv. p. 138. These quotations are given to show that other eminent commentators had given the same interpretation with Mr. Ballou, although the fact was perfectly unknown to him.

In Bishop Burnett's Exposition of Article III. of the English Church, "of the going down of Christ into hell," he uses the following language:

"Many of the fathers thought that Christ's soul went locally into hell, and preached to some of the spirits there in prison: that there he triumphed over Satan, and spoiled him, and carried some souls with him into glory. But the account that the Scriptures give us of the exaltation of Christ begins it always at his resurrection: nor can it be imagined that so memorable a transaction as this would have been passed over by the first three evangelists, and least of all by St. John, who, coming after the rest, and designing to supply what was wanting in them, and intending particularly to magnify the glory of Christ, could not have passed over so wonderful an instance of it. We have no reason

of importance was educed. Mr. Turner maintained the same reluctance to leading off even to the end; and Mr.

to think that such a matter would have been only insinuated in general words, and not have been plainly related. The triumph of Christ over principalities and powers is ascribed by St. Paul to his cross, and was the effect and result of his death. The place of St. Peter seems to relate to the preaching to the *Gentile* world, by virtue of that inspiration that was derived from Christ; which was therefore called *his spirit*; and the *spirits in prison* were the *Gentiles*, who were shut up in idolatry as in *prison*, and so were under the power of the 'prince of the power of the air,' who is called 'the god of this world;' that is, of the *Gentile* world; it being one of the ends for which Christ was anointed of his Father, 'to open the prisons to them that were bound.'"—See an article by Rev. J. O. Skinner, in *Trumpet*, vol. xxv. p. 146.

These authorities are two or three centuries old. We omit many of more recent date. In 1836 Mr. Ballou said:

"As to forming an opinion on what are considered, by the most learned writers of different sentiments, difficult passages of Scripture, I feel not a little occasion to be cautious, and to avoid an unreasonable confidence. It is true that I became satisfied, in my own mind, many years ago, on those passages, and wrote what I thought their meaning was, and published what I wrote, in a periodical entitled *The Gospel Visitant*; and the opinion which I then published is the same that I now entertain. But I am free to confess that I have some reason to believe, that, if I had been on the stage of life at the time Peter was, and had been acquainted with him, and his manner of speaking and writing, this subject would have been to me less obscure than it now is. Long since I published my views of those passages, I became acquainted with Wakefield's translation of the New Testament, and was confirmed, in some degree, in my views, by his rendering of the text, and his notes on the same."—See *Trumpet* of March 5th, of that year.

Mr. Ballou did not believe in an intermediate state between death and the resurrection; hence he saw no prison beyond the grave, nor place for any. He said:

"Let us duly consider this question: Do the Scriptures teach the doctrine of an intermediate sentient state between the death of the body and that resurrection into an immortal state, of which Jesus spake in his debate with the Sadducees, and of which St. Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 15? Did Jesus ever speak of such a state? Paul, in 1 Cor. 15, speaks only of two states,—the earthy and the heavenly; the mortal and the immor-

Ballou did not cease to remind him that it was for him to indicate the course which the discussion ought to take. Whether the controversy stopped because the parties believed the further continuance would not be productive of good, or whether it was cut short by the suspension of the publication of the *Gospel Visitant*, we do not know. This work was suspended in July, 1818.* We have no proof that the controversy between these two brethren was carried any further. A strange fatality has seemed to attend the discussion of this question of future punishment, from the beginning. The same cordiality which had existed between them before the discussion never existed afterwards, greatly to the regret of Mr. B. It

tal. He says, 'The first man Adam was made a living soul; the second Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit, that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' Are candid Christians able to satisfy themselves, that between the first man Adam and the second man Adam there is a third? Can they see clearly that between the earthy and the heavenly there is a state which is neither earthy nor heavenly? It seems all this must be done, in order to maintain this intermediate state. But I feel satisfied that whoever attempts to prove these things from the Scriptures will find it hard to accomplish. — *Trumpet*, as last quoted.

* The *Gospel Visitant*, in which this controversy appeared, was published in two series. The first volume commenced in June, 1811, and was concluded in March, 1812. It made an octavo of two hundred and fifty-six pages. See vol. i. of this work, p. 354. There was then a hiatus of five years. The second volume, conducted by Messrs. Ballou and Turner, commenced in April, 1817, and was continued to July, 1818, when it broke off abruptly, probably for the want of patronage; though, as it was printed in Salem, it was, perhaps, interrupted by Mr. Ballou's removal to Boston.

was one of the severest trials of his life to see the friendship of his brother Turner languishing, which had been to him a source of so much joy for twenty-five years previous. But it is not to be doubted that this controversy had one very important effect, namely, it confirmed Mr. Ballou in the belief that there would be neither sin nor sorrow beyond the grave,— a doctrine for the defence of which he was distinguished through the rest of his days. He swerved not, in a single instance, on that subject. He was very desirous to preserve the peace of the denomination; he saw no reason why this question should make difficulty among brethren, any more than any other. But we shall have occasion to speak of this subject again in another place.

SECTION XIV.—REVIEW OF DR. EMMONS' SERMON.

The celebrated Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, Mass., had caused to be published a volume of "Sermons on some of the First Principles and Doctrines of True Religion." One of these sermons was designed to prove the fact of *reprobation* to endless torture. It was founded on the history of Pharaoh, the text being Exo 9: 16: "In very deed for this cause have I raised thee up." The doctor sought to prove the three following propositions: 1st, That God did destroy Pharaoh. 2d, That he raised him up to fit him for destruction. And 3d, That he is to be justified in the act. By the destruction of Pharaoh, the doctor meant his being doomed to endless torture in the future state. Mr. B. showed that the pillars on which the doctor's theory rested were his own

unsupported assertions. God did indeed destroy Pharaoh, but there was no proof whatsoever that Pharaoh will be endlessly miserable. The doctor maintained that "the Deity threatened to cut off Pharaoh from the earth, which plainly implies something more than merely taking his life." If this were not true, the doctor's system fell to the ground. It was sheer sophistry in the sight of Mr. Ballou, who said, in reply, "If our preacher be right in this assertion, and if cutting Pharaoh off from the earth necessarily implies something more than barely putting an end to his life, then barely putting an end to his life would not have cut him off from the earth." Thus the doctor's system was brought down with one blow. The doctor sought to prove that the inhabitants of Sodom were made endlessly miserable. Mr. B. called to his aid the passage (Lam. 4: 6), "For the punishment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people is *greater* than the punishment of the sin of Sodom, that was overthrown as in a moment, and no hand stayed on her." Now, said Mr. Ballou, "If the punishment of the sin of Sodom were 'eternal destruction,' how can the punishment of the iniquity of Jerusalem be *greater*?" After all the doctor had done for the purpose of describing the hardness of Pharaoh's heart, Mr. B. said he had not succeeded in representing it to be as hard as he made the heart of God, and the heart of the saints in heaven.

We commend those who wish to judge of the power of Mr. Ballou in a review or a controversy, to read the following paragraphs, which close up his strictures on Dr. Emmons' sermon :

“ Why did Pharaoh oppress the children of Israel? Answer, for the promotion of his own worldly glory. Would he have been thus cruel, if he had not believed that he should promote his own interest by it? No. Why does God exercise this unmerciful vengeance on his creatures? Hear the doctor's answer. ‘ God made Pharaoh for himself, as well as for the day of evil. And he would not have made him for the day of evil, had it not been necessary, in order to declare his own glory. God has the same end to answer, by bringing all the non-elect into existence. He intends they shall be the means of displaying his own glory, both in time and eternity.’ Now, let the mind be free from all prejudice and superstition, and let it answer the following question: Which should you choose to be, Pharaoh's bondman, or God's non-elect? Let the question be put to the doctor himself, Which would *he* choose, to be Pharaoh's bondman in Egypt, or God's non-elect in hell? There is no doubt that he would choose to be Pharaoh's bondman; and if so, it is a fact, whether he will own it or not, that he has a better opinion of Pharaoh than he has of God!

“ If, in extenuation of this most horrible character given to the Deity, it be said that he treats the elect infinitely better than he does the non-elect, this only makes the matter worse. It shows that, while he could do better, he is infinitely partial and unmerciful. Therefore, the soul that feels the heavenly dignity of impartiality would as soon decline being one of the elect as he would shrink from the lot of the non-elect. It was a mean and contemptible service to be Pharaoh's favorite, to lord it over the Hebrew slaves; and had these taskmasters been in possession of those divine qualities of mind which elevate the soul above low selfishness, they would have been ashamed of their office. We may now notice what the doctor says concerning the blessed in heaven. The following are his words: ‘ It is absolutely necessary to approve of the doctrine of reprobation, in order to be saved. None can be admitted to heaven who are not prepared to join in the employments as well as the enjoyments of the heavenly world. And we know that one part of the business of the blessed is to celebrate the doctrine of reprobation. While the decree of reprobation

tion is eternally executing on the vessels of wrath, the smoke of their torments will be eternally ascending in the view of the vessels of mercy, who, instead of taking the part of those miserable objects, will say amen, Alleluia, praise ye the Lord.' This he calls a 'touchstone,' by which we must stand or fall. All who have not a heart which perfectly accords with this eternal reprobation 'must be excluded from the abodes of the blessed, and sink speechless into the bottomless pit of despair.' With these *sweet* words the reverend doctor closes his sermon,—a sermon which will serve as a monument of human weakness and beggarly superstition, when its author, as we confidently hope, will rest in the arm of that merciful God whom he has so misrepresented. In the above passage quoted from the sermon, the preacher makes our cordial willingness that our fellow-creatures should be eternally reprobated to endless torments an indispensable condition of salvation. All men who are not willing their dearest connections in life should be endlessly miserable, must be made so themselves! This sentiment is too absurd to need any argument to refute it. Did our blessed Saviour preach in this way? Did he who gave himself a ransom for all men, who prayed for his enemies, and who teaches us to pray for our enemies, ever inform us that we must be eternally miserable if we are not willing that others should be so? O Jesus, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life."

SECTION XV. — SERIES OF LECTURE-SERMONS.

Mr. Ballou had been but a short time in Boston before he began to receive texts from inquirers after truth, with requests that he would preach from them. Some wished to hear one text explained, and some another; and these were generally such as had been used to support the doctrine of future or endless punishment. There was generally a desire expressed that these sermons might be published, as we have shown in reference to the one

which was the cause of the controversy with Rev. T. Merritt. On the second Sabbath in February, he brought out a sermon on Hebrews 9: 27, 28, "*And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment,*" &c. Some other sermons were also published this summer. The call for the publication of Mr. B.'s sermons led him to contemplate a series of Sunday-evening lectures on important subjects. This series embraced twenty-six, allowing one for each alternate Sabbath evening, for one year. They were published by Mr. Henry Bowen, separately, as preached; and were bound, at the close, in an octavo volume. The subjects may be learned from the following table:

1. The nature of salvation.—1 Timothy 1: 15.
2. The divine character the model for our imitation.—
Matthew 5: 48.
3. The law consistent with the promises.—Galatians 3: 21.
4. Love the centre of all the divine attributes.—1 John 4: 16.
5. Man originally made subject to vanity.—Romans 8: 20.
6. Salvation impartial and universal.—Isaiah 25: 6—8.
7. Sense in which the wicked are destroyed.—Malachi 4: 1.
8. History of Joseph an illustration of the process of Christ's
kingdom.—Deuteronomy 33: 16, 17.
9. Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.—Matthew 12: 31, 32.
10. The scriptural doctrine of election.—Romans 11: 7.
11. Reconciliation of the world through Christ.—2 Corin-
thians 5: 18—20.
12. All men drawn to Christ.—John 12: 32.
13. Christ sowing good seed in tears.—Psalm 126: 6.
14. On entering into life maimed; and being cast into hell.—
Mark 9: 43, 44.
15. All men the children of God; destruction of the devil.—
Hebrews 2: 14, 15.

16. The second death.—Revelation 21 : 8.
17. Salvation a deliverance from error and sin through the mercy of God.—2 Timothy 1 : 9, 10.
18. Explanation of Matthew 24 and 25.—Matthew 25 : 46.
19. Righteousness and wickedness recompensed on earth.—Proverbs 11 : 31.
20. Divine goodness in the punishment of rebellious nations. Ezekiel 16 : last of 30.
21. Vexation of false religion.—Isaiah 28 : last of 19.
22. God's love to sinners the cause of Christ's mission.—Romans 5 : 8.
23. The resurrection a state of holiness and bliss.—1 Thessalonians 4 : 13.
24. The "resurrection of life," and the "resurrection of damnation."—John 5 : 28, 29.
25. All God's judgments flow from love.—Zephaniah 3 : 17.
26. The healing efficacy of Christ's doctrine.—Mark 5 : 31.

SECTION XVI.—EFFECT OF THE LECTURES.

These lectures did vast good in spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures as understood by Mr. Ballou throughout the country. Universalism received a new impulse in New England. Not only were the lectures attended by *immense crowds*, but, being published, they were carried more or less into the interior towns,—not in large numbers of copies to each place, but the brethren and fathers in Universalism never failed, when they came to Boston, to purchase them, one copy for their own use, and a few to lend to inquirers. Strangers who were in town on Sundays frequently attended on these lectures ; and, in the winter especially, were seen in the congregation large numbers of the members of the Legislature, who could not then return to their homes on Saturday

evening as easily as they have done since the era of railroads began. By these means the seed sown by Mr. B. was widely scattered, and took root in many places where Universalism had not been known before, there to begin a new growth of the word, which should increase, bear fruit, ripen its seed, and scatter them in its turn.

We cannot close this brief notice of the so-called "Lecture-sermons," without introducing a few paragraphs from the conclusion of the last, and, of course, from the end of the volume. They show the strong desire of the preacher to promote the spiritual welfare of his hearers. It will be seen, from the table we have given, that the text was, "*Thou seest the multitude thronging thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?*" Mark 5 : 31.

"The motives which influenced the multitude, who thronged Jesus as he went to the house of Jairus, were no doubt various. Some, probably, saw Jesus now for the first time, and were highly incited with the hope of seeing a miracle wrought. Perhaps others were his bitter enemies, and were on the look-out to discover some fraud or deception in the man. Some went in the crowd because others were going, for the sake of the company. Some, no doubt, went from the laudable motive of giving their countenance and support to the divine teacher, in whom they most sincerely believed. Some, very likely, were there who had experienced the healing power of the Redeemer, and were happy to have an opportunity of seeing a miracle of mercy again performed. But among the whole, there was one distressed woman, whose mind was far from speculative contemplations. She was impelled to press through the crowd, that she might be healed of her own infirmity.

"As it was with the multitude, who, on various occasions, thronged around the Saviour in the days of his ministry on earth,

when some for one motive and some for another joined those vast assemblies, so, no doubt, it is with those who now assemble where the healing doctrine of Jesus is preached. Some go from curiosity; some from habit; some from fashion; some to keep the company of others; some, we hope, go because they love the words of everlasting life; and now and then one, perhaps, who, feeling the infirmity of his own sinful heart, goes with a determination to press through every obstacle and come to Jesus, who is the way, the truth, and the life,—the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness.

“ While delivering this course of lectures, your servant has often thought of the possible motives which occasioned such uncommon assemblies to crowd every part of this house; and a hope has been entertained that, among the many, a few, at least, were striving to find him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write. A fervent desire has been exercised that the doctrine of our blessed Redeemer might be held up to the view of the hearers, that they might reach forth the hand of faith, and lay hold on the hope which is set before them.

“ Being taught by the Saviour, we did not indulge in an expectation that the word of truth would be received and kept by all who heard it. Jesus represented the success of his own preaching by the instructive parable of the sower, who went forth to sow: ‘ And as he sowed some seeds fell by the way-side, and the fowls came and devoured them up. Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth; and forthwith they sprang up, because they had no deepness of earth, and when the sun was up they were scorched; and because they had no root they withered away. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up and choked them. But others fell into good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, some thirty-fold.’ If such has been the success of my feeble efforts to propagate the gospel of the kingdom in this place, surely we have reason to be thankful to the Lord of the vineyard. If, while the enemies of the word have, like the birds in the parable, taken away that which was sown in the heart; if, while the spirit of per-

secution, agitating the tongue of censure, has caused many to shrink from a steady perseverance in what they gladly received ; if, while the cares of the world, the deceitfulness of riches, and the lust of other things, have, like thorns, sprang up and choked the word in some,— others have received it in good and honest hearts, have retained the precious grain, and brought forth fruit to the honor of God, our labors have not been in vain, our exertions are amply rewarded.

“ In this last of the course of lectures proposed for publication, in its conclusion, I will call on all who hear to form the resolution which enabled the woman to press through the crowd and come to Jesus. Strive, to the utmost of your well-directed abilities and means, to come to the knowledge of the Saviour’s doctrine.

“ Is it not the case with many, as it was with the woman, that you have spent much and suffered many things of those ‘ physicians of no value,’ who have endeavored to heal you with the doctrines and commandments of men? and do you not find that, after all, you are none the better? Have you found peace in believing that our heavenly Father has elected some to everlasting life, and reprobated the rest to endless woe? Have you found that all your plague is healed by fancying that you are elected unto life eternal, while your companions and children may be devoted to everlasting sorrow? Can such medicine as this make you perfectly whole? No, but in the bitterness of your souls, when you look on your little ones, and believe that they are exposed to endless ruin, you cry out, as Abraham did, ‘ O that Ishmsel might live before the Lord!’ Come, then, my friends, to the peaceful doctrine of Jesus, who took little children in his arms and blessed them, and said, ‘ of such is the kingdom of heaven.’ O, the peace there is in believing this testimony! It overcomes the plague of unbelief, and fills the heart with joy!

“ Can you find any real relief from the power of a carnal heart, by believing that your immortal state depends on your own good works in this imperfect state? Do you feel whole from all your plagues, by believing in this prevailing doctrine, which rests the weight of eternity on the imperfect works of mortality and time?

This doctrine of human contrivance always associates the 'heart-chilling' dogma of endless misery for those who come short of their duty with every pleasing prospect of a world of joy for those who by their good works win the immortal prize. Like the doctrine of election and reprobation, it makes an eternal separation between those of the most endearing connections on earth. Why is there so much mourning, so much gloom, on the countenances of those who hope to gain immortal glory by their works? Is it because they have pressed through the superstitions of the church, and caught hold of the garments of the Saviour? No. Let such come to the Saviour's doctrine, and believe that the gift of God is eternal life, and they shall find peace in believing, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

"Nothing short of that which God has implanted in the soul can satisfy the mind. The apostle says, 'The word is nigh thee, even in thy heart and in thy mouth, the word of faith which we preach.' This word of faith is the gift of God, which is eternal life in Jesus; and nothing short of this can satisfy the mind. While we oppose this principle, we oppose our own happiness; and while we shut one individual of the human family away from this word of life, we bring death to our own souls in so doing.

"Some are so embarrassed with one doctrine, and some with another, that they are prevented from coming to the doctrine of Jesus. Many, very many, are striving to feed on the husks that the unclean eat, and neglect to come to Christ. The vanities of youth, the pride and fashions of the age, keep thousands back from coming to the purifying religion of Jesus; and yet his willing, his gracious arms are extended, as in the last day, that great day of the feast, when he stood and cried, 'If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink.'

"To conclude: My Christian friends, I feel it my duty as well as pleasure, when I reflect on the more than ordinary attention which you have paid to these lectures, and the liberal patronage with which you have favored their publication, to tender you my most grateful acknowledgments. And, while I am constrained deeply to regret that my labors should come so short of the great subjects on which I have treated, I humbly prostrate my soul before God,

and implore his forgiveness in every particular wherein I have erred through ignorance or infirmity; and earnestly entreat that these feeble efforts may be attended with the blessing of him who fed thousands of men, women and children, with so small a portion. And to his name alone be all the glory!—*AMEN.*”

SECTION XVII.—JOURNEYS INTO THE COUNTRY.

It was not possible that Mr. B. should produce the effect he did in Boston, without its being felt in other parts of New England. Universalists were scattered in small numbers about the country (for up to this time Universalism had not prevailed *very* extensively); and they felt strong and increasing desires to have the blessed doctrine they believed preached in the towns in which they lived. This was especially the case with the elder Universalists, who felt desirous that the sons and daughters might feel their hearts impressed with the truth as the hearts of the fathers and mothers had been. They prayed God to grant them this privilege, and then, like Simeon, they would die in peace. Such strong desires were followed by energetic action, in cases where it was practicable. Mr. Ballou's ear was always open to the call, “Come over and help us.” When no other place could be obtained, the generous old farmer would throw open the doors of his spacious house to the people. The preacher would take the most convenient position for addressing them as they sat in all the rooms. The discreet old matron had no carpets to be spoiled by the crowd; and, if her almost snow-white floors should be soiled, she knew how to make them white again. One old mother said, on Mr. Ballou expressing his regret, after

the people were gone, that they had caused her so much trouble, "Never mind it, Br. Ballou; I will have everything nice again before breakfast to-morrow morning. If you could wash away the errors and sins of the people as easily as I can take away the stains they have left on my floors, your labors would be much more easy than they are now." He smiled, and replied, "Sister, I thank you for your patience." But meetings were holden in private houses only when necessary. If a school-house or a hall could be obtained, it was preferred; and a meeting-house was still more an object of desire in such cases. Sometimes the school-committee would refuse to have the school-house used; and often, when their consent was obtained, the schoolmaster [who in nine cases out of ten would sympathize with the opponents of Universalism] would be out of town, not to return till the next day, and *unfortunately* he would have the key in his pocket. Many kinds of discouragements were resorted to for the purpose of preventing the Universalists from holding meetings, or the people from attending them. The places where they met were sometimes called, by the "lewd fellows of the baser sort," offices of "insurance against hell-fire." The preachers were stigmatized as "the devil's agents," and their doctrine as "the devil's doctrine." Mr. Ballou bore all these taunts with meekness. He knew that the bigotry of the people was stimulated by the efforts of their religious teachers, who hated the doctrine of impartial love and mercy with what they considered a *godly* hatred. At any rate, it was a very bitter hatred. Contentions often arose about the right of Universalists to have preachers of their faith officiate

in the meeting-houses built by the towns, a proportionate number of Sabbaths, according to the taxes paid by them and the rights they had in the house. In these disputes Mr. Ballou never interfered, for he never claimed to be a judge of human law. When permission had been gained from the selectmen, or any other competent authority, he was not to be intimidated from entering the house, even if the opposers threatened to lay hands upon him, or to bring suits at law against him.

SECTION XVIII. — EVENTS IN ATKINSON, N. H.

As an illustration of what we have said, we here proceed to relate an event which occurred in 1819, in Atkinson, N. H., a small town on the southern border of that state, and adjoining Haverhill, Mass. Mr. Ballou had preached there once, while he lived in Portsmouth, in November, 1811, from 1 Timothy 2: 1—4. Unquestionably, a doctrinal sermon. The brethren there had no doubt that they had the same rights in the meeting-house that any other class of the citizens had, and they asked the liberty to enjoy them. At a town-meeting, it had been decided by a proper vote that the house should be opened to the several denominations of Christians; and a committee had been appointed to apportion the Sabbaths to each sect, according to its claims. The Sabbaths being thus determined upon, the Universalists wrote to Mr. Ballou, and he agreed to visit them on the last Sabbath in May, 1819, the most lovely season of the year. In the mean time the venerable Congregational pastor, Rev. Stephen Peabody, was drawing towards the close of his

earthly career ; and, in fact, he died on the week previous to Mr. Ballou's expected visit. He was buried upon Thursday ; the meeting-house was arrayed in mourning drapery ; and, as was customary, one of the Congregationalist clergymen of the vicinity was to have been present on the next Sabbath to preach an appropriate discourse. The Universalists regretted that their appointment interfered with the services on the Sabbath after the funeral of the clergyman ; and they therefore said to one of the deacons of the church that, under the circumstances, they would give up the meeting-house for the next Sunday, if they could be permitted to use the academy, of which the deacon referred to had the control. He refused the academy, and said further, " We are as willing you should occupy the meeting-house on the next Sunday as any Sunday in the year, for we do not mean you shall occupy it at all." It then became a question, not of courtesy and Christian sympathy, but of right ; and the Universalists took measures to secure the house.

In the mean time, the leaders of the Orthodox party in Atkinson addressed to Mr. Ballou the following letter, which they sent him by mail to Boston, and which he received before he started for Atkinson :

" Atkinson, May 22, 1819.

" REV. HOSEA BALLOU.

" SIR : By a notification posted up at the meeting-house in this town, on the 9th instant, it appears that you are expected to preach in that house on the last Sunday of the present month.

" We take the liberty to state to you the following circumstances for your consideration. The house was built for a Congregational meeting-house, and the Congregational society has worshipped in

it undisturbed on the Sabbath for nearly fifty years, from its building to the present time. We have no acquaintance with you, but we hope you cherish the feelings of a gentleman; and we know it does not comport with the dignity of such feelings to disturb a society in their worship so long established.

“ The committee who assumed to assign the meeting-house to the Universalists in this town acted under a kind of vote of the town. This vote we consider nugatory, and of no effect. It is within the recollection of persons now living that the house was built by voluntary contribution, and the pews sold to discharge the expense; and by the records of the town it appears that the town refused to accept of it as the property of the corporation. It will suggest itself to you whether the pew-owners have not a right paramount to the town. The vote was nugatory, also, for want of an object in the warning which the statute requires. The assignment was nugatory, as it was voted that the committee should consist of six; three only acted in the assignment.

“ The principal part of the Congregational society have had a meeting since the said notice, and passed the following resolves, namely:

“ *Resolved*, That the Congregational society of Atkinson have a just and legal right to the use and occupancy of the meeting-house in said town, on the Sabbath, or Lord's day, for public worship, without any let or hindrance whatever.

“ *Resolved*, That it is the duty of this society to meet as usual at the meeting-house for public worship on the Sabbath.

“ *Resolved*, That whatever person or persons shall disturb or molest this society in their public worship on the Sabbath shall be considered and dealt with as disturbers of the peace, and of the public worship of God.’

“ The undersigned were appointed a committee to carry the last resolve into effect.

“ We have deemed it proper to give you this information, having been informed you made particular inquiry of your employer, as though you did not wish to interfere. When you see the feelings and views of the society in Atkinson, as before stated, we cannot believe you will interfere in a case so delicately circumstanced.

But, should you think otherwise, and any unpleasant consequences should result to you, or your friends here, from your leaving your people in Boston, and coming here to preach in this meeting-house, you will have the candor to acknowledge you were apprized of the existing difficulties previous to your coming.

“ We are respectfully your humble servants,

“ JOHN VOSE,

“ STEPHEN PEABODY,

“ GREENLEAF CLARK.

“ P. S.— *May 25th.* Since writing the above, namely, on Sunday last, the Rev. Stephen Peabody died. His obsequies will be attended on Thursday next. The desk will be clothed in mourning, and will doubtless, as usual, be supplied on many succeeding Sabbaths by the association to which he belonged.”

SECTION XIX. — MR. BALLOU NOT INTIMIDATED.

Notwithstanding the reception of this letter a day or two before Mr. Ballou was to start for Atkinson, he resolved to go, and inquire more fully into the circumstances after his arrival. He decided, on hearing the facts, that the Universalists had done all that could be reasonably asked of them; and, if they occupied the meeting-house on the Sunday after the funeral of the clergyman, it would be because their opponents *compelled* them to do so, by refusing them the use of the academy. It was announced to the deacons on Saturday, by one of the fathers of the town, a Universalist, that *he* had the key of the meeting-house, and that Mr. Ballou would preach therein on the next day. In consequence of reports of violence, a watch was placed inside the house, for Saturday night, with instructions to ascertain *who* came to break open the doors. This was done because a window had been forced and all the doors thrown open

on Saturday afternoon; but they were at once closed again, and barred. At daybreak on Sunday a person came with an apparent intent to make an entry; but, on being called by name from within, he desisted. The doors remained closed until nearly meeting-time, when Mr. Ballou entered and took his place in the pulpit; and then the people immediately filled the house in every part. The Rev. Isaac Brown, of Londonderry (the oldest minister in the Congregationalist Association), with two of the Orthodox committee, came in just as Mr. Ballou commenced the services; and the clergyman ascended the stairs to the pulpit-door. Waiting till Mr. Ballou had concluded the reading of the chapter, Mr. Brown said, "Sir, do you expect to render divine service here to-day?" Mr. Ballou replied, "I do, sir."—"By what authority?" To which Mr. Ballou said, "I have my authority, sir, from the selectmen of Atkinson." Mr. Brown then remarked, "O, I must inquire of the committee how I must proceed." Messrs. Vose and Peabody (the committee of the Orthodox part of the parish—the latter the son of the deceased clergyman) consulted together, when Mr. Vose looked up to the pulpit and said, "Mr. Brown, as *we* are disturbed, we will withdraw and go to the academy."

Mr. Ballou continued his services through the day without any further molestation, much to the strengthening and comfort of his brethren. He disliked contention as deeply as any man; but, when the path before him was in his judgment the path of duty, no man could frighten him. The attendance through the day was immense: and his sermons were remembered through all

that region for years. There was a threat given out that he would be arrested early on Monday morning for disturbing the Congregationalists in their worship, and he waited several hours on that account; but no officer came, nor were the Universalists ever excluded from that meeting-house after that day, on any Sabbath when it belonged to them.

Such is a plain narrative of an event which made a great excitement at the time, and concerning which many contradictory stories have been told. It shows the opposition which Universalists frequently had to meet in supporting their rights, and the way in which they deported themselves in the midst of these exciting scenes. Mr. Murray in the first place, and Mr. Ballou afterwards, both did much in asserting the religious liberties of the people.

SECTION XXI. — A PAINFUL MATTER.

Almost the only unhappy effect attending the removal of Mr. Ballou to Boston, was the increase of alienation which it caused on the part of the pastor of the First Universalist Society in the town. On a subject so painful we desire to use few words; but it will be impossible to do full justice to Mr. Ballou without making mention of it. Mr. Dean made a most unhappy mistake in supposing that Mr. Ballou's removal to Boston (an event which he seems to have anticipated for some two or three years) would have an evil effect either on the cause of truth or on himself. But, in consequence of that error in his mind, the relations between the two were almost

entirely broken up. Mr. B. had hoped — and it was hard for him to surrender the hope — that he should be able to overcome the animosity on the part of his brother Dean and others, by proving himself to be, what he really was — a brother to them. But, even, if doomed to disappointment in this respect, he was persuaded that no blindness or enmity in others would justify him in entertaining a spirit of retaliation. It would have been more than could be expected of a human being, that the opposition he was called to meet should not have some effect upon him. At times he was obliged to defend himself from reports and insinuations, which, if left uncontradicted, would seriously have affected his character. Very few men would have borne these things with the meekness and the forgiving spirit in which he bore them. We shall aim, in the chapters that follow, to dwell upon this subject no further than a faithful record of the train of events shall render necessary.

CHAPTER X.

MR. BALLOU AS AN EDITOR; HIS COURSE CONCERNING THE DOCTRINE OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT; HIS WISHES IN REGARD TO THE NEW SECT OF UNITARIANS; HIS BELIEF IN DIVINE REVELATION; OTHER MATTERS.

FROM JULY 1819 TO JULY 1821.

THE events of the preceding eighteen months had been exceedingly important in the life of Mr. Ballou. He had accomplished more for the spread of truth, and for the building up of the cause he so deeply loved, than he had ever done before in the same time. He had reason to "thank God and take courage."

SECTION I.—THE UNIVERSALIST MAGAZINE.

In the month of July, 1819, came out the first number of the *Universalist Magazine*, of which Mr. Ballou was editor, which was the first Universalist *newspaper* published in the United States, and probably in the world. This publication took its rise in the following manner. There was a young man, a member of Mr. Ballou's society, Mr. Henry Bowen (whom we have before mentioned), a printer by occupation, who was

publishing a small quarto sheet, entitled *The Weekly Magazine and Ladies' Miscellany*. It had not succeeded well as to patronage; and it occurred to Mr. Bowen, who had found a large sale for Mr. Ballou's sermons, which he had published, that a weekly paper, edited by Mr. B., would be more profitable, and far more useful, than the paper upon which he was engaged. On suggesting the matter to Mr. Ballou, he expressed his fears of a failure, as it was something so novel; but Mr. Bowen reasoned that the materials which he employed to get out his *Weekly Magazine* would answer just as well for the *Universalist Magazine*; and that he had better make the attempt with the new paper than to continue the old one. Obtaining Mr. Ballou's consent to act as editor, if the work went on, Mr. Bowen issued his prospectus.*

This paper commenced just as Mr. Bowen closed the publication of the "Lecture-sermons." The first number appeared on July 3, 1819. A copy of that number

* The following is the prospectus :

" Proposal by Henry Bowen, Congress-street, Boston, for publishing a new weekly paper, to be entitled the *Universalist Magazine*, devoted to doctrine, religion and morality. Edited by the Rev. Hosea Ballou.

" The *Universalist Magazine* will be neatly printed on good paper, in a quarto form, and published every Saturday. It will be commenced on the 3d of July, if a sufficient number of subscribers should be obtained to warrant the undertaking.

" The price will be \$2.50 per annum, payable in advance, on the delivery of the first number. No subscription received for a less term than one year.

" All communications addressed to the publisher or editor must be post paid.

" Those who hold subscription papers are requested to make return of the number of subscribers obtained to the publisher."

now lies before me, four pages quarto, which measures just twelve inches by nine and a half. It was furnished at two dollars and a half per annum; and commenced with a quite respectable list of subscribers, which the popularity of the editor had attracted. The leading object of the paper, as defined by him in the first number, was to aid the growth of truth [or doctrine], religion and morality. Whatever correspondents might contribute to aid in these objects would be gratefully received; nor would the editor exclude articles advocating doctrines opposite to his own, if written in a proper spirit, provided he should retain the liberty of pointing out any errors that seemed to be of a dangerous tendency. He desired to see more charity among different denominations of Christians; he therefore invited different sects to present their views, "clothed in their most simple light, and shining in their purest lustre." He answered the objections which might arise in tender minds, in having a religious paper thus open to the communications of all sects; and he showed that this fact was what made it a *Universalist* paper, namely, a paper open to all. He invited his ministering brethren to write for the columns of the little *Magazine*; and if any persons were oppressed with sorrow, that right views on the subject of religion would heal, they were invited to make their sorrow known through the medium of this sheet, and perhaps something might be said in reply that would give "rest to their souls." If any needed light in regard to difficult passages of Scripture, he would hear and answer their queries, if he was so happy as to understand the proposed subject himself. But everything must be free from asperity;

and although controversy was not only admissible, but desirable, yet, in order to secure its admission, "it must appear in the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." Saturday was chosen as the day of publication, that the subscribers might have a paper profitable for Sabbath reading. It was to be principally devoted to *doctrine, religion* and *morality*. By doctrine, Mr. Ballou meant a system of divine truth founded on the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being. "No tenet, no opinion can be true, however generally it may be received, however long it may have passed for orthodoxy, unless it be in harmony with the divine attributes." "Religion is a most important concern, between a rational, moral being and his Maker. It recognizes the relation in which the reasonable soul stands to God, and predicates all its requirements on that relation. It directs the eye of the mind to observe with careful inspection the wisdom and goodness of the divine economy; and to acknowledge, with the full and entire acquiescence of the whole heart, the obligation which such goodness imposes." Morality, Mr. Ballou supposed, bore the same relation to religion that religion bore to doctrine. "As true and vital religion, or piety, is the natural offspring of a knowledge of the pure doctrine of divine truth, so morality is the necessary production of vital religion." Such were the principles on which he commenced the *Universalist Magazine*.*

* This paragraph calls to mind the manner in which the writer of this biography first became acquainted with the *Universalist Magazine*. At the time of the commencement of that paper, he was an apprentice to a boot-maker in State-street, Boston — at work in a back room of the third

SECTION II. — SUBJECT OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

Mr. Ballou at this time believed in no future existence except that of life and immortality. He did not believe in the existence of *sin* and *misery* after death. But he did not press this subject unreasonably into his columns; in fact, he was more reserved than some desired him to be. But he was driven into controversy. The editor of a paper entitled *The Kaleidoscope* found fault because he was not sufficiently explicit on this subject:

“We also say that we cannot understand him. We have not yet been able to ascertain, from reading several of his publications, whether he believes in *any future punishment*, or *none at all*. We have thus far been under the impression that he totally denies the doctrine of future punishment. If this is not the case, if he merely believes the ‘*final restoration*,’ so called, he stands on very different ground from what we have supposed. Till this point is ascertained, we deem it useless, if not worse, to continue the controversy.”—*Magazine* for Aug. 21, 1819.

story, with his awl and waxed ends. A stranger came in, holding a paper in his hand, and asked if any one was present who desired to subscribe for the *Universalist Magazine*, a paper to be edited by Mr. Ballou. At once our soul responded “Yes;” but there was a difficulty in the way, namely, we had not the means to pay a year’s subscription in advance. Mr. Bowen (for he was the stranger) willingly recorded the name, “Thomas Whittemore,” with the understanding that the young boot-maker would pay his subscription before the first half of the year expired, which was done. No other sheet I had ever read (excepting, of course, the Bible) had the effect upon me which this magazine exerted. I longed weekly for the day to come on which I was to receive it; and from that day, through the nine years it was published, I regularly received and read every number. In less than three years from that time I became an assistant editor with Mr. Ballou, at his own suggestion.

Mr. Ballou replied to this suggestion in the following strain :

“ Our friend informs us that he is unable to ascertain whether the editor of the *Magazine* ‘ believes in any *future punishment, or none at all.*’ And he now very respectfully requests to be informed on this subject ; for he thinks if we ‘ merely believe in *final restoration*, so called, we stand on very different ground from what he had supposed.’ There seem to appear some strong intimations, in what he has here stated, that he has no objection to the doctrine of the salvation of all men finally, if a future punishment can be allowed for a time. He says, ‘ If he *merely* believes the final restoration.’ This form of expression should indicate that he has no particular objections to make, if this be the doctrine. Well, we will receive him on this ground with all cordiality. If he will allow that all mankind shall finally be reconciled to God, love and enjoy him through the power of his grace revealed in him who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time, we will not disagree about the times and seasons which God holds in his own power, nor will we disagree on the quantity or duration of that chastisement which our Heavenly Father may administer for the sinner’s profit.” — *Magazine* of same date as above.

The editor of the *Kaleidoscope* intimated, if Mr. B. believed in any future punishment at all, he stood on very different ground from what he [the said editor] had supposed. But Mr. B. held that, as it respects the *design* of punishment, there was really no great difference between the two doctrines. He said :

“ We will endeavor to show him and our readers that the *ground* or *principle* is the same in both cases. That is, the Universalist who believes that this mortal state, in flesh and blood, is the only state of sin and misery, stands on the same principle as

does his brother who believes that there may be a future state of discipline which will eventuate in bringing all sinners to a state of holiness and happiness. Neither difference respecting the time when the creature is to be made happy, or the particular means by which this event is brought about, makes the least difference in *principle*. Two brothers, sons of the same father, may perfectly agree in their sentiments respecting their parent. They both believe that he will not fail to give them all the instruction they need, that his discipline over them is all designed for their benefit; and yet they may entertain different views respecting time and means. One may think that they are to be kept at school till they are eighteen, the other may be of the mind that they are to be continued under tutors and governors a year longer; yet both believe that their father knows best, and will order their concerns according to his own wisdom and goodness. He who believes that all sufferings end with this mortal state, and he who believes that they end at the expiration of any other period, differ only as it respects time, not as it respects principle; for both believe that all discipline is for the good of the punished, and therefore the sentiment is the same."

SECTION III. — FIRST SIGNS OF UNITARIAN POLICY.

So far the two phases of doctrine were one in principle. The editor of the *Kaleidoscope* was a friend of the lately-embodied sect called Unitarians; but he was very careful not to incur any danger of being considered a Universalist.

"But the editor of the *Kaleidoscope* thinks it may be worse than useless 'to continue the controversy,' until we decide the question whether we believe in future punishment or not. But why should this be the case? Our controversy is not concerning the question which he here states; we may say with propriety that this question has no immediate concern with the subject of our contro-

versy. He had promised to explain and defend 'rational and liberal Christianity,' as distinguished from Universalism; and we have endeavored to keep him to his promise, but we do not succeed; and we think his sagacity has made the discovery that we were right in our opinion that he never would fulfil his promise. On a subject so vast, of such infinite importance, as the one embraced in his promise, to discover any desire to avoid coming directly to the main question, in the most direct manner for decision, is a defect of such a character as gives us very disagreeable sensations. What has he answered to the numerous arguments which we have brought to disprove his statements? Nothing. What has he even pretended to say against universal salvation, that we have not fully refuted? Nothing. What next? A new question is started. Do we believe in future punishment, or not? Why does not our friend act on the noble principle which would lead him to say, I cannot prove, neither by the Bible nor reason, that all men may not finally be saved, but I think that future limited punishment may be supported? Then, if we disagreed at all, it would not be on principle; it would only be concerning *times, ways and means*.*

One of the first paragraphs in which Mr. Ballou sought to expose the timid, conservative policy of the Unitarians, who had just been driven to take open ground in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, was the following:

"It is worthy of notice with how much caution our editor puts his question: 'If not inconsistent with his views and feelings, we respectfully request him to inform us and the public on this

* As to the question whether he believed in future punishment, Mr. Ballou saw fit to answer it as follows:

"But, after all, will it do to answer the question? There would be no danger, if we could say we believe in a state of future punishment,—that is, if no one would call on us to prove it from the Scriptures. But there lies the difficulty. We are sensible we cannot prove that sin and misery will exist in a future state of being."

point.' It is evident, from the manner in which this question is put, that the writer is sensible that public preachers have their profound secrets! He considers the question here stated of such consequence that it may be worse than useless to proceed without its being answered, and yet he evidently supposes that it may not be consistent with our 'views and feelings' to give an answer. We believe that preachers, in general, are very careful not to let their hearers know what their sentiments are. This is inferable from the total ignorance of their hearers concerning their sentiments. We may ask one person, Does your minister hold to the doctrine of particular election and reprobation? and he will answer, No. Ask another, who goes to the same meeting, he will answer, Yes. And so, it is generally with congregations. We are not authorized to find fault with preachers for their secrets, for, generally speaking, they have a right to them, for they are of human invention; but whoever has the sentiments of the gospel has no right to withhold them from any. Notwithstanding we make these remarks, we charitably hope that all preachers declare their sentiments as far as they think it profitable to their hearers; and, if any come a little short, it may be for self-interest, from which we cannot be free entirely."

SECTION IV.—BRIEF AND PITHY REPLIES.

Mr. B. excited much attention, and did much good, in the early days of the *Magazine*, by his brief, pithy and felicitous replies to his opponents. The editor of the *Kaleidoscope* had attacked and had promised to defend what was "called *rational* and *liberal* Christianity, as distinguished from Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, Hopkinsianism, Universalism and Deism." This was the first attack of the Unitarians on Mr. Ballou after he came to Boston; and it was but a year or two before that time that the sect now bearing that name began to

be known as such. The editor we have named had pressed upon Mr. Ballou's attention the case of Judas, and that of the thief on the cross, as evidences that Universalism could not be true. On the first point, after an extended reply, Mr. Ballou said :

“ As Jesus, nor any writer in the Scriptures, has given any intimation that Judas would be a sufferer in the future state, what evidence have we to support the opinion that one who had followed Jesus in the regeneration, was chosen of the Saviour and appointed to preach the gospel, and also endowed with divine power to work miracles in his name, is now in a state of torment, from which there is no deliverance? ”— *Magazine*, vol. I. p. 14.

In the second place, the editor of the *Kaleidoscope* desired to know,

“ If the two thieves, who were crucified with Jesus, were to fare alike in the future state, why the ‘ Saviour did not tell them so at once, and thus prevent all doubts and fears, in after time, respecting the future destiny of the finally impenitent? ’ ”

To this Mr. Ballou said :

“ The interrogator acknowledges that there was nothing said by the Saviour that decides the question respecting the future state of the unbelieving thief. We will, therefore, throw the question back, and ask the believer in endless unmerciful punishment, if the unbelieving thief was doomed to everlasting misery, why did not the Saviour say so at once, and thereby prevent the least hope of mercy for him? And, furthermore, if the Saviour did not intimate that this thief would be miserable in the future world, why should those who profess to believe in the Saviour as an all-sufficient teacher feel under such strong obligations to believe in the horrible doctrine of endless misery in a special case,

in which the Saviour gave no such intimation?"—*Magazine*, vol. i. 15.

Dr. Griffin, of Newark, N. J., had preached a sermon, regarded as very eloquent, in which Mr. Ballou found the following passage :

“ Standing on my watch-tower, I am commanded, if I see aught of evil coming, to give warning. I again solemnly declare that I do discern evil approaching ; I see a storm collecting in the heavens : I discover the emotion of the troubled elements ; I hear the roar of distant wind ; heaven and earth seem mingled in the conflict, and I cry to those for whom I watch, — *A storm ! A storm !* Get you into the ark, or you are swept away. O, what is it I see ? I see a world convulsed and falling to ruins, the sea burning like oil, nations rising from under ground, the sun falling, the damned in chains before the bar, and some of my poor hearers with them ! I see them cast from the battlements of the judgment scene ! My God ! the eternal pit has closed upon them forever ! ” — *Magazine*, vol. i. 20.

This was the true Griffin style. Mr. Ballou contrasted it with the passage (Isaiah 52 : 7—10), “ How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace,” &c. ; and also with the description of our Lord’s preaching at Nazareth, Luke 4 : 16—22, on which occasion the people “ wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.” He then said :

“ But what does our doctor declare ? He declares ‘ that the inviolable honor of heaven’s King is enlisted, and is coming down to crush a rebellious world.’ Then the facts are as follows : Jesus came not to condemn the world, but to save the world, and God’s honor comes to crush the world !

“ The doctor told his audience that he saw a storm collecting, a world convulsed and falling to ruins, the sea burning like oil, nations rising from under ground, the sun falling, the damned in chains before the bar, and some of his poor hearers with them : he saw them cast from the battlements of the judgment scene ; the sight produced a kind of paroxysm, and he cried out, not ‘ Father, forgive them,’ but ‘ My God ! the eternal pit has closed upon them forever ! ’ These were the *gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth.*

“ Now, as the Scriptures of divine truth give no account of this vision, and as it embraces certain things which are unreasonable and dishonorable to God, besides being calculated to terrify and trouble weak minds, and to answer no other purpose than to promote wild and extravagant fancies, fostered by priestcraft, and calculated to keep the people in ignorance, we ask why we may not call this passage, which some have described as *PULPIT ELOQUENCE, — PULPIT PROFANITY ?* If the doctor did absolutely, in a divine vision, see some of his hearers cast down from the battlements of the judgment scene, and the eternal pit close upon them, could he expect to convert them by telling them their doom ? ‘ To the law and to the testimony ; if they speak not according to this rule, it is because there is no light in them. ’ ”— *Magazine*, vol. 1. 20.

A pamphlet appeared about this time, containing the following paragraph :

“ This doctrine led Christopher Simpson, of England, to break open fifty houses, to steal thirty horses, and to commit more robberies than he could recollect. All this he confessed on the day of his execution. It led Purrington, of Augusta, Me., to murder his wife, seven children and himself. It led Burnham, in Haverhill jail, to stab Freeman and Starkweather ; and to declare, after he had stabbed a few more, he would let the world know that one Universalist could go in triumph to the arms of Jesus. This hardened wretch, however, before he was executed, renounced this doctrine, warned others of its immoral tendency, and lamented

that, under its influence, he had perpetrated such horrid crimes." — *Magazine*, vol. i. 91.

The marks of falsehood appear on the very face of this paragraph. It was written by some one whose heart was full of bitterness against Universalists. Mr. Ballou replied in the following gentle strain :

"Such instances of moral turpitude as are enumerated in this note, are frequently cited as consequences which have been known to result from a belief in the doctrine of universal salvation ; but, there appears to be no very good reason for this kind of argument ; for all such crimes have been perpetrated by thousands and thousands who never heard of the doctrine, but were educated in the religious belief of endless damnation, for which the author of the foregoing letter has, with so much ability, contended. Now, as Jesus said to his adversaries, 'If I cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils, by whom do your sons cast them out ?' so we may say, in the case under consideration, — if Universalists commit crimes because they are Universalists, why do those who believe in endless misery commit as many and as heinous crimes as they ?

"The rational Universalist looks for security against the commission of crimes in a fixed and habitual love of virtue, and a disposition of mind corresponding with such a virtuous principle. He has learned, by studying human nature, that the fear of torment is but a sandy foundation on which to build a moral character. But he will never have an occasion to prove his doctrine true by arguing that he is a better man than his opponent, because both reason and revelation furnish sufficient proof for such a purpose." — *Magazine*, vol. i. 91.

A Presbyterian postmaster in Bradleysville (S. C.) had written Mr. Ballou the following profane letter :

“Infernal Pit.

“MY GOOD FRIEND : Continue as you have done widely to disseminate your very princely *Magazine*, and be assured that you shall shortly have one of the most exalted thrones amongst us.

“ Yours, with all the love of a fiend,

“ NICK LUCIFER.”

Mr. Ballou published the epistle, and replied, on the principle of answering “ a fool according to his folly.”

“REPLY.— We have for a long time been of opinion that it was not necessary to go into the future world to find the *infernal pit* so much talked of, and we are now furnished with a demonstration of the correctness of this opinion ; the above letter came by mail directly from that pit, where it appears there is a post-office and a post-master. We have the satisfaction also to learn that the *Universalist Magazine* does not please those who are in this *infernal pit*, for the number of the *Magazine* we sent there was sent back with the above letter ; but it was not scorched, nor was the smell of fire or brimstone on it.”

It was not uncommon for the opponents of Universalism to circulate false stories in regard to Mr. Ballou having renounced his religious opinions. These would be proclaimed at some revival-meeting, and then would spread and be circulated with more and more confidence. In April, 1820, he received an epistle from Randolph, Vt., informing him of a report in circulation in that state. He said, in reply : “As the editor has, by other means, been informed that certain *zealous, fiery* preachers have made great use of this story, which is wholly a fabrication, he publishes the following extract under these observations :”

“ I have to inform you of a story flying here concerning you and your doctrine ; it has been called a flying story for a while,

but now it is said to be in the Boston papers, and put in by yourself. I do not take the papers, nor have I seen anybody that has seen it; but they say it is so, and probably many will be glad to have it so. The story is in substance like this: That you, while sleeping, dreamed a dream to this amount,—that you saw your neighbor, and he informed you of his eternal banishment from heaven, and all caused by your preaching, and it gave you a start so that you awoke, but thought it a dream, and paid but little or no attention to it; and fell asleep again, and saw it a second time, and then a third time, upon which you arose and dressed yourself, and went to see this neighbor, and found his wife not gone to bed, and inquired of her where her husband was, and received an answer that he was gone to bed; and you told her you wished to see him, and took the candle and went to his bed, and found him a corpse.”

A short time afterwards Mr. B. received a like epistle from Salem, Mass., which we here subjoin:

“DEAR SIR: Though a stranger, I hope I may be allowed to make an inquiry concerning a report, which, if *true*, will be as wonderful as it now seems idle and ridiculous. It has been currently reported in this town to-day that a certain young man belonging to your society (whose *name* I have not been able to learn) was taken ill last week and died: that a little before his death you visited him, and endeavored to quiet his troubled soul, by speaking of the certainty of salvation; that, after returning home, and having retired to rest, you dreamed *three times* successively the same night that you saw this young man in *hell*; and that the dreams caused such distress in your mind, that you left your bed to go and visit the young man again; but, alas, when you arrived there he was dead! It is said that the dream occasioned great disquietude of mind, and that you were so much *staggered* in the faith as to decline preaching to your people last Sabbath; and, what is still more wonderful, that it has caused you to renounce all the scheme of doctrine which you have so

long and zealously advocated, and produced an entire CONVERSION to Calvinism!!”

Although it seemed to be useless to notice these numerous fabrications, yet Mr. Ballou said, in reply to the last-quoted epistle:

“ Mr. Ballou once more informs his friends that he is knowing of no circumstance which could give rise to the report of this dream, &c. He greatly pities those who frame such reports, with a view to fill weak minds with horror, the better to carry on a system of religious hypocrisy and unreasonable fanaticism. It seems almost useless to attempt to reason with such people; yet it may be proper to say to them that the editor never dreamed himself *into* the doctrine of God’s universal goodness, and impartial salvation of the human family, and therefore it is not likely he will dream himself *out of it*. He is, by no means, to be persuaded that dreams are of sufficient validity to set aside the testimony of divine inspiration, nor yet the benevolent indications of God’s goodness in his universal providence.”

SECTION V.—CONVENTIONS OF 1818, 1819, 1820.

The General Convention met in 1818 at Chesterfield, N. H. The opposition to Mr. Ballou, on the ground of his disbelief of future punishment, was somewhat manifested. Rev. Elias Smith was admitted a member this year, and preached from Rev. 11 : 3. Rev. John Bisbee received fellowship. Mr. Ballou preached from Acts 3 : 25, 26. In 1819 the body met at Lebanon, N. H., where Mr. Ballou preached a remarkable sermon from Acts 17 : 30, 31 : “*And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent: because he hath appointed a day, in the which*

he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained: whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." He showed that the text had no reference to a day of judgment after death, even supposing the common views in regard to such a judgment to be correct. But he thought the supposed fact of a judgment in the future state for the sins of this life unreasonable. We esteem it proper to give an epitome of his doctrine on this occasion :

" He considered this doctrine exceptionable, 1st, Because based on the supposition that a certain day is appointed to try the case of every individual of the human race, as a court is appointed to try a person who is indicted for some offence; whereas, the judge in this case is supposed to know at all times the whole cause to be tried, and is as well able to determine at one time as at another. The conclusion is, there is no trial about it.

" 2. He thought it exceptionable, because it implies that all men are to be judged according to their works in this world, and to receive eternal rewards for virtue and endless punishment for sin; and yet it is held that the worst of sinners may avoid this punishment by repenting any time before they die.

" 3. He thought it exceptionable, because it predicates the doctrine of repentance of the fear of punishment, and not of the love, mercy and goodness, of God.

" 4. He objected to this doctrine, because it represents our Father in heaven to be so unmerciful as to punish his creatures forever, without designing to effect their reconciliation thereby.

" 5. He was constrained to reject this doctrine, because it represents our blessed Saviour, who loved us and gave himself for us, as a vindictive enemy to those for whom the Scriptures assert that he gave himself a ransom. And

" 6. He fully, and in the most direct manner, refuted this doctrine by the words of the text, in which we find that the apostle

excluded from this judgment the Gentiles, who lived in the times of ignorance at which God winked. Nothing is plainer in the text than that the old Gentiles, who had lived in idolatry, and who had worshipped gold, silver and stone, graven by art and man's device, are excluded from being judged according to the statement in the text: '*And the times of this ignorance God winked at*, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness,' &c. If God had appointed a day in which he would judge the old Gentiles together with all the rest of mankind, the times of former ignorance would not have been winked at, but those Gentiles would have been called on to repent, for the same reason which is assigned why God now commandeth all men everywhere to repent. The common use of the text is a direct violation of its clear and obvious meaning."

Having made these objections to the common interpretation of his text, Mr. Ballou proceeded to show the true signification and intent of the passage. Very few, he thought, understand the sense in which the word *judge* is here used: "He hath appointed a day in which he will *judge* the world in righteousness," &c.

"The word *judge* in its different uses may have the following meanings: 1. To try and determine a cause rightly. 2. To rule and govern. 3. To censure rashly. 4. To punish. To rule and govern is the meaning of the word in the text. That the Scripture sense of the word *judge* is to govern, is evident from the use of it in the book of Judges. This book is called by this name because it is a history of the administration of government in the commonwealth of Israel from the days of Joshua to the time of Samuel the prophet. This administration commenced in Othniel, continued four hundred and fifty years, and was succeeded by the reign of Saul, whom Samuel anointed. And it is worthy of notice, in relation to this subject, that it is said, of all those who ruled Israel during this long period of time, that they *judged*

Israel. Having proceeded thus far in the illustration of the subject, it seems proper to suggest that the day which God has appointed in which he will judge the world in righteousness is the "gospel day; and that the Messiah is that man by whom he has appointed to *rule* or *judge* the world."

Here Mr. Ballou quoted largely from the prophets, to show that they spoke of Christ as a king, who was to have the Jews and Gentiles for his possession, Psalm 2: 6—8; he was to sit on a throne, Psalm 45: 6, 7; he was to have dominion from sea to sea; of the increase of his government and peace there should be no end; for he should sit upon the throne of David spiritually, in his kingdom, to establish it even with judgment and justice. This was "judging the world in righteousness." See also Isaiah 32: 1, 2; 42: 1—4. Daniel 7: 13, 14.

"With these prophecies the language of the New Testament perfectly harmonizes. Jesus spake of his kingdom; and of the appointment of his apostles in that kingdom. He likewise told them that it was their Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom.

"St. Paul spake of the reign of Christ, and said, 'For he must reign until he hath put down all rule and authority,— And that in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'

"This application of the text is further supported by careful examination of the doctrine of repentance. John, the forerunner of Jesus, preached repentance to the people, and said, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' As if he had said, The righteous government of the Messiah is now to be set up, therefore, repent and yield obedience to his laws. When Jesus began to preach, a like annunciation was made: 'From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' He likewise ordered his disciples to preach in the same

manner. Now, the reason why the people were commanded to repent was not because eternal destruction in the future world awaited them, but because the kingdom of heaven in this world was about to be set up. And when St. Paul said, 'But now commandeth all men everywhere to repent; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness,' &c., the meaning was the same as if he had used the words of John and of Jesus, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'

"This sermon was concluded by the speaker considering the assurance given to all men of the Messiahship of Jesus, and of his appointment to reign over and govern the world; in his resurrection from the dead; and by a serious call on all to repent of every sin, and submit to the laws of the gospel."*

In 1820 the convention met in Claremont, N. H. Mr. Ballou was appointed moderator. He preached the last sermon, from Isaiah 29: 24. It was a sermon of great power, as the biographer well remembers; for, although he was not present at this session of the convention, yet he had heard Mr. Ballou preach it a few Sabbaths previously, at his own church, in School-street.

SECTION VI. — HOW REGARDED BY UNITARIANS.

It has been shown † that Mr. Ballou began to entertain doubts of the doctrine of the Trinity shortly after the time when he commenced to preach, in 1791. It was as early as 1795 that he was an open and avowed Unitarian, — a *preacher* of the doctrine of the strict unity of God, and of the *system* of atonement in the sense of the recon-

* None of the volumes of Mr. Ballou's sermons contain this discourse
 † In the first volume of this Biography, pp. 85, 93, 96, 107, 111.

ciliation of man to God. Upwards of twenty-two years, then, had he been an avowed Unitarian, when he removed to Boston. He had not only proclaimed his views in his published sermons, but he had brought out a "Treatise,"* in which those views were stated at length, and opposite ones entirely set aside. By his preaching, his conversation, and his writings, he had accomplished more for the doctrine of the divine unity than any other man in the country ever had done; having been instrumental in bringing thousands to agree with him, and thereby changing almost entirely the faith of a whole denomination of Christians. It, therefore, becomes a question of no small importance, how was he regarded by the Unitarians of Boston when he removed to that town?

Up to the year 1815 (which was the time at which Mr. Ballou removed to Salem) the highly-cultivated sect of Unitarians had had no distinct organization; they had existed as a part of the Congregationalist body, not wishing to bring upon themselves public odium by an explicit avowal of their opinions. But, at length, an accident accomplished for them what they did not wish to do for themselves, and they maintained thenceforward an independent position. This accident may be described in the following manner:—The letters which American Unitarians had written to their brethren in England were published in that country, and copies thus published found their way back to the United States, and produced an excitement such as had not been known before for a long me, in religious matters. Unitarianism had spread

* See volume 1. of this work, pp. 190 to 236.

secretly among many of the clergy of Boston and vicinity; and, although the Trinitarian leaders had sought to gain tangible evidence of that fact, that they might turn it to the disadvantage of their anti-Trinitarian brethren, they found it difficult to do so, until the denouement of which we have spoken.*

* Mr. Belsham, in his *Life of Lindsey*, had published the letters from the Unitarians of America. He was the successor of Mr. Lindsey at the chapel in Essex-street, London; and became his biographer. In the Memoir he devoted one chapter to the History of Unitarianism in America, in which he gave very copious extracts from the letters of Mr. Freeman, pastor of the Stone Chapel, to Mr. Lindsey. In an Appendix, he published a letter he had then recently received from Mr. William Wells, and two or three written to Mr. Lindsey by Dr. Priestley after his arrival in America, concerning the state of Unitarianism and his success in this country. It is highly probable that Mr. Belsham forwarded this work to his American brethren on its publication, about 1812. But for nearly two years the Orthodox portion of the community did not obtain possession of it. They supposed that care had been taken to limit the knowledge of it after its arrival. But, by some means, they at length obtained a copy, and immediately reprinted the chapter on American Unitarianism, with those articles from the Appendix which we have named. By these means the public were made fully acquainted with the silent spread of Unitarian sentiments. It is now hardly possible to describe the effect of the disclosure. Astonishment seized all except the leaders in the matter, that there had been so great a defection from Orthodox principles; and they felt no little consternation on the appearance of the pamphlet. The effect was increased by a review of it, which soon after appeared in the *Panoplist*, written by a person who possessed sufficient judgment to arrange his materials to the best advantage, and a great power to excite popular prejudices against those who had been the principal agents in the matter now exploded. (See the *Panoplist* of June, 1815.) The Anti-Trinitarians felt the necessity of taking open and defensive measures, which manifested the very deep anxiety which this exposure had produced. Their characters were implicated in the sight of the world. They were "called upon by their congregations for an explicit statement of their opinions."
— See *Introductory Observations to Thatcher's Sermons*.

Mr. Ballou removed to Boston just after the "Unitarian controversy," so called, had closed; though it broke out again on the appearance of Mr. Channing's Baltimore sermon, preached in May, 1819. This sermon was altogether the boldest, and most aggressive, ever preached by that distinguished divine. Mr. Ballou hailed it with great satisfaction. He republished large portions of it in the *Magazine*, and called the attention of his readers to the fact that the preacher had intentionally and explicitly defended the great principles of the doctrine of Universalism, meaning the fact of the final holiness and happiness of all men. But the Unitarians had no disposition to show fellowship to Mr. Ballou, although he had been so successful a defender of the views they had taken twenty years later than he had taken them himself. He was not shy of his Unitarian opinions. Soon after his removal to Boston, he assailed the doctrine of the Trinity with much power.* He published clear and correct articles on the subject of the atonement,† and on the general character of rational and liberal Christianity. The leading Unitarians were fearful they should be considered Universalists. Dr. McLeod, of New York, had accused them of being Universalists; but the younger Mr. Ware, in his "Letters" to that divine, pronounced this a "cruel and unfounded accusation." He said, they held to a "tremendous retribution, inconceivable and indescribable." Thus manfully did he resist the imputation of his Orthodox opponent. Mr. Ballou said, in reference to this matter :

* See *Universalist Magazine*, volume I., pp. 19, 23, 43, 47, 55.

† *Idem*, volume I., pp. 114, 118, 180, 184.

“What I consider to be the most remarkable particular in Mr. Ware’s pamphlet is the following: ‘It is probable, indeed, that the great body of Unitarian Christians would dissent from any description which your [Dr. McLeod’s] church might give of the nature and degree of future punishment; but when you are acquainted with them [Unitarians] you will know that the doctrine of a tremendous retribution, inconceivable and *indescribable*, awaiting the wicked in a future world, is a part of their creed and of their preaching, no less than of your own.’”

Mr. Ballou ejaculates,

“What shall I say? How shall I utter my astonishment at the above sentence? After all the heart-chilling and soul-appalling horrors described by Calvinistic fanaticism, setting forth the supposed unmerciful punishments of a future world, the Unitarians, the *mild*, the *liberal*, the *tender-hearted* Unitarians, come forward and *dissent* from any description which Calvinists have ever given of the nature and degree of future punishment. But why do they dissent? Because they believe in future punishment, which in nature and degree is so tremendous ~~is~~ that it exceeds the power of conception, and defies all description!

“When a damsel told Peter he was a disciple of Jesus, and others insisted upon it, he made an effort to say something which was so very perverse and wicked, as to convince the people, one would think, that he knew not Christ. When Dr. McLeod said that Unitarians were Universalists, a Unitarian makes an effort to say something entirely beyond all the horrors of the Calvinistic creed.”*

Dr. Channing’s Baltimore sermon (mentioned above) produced no small excitement. The Unitarian controversy of 1815 had hardly cooled off, when this begun. Professor Stuart spoke out, from his high position at

‡ *Idem*, volume II., p. 19.

Andover, to vindicate his brethren, the Calvinists, from the charges brought against their system by Dr. Channing. After him came Dr. Woods, of the same institution, with his "Letters to Unitarians." These things happened about one or two years after Mr. B. came to Boston, and just as he commenced the *Magazine*. He read these pamphlets very attentively, and waited to see how the Unitarians would answer the arguments of the Calvinists, especially those which had respect to the moral character of God. It should be recollected, that Unitarians were just coming into existence as a sect, and it was an uncertain matter how they would deal with their adversaries in regard to the great question of endless punishment, and the salvation of all men. Impossible was it for Mr. B. to feel indifferent. Dr. Woods had said, in his "Letters," in reply to Dr. Channing's intimations that the Calvinists denied the paternal character of God:

"We believe, as sincerely as Unitarians do, in the *paternal character* of God. You 'ascribe to him,' as this author informs us, 'not only the name, but the dispositions and principles, of a father.' With the qualifications which the divine perfection renders necessary, we do the same. The language refers to the dispositions of a *human* father. These dispositions belong to God, *so far as is consistent with his infinite perfection*. It is plain that the dispositions of God, and the conduct flowing from them, cannot, in *all* respects, resemble the dispositions and conduct of a human father. The nature of a human father, and the relation he sustains to his children, have but an imperfect analogy to the nature of God, and the relation he sustains to his creatures. From this we conclude, that his treatment of his creatures cannot be fully represented by the treatment which a human father gives

his children. Permit me to illustrate this by a few examples. What human father, possessing even a common degree of paternal kindness and compassion, would ever treat his children as God treated his rational offspring when he destroyed the world by a deluge, or Sodom by fire, or when he caused the earth to open and swallow up the company of Korah? Would a compassionate father drown his children, or consume them by fire, or bury them alive in the earth?—God suffers his rational creatures, even harmless children, to die of hunger, or of sickness, or to be destroyed by some act of cruelty. Could a human father stand and see his children die thus, when it was in the power of his hand to afford relief? I mention these among a thousand instances, as proof that the analogy between God and a human father, though a very striking and delightful one, is not perfect, and may be carried too far.”

So far Dr. Woods, on the part of the Calvinists. How, said Mr. Ballou to himself, will the Unitarians meet this? Will they come out openly, and avow the *only* doctrine on which they can base a proper reply to such arguments? Hear him:

“After the reader has carefully considered the passage here quoted, it may be profitable to propound the following questions: Why would not a kind, natural father drown his children? Why would he not consume them by fire? Why would he not bury them alive in the earth? Why would he not suffer them to pine away with sickness and pain, and die, even allowing he had power to prevent it? Let these queries be duly examined. Suffer not the appalling nature of the subject to destroy cool deliberation, or unbiassed candor. In order to assist the mind to come to a right

* See “Letters to Unitarians and Reply to Dr. Ware. Second edition, with an Appendix. By Leonard Woods, D.D., Abbott Professor of Christian Theology in Theological Seminary, Andover: Andover, 1822.” — p. 14.

conclusion, let us ask how much distress, how much suffering, the parent who tenderly loves his offspring would consent to have administered to his child? To ease the suffering child from pain, the parent will consent to have a surgeon extract a tooth which is defective, to lay on a blister, or even to amputate a limb. We know that kind, affectionate parents will submit their dear children to these severe trials, being induced thereto by a hope of benefiting them. Why, then, we ask, would not the same affectionate parents submit their children to anything else, if they believed that it would terminate in the benefit of the children? The fact is, they would. What conclusion remains? Answer: it remains that Dr. Woods, in the behalf of Orthodoxy, proceeds to show that, when our Heavenly Father drowned the old world, destroyed Sodom, and swallowed up Korah and his company in the earth, he did not design it for the good of those who endured those judgments. Will the doctor attempt this? Dare he attempt it? Is he prepared to charge our Heavenly Father with acting in those cases, or in any other, without designing the benefit of all those whom his acts concern? Let him do this, and we are prepared to ask him to describe a character more to be abhorred than that which he attributes to our merciful Father in heaven."

But how will the Unitarians answer this? was the predominant inquiry in the mind of Mr. Ballou. Alas! he was doomed to disappointment.

"However bold, however daring, however shocking, this argument of Dr. Woods appears,—however dishonorable to the character of the divine Being, and however painful to the rational mind that is so deluded as to believe in its truth, — yet the Orthodox consider themselves as entirely safe from the attacks of their Unitarian opponents, well knowing that no doctrine but pure Universalism can ever destroy this false refuge; and believing that, although the Unitarians are in fact Universalists, they are using all possible arts to avoid being known as such to the public, they entertain no fears that the Unitarians will venture to oppose this

abuse of the divine character with the only doctrine by which it can be successfully set aside.

“When we read this detestable argument, we immediately turned to Dr. Ware’s reply to Dr. Woods, to find how he managed this particular, but found nothing relative to it. Being thus disappointed, it was not possible to avoid a deep regret, that an argument which more than any other deserved a refutation was totally neglected. And this regret was mingled with a disappointment peculiar to itself and subject, occasioned by the suggestion that Dr. Ware well knew that, if he refuted this argument of his antagonist, he could not avoid doing it on the premises on which the doctrine of universal salvation is founded. If this were the first or the second instance in which the Unitarians have manifested a design to avoid coming out in their full belief of universal salvation, we should by no means have allowed ourselves the liberty we have here taken on the subject; but the practice of evasion has been continued until many discerning people have become disgusted; and though they prefer the general arguments of the Unitarians to those of the Orthodox, they can never consent to hold fellowship with hypocrisy.”

Severe language this may be regarded; but any other man, placed in Mr. B.’s circumstances, would, perhaps, have uttered it.

In such inconsistencies did the Unitarian leaders involve themselves, by their efforts to convince the public they were not Universalists. If, at this time, they had manifested a disposition to regard with Christian fellowship and brotherly affection the Universalists of New England, and especially the man who for a quarter of a century had stood foremost in defence of Unitarian views, it seems reasonable that the present relations between the two classes would be somewhat different.

SECTION VII.—LOVE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

In November, 1820, a convention of delegates elected by the people of this Commonwealth for the purpose of revising the Constitution thereof, assembled in Boston. It consisted of eminent men from every section of the state, of almost all occupations and professions. Among the amendments attempted and *lost*, was the one in regard to religious liberty, leaving it optional with every man whether he would support religion, and compelling none. Under the old form, a man was obliged to belong to some religious society; and, if he did not elect voluntarily to which he would be attached, he should be held to be a member of the regular territorial parish of the town, and should be taxed accordingly. There were many in the convention of 1820 who held that the whole matter should be left to the free will and consciences of the people. Mr. Ballou was not a member of the convention, but he expressed his opinion through his popular little journal in these words :

“ The question whether the Christian religion must be supported by law, or whether it may prosper as well, and do as much good in society, without the aid of legislation, seems now to engage the attention of the great council of the state.

“ Those who are in favor of assisting religion by legislation contend that without religion society would become immediately corrupted; that there would be no Sabbaths, no meetings for public worship, no piety, &c. Thus they labor in vain, and their work is for naught; for the question is not whether religion is good and profitable to society, but whether it may not flourish as well without the aid of the civil arm as with it. Again, they

advances, in their protracted arguments, that, if it be granted that religion is a good thing, it ought of course to be incorporated into our state constitution, so that our legislators may give it all the support it needs. Thus, again, they reason in violation of common sense; for it does not follow, of course, that because a thing is right, good or necessary for the benefit of society, that it must therefore be urged by law. The shining of the sun, the falling of the rain, the distilling of the dew, the flowing of the rivers, the blowing of the wind, the springing up and the growing of vegetation, are all of indispensable importance to man's existence and happiness; but none of these good things can be promoted by legislation. What a wretched state would society be in if the covenant of marriage should no more be entered into; but, because this is of indispensable importance, is it therefore necessary to compel young men to marry, whether they will or not? Are not the laws of nature, which are of God, paramount to any law that could be enacted by our legislators? What distress would the people all be in, in a short time, if every individual of society should say, I will do no more labor, and abide by the resolution? Is it, therefore, necessary to make laws to compel the husbandman to labor in the field? No, because the expected profit is a motive quite sufficient to induce them to cultivate their farms. What would become of our popular towns, if the merchants should all say they would do no more business; would send no more ships abroad, would bring no more merchandise into the country, nor carry any more out? It would be disastrous, indeed; is it, therefore, necessary to compel the merchant by law to see and attend to his business? No, for his hopes of gain are a sufficient motive, without any such law."

Daniel Webster, then a young man of about thirty-six years, was a member of this convention. He was in favor of a provision for the legal support of religion. Mr. Ballou said:

"Mr. Webster did not, like Mr. Saltonstall, of Salem, advance the superstitious notion, that the decision of the question was likely

to affect the eternal state of our citizens in a future world, but contended that the policy of the state required the support of this religion and the public worship of God. When the learned gentleman had thus defined the subject, a hope was entertained that he would have been consistent with himself, and laid open a system of state policy connected with and embracing the Christian religion and its support; but this he was far from attempting; and what was regretted more than this was, that there was no one, on the opposite side of the question, to take the advantage of his arguments, to show that nothing short of a definite state religion could be the creation to which the gentleman's arguments would lead. There is nothing more evident than that, if it be a necessary policy of the state to support, by law, the Christian religion, it is equally necessary that either the state constitution, or legislation on that constitution, should particularly define the doctrine of Christianity. This might be done in thirty-nine articles, more or less, as the constituted authority should see fit to determine; but, for the great council of our state to say that the Christian religion must be supported by law, and that provisions therefor must be incorporated into our bill of rights, and after all give no definite description of this religion, nor make any provisions by which it shall be defined, is certainly doing nothing."

Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Channing came out, during the debate in the convention, with a sermon entitled "Religion a Social Principle," the object of which was to show the propriety of establishing the Christian religion, and its support by law. This sermon Mr. Ballou reviewed, in a pamphlet, published immediately after he read the sermon.*

* The title was "Strictures on a Sermon entitled 'Religion a Social Principle, delivered in the Church in Federal-street, Boston, Dec. 10, 1820; by Wm. Ellery Channing, Minister of the Congregational Church in Federal-street.' By Hosea Ballou, &c. &c. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1820."

SECTION VIII.—OTHER PUBLISHED SERMONS.

After the close of the series of lecture-sermons, which we have described in a former section, Mr. Ballou was solicited to preach from certain texts, not embraced in that series, which gave occasion to the continued publication of his discourses. We may make mention of his famous "Fox Sermon," so called, preached in November, 1819, showing the marks of similarity between the false teachers and foxes, from the words, "O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the desert."—Ezek. 13: 4.* Many editions of this have been published. In the following month came out the sermon on the source of a happy life,—1 Peter 3: 10, 11; † and also one on "judgment beginning at the house of God,"—1 Peter 4: 17, 18. ‡ In January, 1820, he preached and published his sermon on the "New Birth," from John 3: 3, § several editions of which appeared; and immediately afterward came out the sermon on *God sending men*

* "A Sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the morning of the third Sabbath in November, 1819. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Second edition. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1821."

† "A Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the evening of the first Sabbath in December, 1819. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1819."

‡ "A Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the evening of the third Sabbath in December, 1819. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Second edition. Boston, 1821."

§ "The New Birth; a Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the evening of the third Sabbath in January, 1820. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Second edition. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1821."

strong delusions, from 2 Thess. 2: 11, 12.* These helped to do a great work. At the close of February in this year, he published his sermon on the "End of the World;" from Matt. 13: 47—50,† and in March a sermon on the Church of Christ, from Eph. 5: 25—27.‡ We must be content with this mere reference to these very valuable discourses, which were read by thousands. All these sermons were preached in addition to the regular exercises of the sanctuary, on the forenoon and afternoon of the Lord's day.

SECTION IX.—TRAVELS AND PREACHING ABROAD.

But, notwithstanding these numerous duties at home, Mr. Ballou did not neglect to comply, so far as he could, with the calls to preach the word in other places. He had commenced, in the year 1819, to preach a course of sermons at the Town Hall, in Roxbury, in which town a society had been formed, and a house of worship was being erected [July, 1820]. To these lectures he devoted, for a year or more, one Sabbath evening in a fortnight.

* "God shall send them Strong Delusions; a Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the evening of the second Sabbath in February, 1820. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1820."

† "The End of the World; a Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the evening of the fourth Sabbath in February, 1820. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1820."

‡ "Husbands, love your Wives; a Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house, in Boston, on the evening of the second Sabbath in March, 1820. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Boston: Henry Bowen. 1820."

And getting a little release from some of his Sunday-evening duties at home, he went out also to Cambridgeport, to assist in building up a new society there, using one of the school-houses, as the best place that could be obtained. In both places now named, permanent societies were established. The seed "fell in good ground, and brought forth fruit" abundantly. In May, 1820, he made a journey to New Bedford, at the call of a few friends there, and preached the word of the Lord, as he understood it, at a private house, there being, as he said, "no meeting-house in the town whose owners were willing to have the doctrine of God's universal, impartial, unchangeable goodness preached within its consecrated walls." Thence he crossed the river to Fairhaven, where he addressed an assembly in the academy, and also at the head of the river, so called, in the meeting-house formerly occupied by the memorable Dr. West. In the precinct called Mattapoiset, in the town of Rochester, he was invited to preach, by a physician, who was a large owner in the meeting-house. The house was opened by proper authority; but when Mr. B. came to the door, he was confronted by the settled pastor, Rev. Lemuel Le Baron, who forbid his going into the house. Mr. Ballou was very sorry to wound the feelings of the gentleman; but the house had been opened by proper authority, and there was no good reason why the people who had assembled should be disappointed. The principal reason assigned by Mr. Le Baron for his opposition was, that Mr. Ballou was a Universalist, and that Universalism was subversive of Christianity. Mr. B. invited the clergyman to go in with him, and hear what he had to deliver, and then he

could the better judge whether the doctrine preached was the truth or not. But Mr. Le Baron refused to do this, and insisted that *he* had a right to control the pulpit, and to say *who* should preach in it. Mr. B. told him that the gentlemen who had given their consent for him to preach in the house were of respectable standing, and proprietors of the house; and, if they had violated his privileges, they must be accountable. He further added, that, however Mr. Le Baron might think it his duty to forbid his preaching, he himself could not see how a man who did not own the house could prevent those from the free use of it who did own it, when they desired to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. Mr. B. accordingly passed in, and "a goodly number (said he) attended to the word." * He preached again in the same place in the evening. Before leaving the place, he addressed Mr. Le Baron a long letter, in which he called on him to show wherein Universalism was subversive of Christianity. Mr. B. quoted many passages from the Scriptures, and then wished his antagonist to show either that these passages did not prove Universalism, or else show how they were subversive of Christianity. This being done, Mr. B. proceeded to a meeting-house at Long Plains, at the upper part of Fairhaven, where he preached, after which he returned home.

* On Mr. Le Baron being told that Mr. Ballou was going to preach in the house, he said to one of his friends, "Had I not better go into the house, and be sacrificed at the foot of the pulpit-stairs?" On the remark being repeated to Mr. Ballou, he asked, "Who did the poor man think was going to harm him?"

SECTION X.—LETTER TO REV. MR. LE BARON.

The following is the letter to Rev. Mr. Le Baron: it is eminently worthy of preservation in this place.

“Rochester, May 19, 1820.

“REV. SIR: When you met me yesterday before the meeting-house door, to forbid me going into the house, you gave as the reason of so doing that I was a Universalist, and that ‘Universalism is subversive of Christianity.’ Having meditated upon the subject with due caution, I feel that it can be no violation of the strictest rules of propriety to call on you, in this way, to point out to me wherein Universalism is subversive of Christianity. With a view to present you with what appears to me necessary to be done in this case, I will state to you what I think Universalism is, and then you will be so kind as either to show me that what I state is not Universalism, or else show that it is subversive of Christianity.

“The promises which God made to the fathers, in which it is positively stated that in the seed of Abraham, which is Christ, all the nations, all the families, and all the kindreds of the earth, shall be blessed, I humbly conceive are of universal import; but, if you can show that they are not, and that any of the human family are excluded from the promises; or, on the other hand, if you can prove that these promises are subversive of Christianity, you will maintain your assertion. David says, ‘The Lord is good unto all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.’ Will you, reverend sir, undertake to prove that this is subversive of Christianity? or, will you undertake to show that it is not universal! All God’s works, it appears to me, must comprehend the universe; and if he is good to all, and if his tender mercies are over all, I cannot see why this is not Universalism. It is declared, by the inspired writers of the New Testament, that the mediator gave himself a ransom for all men, that he by the grace of God tasted death for every man, and that he is the propitiation for the sins

of the whole world. This well-attested testimony, I believe, is Universalism; but, if you think not, be so good as to show that *all men, every man*, and the *whole world*, come short of being universal; or, on the other hand, endeavor to show that this testimony is subversive of Christianity.

“St. Paul says, that God our Saviour ‘will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.’ This is what I view to be Universalism; but, if you think otherwise, I will thank you to point out wherein it is not so; or, on the other hand, show that God’s will to save all men is subversive of Christianity. To the Romans, St. Paul says, ‘Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.’ It appears to me that this testimony, both in regard to the guilt of mankind, and in regard to the free grace by which all are justified, is evidently universal; but, if you think otherwise, be so good as to point it out; or, on the other hand, show that this universal justification is subversive of Christianity. This author furthermore says to the Romans, ‘Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.’ Will you, dear sir, endeavor to show that this is not Universalism? Or, will you attempt to prove that it is subversive of Christianity? To the Ephesians the apostle speaks as follows: ‘Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he purposed in himself; that in the dispensation of the fulness of time he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth.’ To the Colossians he says: ‘For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and (having made peace through the blood of his cross) by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven.’ These several testimonies appear to me to comprehend universal reconciliation to God, through Jesus Christ; but, if you

can show the contrary, or if you can prove that these passages are subversive of Christianity, you will maintain your assertion. This inspired apostle further says to the Corinthians: 'But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' If all men die in Adam, and if all men are made alive in Christ, this appears to be universal; but, if you can show that it is not, or if you can prove that it is subversive of Christianity, I must on my part acknowledge that you maintain the ground which you have taken. We read in Revelations thus: 'And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing and honor, and glory and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.' Reverend sir, is this anything less than universal, or does it subvert Christianity?

"Now let us turn our thoughts to the providence of our Heavenly Father. Does not the sun shine universally, and the moon likewise? Do not the clouds give rain to all, and the fruits of the earth grow for the benefit of all? Is not the vital air for the life of all; and are not all equally entitled to the waters?

"This, reverend sir, in my view, is Universalism; but, if you can show that it is not, or if you can prove that the universal, impartial goodness of God, in his providence, is subversive of Christianity, you will maintain the assertion which lay as the cause in your mind why you ought to forbid me to preach in the meeting-house, where I was invited to preach by the proprietors, who built and own the house.

"I humbly entreat you, reverend sir, not to be offended because I have, in this way, called on you to maintain your assertion; but condescend either to grant my request, or be so candid as to say that it is out of your power so to do. And may God's universal, impartial grace forever abide in both our hearts, prevail everywhere, and finally be the theme of universal praise!

"Your most humble fellow-servant in Christ,

"HOSEA BALLOU.

"REV. LEMUEL LE BARON."

SECTION XI.—EVENTS AT WRENTHAM, MASS.

There was another event, of a somewhat similar character, that occurred about this time. Mr. Ballou had been invited to visit the town of Wrentham, Mass., and deliver his message of truth. There were a few Universalists, especially in the western part of this town, who were very desirous to receive a visit from him; and not being able to procure a meeting-house or academy, they engaged the hall at the "Mann Tavern," so called. In those days, the opponents of Universalists would withhold every other place from them, so far as laid in their power, that they might drive them into the hall of a public house; first, that they might revile them for holding their meetings at a tavern, and, second, that some might be kept away who would otherwise have gone to hear the preacher. This was the first time Mr. Ballou had ever preached in Wrentham Centre; and the event greatly disturbed the Rev. Mr. Fisk, the Orthodox clergyman. At the first meeting, Mr. Ballou preached to a very large audience, on the subject of the new birth. The service made a deep impression; and it was soon determined, if possible, to have him come again. This wrought upon the Rev. Mr. Fisk still more deeply; and he said he *must* go and oppose Mr. Ballou. Mr. Fisk looked upon the parish as his own,—he was set there to guard the flock; and he felt that he must be present at the next lecture. There was in his parish a physician (Dr. Samuel Bugbee), to whom Mr. Fisk sometimes went for advice. At this time the doctor was an avowed

unbeliever of revealed religion, but he was a conscientious man, of quick discernment; and he did not advise Mr. Fisk to attack Mr. Ballou, but still the reverend pastor said he felt that he must defend his flock.

Mr. Ballou's text on the second evening was Malachi 1: 8: "*And if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts.*" The object of the sermon was to show that the priests of that day rendered the service of the Lord contemptible (see verse 7) by the doctrines which they preached. They ascribed a character to God which they would not ascribe to their governor, or any good earthly ruler. "Offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee?" After he closed, Mr. Ballou gave liberty to any one to speak; and Mr. Fisk arose. He took the opportunity to press Mr. Ballou upon the question whether he believed in any future punishment. Mr. Ballou did not care to make that question very prominent in his preaching; and the very inquiry showed that he had not treated upon it at that time. He said, in reply, that the greater point was whether punishment was *endless*. If endless, there will be, of course, future punishment. If Mr. Fisk would disavow the doctrine of *endless* punishment, he might then put the question as to the truth of the doctrine of future limited punishment. Mr. Ballou was mild in his manner; and Mr. Fisk imagined he had obtained a victory, and felt quite confident of success, if Mr. Ballou should come again. Dr. Bugbee, whom we have mentioned, was a very attentive lis-

tener, especially to that part of the discourse in which Mr. Ballou showed that religion had been rendered contemptible by the false doctrines which the Christian clergy had preached, especially the Trinity, the false notions of atonement and endless punishment. Perhaps there was no individual in the house on whom the sermon produced more effect than it did on the doctor.

At the third meeting, Mr. Fisk, encouraged by his supposed success at the former, appeared in high spirits. At the conclusion of the sermon, the subject of which is not recollected, Mr. Ballou gave notice, if any one had any remarks to offer, there was liberty. Mr. Fisk thought of his parishioners, and began by blaming Mr. Ballou for coming to Wrentham to preach his pernicious doctrines to them. Mr. Ballou asked him if *he* would decline a respectable invitation to preach *in Boston*. This puzzled him. He lifted his eyes towards heaven, and said, "O, if Mr. Messenger, and Mr. Mann, and Mr. Bean [formerly pastors of the parish], should look down from the blissful abodes above, and see what is going on here to-night, it would fill their souls with sorrow!" Mr. Ballou said, "Brother Fisk, do you think there is any sorrow in heaven?" These questions excited him. Of course, we give only the leading ideas, for these alternate addresses occupied several minutes each. Mr. Fisk became very nervous, which brought on nausea, and he was obliged to resort to an open window. In a few minutes he got relief, and rose again to answer Mr. Ballou. He quoted certain texts to prove the doctrines he believed; and, thinking he had established the doctrine of endless torture beyond Mr. Ballou's power to overthrow it, he was

evidently pleased, and smiled with satisfaction. Mr. Ballou replied again. He showed that the texts quoted by Mr. Fisk, when properly understood, did *not* sustain the doctrines attempted to be proved by him. This was not done so much by long and particular criticism, as by a brief and happy comparison of text with text, in the course of which there were several happy flashes of truth. In the midst of his remarks, Mr. Ballou spoke of the evident *gratification* which Mr. Fisk had felt when he thought he had succeeded in proving the doctrine of endless woe, and compared such feelings with those of the Lord Jesus when he wept over the temporal sufferings of the Jews. Mr. Fisk, who, in the course of these remarks, had been obliged once more to resort to the window (the people giving way to make him room), felt himself in a peculiarly unfortunate position. But the fresh air and the vomiting having restored the tone of his feelings, he took the floor again, and expressed his deep sorrow if he had showed any signs of gratification while speaking on the awful subject of endless misery. Some fifteen years afterwards, Mr. Ballou saw in a preacher, in the course of a public debate, a similar indiscretion, which led him to say :

“The manifestation of such a disposition and spirit recalls to my recollection a case of the same kind, which I once witnessed myself, in a town about thirty miles from this city. I delivered a sermon in favor of the doctrine of universal salvation. After I closed, the minister of the place thought it his duty, having heard the discourse, to refute my arguments by proving from Scripture the doctrine of endless punishment. In the course of his effort he several times succeeded so much to his satisfaction, that he wore a smile on his features, which approached almost to a laugh. As I

was preparing myself, while he was speaking, to reply, I put this circumstance in a conspicuous place, in the arrangement of particulars which I proposed to notice. When I arrived at this part of my rejoinder, I endeavored to press on the mind of my opposer, and on the minds of the congregation, as just a comparison as I could draw, between the *awful* doctrine which he had endeavored to maintain, and the apparent gratification which he so evidently manifested, on being able, as he thought, to prove the truth of it. The effect was greater than I had anticipated. The minister's mortification was so visible that I could not but pity his condition. But he made the best of the case in his power, by rising and making a very humble acknowledgment to the whole assembly. The foregoing particulars are not here mentioned as any argument against the doctrine of a future limited punishment, or of a punishment which is endless, but to bestow a deserved reprehension on a disposition and a spirit which all candid Christians, of all denominations, must acknowledge are repugnant to the disposition and spirit of the Divine Master, who, in room of manifesting immoderate pleasure and delight, when informing his deadly enemies of the approaching desolation of their city, wept over that city as sincerely as one would weep for a first-born. If Jesus had tears for his subject, when speaking of man's temporal sufferings, what anguish of soul would he have manifested had it been his lot to denounce the more severe torments which are supposed to await men in the future world! 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' "

Dr. Bugbee, whom we have mentioned in the course of this narrative, was led by Mr. Ballou's sermons to see that the objections which he had hitherto felt against religion were, in fact, not against the Christian religion itself, but against the corruptions of it; and he became, in the course of a subsequent examination, a sincere believer in the Son of God. Although a man of peculiarities, he lived a useful, honorable life, and died cherishing the Christian hope. He was ever after, as long as

he lived, the firm friend of Mr. Ballou. The sickness of Mr. Fisk, he attributed to his high state of excitement, to the want of ventilation in the hall, and to the chewing of tobacco too freely during the services.*

SECTION XII.—INSTALLATION AT SALEM, MASS.

In June, Mr. Ballou attended the Southern Association, in Scituate, and preached from 1 Thess. 3 : 19. Although so much abroad, he neglected none of his duties as a pastor or as an editor. The congregation in School-street prospered greatly under his ministry. In August he assisted at the laying of the corner-stone of the Universalist meeting-house in Roxbury; he also attended the installation of Rev. B. Streeter, at Salem, and gave the charge. In this he asserted, most deliberately and solemnly, his faith in divine revelation. To the candidate he said :

“I deem it of indispensable importance that you are reminded, in this charge, that the Christian doctrine and hope rest on the fact of the resurrection of Jesus. Though Moses in the law, and the prophets in their testimony, bore witness to the doctrine of divine truth, and led the people to expect the Messiah, the whole system of gospel truth is sealed by the resurrection of Jesus, and rests upon it as on a chief corner-stone. And on this rock the Christian church being built, the gates of hell can never prevail against it. Connected with this all-important truth is the divine declaration of an inspired apostle, that ‘As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.’ ”

In September he made a journey into New Hamp-

* An inhabitant of Wrentham says, “The old gentleman always carefully combed his hair, and placed his *quid* upon a little shelf in the pulpit, the last thing before commencing a discourse.”

shire, during which he attended the General Convention of Universalists, which we have mentioned in another place.

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SECTION XIII.—DEFENCE OF REVELATION.

There came out, in the year 1820, a work entitled "A Series of Letters," * &c., in which Mr. Ballou defended Divine Revelation, in reply to Mr. A. Kneeland's Serious Inquiry into the Authenticity of the same. We think these Letters were written about 1815; † but they were not published until 1820. The publisher made the following statements in respect to the causes which gave rise to these Letters :

" We learn, from the Rev. Mr. Kneeland, that, having at different times been exercised in his mind with serious doubts respecting the authenticity of the Scriptures, and the system of divine revelation recorded in them, he was induced to solicit a correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Ballou on the subject. That, in order to render the controversy the more interesting, by calling into action the energies of mind, and by directing the correspondence to definite purposes, he assumed the character of a real opponent, determining to maintain the opposition, in all its forms, until reduced by necessity to yield to successful arguments directed against it. It was with great reluctance that the advocate for the Christian religion, in this controversy, consented to undertake a work of this nature; not, however, because he esteemed it unnecessary, or

* The whole title was, "A Series of Letters, in Defence of Divine Revelation; in Reply to Rev. Abner Kneeland's Serious Inquiry into the Authenticity of the same. By Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Second Universalist Society in Boston. To which is added a Correspondence," &c. Boston: H. Bowen, 1820, The correspondence added to this volume was a second edition of the Buckminster and Watton correspondence.

† See vol. I. of this work, p. 414.

because he entertained any doubts with regard to the defensibility of revelation, but, as he contends, on account of the want of abilities and means to do the subject justice. His opponent, however, being a familiar acquaintance and friend, as well as a preacher in the same profession of faith with himself, having led him to believe that a labor of this kind was called for by the most sacred obligations of brother to brother, he was induced to render what assistance was in his power, without infringing too much on other important duties in which he was almost constantly engaged.”*

Mr. Kneeland was at times troubled with unbelief, even at this day. He was as good a man as one of his mental formation could be; but he was not of a sound and stable mind. There were times when he honestly thought he believed in the Christian religion as a divine revelation; and at others he was in great want of faith. He was easily drawn from his orbit by any sudden attraction. Originally, he was a Baptist; from which he became a Universalist. He had been a Universalist clergyman some twelve years, when, from about 1814 to 1816, he was engaged in secular business in Salem, Mass. Unbelief, in this time, had the ascendancy. By Mr. Ballou's efforts, in the work of which we are now speaking, Mr. Kneeland was brought back to the gospel. While Mr. Ballou dealt with his brother affectionately, he also did it faithfully. Shortly after the commencement of the correspondence, he said :

“No one can more sincerely wish to have the frivolities of superstition and the endless multitude of errors, which arrogant creed-makers have impiously superadded to pure Christianity,

* * “Series of Letters,” p. 3.

removed from the church, than I do ; but wisdom must direct in this great and necessary work. It was those who had more zeal than discernment, who asked if they should pluck up the tares from among the wheat. They were told that they would pluck up the wheat with the tares. Let us be careful, my brother, and, in our zeal to cleanse, take care and not destroy.

“ If you are troubled with unbelief, if this plague have entered your heart, permit me to suggest a remedy. Humility is the first step ; sincere piety towards God, the second ; and let these be followed by that for which the Bereans were commended, and the deadly virus of unbelief will soon be purged. Will you say, ‘ Physician, heal thyself ’ ? I reply, I think I have found relief by the use of the prescription, and am so much in favor of it that I am determined to continue its application myself, as well as recommend it to others. If you ask why I do not direct some arguments more cogently to prove divine revelation, I answer, in the first place, you have granted the validity of the evidences, and, secondly, if I think of the attempt, the brilliant labors of better abilities show it is not necessary.

“ But, if you think it necessary to discuss this subject, I will propose the single instance of the conversion of St. Paul for investigation. By this means, we shall be kept from rambling after different subjects. If you can give a reasonable account of this conversion, without admitting the truth of Christianity, I will acknowledge you have left me destitute of one evidence on which I now rely. On the other hand, if you fail in this, you may reasonably suppose that you would fail in any other case of equal moment in this general controversy.”*

Mr. Ballou here refers Mr. Kneeland to some of the weaknesses against which it was necessary for him to guard. He points him also to the balm of Gilead, to the true Physician. He recommends to him piety, humility, a love of truth, and freedom from prejudice.

* “ Series of Letters,” p. 25.

He knew the effect the gospel had had on himself. "I have found relief by the use of the prescription, and am so much in favor of it that I am determined to continue its application *myself*, as well as to recommend it to others."

In his third letter, by way of reply to Mr. Kneeland, Mr. Ballou wrote with much power. He was warmed by a theme so dear to his heart; he saw no way to account for the facts of Christianity, which were proved by the united testimony of profane and sacred history, without supposing Christianity to be true. The thought of being left without the consolations of religion was dreadful to him.

"You will duly consider that, in disproving the religion of Jesus Christ, you disprove all religion; for I am satisfied that you will not pretend you are making a choice between the gospel and some other doctrine. No; the choice is between the gospel and no religion at all.

"Come, then, drive away all the clouds of superstition, and demonstrate at once that there has been no sun in the firmament during the whole of a cloudy day! Soar like the strong-pinioned eagle, make your flight beyond the mists of error, and bring us the joyless tidings that there is no clear sky in the heavens. Can you imagine anything to be more pleasing than the coming of one that brought *good* tidings? But let us have the worst of it. Show, from undoubted authority, that there never was such a man as Jesus; or show that he was a wicked impostor, and deservedly lost his life! Show, moreover, that there never were such men as the apostles of Jesus; or that they were likewise impostors, and all suffered death for their wicked impiety! Give the particulars of Saul's madly forsaking the honorable connection in which he stood, for the sake of practising a fraud which gained him an immense income of suffering!

"But you say the apostles were not bad men. Very well;

then let us see how good men could tell so many things which they knew were not true, and suffer and die in attestation of what they knew to be false. You will see the danger of supposing that honest men can bear testimony to falsehood under the pretence of doing good, as this would destroy all testimony at once; even your own cannot be relied on, after you maintain this detestable principle, which has been practised upon by a wicked priesthood for ages." *

Mr. Ballou was disposed to base his argument on the alleged facts of Christianity. He was satisfied with no fine-spun theory. He called on Mr. Kneeland to answer the following series of questions :

" 1st. Was there, in the days of the apostles, such a man known in the country of the Jews as Jesus Christ ?

" 2d. Was this man put to death, as the four evangelists and others testify ?

" 3d. Did the apostles declare to the people who put him to death that they knew that he had arisen from the dead ?

" 4th. If the Jews who put Jesus to death could have gone to his sepulchre and shown his dead body to the people, would the story of the resurrection ever have gained any credit among the Jews ?

" 5th. If they could not find the body of him who had been crucified, would the opposers not endeavor to report something that might appear plausible, especially as they had the keeping of the sepulchre in their own hands ?

" 6th. What would more naturally suggest itself to the imagination of men, in the situation of the rulers of the Jews, than the story of the disciples having stolen the dead body ? &c. Or,

" 7th. Was this account written long since the apostles' days, by an unknown author, who made the whole story as he wrote it ? If this last question cannot be answered in the affirmative without doing violence to the most authentic testimony, and also to the plainest dictates of reason, it seems to follow that the 6th preced-

* "Series of Letters," pp. 35, 36.

ing question must be answered in the affirmative, which furnishes sufficient evidence to prove that such a story was reported among the Jews in the days of the apostles." *

Mr. Ballou called on Mr. Kneeland to account for the conversion and subsequent conduct of St. Paul, without allowing that the Christian religion is divine. Is the whole scriptural account of St. Paul false? was he really deceived in regard to what he says he saw? or did he testify falsely in reference to these matters? or was he converted in the miraculous manner described by himself? One of these positions we must take. Mr. Ballou aimed to make the case of this eminent apostle available to the conversion of his friend:

"I come to notice your remarks on the subject of St. Paul's conversion; for it appears to me that you have allowed certain facts, without assigning any adequate causes by which those facts came to exist. You make no attempt to deny that there was such a man as St. Paul, nor do you deny his having been educated and religiously instructed as the Scripture history sets forth. But you assign no reason why he became a believer in Jesus Christ; you assign no reason for his becoming a preacher of the doctrine of Jesus; you assign no reason why he should so patiently suffer for the religion the truth of which you are now calling in question. You allow that before his conversion he persecuted unto death the 'weak and defenceless disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus.' But you assign no reasons why weak and defenceless men should become the disciples of Jesus. You would fain insinuate that what he relates of the particular circumstance which happened to him on his way to Damascus was a mere revery. But you make no attempt to show how such a revery could produce, in this learned Pharisee, a belief that Jesus, who was crucified, had actually arisen from the dead, when there was not even the shadow of evi-

* "Series of Letters," pp. 52, 53.

dence existing to prove such an improbable fact. You are inclined to this notion of a revery on account of some experience of your own, which your good sense and after reflection have discovered to be nothing on which dependence ought to be placed. Sir, where is the similarity of your case to that of the learned Pharisee? Do you really believe you ever experienced a revery that would in the least cause you to believe in the resurrection of a man who was hanged in your sight, and who you knew was buried, and of whose resurrection you had no evidence only a vague revery? Do you believe you ever experienced a mere imagination which was strong enough to produce the above belief, and which could continue to influence you all your life long, lead you to forsake a most honorable connection, and to espouse a religion which all the prejudices of your education opposed, and to labor continually for its support, and to suffer everything for its defence? No, you pretend to no such thing; therefore your case is very different from St. Paul's." *

Mr. Ballou was an undoubting believer of the religion of the Bible as a revelation from God; but he was no enthusiast. He believed it on the ground of evidence. He believed that no series of facts was ever more fully sustained. Utterly impossible he believed it was that the Christian religion could have been the invention of men; that, connected as it was with the sacrifices of the early Christians, their sufferings, sincerity, martyrdom, there was no rational ground on which it could be supposed to be false.

"The proofs of which the gospel is susceptible are, in all respects, equal to what they could have been in any other way concerted, within the reach of human conception. This is going to a great length, I confess; and yet I am strongly inclined to this opinion. I will candidly state the reasons. 1st. Taking the

* "Series of Letters," pp. 60, 61.

subject in the gross, I am convinced of the truth of the gospel of Christ. Now, as I believe this gospel is not of man, but of God, I likewise believe that God, in consummate wisdom, has planned the evidences by which it is and will be supported in the world, until it fills the whole earth. 2d. As I believe that divine wisdom has planned, ordered and directed, all the means which will finally operate as evidences in defence of the gospel, I cannot believe that the wisdom or sagacity of man could have suggested a chain of evidences which could so well have secured the cause to be supported. And, 3d. I have spent much time in reflecting and studying on this momentous subject, — some time in reading authors on both sides of the question, a great deal of time in reading the Scriptures, — and have come to this conclusion: that no set of men ever lived in this world who could either have planned such a scheme as the gospel, or have invented such a chain of evidences for its support.

“ If the single miracle of the resurrection be considered, as the fact on which all other facts relating to the gospel seem to rest, it is confidently believed that no human invention could have concerted a system so well calculated to secure a knowledge and belief of the fact to all future generations, as that which has been adopted by the divine economy. Had the whole of the Jewish nation, with their Gentile neighbors, together with the Roman authorities, all confessed Christianity, being fully convinced of the resurrection of Jesus, and had they inscribed all the miracles recorded in the New Testament on monuments which should defy the hand of time to bring them to decay, it requires but a moment's reflection to see that all this would have vastly increased the difficulty now to prove that it was not all contrived by man's invention.

“ But let us consider the unbelief of the Jews, the violent opposition of that ancient priesthood, its coalition with the Roman government against the gospel, the great jealousy which the acknowledged miracles of Jesus had excited, the vigilance by which he was watched by his religious enemies, the careful scrutiny employed to discover fraud in his miracles, if it were possible; and then add to these considerations that the miracles of

Jesus were publicly performed, and of such a nature as to admit of the easiest possible detection if they had not been real; and finally, to disarm unbelief at once, consider that the ministry of the gospel was set up by the apostles, on the bold declaration that God had raised the crucified Jesus from the dead!—a declaration, which, if it had not been true, mark well, sir, could have been as easily refuted and rendered the derision of all people as any declaration that could have been made. But I shall lose myself, and forget that you have not yet called my attention so directly to this subject as to justify my entering largely into it.”*

Mr. Ballou believed in the divine inspiration of the prophets. See pages 66, 67, of the “Series of Letters.” He also believed that Jesus had the power of a prophet, and foretold future events, as the destruction of Jerusalem, in the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew’s gospel. All these things he urged upon the attention of Mr. K. We cannot take up the space that it would require to quote all he has said on these points. In coming again to consider the evidence of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, Mr. Ballou said:

“The question seems to remain, and the substance of it is this: 1st. If Jesus did actually rise from the dead, what kind of evidence would his disciples need, in order to be satisfied of the fact? And, 2d. What kind of evidence must they be able to bring to the people, in order to convince them of the fact?

“I will here suppose that it is not necessary to prove that the disciples of Jesus, who preached him and his resurrection all their lives, after they commenced at the day of Pentecost, really believed what they preached; but the evidence by which they believed it I now inquire for. We must notice that the disciples did not expect the resurrection; they were not believers of this fact when their Master was crucified. They were awfully disappointed, and

* “Series of Letters,” pp. 64, 65.

not only disappointed, but intimidated, as the account fully shows. They all forsook Jesus at his trial; and Peter, for fear of being involved with him, denied being his disciple.

“The evidence, then, of his resurrection, must be such as will convince those of the fact who have no expectation of the event. We will now look at the account. ‘And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had brought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.’ This very rational account shows, as plainly as the case will admit, that these women had no expectation of his resurrection. I omit here what passed at the sepulchre when these women were there, for this does not relate to the disciples. The angel at the sepulchre told these women that Jesus had risen, and directed them to go and tell his disciples. ‘Now, when Jesus was risen early, the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils. And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.’ This mourning and weeping could not be the effect of the pleasing expectation of soon having their divine Master with them; no, it was the natural effect of the amazing disappointment which had closed all the hopes they had entertained. ‘And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her,’ — believed? no, — ‘believed not.’ ‘After that, he appeared in another form to two of them as they walked, and went into the country. And they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them. Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he had risen.’ It seems unnecessary to quote into this communication all the instances related by the four deponents of Jesus’ being seen of the eleven; his frequently being with them, eating with them, holding conversations with them, &c. Now, as these disciples knew that Jesus had been crucified and buried, and a guard had been placed to guard the sepulchre, and moreover knowing for certainty that the body of Jesus was not where it had been deposited, and being favored with his presence on a variety of occasions for forty days, the evidence to the disciples was of a char-

acter described by the author of the Acts, to wit, 'To whom also he showed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.' I believe, sir, that such evidence as Jesus is said to have given his disciples of his resurrection was entirely sufficient to remove all doubts in their minds, however prone they were to unbelief. I am of opinion that such evidence would convince you and me of a similar fact.—Two questions are here necessary. 1st. Can we conceive how the evidence could have been less, without being insufficient? And, 2d. Can we conceive how it could have been stronger? I will not take up time to argue these questions; I feel satisfied on them myself. I will now ask whether we can imagine the possibility of any evidence that could counterbalance the evidence of the resurrection in the minds of the disciples? Thus we are brought to the suggestion, that any evidence which could be sufficient to prove such a fact, if no evidence appeared against it, must be such as admits of no refutation."*

Mr. Ballou followed this with a luminous statement of the kind of evidence which the early Christians brought to the people to convince them of the fact of the resurrection of Jesus. But we are fearful of swelling this biography too largely, if we quote all that we are prompted to introduce, and all that we really think ought to be introduced, to do justice to the opinions and the arguments of our departed father. It seems an astonishing fact, that a man who has defended revealed religion with the force of argument employed by Mr. Ballou, as well as with his sincerity and earnestness of heart, should ever have been represented by his enemies as a Deist, or Atheist in disguise. The authors of such charges could not have known his opinions; they spoke

* "Series of Letters," pp. 70, 71.

in the heat of opposition. Mr. Ballou was one of the sincerest Christians we ever knew; and his faith was founded in evidence. Of all men, he was the last to believe without evidence; and where he believed, it was fair to presume that he thought there was sufficient evidence. Christianity took deep root in his heart; he felt its value and power. O, said he to Mr. Kneeland :

“ It is a soul-rejoicing fact, that, of the precious things brought to light by the Sun of righteousness, the hope of immortality is its most precious jewel. This makes every thing valuable. Hence we may lay up our treasures where neither moth nor rust can corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal. Here God’s bright favor will never grow dim, nor will our love and gratitude ever decay. Do you see that celestial form leaning on her anchor, while the raging waves of a restless sea dash against her feet, unmoved? Do you observe her aspect firm, and her eyes turned towards heaven? It is Hope. And would you wish to cast her down, and dash her on the rocks of unyielding Doubt? Go, brother, to the chamber of sickness, where life’s waning embers can no longer warm the dying heart; there hear from cold and quivering lips this hope expressed, ‘ I long to be with Christ,’ ‘ I long to be at rest.’ Would you blast this amaranthine flower of faith and joy? Would you plant in its stead the night-shade of despair?

“ Do not, dear sir, listen too long to the wild suggestions of vain fancy and wandering imagination, under the specious pretence of searching after truth. I am apprehensive that the one who persuades you that she is truth really deserves another name. Jesus is the way, the truth and the life; he also is made unto us wisdom.

‘ Give me the light of this bright sun to see,
 All other lights like meteors are to me;
 Give me that way, that pleasant path to know,
 I’ll walk no other path while here below.

Wouldst thou be wise ? This wisdom learn to scan,
Which brings to God the wandering heart of man.' * * *

Such was the hold which Christianity had upon the heart of Hosea Ballou. It could scarcely be, that such arguments, and such an expression of deep feeling, should be lost. Mr. Kneeland felt himself moved. He felt the insufficiency of his own opinions to give him peace; but, if Christianity were true, it was all he desired. He had been subject to great conflicts of doubt and hope. He said, and we think with sincerity,

“ I confess I begin to grow dissatisfied with this kind of reasoning. What does it all amount to ? What am I bringing, after all, to oppose the labored researches of Drs. Lardner, Paley, Priestley, and others, as well as the pertinent observations of my worthy friend who has so long borne with me, and obliged me with his friendly and Christian-like aid on this subject ? Let me pause and consider — I have acknowledged that there are evidences in favor of divine revelation; have I proved any of those evidences false ? No ! this I have acknowledged I could not do. What have I put into the other scale, to weigh down those evidences ? Ah ! what, indeed ? Nothing ! except it be my own ignorance, and the errors of other men, in whose errors I have no more faith than those who believe in the truth of that which I have been disputing ! I will, therefore, instead of pursuing the dispute any further, begin to think once more whether the thing for which you so ardently contend may not in reality be true. But here, again, I must be cautious, lest I should err as far on the other hand. For, notwithstanding, when I found that I could not help doubting, I tried to reconcile myself to my doubts, and have sincerely and honestly tried to make myself believe that I was perfectly reconciled either way, yet the moment I begin to think about the certainty of immortality and eternal life, I am all on fire ! I hardly know how to contain myself ! And, were it not for the special obligations which I feel to my family and to the world,

* “ Series of Letters,” pp. 77, 78.

more than anything which I ever expect to receive from the world, I should long to 'depart, and be with Christ, which is far better.' Thus my doubts, whatever they are, may be needful for me." *

Two or three letters passed between the parties after this concession on the part of Mr. Kneeland. In reviewing the whole matter, the latter was brought to believe that the publication of the correspondence might be of some benefit to the world. He desired that others who had the doubts which had beset him, might read the arguments which had won him back to the truth. In reply to his suggestion in this respect, Mr. Ballou said :

"The purity of your motives, in writing on the subject of our discussion, will fully justify the exertions you have made to draw forth such arguments as your brother has been enabled to adduce in support of our common faith. I regret that my almost constant employment on other subjects and other duties has afforded me little time to devote to your queries, which, together with my want of ability to do justice to a subject of this importance, is now an embarrassment in regard to giving my consent to the publication of this correspondence. And there is still another circumstance which seems to operate as an objection to the publishing of these letters, namely, the want of *extension of argument* in many instances, which would have been attended to if the work had been written for the conviction of common readers, which was not thought to be necessary for the benefit of the mover of the queries.

"However, as all human productions are imperfect, and ought so to be considered, and especially those from your humble servant, I am willing to appear to some disadvantage, if any considerable advantage may thereby result to the cause of Jesus Christ our Lord.

"I cannot close this valedictory epistle without a solemn

* "Series of Letters," p. 161.

acknowledgment of heartfelt gratitude to the merciful Disposer of all events, for the ample evidence which his providence and grace have given of the truth of our religion, especially when we consider the glorious hope set before us; and I am permitted to anticipate the promised era when there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying; when there shall be no more pain; but when tears shall be wiped from all faces, and the rebuke of the nations removed from off all the earth, and every creature in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, shall harmoniously ascribe blessing, and glory, and honor, unto Him who sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. But I lose myself in the contemplation of the transporting scene.

“To conclude: as you, my brother, have labored, together with your fellow-servant, to look into and examine these things which belong to the kingdom of righteousness, and as we have been favored with mutual satisfaction in these researches, may it please the Great Head of the church still to hold us in his hand. still to engage us in his blessed cause, and render our mutual labors promotive of his grace among men. And, however distant from each other it may best suit the Captain of our salvation to place us, may it be his pleasure to continue our fellowship in the bonds of the gospel.”*

SECTION XIV. — CORRESPONDENCE PUBLISHED.

Mr. Kneeland being strengthened in his faith, and feeling himself willing to enter the Christian ministry once more, listened to an invitation to remove to the state of New York. This was near the commencement of the year 1816. Mr. Ballou had referred to this intention of Mr. K. to remove at the close of his last letter: “And, however distant from each other it may best suit the Captain of our salvation to place us, may it be his

* “Series of Letters,” pp. 188, 189.

pleasure to continue our fellowship in the bonds of the gospel." Rev. S. R. Smith says, in his "Historical Sketches :"

"The name of Mr. A. Kneeland appears for the first time as a minister in New York on the minutes of this session of the Association [Western Association of 1816]. He had settled with the society in Whitestown, devoting a part of the Sabbaths to at least one other congregation. He brought the experience of a number of years to bear upon the new field of his labor, and the general reputation of talents and acquirements above mediocrity, and certainly much above most of those who were now his fellow-laborers. Calm, courteous and gentlemanly in his deportment and intercourse, remarkably plain and intelligible in his discourses, he won the respect of opposers, and enjoyed the highest confidence of his congregation. And it is deemed but simple justice to say, that his location in central New York was at the time a matter of pride and of benefit to the denomination. And there were very few preachers then in the connection who could have thrown around them a greater number of salutary influences, or given a more elevating tone to the character of the Universalist ministry. The permanent establishment of such a man in the country was generally regarded as among the certain means of advancing the best interests of the denomination, and of approximating that standard of influence to which it now had a right to aspire. Nor were the expectations of friends materially disappointed, save in the peculiar form and matter of his pulpit labors. There, while everything was said and done in the most dignified and impressive manner, the subjects of discourse were too dry and metaphysical to secure continued interest and attention, or to awaken the affections and improve the feelings of the heart. Of the ultimate career of Mr. K. nothing need be said in this place, as during the two or three years of his residence in central New York his preaching had no necessary tendency to infidelity, nor did his friends suspect that he wanted entire confidence in the truth of divine revelation." *

* "Historical Sketches," pp. 150, 151.

If Mr. Kneeland removed to New York near the beginning of 1816, it adds force to the presumption that the discussion between him and Mr. Ballou was carried on in 1815, while the latter resided at Salem. We have been the more anxious to fix the time, as all the letters, on each side, are without date, nor can we learn from them even the place where they were written. Mr. Kneeland, having engaged in secular business, resided in Salem in 1814 and 1815. When he removed to the State of New York, he was so desirous for the publication of the correspondence, that he obtained the consent of Mr. Ballou to carry it to the West with him, where he offered proposals for publishing it, and obtained a number of subscribers; but, being called soon after to remove to Philadelphia, he was under the necessity of postponing the publication for a season. Mr. Henry Bowen, in the mean time, having obtained some knowledge of the correspondence, and being informed by Mr. Kneeland that the arguments which it contained were, in his opinion, calculated to strengthen the believer, as well as to confirm the doubting, he negotiated for the manuscripts, and in A. D. 1820 he published the book.

SECTION XV. — A NEW ACQUAINTANCE FORMED.

On the first day of January, 1821, a young man entered the family of Mr. Ballou, with the intention of making some preparation for the Christian ministry. The means by which the two had become acquainted were as follows: Mr. Ballou had rented a house of Mr. Abel Baker, the gentleman to whom the young man had been

apprenticed, that he might learn the art of boot-making. Thus the venerable divine and the young boot-maker were brought to live in the same vicinity. The latter, who in his young days could not love the discipline of instruction, had had slight education, except what he gained at the common schools in Charlestown, where his parents had resided from 1805 to 1814, and where his father had died in the year last named. He had attended for three months an evening school kept by Rev. Israel Alger, in the winter of 1819-20, in which he had pursued the study of English grammar; and, as the term expired before he had completed the grammar, he resolved, if possible, to form an acquaintance with Mr. Ballou, and gain his assistance in further pursuing the science. Upon a certain evening, he arrayed himself in his best apparel, which could not have recommended him for anything but prudence and economy, and made bold to knock at the door of Mr. B.'s house. The sweet voice of Mrs. Ballou said, "Walk in." He entered, and was kindly received. On his making known the object of his visit to Mr. B., who was present, that venerable divine commended the pursuit of knowledge, especially that branch of it to which the young man's mind had been turned, and offered all the assistance in his power, to help him through. He had gone through orthography, etymology and syntax, and needed help in the matter of punctuation. Mr. B. therefore recommended that he should commence writing composition, and put in the stops as well as he could, and then come and read the articles, and, if any mistakes were discovered, they should be pointed out. The young man thought this a great

privilege, and was very happy. As soon as the conversation was ended, he rose to retire, not thinking it proper to interfere any more than was necessary with the duties of Mr. Ballou; but, as the good man urged him to sit a little longer, and as Mrs. Ballou, in the most tender and affectionate manner, invited him to remain and pass the evening, he felt at liberty to tarry a short time. The kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Ballou made a very favorable impression upon him, for his own father was dead, and, in one sense, he was without a mother. In the course of a week he had prepared an article to read to Mr. Ballou; it was in rhyme, and was entitled "Reflections over the Grave of an Infant." Mr. B. suggested but little alteration, and asked the favor of retaining it; but, to the young man's surprise and joy, he saw it, in a few days, in the *Universalist Magazine*.* It may now be believed that his ambition was fully excited, and almost every moment of his leisure time was given to study and to writing. Imperfect as his effusions were, they were generally admitted to the *Universalist Magazine*; and, in the course of six months, Mr. Ballou gave liberty to the printer to insert any article from the new writer which he might bring. Shortly after, Mr. Ballou, when obliged to be absent from Boston, would leave his proof-sheets for his young friend to read. It was in the month of May, 1820, that Mr. B. availed himself of an opportunity to ask his new friend if it was not his intention to enter the ministry, who at once answered in the negative. He had had his faith in divine revelation disturbed by the belief that certain doctrines of Calvinism were taught

* See *Magazine*, vol. I., p. 184.

in the Bible; but he had begun to attend on the ministry of Mr. Ballou, and these doubts were fast wearing away. He suggested to Mr. B. the trials of mind through which he had passed in these respects; and the venerable man assisted him to understand the proofs of Christianity, and urged him to read "Paley's Evidences." As he read, he became amazed to see with what clearness the Christian religion could be proved to be of divine origin; and, attending constantly on the ministry of Mr. Ballou, he soon came to see the Bible in a new phase. He learned that the doctrine of endless punishment was not revealed therein, and that the death of Christ (instead of being designed to reconcile an unchangeable God to men, as the old divines had taught) was designed to reveal and commend God's love. "*For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.*" — John 3 : 16, 17. The young man seemed to enter into a new life; and, although he answered the question in respect to entering the ministry decidedly in the negative, when first proposed by Mr. Ballou, he soon came, from the effect of divine truth upon his mind, to cherish an earnest desire to preach the gospel. All his leisure time, during the summer and fall of 1820, he spent in preparation, though his means were very limited. His heart was in the work.

At this time (as has been shown) Mr. Ballou was preaching on one Sabbath evening in a fortnight at Roxbury; and the young man, with much indiscretion, pro-

posed to Mr. B. that, on a certain Sunday evening in the month of December, he would go out with him to that town and officiate at the lecture. Instead of rebuking him for his presumption, Mr. B. kindly replied, "It is not for me to say who shall preach at Roxbury; but I will suggest the matter to my friends there, and, if they approve of the arrangement, it will give me pleasure." At a future day, Mr. Ballou said to him, "The friends at Roxbury will expect you to preach on my next appointment." This happened on Sunday evening, Dec. 10, 1820. A friend took both in a carriage, at the close of service at School-street; they rode together to the town named, and the young man conducted the services, Mr. Ballou offering the concluding prayer.

At the beginning of the following month this young man would have been without a home, had it not been for the kindness of Mr. Ballou. His master, to whom he had been apprenticed, and whom he had served faithfully for nearly seven years, would doubtless have given him employment; but his desires now impelled him to enter the ministry. Where should he go? where could he abide while he was preparing for the sacred office? While these thoughts were passing in his mind, corresponding ones occupied that of Mr. Ballou; and on the Sabbath (Dec. 31) the reverend pastor gave notice to the people of his charge that he had a matter of benevolence to mention to them, and such persons as could conveniently remain after the benediction could hear it. Suffice it to say, that on that occasion one hundred and fifty dollars were placed in the hands of Mr. Ballou, to pay this young man's board for one year; and on the next

day (the beginning of the new year) he became an inmate in Mr. B.'s family. Here he expected to remain at least for a year, and perhaps longer; but the early settlement which he gained as a pastor, and his subsequent ability, by the divine blessing, to take care of himself, are matters that are not to be described in this place. Yet the biographer [who was the young man referred to] cannot permit this occasion to pass without saying that, so far as he can see, he should never have been a preacher of the doctrine of universal grace, if it had not been for the advice and assistance of Hosea Ballou. The single fact of Mr. B.'s removal to the house of Abel Baker, which brought him and the young man acquainted with each other, probably gave a turn to the whole life of the latter. How little we know of what is to happen to us! How much depends on what seem to us to be very slight causes! From the time of which we speak to the hour of Mr. B.'s death, an unbroken friendship existed between the two.

SECTION XVI. — DEDICATION OF CHURCHES.

In this early day, and for several years previously, Mr. Ballou had been generally called on to officiate at the dedication of churches, and usually preached the sermon on such occasions. We remember well two dedications which took place at the very beginning of the year 1821. The first was that of the Universalist meeting-house in Roxbury, Mass., which had been erected during the preceding summer and fall. It was a beautiful house for that day; and as the society had been gathered principally by the labors and influence of Mr. Ballou,

the honor of being chosen to preach the sermon seemed to belong to him. There were present, beside him, Rev. Joshua Flagg, of Scituate, who read select portions of Scripture; Rev. Paul Dean, of Boston, who offered the introductory prayer; Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown, who offered the prayer of dedication; and Rev. Richard Carrique, of Attleboro', who offered the concluding prayer. Mr. Ballou's sermon is well remembered. It was delivered in the presence of a congregation which filled the house densely in every part, every aisle being perfectly crowded with persons who were obliged to stand. The text was Mal. 3 : 10 : "*Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house; and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.*" The preacher spoke first of the tithes under the law. They were selected from what God had first, in his gracious providence, bestowed upon the people. 2d. They were an acknowledgment of the divine favor. 3d. They were eaten in the place which God had chosen in which to establish his name and worship, by those who offered them, with rejoicing. From this Mr. B. proceeded in the following manner :

" 1st. He examined the meat which has been offered in the sanctuary of Christian devotion, and endeavored to show that, in some instances at least, it is not the true spiritual tithes which Christ requires. "

" 2d. He said, we shall attempt to bring forward the true and living bread, that there may be meat in the house of the Lord, and give some true tokens that we are not deceived in the bread which we place on the table of the Lord. And,

“3d. By proving God herewith, we shall, if we make no mistake, see the windows of heaven open, and a blessing poured out until there be not room enough to receive it.”

In this sermon he showed that certain false doctrines, which had been preached in Christian temples, dishonored God, and gave great sorrow to the people. He showed, also, the strikingly beneficial effect of the true doctrine of God, which was the bread of God that came down from heaven to give life to the world. He pointed out various portions of that true doctrine, and then said, “Let us bring all these tithes into the house of the Lord, that there may be meat in his house; and let us prove God therewith, and see if he will not open the windows of heaven and pour us out a blessing, until there shall not be room to receive it.” And then came the gathering together of Scripture testimonies, through which God pours out his blessings upon men in the richest abundance. In concluding, he uttered the following petition :

“Brethren, may it please an indulgent God to reward all your labors, your highly honorable exertions, and your commendable perseverance, from the commencement of the gathering of your society in this place, to the completion of this beautiful house, and to its present dedication to the worship of the one true and living God, with an abundance of those spiritual provisions with which Zion is blessed. And may the divine glory abide in this house; may there be wholesome meat on the table of the Lord in this place continually, for you and for your children for a long time to come. And may it also please God to continue your happy union, and your good agreement and friendly intercourse with the other Christian societies in this place.”*

* See “A Sermon delivered at the Dedication of the First Universalist Meeting-house in Roxbury, Thursday, Jan. 4, 1821. By Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Second Universalist Society in Boston.” Boston : Henry Bowen, 1821.

On the following week (January 10), Mr. Ballou went to Milford, Mass., to assist in the dedication of a new and substantial house for public worship recently erected in that town. The brethren desired him to preach the sermon, and would accept of none other, even though he suggested the propriety of their calling on Rev. Mr. Turner. The day of dedication was remarkably pleasant, and the congregation was uncommonly numerous. It was such a gathering as had not been seen in that vicinity for years. Scriptures were read by Rev. R. L. Killam, of Marlboro'; introductory prayer by Rev. Richard Carrique; prayer of dedication by Rev. Elias Smith; * sermon by Rev. H. Ballou; and conclud-

* Elias Smith had professed to embrace Universalism about the year 1818. He had been at first a Calvinistic Baptist, afterwards a Free-will Baptist, afterwards a Christian, and then a Universalist. He had formed some connection with the celebrated Dr. Thompson, in the Thompsonian practice, so called, and gave much of his attention to healing the sick. He had friends around him who loved his preaching, even when he was a Baptist. They still clung to him; and he attempted to establish a Universalist society, which he called the *Third Universalist Society* in Boston. They met at first in a hall in the second story of a building in Clark-street, near the meeting-house of Rev. Francis Parkman. Here he was installed on Wednesday, 3d January, 1821. Rev. B. Streeter, of Salem, offered the introductory prayer; Rev. R. Carrique, of Attleboro', preached the sermon, from 2 Tim. 2: 24, 25; the consecrating prayer was offered by Rev. Joshua Flagg, of Scituate; the charge was given by Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown; and concluding prayer, by Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, then of Stafford, Conn. After holding meetings in this place for a year or two, Mr. Smith removed, with his congregation, to a new building, built for a market-house, next east of the City Hotel, where there was a fine hall. We think the congregation did not prosper for many years, but was scattered and lost. Mr. Smith afterwards renounced Universalism, and still later accepted it again; and, finally, his influence was entirely used up as a clergyman, and he gave his whole attention to the practice of medicine on Thompson's system. He was the father of D. D. Smith and M. Hale Smith.

ing prayer by Rev. Z. S. Crossman. Mr. B.'s text was Isaiah 2: 3: "*And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.*" The sermon created a great sensation, and three of the most respectable citizens of the town were appointed a committee to solicit a copy for the press. He spoke first of that law of our social nature which led people to say one to another, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord." He made a beautiful use of this section of his text, and closed his remarks upon it by expressing the hope that no sentiment might ever be preached in that house which in its nature or tendency is subversive of the social affections and charities of our nature. He then went on to describe "the mountain of the Lord, the house of the God of Jacob." This was the spiritual kingdom of Christ. It is *universal; all nations* shall flow unto it. There is a feast provided there for all people,—see Isaiah 25: 7—9. Any place is the mountain of the Lord's house wherever this feast is prepared. This is the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. From this Zion, is to go forth the law; to this shall the people come and learn the ways of God. He dwelt largely on the subject of God's ways, and in closing he expressed his hopes in the following strain:

"Brethren, may you long enjoy the privilege of saying one to another, and to your families, Come, let us go to the house of the God of Jacob; and here may you meet in peace and love, and may

it please God that you may here learn his ways, and be directed in his paths. Be cautious that you do not mistake the ways of man for the ways of God, the doctrines of men for the doctrine of God, the spirit of the world for the spirit of God; but be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. Here may you, and your children, and your children's children, be enlightened in the knowledge of God, and delight yourselves in his law and word. And may it please the great Head of the church to give peace in this place for a long time to come, and grant many to hold sweet communion with their God within these walls. Come, my friends, enter into covenant with God this day, as did Jacob of old, and let this house be witness that the Lord shall be your God from henceforth and forever." *

SECTION XVII. — EVENT AT CANTON, MASS.

On one occasion, two or three years after Mr. B.'s removal to Boston, he was invited to Canton, Mass., to deliver a sermon. The people had heard of him, and they desired to *see* him and *hear him speak*. He was always a favorite of the common people; they "heard him gladly." Accordingly he consented to visit this town; and, as the best place which could be obtained was a hall, the meeting was appointed there, and when the hour for service arrived it was filled to overflowing. The Methodist clergyman (a Rev. Mr. Tinkham) came to the meeting, and after he was introduced to Mr. Ballou he said to him that he should be glad of the opportunity to make some remarks on his discourse at the conclusion,

* "A Sermon, delivered at the Dedication of the First Universalist Meeting-house, in Milford, Mass., Wednesday, January 10, 1821. By Hosea Ballou, pastor of the Second Universalist Society in Boston. Boston: Henry Bowea. 1821."

thus showing that he expected to be opposed to what Mr. B. might say, although he knew not what doctrines were to be advanced. Finding him in this state of mind, Mr. Ballou determined that he would give the man something important and solid to work upon. The text chosen was the well-known words of the apostle, 1 Tim. 2: 4: "God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." Mr. Ballou, of course, showed, what was almost self-evident, that God's will is in favor of the salvation of all men; and if God's will be done, all men will be saved. He then proceeded to show that the will of a Being of infinite wisdom and power cannot be defeated. "He doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?"—Dan. 4: 35. With many other considerations did Mr. B. prove that the will of God must be carried into effect. When he drew towards a close, he told the people that the reverend gentleman present with him desired to make some remarks on the discourse; and he hoped they would sit patiently and listen respectfully to what he might say. They observed a perfect silence. Rev. Mr. Tinkham rose, and proceeded to agree with Mr. Ballou so far as to allow that *God willed the salvation of all men*; but he maintained that the will of God might be defeated. It was the will of God that men should not sin here on the earth; but they *did* sin. Thus we saw, he said, that the will of God might fail of being accomplished. He went on further to quote certain texts of Scripture, to prove the doctrine of endless misery. And, having done this, he asserted again, with great emphasis,

“You see, my hearers, that although God wills the salvation of all men, it furnishes no proof of the doctrine Mr. Ballou has preached here to-night; for the will of God will not be done.” Here he sat down.

Mr. Ballou rose slowly, and said meekly, “Our brother has told us that the will of God is in favor of the salvation of all men, but he thinks the will of God will not be carried into effect. Suppose, now, I allow (continued Mr. Ballou) that he has in this way refuted my argument in favor of Universalism, as based on the will of God,—what, then? Answer. He has refuted himself also; for if *I* cannot depend on the will of God to support my argument, neither can *he* to support his; for, if the will of God may not be done in one case, it may not in another: if it may not be done in saving men, *it may not be done in damning them*. Thus the gentleman, in an attempt to refute Universalism, has actually refuted his own theory!” This reply struck the minds of the people with such force, that nearly every person in the house rose at once upon his feet; and it seemed to them so evident that the Methodist clergyman had overthrown his own cause, that they dispersed. He sought to say something to them, but they judged he would make a bad matter worse, and they did not stop to hear. He turned then to Mr. Ballou, and said, “I did not mean to give the sense you attributed to me.” “Well,” said Mr. B., “I certainly did not intend to misrepresent you; but I had no means of knowing what you *meant*, except from what you *said*.” The carriage being in waiting to take Mr. B. to his lodgings, they parted. Mr. Tinkham felt sore. He complained that the congregation did not treat him

respectfully. A gentleman asked, "Did not Mr. Ballou treat you well, sir?" "He did," said Mr. T.

SECTION XVIII.—HIS HABITS OF CHARITY.

The great apostle to the Gentiles has given the world an eloquent description of charity in his first epistle to the Corinthians. It was the desire of Mr. Ballou to form his character on that model, and he had sedulously endeavored to do so from his earliest days as a Christian. He would, if need be, "suffer long," but he desired still to be "kind;" to be "not puffed up;" "not easily provoked;" to think "no evil," to "bear all things" and "endure all things," rather than violate the precepts of Christ. This is beautifully illustrated in the following interesting relation of facts, sent me by a clergyman, who once studied with Mr. Ballou :

"An incident occurred, while I was under the instruction of Father Ballou, which, while it rebuked my indiscretion, and taught me a lesson never to be forgotten, at the same time exhibited a trait in his character which I ever afterwards admired; showing the perfect discipline to which his heart had been subjected, and how thoroughly it was imbued with the spirit of Christ.

"A certain person who, from envy or some other ungoverned passion, entertained very unfriendly feelings towards Mr. B., and who improved every convenient opportunity to prejudice the minds of others against him, had repeatedly, and with considerable urgency, invited me to his house. His connection with the denomination, and with the sacred office for which I was then endeavoring to prepare myself, induced me to make him a call. His object in seeking the interview was soon manifested by his anxiety to know how far my mind had become 'tainted,' as he

expressed it, with Mr. Ballou's opinions. And, finding that, so far as I understood them, they were regarded to be generally sound and scriptural, he indulged in a strain of remark, with reference both to the opinions and their distinguished advocate, marked by a degree of severity which betrayed a very unhappy frame of mind. Upon returning home after tea, I related to one or two of Mr. B.'s family some of the harsh things that had been said, which seemed rather to amuse than offend them. But Mr. B. himself made no inquiries of me respecting the interview, for he was aware of the feeling indulged toward him in that quarter. And when, at the table the next morning, I was about to relate to him some things that were said, he turned, and, with a look and a manner I, shall never forget, said, 'Br. F., stop! stop! I will hear not *one word* about it. If anything uncharitable was said in reference to me, I beg of you not to repeat it to any one living.' " *

SECTION XIX.— UNIVERSALISM SPRINGS UP IN OHIO.

At this date, Ohio was a small state compared with what it is at the present time. It had, perhaps, a half-million of inhabitants of every kind. Universalism was little known there. A few Universalists had migrated to the vicinity of the Muskingum river, and settled at a new place, called Marietta. As early as 1814, Rev. Timothy Bigelow removed to the state, bearing with him a recommendation from the General Convention of Universalists. He had been ordained in 1809 (see vol. I. of this work,

* I received this account from Rev. Thomas G. Farnsworth, of Waltham, Mass. About the beginning of the year 1821 he was dismissed from the First Baptist Church in Boston, and immediately devoted himself to a preparation for the ministry among the Universalists. He went to reside in the family of Mr. Ballou; and it was during this residence that the fact related occurred.

pp. 308, 392). Mr. Ballou's paper (the *Universalist Magazine*) found its way into Ohio, and did much good in spreading a knowledge of the truth. The following is an extract of a letter received by Mr. B., and dated Huron county, February 10, 1821 :

“ There is a large share of this county friendly to your works, and of the principal characters, too ; and I have no doubt a preacher of our order may have good encouragement, and would be well provided for. There has been but one among us since I have been here, namely, a Mr. Johnson, from Vermont. I had a short opportunity with him ; and he did himself and profession honor with us, and encouraged another visit, but has not yet attended. He had left Vermont for his health, which he said was mending. He told me there were so many calls for his labors that he did not know how to dispose of that which he could do. We look to your quarter for help, hoping that Providence will so order that we in this part of the vineyard shall not wholly be neglected. Please be so good as to forward such sketches of the general prosperity and progress of the church as you have reason to believe will be new and interesting to me, and that you can conveniently attend to.

“ This county is settled principally of people from New England and the State of New York and we are very well pleased with the country ; but the country is yet quite new, and, although we are blessed with an abundance of the produce of the land, yet the scarcity of money is such that we cannot realize it from our produce, and of course get very little.”

We see, from this extract, that Mr. Ballou's works had reached Ohio, even at this early day, and were laying the foundations of Universalism in that state. The Mr. Johnson referred to in this extract was, we think, Rev.

N. B. Johnson. In 1821 he wrote that there were not *twenty* Universalists in all Ohio in 1814.*

SECTION XX.—UNIVERSALISM IN RHODE ISLAND.

Mr. Ballou had always aimed to travel as much as he could, consistently with his duty to his society. He was wondrously successful wherever he went. From the first days of his ministerial life he had been in the habit of visiting occasionally the State of Rhode Island, which was the native place of his parents, and of all his ancestors, so far as he could trace them; and he had frequently preached there. Universalism had sprung up under Mr. Murray, and perhaps a society or two had been formed; but, for the want of preachers, the doctrine did not extend. Yet the seed of truth cannot die.

In June, 1821, Mr. Ballou had the happiness to receive an epistle from a beloved friend in Providence, from which we take the following paragraph:

“But I have digressed; my design was, to state the progress of the doctrine of universal salvation. For several years we have had occasional preaching in this town, and frequently has our place of meeting been very full, and the hearers very attentive to the word preached; of late more attention has been manifested, and it was thought advisable by some to attempt the formation of a society; accordingly, a meeting was held on the 10th of April last, the society formed, and officers appointed, at the head of which stands our worthy and venerable friend, Rufus Waterman. On Sunday, 29th of April, Rev. Mr. Carrique attended, and delivered three discourses to respectable audiences; in the evening,

* See Modern History of Universalism, first edition, vol. 1., p. 428.

especially, the audience was very numerous and attentive. Soon after this, it was deemed advisable to open a subscription for the purchase of a lot of land, on which to build a house for public worship; having succeeded, it is probable that a foundation for a house will be laid as early as the ensuing spring."

The place of meeting here referred to was the old town-house, which was very large, and was capable of containing a great number of hearers. Sometimes, especially at the Sunday-evening lectures, it would be crowded. Rev. Richard Carrique resided at this time in Attleboro', Mass., about eight miles from Providence.

SECTION XXI.—MR. BALLOU VISITS CONNECTICUT.

In May, 1821, Mr. Ballou made a visit to Connecticut. He left Boston on Monday, 14th of May, and stopped a day or two at Stafford, where he preached on the 17th. On Friday he reached Hartford, and, as there was no meeting-house there, at this time, owned by the Universalists, he obtained liberty to enter Rev. Dr. Flint's church (Orthodox) in the evening. On Sunday (20th) he delivered two discourses in the State-house, to very large congregations. On Monday and Wednesday evenings following, he occupied again the pulpit of Dr. Flint; and on Friday went to Berlin, eleven miles south of Hartford, where he occupied the pulpit of Rev. Mr. Goodrich (supposed to be Orthodox). On Saturday, he pursued his way to Middlefield, a parish in Middletown, and preached in the afternoon, after which he returned to Hartford to prepare for the duties of the Sabbath. The services of Sunday, the 27th, were long remembered by

the elder Universalists of Hartford. They were holden in the State-house, where the preacher, not worn out by the past week's toil, preached two admirable sermons. He went in the evening to Windsor, where he preached, and returned after lecture to Hartford. He left the latter place on Monday morning, preached at Stafford in the afternoon of that day, and returned to Boston, his lovely home, on Tuesday. He enjoyed this journey richly. It was May; the season was delightful; the country was variegated with the beauty of grass, waving grain, and trees adorned with foliage and blossoms; the air was full of perfume; everything gave promise of a full harvest. He said:

“I was led, as I passed along through the country, to compare the wisdom of this world, as displayed in the limited doctrine of the Calvinistic creed, with the divine benevolence impartially set forth in creation and providence. This comparison led me to pity my brethren of limited faith, and to raise a desire to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, that he would remove from their minds those deceptions which lead them to dishonor him.”

During this visit to Hartford, he remembered his last interview with the lamented Elhanan Winchester, in that city, twenty-four years before,* when Mr. B. himself was but twenty-six years of age. Mr. W. died, much lamented, shortly after that interview, and was buried there. In 1802 the General Convention voted to put a stone at his grave, which was accordingly done; the inscription on which was drawn up by Rev. George Richards. During the visit of 1821, Mr. Ballou went several

* See vol. i. of this work, pp. 122, 123.

times to the grave-yard, and walked pensively among the tombs. He had a calm, pleasing sensation in leaning upon the stone at the good man's grave, and reading its inscription.* On the whole, this visit was the most important in its effects of any one that Mr. B. had ever made to that place. The brethren and fathers were revived and strengthened, so that the little band, which before had seemed to have but little life, immediately determined to move onward. They engaged a preacher, Rev. R. Carrique, who settled there and held regular meetings in the State-house, and soon after commenced a paper, entitled "*The Religious Inquirer.*" Preparations were made without delay for building a meeting-house, which was dedicated in 1824, as we shall show in the proper place.

SECTION XXII.—ORDINATION OF T. WHITTEMORE.

We have already described the part taken by Mr. Ballou in advising the individual above-named to enter the ministry, and the assistance obtained for him in a pecuniary respect. But the young man, to his surprise,

* The following is the inscription :

"The General Convention of the Universal Churches, in memory of their dear departed brother, the Rev. ELHANAN WINCHESTER, erected this monumental stone.

"He died April 18th, 1797, aged 46 years.

"'T was thine to preach, with animated zeal,
The glories of the resurrection morn,
When sin, death, hell, the power of Christ shall feel,
And light, life, immortality, be born."

within three months from the time he entered Mr. B.'s family, was invited to settle as pastor of the Universalist society in Milford, Mass. He looked to Mr. B. for advice, who thought the invitation should be accepted; which was done, and almost the whole of the money contributed for the young man's benefit was left in Mr. B.'s hands, for the aid of such students as should afterwards stand in need. Thus the young man became the pastor in Milford, although unlearned and inexperienced. He was almost totally unprepared for the position into which he had been drawn, and nothing could have justified the step on his part, except the great need there was of preachers, and the resolute will he felt that after he should have removed to Milford he would pursue his studies with all his mind and strength.

Within a few weeks he found himself embarrassed, because he had not received ordination; and he wrote to Mr. Ballou for advice. The good man returned for answer, that not only could a clergyman not marry without ordination, but, according to the custom of our order, he could not administer the Lord's supper, nor baptize children. Here the matter (as the young man supposed) was dropped. In June, he went to Stoughton, Mass., to attend the session of the Southern Association of Universalists, where he met his friend Ballou, with Revs. Paul Dean, J. Flagg, R. Carrique and Z. Crossman. There was no house in the town owned by the Universalists, who had holden their meetings, hitherto, on the Sabbath, in a hall; but permission had been obtained to hold the public services of the association in the meeting-house of

Rev. Mr. Gay.* Mr. Ballou proposed to the association to confer ordination on young Whitemore. It was known to them all, that he was settled at Milford as a regular pastor, and that it was necessary, therefore, he should be ordained. The service took place on Wednesday, 13th June. Mr. Dean had preached in the forenoon, from Isaiah 28 : 20 ; and the afternoon was devoted to the services of the ordination. Mr. Flagg offered the introductory prayer ; Mr. Ballou preached the sermon ; Mr. Dean offered the ordaining prayer ; Mr. Carrique gave the charge ; Mr. Dean the right hand of fellowship, and Mr. Crossman the concluding prayer. Mr. Ballou's sermon is well remembered even now, nearly a third of a century after its delivery. The words of the text were, "*I will abundantly bless her provisions : I will satisfy her poor with bread. I will also clothe her priests with salvation, and her saints shall shout aloud for joy.*"—Psa. 132 : 15, 16. The preacher began by saying, "We must, in the first place, endeavor to learn who is referred to in the text. 'I will abundantly bless her provisions.' Whose provisions ? 'I will satisfy her poor with bread.' Whose poor ? 'I will also clothe her priests with salvation.' Whose priests ? 'And her saints shall shout aloud for joy.' Whose saints ?" To obtain answers to these questions, he read the two preceding verses. "For the Lord hath chosen Zion ; he hath desired it for his

* The majority of Mr. Gay's parish soon became Universalists ; and it was but a few years after the time of which we speak, when they settled a Universalist clergyman. Rev. M. B. Ballou, son of Hosea, remained for a long series of years their pastor. The same meeting-house still stands.

habitation; this is my rest forever; here will I dwell, for I have desired it. I will abundantly bless *her* provisions." "Ah," said he, "now we have the answer. We will read the text anew. 'I will abundantly bless Zion's provision; I will satisfy Zion's poor with bread; I will also clothe Zion's priests with salvation, and Zion's saints shall shout aloud for joy.'"

The audience hung with almost breathless attention upon the speaker's lips. He went on to show what was meant by Zion. He said that Sinai and Zion were used as metaphors by the sacred writers, to represent the law and the gospel, and turned immediately to the words of Paul (Gal. 4: 24—26), "Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." Here it was evident that Zion was a figure of the heavenly Jerusalem, or new covenant. The preacher then turned the attention of his hearers to the following passage in the epistle to the Hebrews,—“But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels. To the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.”—12: 22, 23. “Now,” said he, “it is evident that Zion, and the New Jerusalem, and the city of God, all mean the same thing; and the Hebrews had come to it. “Ye are come unto Mount Zion,” &c.

“These things,” he said again, “are an allegory; it is the gospel covenant which is here described, which is the new Jerusalem that came down from God out of heaven, as mentioned by the Revelator,—21 : 2—4.” Thus he went on, without the slightest embarrassment, adducing one passage after another, every additional one making the matter plainer than any other had. Having thus gone through with the first part of his subject, he went on to show what were *the provisions* of Zion; and here he described to us the feast which God had made for all people. Never, since we had begun to hear the gospel preached, had we known a passage of Scripture to be quoted with that peculiar pertinency and effect with which Mr. Ballou, on this occasion, quoted the prophet’s words, “And in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations. He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it.”—Isa. 25 : 6—8. “Behold,” said he, “how God hath blessed the provisions of Zion.” And then he called, “Ho, every one that thirsteth, come! ye hungry, come!” And he uttered the words of Watts :

“Eternal wisdom hath prepared
A soul-reviving feast,
And bids our longing appetites
The rich provision taste.

“Ho! ye that pant for living streams,
And pine away and die,
Here you may quench your raging thirst
With springs that never dry.”

He expostulated with the people in the words of the same prophet: “Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labor for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good.”—55: 2. In making an application of this part of his subject, he said there was no peace, nor comfort, nor spiritual nourishment to be derived from the doctrines of men. He then went to the next clause of the text, “I will *satisfy* her poor with bread.” “Satisfy,” said he; “mark that word *satisfy*.” God’s truth only could satisfy the soul. Men might imagine, for a time, that they had rest in believing the creeds which the wisdom of this world had invented; but they soon awoke to a sense of their wants. “It shall be even as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty; or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite.”—Isaiah 29: 8. This imperfect description must suffice on this point. Here he went on to show that the gospel in its fulness gives *satisfaction* to the human soul — perfect satisfaction. He turned to the creeds of men, and showed the dreadful effects they had produced; he quoted the words of Saurin, that the cup of life had been poisoned, by his belief in the dreadful doctrine of endless pain, and that he did not wonder that the fear of hell had made

some men mad and others melancholy. But it is in vain for us to attempt to report, in a brief space, this extraordinary sermon. The audience were very deeply affected. At once, they were motionless as statues; then they wept; then again their faces were radiant with joy; then, at some sudden flash of the speaker's argument or illustration, a movement would pass over the whole assembly, a rustling as audible as that of the leaves in the forest when stirred by the wind. At any rate, the writer felt sure, then, that he had *never* heard a sermon in his life which had had such an effect upon him; and now, looking back, he can remember but few that have profited him as this did.

At the close of the sermon, the other services went on; but so excited had we all been, that we were poorly prepared for what was to follow. Such an admonition as the preacher gave the candidate at the end of the sermon can never be forgotten. His main desire seemed to be that the young man should love the gospel and preach it. "Study the Bible," said he, "my young brother, if you mean to make yourself useful; and do not come here and profess to receive this book as the man of your counsel at your ordination, and then neglect to study it, and to proclaim its doctrines to the world." This was a day of deep and solemn interest and joy to the young man. One of the fathers, a layman by the name of Southworth, took him to his house to spend the night, and gave him much good counsel and advice. On the next day, the Milford pastor returned to his flock an ordained clergyman.*

* I recollect that in the month of June, 1821, I had been to Scituate, Mass., to preach on an exchange with an old preacher, Rev. Joshua Flagg.

SECTION XIX. — A NEW HYMN-BOOK.

In the winter of 1820–21, Mr. Ballou had proposed to his Br. Turner to join with him in bringing out a hymn-book for the use of Universalist societies. The Convention Hymn-book* had gone almost entirely out of use. The two brethren named believed that the spirit of devotion should be attended with a clear apprehension of the consistency and truth of the matter of the song; otherwise, the worshipper cannot “sing with the spirit and understanding also.” It was also highly proper, they

On my way from Milford, I stopped at Boston, and Br. Elias Smith invited me to tarry as I returned, and deliver a sermon to his congregation on Monday evening. I consented to do so, and fulfilled the agreement. Father Ballou was present to hear me, and sat in the pulpit. I preached what I thought was as good a sermon as I could give, from the text, Matt. 11 : 28—30, “Come unto me, all ye that labor,” &c. Several times during the sermon, I heard father B., who sat behind me, groan quite audibly. I thought perhaps he was sick; but I learned afterward what was the cause of his trouble. I went home with him to spend the night; and all the way to his house he said but little to me, but he kept talking to himself, as if “treasuring up” something. When we arrived at his house, he began about the sermon. The substance of his remarks was, that it was in bad taste, words were mispronounced, new words were coined, bad metaphors occurred, &c., and instances of these things were pointed out. I, of course, was crest-fallen, for up in Milford I was a great man. Finally, said he, there was one good thing in the sermon. “What was that, sir?” said I, glad of a little praise. “The text,” said he, “the text; and that was the only good thing in the whole!” The reproof was severe, but I have no doubt it was deserved. If he had had no regard for me, he would not have reproved me. He aimed at my good; and, although the medicine he administered was very unpalatable, I have no doubt the effect was salutary.

* See vol. I. of this work, p. 269.

thought, that the songs sung in a Christian assembly should correspond with the doctrine preached for their edification.

“The hymn-books hitherto used in many of our societies possess many excellences, and considerable matter of a character truly evangelical. Such, in particular, is the Boston Collection. Yet this work, with some others which have been in use, appears to the compilers to be exceptionable, and that in cases of highly doctrinal importance. The sentiments, *that the Deity required an expiring victim, by way of satisfaction to his justice; that the death of Christ operated to cancel the debt which the sinner owed; and that God died upon the cross and rose from the dead;*—these, though undoubtedly believed with sincerity by those who composed the hymns in which they are found, are considered as unsupported by revelation and unapproved by reason; and they are not GENERALLY believed in our societies. While selections have been cheerfully made, from the works containing such sentiments, of hymns which appeared to possess claims to the devotional attention of Christians, those of the above description have been carefully omitted. A large number of the hymns now used in the Universalist societies in Boston have been retained. Selections have been made from the Philadelphia Hymn Book, Watts', Belknap's and Emerson's Collections, and the hymns published some years since at the request and by the direction of the General Convention of Universalists. With these selections a small number of original hymns have been incorporated.”

This hymn-book differed very essentially from that which had been brought out by the Convention. That was composed of hymns entirely original; this was a compilation. It must be confessed that it was a great improvement on any hymn-book *then* in use among Universalist societies. It was generally called Ballou and

Turner's Hymns;* and it remained the standard hymn-book in that denomination for nearly ten years, when Streeter's took its place. Among the few original hymns in this collection, was that beautiful one by Mr. Ballou :

“ In God's eternity
 Shall there a day arise,
 When all that's born of men shall be
 With Jesus in the skies.

“ As night before the rays
 Of morning flees away,
 Sin shall retire before the blaze
 Of God's eternal day.

“ As music fills the grove,
 When stormy clouds are past,
 Sweet anthems of redeeming love
 Shall all employ at last.

“ Redeemed from death and sin,
 Shall Adam's numerous race
 A ceaseless song of praise begin,
 And shout redeeming grace.”

SECTION XX. — PASTORAL LABORS IN BOSTON.

In the midst of all the other labors which Mr. Ballou performed, he did not neglect the people of his charge. So far as was possible, he made himself acquainted with all who came to his church upon the Sabbath day. He could not know them all; many came merely to his ser-

* The whole title was, “The Universalist Hymn Book; a New Collection of Psalms and Hymns, for the use of Universalist Societies. By Hosea Ballou and Edward Turner. ‘I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the understanding also.’ Boston, Munroe & Francis, 1821.”

mons, who never even spoke with him. But he was always ready, when called on, to visit them, especially in cases of sickness. Many were the calls of this nature which he had, from persons not connected in any way with his society. He never refused to go. The suffering felt that they might take the liberty to send for him, for, if he cultivated in his own heart the spirit of the doctrine which he preached, he was the friend of all men. Families attached to no religious society would call on him to comfort the sick and the mourning, and to offer prayers at the burial of the dead. On one occasion he was requested to visit a sick man on Fort Hill, so called, (in Boston). The wife was a Baptist. She saw her husband declining day by day, and, although he had asked to see Mr. B., she was very anxious that he should see one of the Baptist clergymen of the town. The latter was accordingly sent for; and he came, and advised the man to get a new heart. He then knelt down and prayed that God would save the soul of the sick man from the second death. Such a comforter did no good; and the man asked again to see Mr. Ballou. He was then sent for; and, in the course of a few hours, he stood at the bedside of the sufferer. He saw signs of destitution around the room. He sat down and said, "Well, my friend, you are quite sick. I am sorry to see you so low. [The wife, by the way, had left the room.] Sometimes," said he, "the sick permit themselves to suffer by not making their wants known." The feeble man intimated that his landlord had made them unhappy by pressing them for the payment of a little rent which was due—about seventeen dollars. "Well," said Mr. B., "he will probably

not harm you. Do you feel the need of any little matters of food, that you think will strengthen you and do you good?" The man diffidently expressed his wants in these respects. Mr. B. took a ten-dollar bill from his purse. "I thought you would need something; I have heard of your case from others; take this, and let your wife purchase you such nourishing articles as you need. Don't pay your rent with it; it is not enough for that, and the money is for your own private use; the rent we will talk about another time. Now, brother," continued Mr. B., "we trust your case is not utterly hopeless; you are indeed very sick, but possibly you may recover, with the blessing of God, and the help of good nursing. Cast all your cares upon the Lord. He is our Shepherd; he will not let us suffer more than is for our good; and though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, we should fear no evil, for he is with us, his rod and his staff will comfort us." "I thank you! I thank you!" said the sick man, making an effort to sit up in the bed, his eyes seeming to enlarge with gratitude, though the appearance was produced merely by the contrast between the full eye and the sunken face. "Mr. Ballou," the sick man continued, "you have done me a great deal of good; I thank you a thousand times. I had one other preacher to see me, and he gave me no comfort. I have not been a very bad man; but I have not been mindful of the blessings God has given me. I have a dear son absent at sea; I want you to pray for us, and for him, that he may return, and then all, all — will be well." Mr. B. rose; and there, in that small chamber, alone with the afflicted, he offered prayer, with

a soft voice, and commended first the sick man, and then his wife, and last of all the absent son, to the kind care of God. The man, *the father*, sobbed audibly. When Mr. B. rose to retire, he said, "I am unwilling to leave you alone;" but the sufferer intimated that his wife would return as soon as she heard him go down stairs; and thus he left. He said to his family, on his return, it was one of the most affecting visits to a sick chamber that he ever had made.*

But his labors as a pastor did much good, also, in other ways. Many were the persons who attended on his ministry from distant towns, who were detained in Boston on the Sabbath day. They carried home intelligence of the new preacher; and when their neighbors came to Boston, they, in their turn, went to hear him, and thus the word

* We received this account by the kindness of a friend who learned all the facts from an aged lady by the name of Wild, an attendant at School-street, who will be well remembered by the Universalists of Boston of that day. This good old mother at last was stricken with paralysis, but she could not give up her meeting. As soon as she recovered so far as to go out, she would, with much effort, walk to the church, leaning upon the arm of some member of her family. On a Sunday morning, as she was on her way, she was met by a friend, who said to her, "Is it possible, Aunt Wild, that you are trying to get to church, when you are so lame?" "Yes, William," said she; "and I thank God my faith is *not lame*." At the last she died, as she had lived, in the full triumph of Christian hope.

On reading the manuscript to the friend who furnished me with the facts, he said, "You have forgotten one of the most important things in regard to the sick man whom Father Ballou visited upon Fort Hill." "What was that?" I asked. "Why," said he, "the wife, who was so opposed to Mr. Ballou when he first came to see her husband, afterwards became a Universalist, and joined Mr. B.'s church. She deeply respected him as long as she lived."

was spread. Universalism began to assume a new face all over the state, and, in fact, all over New England.*

SECTION XXI. — HIS HEALTH IMPAIRED.

But these numerous exertions of Mr. Ballou produced bodily derangement. The year 1821 was, in one sense, a year of pain and discouragement to him. In the first place, indigestion set in, followed by not very dangerous, but yet by quite serious, consequences. He had also some membranous inflammation on the left side, which became chronic, and troubled him for some time. Those consequences of indigestion followed which frequently occur in cases of men of Mr. B.'s age. Other organs sympathized with the disorder of the stomach. Pains in the region of the heart and back, and an intermittent pulse, came on, so that he supposed at the time that he had an organic affection of the heart. The unavoidable consequence of this state of things was lowness of spirits. There were times, when the mind was deeply excited,

* The people from Cape Cod frequently were in Boston on Sabbath days, and many of them attended on Mr. Ballou's preaching. They carried the seeds of truth into that section of the state, and societies sprung up in Barnstable, Brewster, Plymouth, &c. &c. In 1821 the fact was announced (and it was very remarkable for that day) that there were *twenty-three* Universalist societies in Massachusetts. We scarcely know where that number could have been found at that time. To the best of our recollection there were two societies in Boston, two in Gloucester, and one each in the towns of Charlestown, Salem, Roxbury, Cambridgeport, Scituate, Shirley, Attleboro', Canton and Stoughton (one society for both), Marlboro', Milford, Oxford, Brookfield, Hardwick, and Dana. Some of these were small. We do not attribute to Mr. Ballou the rise of all the societies named; but it cannot be denied that his labors gave a new impulse to Universalism in Massachusetts.—*Universalist Miscellany*, vol. VI., p. 65.

that he did not feel this ; but, when the mental excitement occasioned by the preparation for preaching, or by the writing of an article, or the presence of friends, was over, he sunk again into gloom. He would sit moodily before the fire, his arms folded, his head inclined toward the shoulder, his eyes nearly closed ; and occasionally he would heave a sigh, and ejaculate some sentence of sorrow, as if he were in pain or discouragement. This state of things lasted for a year or more. His medical friends (Dr. Ingalls among the number) understood his case very well, and recommended to him only such remedies as would correct the action of the liver and stomach, and thus restore the tone of the mind.

The cause of all this was indigestion ; and the cause of the indigestion was the excessive taxation of the mental powers. He had done too much in a short time, at an age when he could not bear what he had been able to bear in former years, and what he might perhaps have borne at sixty. Many of his friends felt a fear that he would not live to old age ; but in the course of five or six years all these unfavorable symptoms passed away ; and, having gone through what may be called the defile of middle life, he emerged into the bright and broad scene of his quiet old age, with naught but the clear heavens above, and the prospect bounded at the close of life with the gorgeous clouds of evening.

SECTION XXII. — EDITORIAL LABORS SUSPENDED.

We must not close the present chapter without stating that Mr. Ballou's connection with the *Universalist*

Magazine was suspended at the end of the second volume, June 23, 1821. His reasons for this change he described in the following words :

“ As this number concludes the *second volume*, it likewise terminates the present editor's particular charge of the *Universalist Magazine*. A hope being entertained that, instead of an individual, a number of able brethren will lend their special aid to this work in future, it is believed that the present editor may, without injury to its usefulness, discontinue a concern and a labor which, together with his other professional duties, have evidently tended to impair his health. In taking this leave, he is induced, by many considerations, to tender his most grateful acknowledgments to patrons and correspondents who have so liberally supported this humble means of instruction, and have largely contributed to render its columns interesting to sincere inquirers after truth.”

He had lost no part of his interest in the cause of divine truth. Universalism, to him, was a heavenly doctrine; he loved it no less than he did in his youth. In all the changes of life, its sorrows and disappointments, and amidst all the opposition he was called to bear, his attachment to that doctrine remained unabated. The last paragraph of his valedictory shows this : ●

“ Still feeling an undiminished ardor for the promotion of that heavenly doctrine, so honorable to God, so consoling and edifying to every true believer, to which this paper has heretofore been devoted, the editor's best wishes will still accompany its future numbers to those who shall lend it their patronage and religious attention; nor will he withhold a mite which he may be able to contribute, which may be thought to be serviceable in promoting that truth in the love of which he hopes to increase while he lives, and to the spread of which he has devoted his strength and his years.”

CHAPTER XI.

MR. BALLOU'S LIFE DURING THE FIRST SUSPENSION OF HIS EDITORIAL LABORS.

FROM JULY 1821 TO MAY 1822.

SECTION I.—THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT CONTROVERSY.

WE have shown, in the preceding chapter, the manner in which Mr. Ballou had managed the *Magazine*, in regard to the doctrine of future punishment. He had not obtruded the subject upon the public officiously, neither had he been unwilling to express his opinion whenever it had been necessary. He had regarded that matter as not belonging to the essential points of Universalism, and had stated that there was no reason why the different classes of Universalists should not go in harmony; and while he had been editor of the *Magazine* the gentlemen who afterwards pushed this subject to extremes had not attempted to do so. But, shortly after he resigned his connection with that paper, the contest begun. He was succeeded in the editorial charge by a man who was utterly unfit for the duty; who understood very little of Universalism, or of a wise course in regard to the denomination. In fact, there appeared, in the very

first number that came out under this man's charge, an article which brought on a controversy.* In the next appeared a reply, signed "Stater," who was Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown.† Mr. Ballou felt it his duty to reply to "Stater." But "Stater," who was willing to discuss the subject with the correspondent, was not ready to discuss it with Mr. Ballou :

"If I may be permitted, I will say that, in my opinion, that controversy lies between E. A. R. and me only. H. B. and myself are not before the public. I am willing, in a regular way, to meet his remarks ; nay, if I know him, we have already written on this subject, even to verbosity. At present, therefore, I shall content myself with replying, in the next number, if my piece shall be found admissible, to E. A. R.'s charges in the last, that 'my sentiments are erroneous,' and that the doctrine of 'future misery is one of the chief causes of so much controversy on matters of religion, and is very inconsistent with the faith of Universalism.' " †

There came out, about this time, a work in favor of Universalism, entitled "Final Restoration," by an author [Kenrick] assuming the name of "Philo Bereanus," in which certain reasons were offered in favor of the doctrine of future punishment, that seemed to Mr. Ballou to be fallacious ; and he accordingly replied to them, by the indulgence of the editor of the *Magazine*, in a brief article.§ The book referred to caused several articles to appear, some in favor of and some against that doctrine.

* See the article signed "E. A. R.," *Universalist Magazine*, volume III., p. 1. The true name of this writer was Rae.

† *Idem*, pp. 6, 7.

‡ *Idem*, p. 27.

§ *Idem*, pp. 83, 97, also 126, 129, 131, 133, 153, 162.

There was an effort made at this time to establish a belief of the doctrine of future punishment as a test of Christian fellowship; and it was principally on this account that Mr. Ballou took a prominent part in discussing it. He said to "Philo Bereanus:"

"So important do I view the subject of our discussion, that I am entirely opposed to having it rest on human conjecture or imagination; nor am I willing to call anything evidence in this case, but the plain word of God. If you, sir, or any one else, be disposed to believe in opinions, respecting a future state, which you acknowledge are not the subjects of scripture testimony, and, at the same time, do not make those opinions a matter on which you rest Christian fellowship and brotherly communion, I have no disposition to say aught against it. But, if you, or any other person, come forward with any sentiment, which is set up as a term of Christian fellowship, and contend that such a sentiment is an indispensable article of the Christian faith, and that a denial of it is deism, and an inlet to every species of immorality, it is then time to call for the divine authority on which this doctrine is founded. I am satisfied, dear sir, that you do not consider the doctrine of future punishment as above described, and therefore I can very quietly acquiesce in your discontinuing this correspondence."*

Then came up another phase of this controversy, begun by a writer signing himself "Æsop."† He was replied to by Rev. Paul Dean, in favor of future punishment, over the signature of "Christian Universalist," which was assumed to distinguish believers in future punishment from the other class.‡ To add to the general

* *Universalist Magazine*, p. 162.

† For "Æsop's" articles, see pp. 92, 125, 135.

‡ For the articles of "Christian Universalist," see 113, 123, 131. See also an article from H. Ballou, 2nd [B*****], p. 130.

discontent, the new editor of the *Magazine*, over the signature of "Justitia," commenced a series of articles in favor of future punishment, in which he endeavored to prove that doctrine from the fact that Christ was to "judge the world in righteousness,"—cast "the children of the kingdom into outer darkness,"—divide the sheep from the goats. In fact, this author maintained that all the passages which speak of a day of judgment help to establish the fact of future punishment.* Mr. Ballou said nothing in regard to this writer, who published some six or eight articles in defence of his position. But one of the chief causes of controversy was an article that appeared in March, 1823, signed "Restorationist" [Rev. Jacob Wood].† He proposed:

"1. That a brief statement of the evidence that all misery is confined to this life be written by one who believes in that doctrine, and published in the *Magazine*, and that we will engage a similar communication in proof that misery will extend beyond death.

"2. That both these communications shall be lodged in the hands of the editor of the *Magazine* before either is published, so that no alterations may be made in them afterwards, by reference one to the other.

"3. That both these communications shall be submitted to the public, to draw their own conclusions, without any controversial replies on either side."

He further added:

"We think these terms are fair and equal on both sides of the

* For the articles of "Justitia," see pp. 127, 132, 138, 143, 147, 151.

† We do not esteem it improper, at this distance of time, to give the real names of the writers of these articles.

controversy. If the advocates of the doctrine of no future misery are honorable and conscientious in their cause, they will be willing to meet us on this just and equal ground. And we hereby call on them to accept this invitation, and show the strength of their cause. We are perfectly willing that the public should make their impartial decision on which side of the controversy lies the balance of proof. It is wished that the gentleman who shall accept this invitation will be one who is qualified to do full justice to his side of the question; and we hope that honor will restrain all others from interfering.”*

Mr. Ballou regarded this communication as originating in a mischievous spirit. He thought it aimed at division and contention; and he was the more alarmed on account of it, because the writer seemed to speak in behalf of others, who kept themselves totally in the background. He was not pleased, also, because they suspended the character of the non-believers in future punishment on an acceptance of their terms. He said, in the succeeding number of the *Magazine* :

“MR. EDITOR: If ‘Restorationist’ will give his real name, and the names of his brethren who were with him in framing the proposals which were published in your last paper, I will then assign my reasons for not accepting their proposals, and give them and the public to understand what I think of their suspending my *honor* and *sincerity* on the condition which they suggest.

“H. BALLOU.” †

“Restorationist” refused to give the names of himself and his brethren. † These “proposals,” as they were

* For this article of “Restorationist,” see *Universalist Magazine*, pp. 150, 151.

† *Idem*, p. 154.

‡ *Idem*, p. 166.

called, gave rise to a somewhat bitter controversy, which served to make the two parties more distinct than they ever had been before. But here we take leave of this subject for the present. Before we leave it, however, we ought to say, that the writer "Æsop" was Dr. John Brooks, of Bernardston, Mass. He had previously lived in Newfane, Vt., where he had been a member of the Presbyterian Church, from which he had been excommunicated "for believing and preaching universal salvation." He was, for a number of years, a representative to the General Court of Massachusetts, from Bernardston, and is still living [April, 1854] highly respected by his fellow-townsmen. He was a writer of more than ordinary shrewdness, courage and force of character. While the controversy was going on which we have described, the *Magazine* passed into the charge of other editors, a fact which will be more fully noticed in another place.

SECTION II.—INSTALLATIONS AND DEDICATIONS.

In the midst of all the engagements and labors we describe, it must be remembered that Mr. Ballou discharged his duties as pastor of the society over which he was settled. He kept the desk well supplied with preachers, filling it the larger part of the time himself; and was ready, except when absent from the city, to give ear to all the calls which the afflicted, the sick, or the dying, might make upon him. But he was ready also to discharge other classes of duties, which called him abroad, his society always acquiescing in these arrangements. On the 26th of July, 1821, he attended the

installation of Rev. H. Ballou, 2nd, as pastor of the new Universalist society in Roxbury, Mass. He took a deep interest in the welfare of this society, which had grown up under his care, as well as in the prosperity and usefulness of the young candidate, who was the grandson of his oldest brother. The sermon was preached by Rev. Paul Dean, from 2 Corinthians 6 : 3, 4 ; the charge was given by Mr. Ballou ; and the fellowship by Rev. Edward Turner. His love of the Scriptures was particularly manifested on this occasion. He said, very affectionately to his nephew :

“ By delivering the Scriptures into your hands, on this solemn and interesting occasion, we signify several things :

“ 1. That we believe that they contain a revelation from God to man, and that this revelation constitutes the great theme of the Christian dispensation and ministry.

“ 2. That we use these Scriptures as our directory and guide in all matters of faith and practice, disowning all the creeds composed by councils, in the dark ages of the church, as being binding on us, or as having any legitimate control over our consciences.

“ 3. That we expect that you will make them your peculiar study, by which you will be furnished with suitable endowments to discharge all the duties of a gospel minister, and a faithful, useful pastor to the flock of God, in this place ; over which, we trust, the Holy Ghost has made you overseer.

“ 4. That, by a faithful adherence to these Scriptures, we shall be enabled to maintain a unity of sentiment, and a cordial fellowship, as workers together in the vineyard of our common Lord and Master ; whereby the design of our Christian ministry will be accomplished, the darkness and errors of the church will give place to the light and truth of the gospel, and men will be saved from sin and death, to righteousness and life.

“ Brother, receive these Scriptures from the ecclesiastical counsel,

the servant of which I have the honor to be, in this solemn act; and be assured that our hearts' desire and fervent prayers are, that you receive them not in vain.

“I charge you, therefore, brother, that you preach no other gospel, no other doctrine, than that which you find plainly set forth in these sacred records; and that you shun not to declare the whole of this counsel to the people of your charge, accordingly as the spirit of Christ shall lead your understanding.”

On November 14th, Mr. B. went to Brookfield, Mass., to attend the dedication of a new meeting-house in that town, and the ordination of Rev. John Bisbee as pastor of the two societies in Brookfield and Western [the latter is now known by the name of Warren]. So far as the weather was concerned, it was not a favorable day, but an excessively crowded assembly was present, collected from several towns. The whole was a scene of joy and encouragement to the lovers of truth. In the morning the dedicatory services were introduced by reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. Edward Turner; introductory prayer, by Rev. Charles Hudson; dedicatory prayer, by Rev. Hosea Ballou; sermon, by Rev. Edward Turner; concluding prayer, by Rev. J. Frieze. In the afternoon came the ordination. The introductory prayer was by Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, of Roxbury; sermon, by Mr. Ballou, of Boston; charge, by Rev. E. Turner, and fellowship, by Rev. H. Ballou, 2d.

SECTION III.—NEW PAPERS, NEW PREACHERS.

Among the subjects of encouragement to Mr. B., about this time, was the commencement of several new papers

devoted to the inculcation of Universalism, which had probably been established in consequence of the success with which the *Magazine* had been greeted. The first paper that followed this, in the order of time, was the *Christian Messenger*, edited by Rev. A. Kneeland, at Philadelphia, and devoted to doctrine, religion and morality. Then came the *Gospel Herald*, at New York, which began early in 1820. Its editor was Mr. Henry Fitz, a worthy, substantial and very talented layman, of remarkable independence of mind, but not always strictly guarded in his language. The *Herald* was a very spirited and valuable periodical. In July, 1820, appeared at Woodstock, Vt., the first number of the *Christian Repository*, under the management of Rev. Samuel C. Loveland. It was then a 12mo., and came out once in three months. The fifth in the order in which the Universalist papers arose, commencing with the *Magazine*, was the *Christian Intelligencer*, published at Portland, Me., to which place Rev. Russell Streeter had removed about the commencement of 1821. It was devoted to "theoretical and practical religion." And, in addition to Mr. Streeter, other valuable laborers came forward about this time. At the session of the Eastern Association of Universalists, in the last-named year, at Winthrop, Rev. Wm. A. Drew received letters of fellowship, and Rev. Sylvanus Cobb was ordained, both of whom have distinguished themselves as defenders of the truth. All these accessions gave joy to Mr. B. He cherished the dearest fellowship for these brethren to the hour of his death.

In Vermont, too, there were new signs of encourage-

ment, where he had spent so large and active a portion of his life, and where Brs. Loveland, Bartlett and Haven, with several others, were engaged. An excellent man, who had been for nearly thirteen years a preacher in the Christian connection, avowed his conversion to Universalism. We refer to Rev. John E. Palmer. As soon as he became fully convinced of the truth of Universalism, he commenced to preach it boldly, and to call on all who believed that the grace of God bringeth salvation to all men to be careful to live soberly, righteously and godly, in the present world. His former brethren dismissed him amicably from their connection; and he has been, ever since, a faithful, modest, consistent preacher of the truth.

SECTION IV.—TRAVELS.—CONVENTION OF 1821.

In addition to Mr. B.'s travels to exchange pulpit services with his ministering brethren [and it must be remembered there were no railroads in those days], he performed several other journeys. In September he went to Hudson, N. Y., to attend the annual session of the General Convention. He left Boston on the Sunday previous, after the forenoon service, in a chaise, with which he reached Hudson on Tuesday afternoon, his nephew, Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, being with him. There were twenty-one preachers present; and the names of fifty-seven others were given as living in all the United States. The venerable Solomon Glover, from Connecticut, was made moderator.

SECTION V.—JOURNEY TO MILFORD, MASS.

In December, the Southern Association met at Milford, Mass.; and the two Messrs. Hosea Ballou were the only preachers present, except the resident pastor. It is well remembered that the junior Mr. Ballou preached on the strait gate and narrow way, as contrasted with the broad road; and the elder preached twice,—in the afternoon, from Gal. 1: 11, and in the evening from Jer. 17: 10. The sun shone brightly in the afternoon, and, as there were no blinds at the windows, the preacher was disturbed by the rays falling directly upon his face. He took occasion to refer to that glorious sun, as a proof of God's impartial goodness, "which (said he) nearly blinds me with its abundant light." After such a hint, some one rose and hung a garment at the window as a screen.

SECTION VI.—JOURNEY TO PHILADELPHIA.

But the most important journey which Mr. B. made this year was to Philadelphia, his first visit to that city. We have shown that Mr. Kneeland was there, and he had undoubtedly planned the visit in the hope to give an impulse to the cause of Universalism in that place. Mr. B. took the stage on Monday morning, 17th of December, for Providence, R. I., where he preached in the evening, to a numerous and attentive audience, in the Town-house. His sermon was requested for the press, but as it was not written, and as he was on a journey, he was obliged to decline complying. On Tuesday, the stage

carried him to Hartford, Connecticut, where he arrived too late for a lecture; and on Wednesday he went to New Haven, and preached to a large audience in the Court-house. One of the Calvinistic clergymen of the city (Rev. Mr. Taylor) attempted to reply to the sermon; but he became very much confused, and his address amounted to nothing. As Mr. Ballou described the effort:

“ Sometimes he would exert himself to the extent of his powers to vindicate partial election and reprobation. This would appear so glaringly absurd as to repel even his own feelings, when he would go over to Arminian conditions, free and universal offers of grace, and endeavor to persuade the people that God would be obliged to send them to eternal torments against his own will. This did not satisfy either himself or the people: they manifested great uneasiness, and he no small embarrassment. In this dilemma, he endeavored to call the attention of the people; but having nothing for them to listen to, he said that he had come there quite unprepared. Until this statement was made, I had remained perfectly silent, well enough pleased to see my adversary destroying his own cause. But supposing, by appearances, that the affair would end with the apology that he was not prepared, I was constrained to speak; and, taking the reverend gentleman by the arm, said, ‘ Br. Taylor, you have undertaken to reply to my sermon, but you and the people appear to be satisfied that you do not do it; and, as you say that you came unprepared, and it verily appears that you did, I have this advice to give you. Go to your study, sir; take as much time as you need; you can recollect my discourse, and there refute it in writing, and let me have your manuscript, to which I will reply.’ This evidently offended my brother, and he replied that he thought it out of order to be thus challenged, and soon left the house without giving me his hand, or wishing me a good-night. His friends were mortified, and one of them told me that he thought as Mr. Taylor

had come forward in this manner, he had no right to refuse the offer which I made him."

Such were the events in New Haven. On Thursday, Mr. B. left that city for New York, in the stage, at half-past three P. M., and was obliged to travel all night. It was dark and rainy. The coach was crowded; the air within was impure; and, as he was suffering from a slight congestion of the lungs, he felt his situation to be very uncomfortable. He arrived at New York at seven in the morning of Friday. His friends were desirous to pay him every attention, and, instead of permitting him to rest, they took him about the city, although the day was damp. In the evening he had a lecture at Rev. Edward Mitchell's church, but in the midst of the sermon he nearly fainted, and was obliged to sit down. Being partially restored by a little cold water, he was able to finish the discourse, and Mr. Mitchell assisted in the closing services. The thought of leaving the next morning, on a journey of *ninety or a hundred miles*, in the stage, in the middle of winter, was appalling. His friends in New York, and none more earnestly than Mr. Mitchell, sought to dissuade him; but, feeling revived in the morning, he took his seat in the coach, and after a long, painful, dreary ride, he arrived in Philadelphia on Saturday evening, at eight o'clock. On the next day he entered the desk in Lombard-street. He felt peculiar emotions on going into the pulpit. The fathers — Winchester, Murray, Jones, Richards — all had preached there; and all except Mr. Jones had gone to the grave. Mr. Richards' body lay in a burying-ground near by. Mr. B. began his

course of sermons with a respectable audience, that continued to increase until the last, at which he probably addressed a greater number of people than he had ever preached to before at one time, or ever did afterwards. He always spoke of it as the largest body of persons he ever addressed in his life. But we shall understand this better as we proceed. We shall not describe all the sermons he preached at this visit, but shall content ourself with a brief hint in regard to the most of them.

SECTION VII. — HIS SERMONS AT PHILADELPHIA.

The first was from the text Psalm 8: 4,—“What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?”

The second was from Heb. 4: 3,—“For we which have believed do enter into rest.”

The third from James 1: 25.

The fourth (delivered on Christmas day) was from the words Isaiah 9: 6,—“Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given.”

The fifth was from Psalm 51: 13,—“Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.”

The sixth, which treated on the needed increase of Christians in knowledge, was from 1 Thess. 3: 10,—“And might perfect that which was lacking in your faith.”

The seventh was from Gal. 1: 11,—“But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man.”

The eighth sermon, in answer to requests that he would take up some of the passages which were thought to disprove Universalism, was from Psalm 9: 17,—“The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.”

The ninth was from 1 John 4: 10, 11.

The tenth was an explanation of the famous passage, Matt. 25: 41,—“Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.”

The eleventh, and last, a sermon long remembered, was from Jer. 3: 15,—“And I will give you pastors according to my heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding.”

The congregations had increased from the beginning, and the throng was very great, especially on the last evening. Efforts were made to obtain a place larger than the church in Lombard-street; and, after application for several others, Mr. B.'s friends were so happy as to obtain the hall of the Washington Benevolent Society. The room in which the meeting was holden was called the Grand Saloon, and was one hundred and twenty by seventy feet, with spacious galleries all around. Although the service was appointed to begin at seven, yet a full half-hour before this the hall was crowded as full as it was thought it could be, and thousands went away who could not obtain seats. When Mr. B. arrived at the door, he was astonished to behold the crowd, and he had great difficulty in reaching the stand provided for the speaker. He had fears that he might not be heard in all parts of the assembly; and, if the building was sufficiently

strong, he thought some slight breaking of a seat, or any little matter of that kind, might throw the people into disorder, and produce very serious consequences. Happily, however, everything went on in an orderly manner, and at the close Mr. B. learned that he was heard distinctly in the remotest parts of the hall. On no former occasion had he ever so deeply felt the weight of duty which lay upon him. At the close of the service the parting was painful. It is more the custom in Philadelphia than in New England, for all who please to tarry near the door, and take a formal leave of the preacher. The scene was very affecting to Mr. B. He said :

“ On no former occasion did I ever feel more pressed with the weight of duty which lay upon me, nor a more sensible need of divine presence. The attentions of the audience, and the *multitude* of friendly hands which were extended to receive my adieu, seemed to speak a language that signified the approbation of my Divine Master, which to me is better than life.”

Happier than earthly conquerors he who thus wins the hearts of the people, by turning them from darkness to light! The sermon preached on this last occasion has been entitled the “Feast of Knowledge,” in allusion to the words, “which shall feed you with knowledge and with understanding.” When God appoints pastors for the people “according to his heart,” [as the prophet speaks] they are educated by his wisdom, actuated by his will, and are employed entirely in the promulgation of that which is consistent with the mind that sent them.

“When the wisdom of the world appoints a ministry, it appoints a ministry according to its own heart, and its own wisdom. If any church appoints a ministry, it appoints it according

to its own heart and according to its own interests. Thus we may say (and I hope without giving offence), that if any particular theological school appoints a ministry and sends forth ministers, both the ministry and the ministers will be according to the wisdom, according to the will and disposition, of that theological school which appoints them."

Mr. Ballou instructed the people that it was easy for them to know a true teacher from a false one :

"I would add, it is possible, from motives which have a peculiar influence on the human mind, for an individual to appoint *himself* to the work of the ministry, and set *himself* up as a teacher ; and he will tell you it is dangerous not to believe, and not to receive *his* preaching as truth, because *he* is a minister after God's heart. How shall we know whether he is or not? Remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory.' My friends, you may always know a false teacher from a true one. It is the easiest thing in the world. How will you know him? He will always set himself up above God. He will always represent *himself* to be more lovely, if possible, than he will allow the Saviour to be. He will tell you how much *he* would do to save you. He would lay down *his life* to save one poor soul ; but he will not allow the Redeemer, who did lay down his life for us, the power of saving you. Now, which is the best, the preacher or his master? Why, according to his own account, *the preacher*. Yes, he is the best *himself*; because, in the room of being in the cause of his Divine Master, he is in his own cause ; and, instead of endeavoring to get people to love the Lord Jesus Christ, he is interested in making them love *himself*; for he is holding himself up as being more interested in their salvation than he will allow the Redeemer to be. Such a man is not a 'pastor after God's own heart.' "

Mr. B. then proceeded to pass in review the doctrines which the wisdom of this world has invented, and which it seeks to uphold :

“I will not undertake to prove them false [said he], but will only ask, Do those who preach them *know* them to be true? I will ask, at the same time, this question, Do they *understand* them? and are the people capable of *understanding* them? And, if we are convinced that no man can understand such doctrines, then we know that they never could give people knowledge.”

He took up for consideration, consecutively, the various doctrines of the partialist's creed; and, first, the supposed fall of man by Adam's transgression. Who *knew* it was true? Who could understand it? Do those who preach it *know* it is true? Can they *understand* it? These were the questions discussed somewhat at length, under each head.

He put the doctrine of partial election and reprobation through the same process of inquiry; and then the doctrine of total depravity; and then the supposed fact that sin is not punished in this world. We have heard that the woes which sin brings upon men in this life were never described more forcibly by Mr. Ballou than on this occasion. These are things which men can *know*, and feel, and *understand*. We have the following imperfect report of his remarks under this head:

“Do the clergy *know* God does not punish wickedness in this world? No. I have a question to put to those who administer the penal laws of our country, and also to those who make them. I would ask them whether, in their view, we can do best in society without the law or with it. ‘Why, with it, to be sure.’ Very well; is not the administration of public justice declared in the Scriptures to be of God? and are not rulers ministers of God for good, a terror to evil doers, and a praise to those who do well, and who hold not the sword in vain? Are these laws and these punishments according to the wisdom of God? So far as they are

just, they certainly are. God has ordained laws on earth by which vice is punished, and we see the wicked are miserable beings in the present time. Every day we are under the necessity of punishing those who commit crime, and every day's experience convinces us that the way of the transgressor is hard. 'There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.' Is it true that man is made happy by living in sin? Is it a fact that the righteous live in misery, wretchedness, and want, in this world? You know to the contrary. When your eyes are open, when you inspect the state of society, and look around you, you see that those who live in peace and happiness are the virtuous part of the community; they are those who honor God by obeying his commandments. Look at those who are destitute of the enjoyments of this world, who are crushed under misery, wretchedness and degradation. Has righteousness brought them to this? Has a godly life brought them to this?"

Last of all, Mr. Ballou referred to the doctrine of endless misery. Could any one understand it? Can any one tell us why God should employ his boundless power to make men as wretched as he himself can make them? [For this was the form of the doctrine as it was then preached].

But, turning away from these subjects, Mr. B. said, "I shall ask your attention for a few moments to certain great facts which you can understand."

"Our text says, 'They shall feed you with knowledge and with understanding.' Our blessed Saviour went before his disciples. He taught them in his own school; he taught them how to do this; and what was the doctrine he preached to the people? 'Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and

persecute you ; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven ; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.'

" Do, my friends, let me compare this with the doctrine of our divines. Did you ever hear them preach on personal election, and undertake to demonstrate it by such a simile as this? No, they never preach it; and the reason is, it would make God better than themselves! But our blessed Saviour preached the universality and impartiality of the blessings of Providence, in order to discover the excellency of his Heavenly Father, that we might know his nature and always love him.'* "

* The eleven sermons which Mr. Ballou preached on this visit to Philadelphia were reported from stenographical notes, and published immediately, under the following title: "The Eleven Sermons which were preached by the Rev. Hosea Ballou, Minister of the Second Universalist Church in Boston, Mass., during a visit to Philadelphia, in the months of December and January, 1821-22, ten of which were preached at the Universalist Church in Lombard-street, and the last in the Saloon of the Washington Hall. To which are added Critical and Explanatory Notes, by the Rev. Abner Kneeland. The Sermons were taken in shorthand by J. A. Dowling." Philadelphia: Edwin T. Scott, 61 No. Eighth-street. 1822. "The last sermon," said the editor, in his preface, "in many parts, seemed to be the most imperfect of all; owing, it is presumed, to the immense crowd, on account of which the stenographer was not able at all times to hear, and at other times so pressed that it was with much difficulty he could write. We have endeavored to supply this defect." A second edition of these sermons was published in Boston, in 1832, by Thomas Whittemore, under the title, "Sermons on Important Doctrinal Subjects. By Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Second-Universalist Society in Boston. To which are added Critical and Explanatory Notes. Together with a Memoir of the Author, written by himself." At the close of the preface, the editor of this edition said, "The brief memoir of the author was written by himself for the Modern History of Universalism, from which work it is copied. We are happy to close our remarks by observing that, with impaired energies, Mr. Ballou continues to discharge his duties as pastor of the Second Universalist Society in this city, besides other arduous labors; and that the present state of his health is such as to justify the hope that his usefulness will be continued yet for a long time." Mr. Whittemore had purchased the copyright of E. T. Scott. A third edition came out in 1853.

Such is a brief and imperfect report of the sermon preached by Mr. Ballou before the largest congregation he ever addressed. It produced a thrilling effect, and led the six or seven thousand persons present to see clearly that the doctrines generally called orthodox were unscriptural, unreasonable, and false. That they were false he had not a shadow of a doubt,—false in everything peculiar to them, wide off from the doctrine of the Bible, not only for what they were, but also in their effects; for they dishonored God, and alienated his children from him. There were times when Mr. B. could not resist the conviction that some of the clergy who preached these doctrines must feel doubtful of their truth; but his general custom was to pray for them in the words of the dying Jesus, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." He loved and pitied those who were in error, for no man had a kinder heart; but he felt it his duty to God and to man, from the performance of which nothing could turn him, to point out the error to the world.

SECTION VIII. — THE JOURNEY HOME.

Mr. B. had passed through the painful scene of taking leave of the great body of his friends after service on the previous Sabbath evening. None can know the tenderness of such a parting, except the faithful preacher himself, who, by a careful exhibition of the truth pertaining to the eternal interests of men, having entwined around him the affections of the people, like the tendrils

of the vine, is obliged to tear himself away from them. It seems as if heart-strings were being ruptured.

On the next morning after the last-named discourse, he took leave of his more immediate friends, and turned his face towards Boston. The stage for New York came up; he entered, leaving the family in tears with which he had sojourned; and he arrived in the last-named city just as the sun resigned his sceptre to the queen of night. His heart had swelled with gratitude through the day. He had accomplished the great objects of the journey; he had done far more good than he expected to; and now he was on his way to his own dear home, where his richest earthly enjoyments were found. Never man had a happier home, a kinder wife, more affectionate and dutiful children; and it is certain he deserved them all. He reflected his own image of love and kindness upon them. But to the journey. Mr. B. was met on the margin of the North river by several of his friends in New York, who conducted him to the place where he was to rest.

The next day was rainy; but he dined in Pearl-street with a dear brother, in company with Rev. E. Mitchell, Mr. Fitz, editor of the *Gospel Herald*, and others. In the evening he preached in Mr. Mitchell's church to a respectable audience, and on Wednesday morning left by stage for New Haven. Here he preached another lecture in the Court-house, to an audience more numerous than before. Rev. Mr. Taylor did not appear; but so much opposition was manifested as to lead Mr. B. to say, "New Haven is the bitterest place I ever visited, and manifests the most unreasonable opposition to everything that looks like charity." From New Haven the stage

took him, on Thursday, to Hartford, where he preached in the evening in Dr. Flint's [Orthodox] pulpit. The lecture was well attended, and the word was received with attention. Here he had the satisfaction to meet his friend and ministering brother, Rev. Richard Carrique, who had recently removed to the city, and, influenced by Mr. B.'s example at Boston, had commenced to edit a paper in support of Universalism, entitled the *Religious Inquirer* [the sixth Universalist journal, in the order of time, in the United States].

SECTION IX. — THE FIRE AT MILFORD.

But mingled tidings of sorrow and joy reached him at this city. The house occupied by Thomas Whittemore, in Milford, Mass., who had gone to Boston to supply Mr. B.'s pulpit, had been burned, in the dead of night, on the 30th of December. Mr. B.'s son was there, in company with Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, afterwards his son-in-law; and they both saved their lives by throwing themselves from the window of the chamber in which they slept to the frozen ground. Had they attempted to descend the stairs, they would inevitably have met a dreadful death. It was the coldest night of the season; and they had no time to throw on the slightest covering. They ran round to the front of the house, and shouted to Mrs. Whittemore to jump from the window for her life! In the absence of her husband, she had invited her cousin to spend the time with her. These two ladies awoke at the first cry of fire, and had sought egress from the burning chambers in the ordinary way of descent; but

the further they went in this direction, the greater the difficulties grew; and Mrs. W.'s cousin fell exhausted and nearly suffocated upon the floor. Mrs. W., still able to keep her feet, seized the fallen woman and dragged her back to the chamber where they had slept. She then raised the window, from which the smoke commenced to escape as from a chimney's top, and lifted out the half-sensible creature, and let her go to the ground. The two young clergymen whom we have named were there, dimly visible through the smoke and falling cinders, and sought to catch the body, thereby abating the violence of its fall. Having done this, they cried again to Mrs. W., "Jump! jump! for your life!" She sprang into their arms, and was saved,—the last who left the tottering edifice. In ten minutes everything was a mass of ruins in the cellar. The intelligence of this event, so terrible while it was passing, reached Mr. B. (as we have said) at Hartford; and the mingled emotions of horror, surprise and joy, at the great danger and narrow escape of his friends, nearly overwhelmed him. It was only about one week before he left Boston for Philadelphia that he had visited Mr. Whittemore at Milford, and slept, with his young friend, Hosea Ballou, 2d, in the very chamber from which his sons had escaped. He thanked God, again and again, that none had suffered the terrible agony of a death under such circumstances. Waiting a few hours at Hartford, to recover from his exhausted state, he left in the stage on Saturday morning; and he arrived at home between one and two o'clock in the night. We will not leave this part of our subject until we say that he immediately exerted himself among the

people of his charge to make up to Mr. Whittemore, of Milford, the loss he had sustained, which, by his exertions, and the kindness of other friends, was fully done.

SECTION X.—INTERPRETATION OF ROMANS 6 : 7.

Mr. Ballou had scarcely got home from his journey, when an article appeared in the Philadelphia Universalist paper, from a gentleman of that city, calling upon him to sustain his interpretation of Romans 6 : 7,—“For he that is dead is freed from sin.” Mr. Ballou was utterly unable to see the least propriety in supposing that there will be punishments for sin in a state where sin will never exist. To him it was altogether unaccountable why the advocates for future punishment should always direct their observations to the particular subject of *punishment*, and never attempt to prove that men will *sin* in that state, by which this punishment will be rendered necessary. St. Paul said, “He that is dead is freed from sin.” With this scriptural declaration before us, Mr. Ballou would ask, Can we say that men will be sinners in the future state? If not, what use will punishment serve? In reply to the writer in Philadelphia, he said :

“If the whole of the apostle’s statements and arguments, in this place, are founded on the literal death of Jesus Christ, then must it be granted that the word *dead*, in the seventh verse, means the extinction of animal life. That we may ascertain this, let us carefully examine the context. * * * * *

* * * * * It seems to be evident that the word *dead* here means what the same word in the whole of the context means, namely, the extinction of animal life. The fact is, the apostle

in the seventh verse expresses the grand maxim on which his whole argument rested, namely, that whoever was literally dead was of course freed from sin. And for this very good reason, the body of sin being destroyed, sin could no longer exist. If sin exists after the body is destroyed, then I acknowledge that I see not the least sense in all the apostle has here said."

We have given this interpretation in this place, first, because it belongs here in the order of time; and, second, because we must show somewhere, in the course of this work, the sense which Mr. Ballou put upon the passage here explained, and which he continued to regard as its true sense as long as he lived.

CHAPTER XII.

MR. BALLOU BECOMES CONNECTED AGAIN WITH THE UNIVERSALIST MAGAZINE; THE HISTORY CONTINUED TO THE TIME OF REV. SEBASTIAN STREETER'S REMOVAL TO BOSTON.

FROM MAY 1822 TO MAY 1824.

SECTION I. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH JACOB TIDD.

Soon after Mr. Ballou's return from Philadelphia, there sprung up a correspondence between himself and a Mr. Jacob Tidd, a lay-preacher, we believe, among the Christians, or Free-will Baptists. We should not think this matter of sufficient importance to deserve a notice here, had it not happened that a book grew out of it; and we should regret to have any person take up a book hereafter, to which Mr. B. was in any way a party, of which some information could not be obtained in the work we are writing.

Mr. B., it seems, had been urgently invited to attend a lecture preached by Mr. Tidd. On his return home, he addressed him a letter, of which we here give the introductory paragraph. Mr. Tidd probably knew that Mr. Ballou

was among his hearers, and he accordingly embraced the opportunity to assail the doctrine of universal salvation :

“ Boston, February 5, 1822.

“ DEAR SIR : It is now some past nine in the evening, and I have just returned from your meeting, where I went by an invitation of gentleman who is your friend, as well as mine. He gave me so good a recommendation of you, as an honest, good man, that I thought the time might be well spent in attending to what you might deliver from the sacred Scriptures ; and although I have, on some accounts, been disappointed, yet I hope all may finally tend to some profit. Believing the good report which our mutual friend gave me of yourself, I entertain a hope that you will receive from me a few suggestions and queries, in the spirit of Christian friendship, and consider them with suitable candor, and return me a rational answer when it shall suit your convenience.

“ As you had much to say, in a very unfavorable manner, against Universalists, in a discourse from the words of St. Paul, 2 Corinthians 5 : 19, ‘ God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them ; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation,’ it is in my mind to ask you whether you can discover anything in this text which naturally suggests opposition to the final reconciliation of all men to God. If you allow that God really undertook to reconcile the world unto himself, can you, consistently with this, contend that he will not finally effect this reconciliation ?

“ As you contended, with much labor, that the human family would have been all annihilated if Jesus Christ had not made an atonement by his death and resurrection, — and as you earnestly endeavored to give your hearers to understand that there is no other way for us to obtain salvation, only by accepting the pardon offered through the death and resurrection of Christ, — it came into my mind to ask you what you think of the future state of all the millions of mankind who lived and died before Christ made this atonement ; and also of the millions of the human family who have lived and died since that great work was accomplished, but

who never heard a word about it in all their lives. Permit me also to inquire what you think of the future state of little children who die in infancy, as you insisted that faith in Jesus Christ, and repentance towards God, are indispensable unto a state of happiness in the world to come.

“One question more, sir, and, for the present, I have done. As you positively asserted that Universalists held there is no need of the repentance of sinners, I humbly ask of you either to inform me who these Universalists are, or quote me this sentiment from some of their writings.

“Do not allow yourself to believe that these queries are suggested from any unfriendly motive, nor neglect to answer them because you may think the mover of them will not duly consider and suitably acknowledge the favor.

“Yours, affectionately,

H. BALLOU.

“MR. JACOB TIDD.”

To this gentle and candid epistle Mr. Tidd returned a brief and tart reply :

“*Boston, February 6, 1822.*”

“DEAR SIR: I have received your very polite letter, and am sorry that I misrepresented the doctrine you preach. I must confess I had no authority for the assertion, for I never heard but one universal salvation sermon, neither have I ever read one — therefore to prove the assertion is with me entirely out of the question. I naturally fell into the error from the supposition that if all men were finally saved, it must be without conditions. I can only atone for my error by informing those who may meet at my place next Tuesday evening [12th instant] that I was mistaken, and that you believe that those who repent will be saved, *and those only*; and in reference to your questions, I decline any private controversy, being perfectly satisfied with my belief, and, with this additional consideration, am doubly assured that if all men are eventually saved, I must, per necessity, be included in the number.

“I remain your most obedient servant,

JACOB TIDD.

“MR. HOSEA BALLOU.”

From this, the controversy extended to some length ; but it was exceedingly to be regretted that Mr. Tidd was not able to control his impetuousness, or neutralize his bitterness. By the solicitation of Mr. Ballou, the letters, on both sides, were published in the *Universalist Magazine* ; and were continued until Mr. Tidd's epistles became so offensive in their manner that prudence and delicacy required a discontinuance. In the mean time, Mr. Ballou had come again to be connected with the *Magazine*, as one of its editors ; and it was necessary for him to decide on the propriety of further admitting Mr. Tidd's communications. He published the following :

“ TO MR. JACOB TIDD. •

“ SIR : In reply to your notice, in the *Palladium*, I will observe that the reason why I was, as an editor, opposed to the admission of your communication, was, because you stated that I had given proof that I am an *enemy to Christians*. As such a statement is entirely derogatory to every Christian principle, as an editor I thought it my duty to refuse it. This is the only reason it was refused ; and had you seen fit to have seen the editors, I doubt not that you would have been willing to strike out the exceptionable sentence, when no objection would have been made to the admission of the communication. That I am disposed to use fairness, and that I will not lean too much to my own opinion, I will now say, that if you will obtain the signature of a respectable preacher of your own order, to signify that he thinks, as you have stated, that I have given proof that I am an enemy to Christians, I will be in favor of inserting your communication in the *Magazine*.

“ Yours, truly,

H. BALLOU.”

Thus ended the controversy, so far as Mr. Ballou was concerned.*

* The title of Mr. Tidd's book was as follows: “ Woe unto the wicked !

SECTION II. — AGAIN AN EDITOR.

The manner in which the *Magazine* was conducted after Mr. Ballou gave up the charge, especially the long controversy on future punishment, and on certain "proposals" as to the way of discussing that subject, &c. &c., had created so wide a discontent among the patrons of the paper, that Mr. Bowen, the publisher, on the 4th May, 1822, published the following paragraph:

"The publisher has the satisfaction of announcing to the friends of the *Magazine*, and to the public, that he has engaged the Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston, the Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, of Roxbury, and the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, of Cambridgeport, to edit this paper in future. It is presumed that these gentlemen are too well known to render any remarks respecting their abilities necessary."

Mr. Ballou, 2d, as we have shown, had been settled at Roxbury, and Mr. Whittemore had removed the preceding month to Cambridgeport, where he has ever since resided [April, 1854].

During the time that had elapsed since Mr. Ballou retired from the *Magazine*, the controversy concerning future limited punishment had found its way into its columns; and communications from different individuals

It shall be ill with him! A correspondence, in part attempted to be suppressed by Hosea Ballou, an editor of the *Universalist Magazine*, published in Boston. [By Jacob Tidd.] Boston: printed for Jacob Tidd, 1823." Mr. Tidd omitted the title Rev. from Mr. B.'s name intentionally, and boasted of it in the course of the book; a fact which showed what manner of spirit he possessed.

sprang up as thickly as weeds in a garden, and threatened to bear an abundant harvest of discontent. This difficulty, which seemed to be about future punishment, did not rest exactly on its merits. There had been uneasiness for four or five years previously, through a fear, on the part of the pastor of the First Universalist Society, that Mr. B. would remove to Boston. The former, on one occasion, sought to get a promise from Mr. B. that he would *not* remove to Boston, even if Mr. D. should be dismissed. Mr. Ballou replied, "I do not know, even if I shall be invited to remove to Boston, that I shall accept the invitation; it will be time enough for me to consider that question when I am called on to do it. This much I will promise you, Mr. D., that I will not do anything to cause *you* to be removed." Mr. Dean was not satisfied; and said, in rejoinder, that if Mr. Ballou would not promise that he would not remove to Boston, if he [Mr. D.] were dismissed, he should consider it a "breach of fellowship." Mr. B. could not so regard the matter. Rev. Jacob Wood, who became a principal actor in these scenes, was a person of some fine qualities, but he was ambitious, and very meddling. He was strongly attached to the doctrine of future limited punishment; and it is thought he took some improper means to bring about the controversy between Messrs. Turner and Ballou. Oscillating between Charlestown and Salem, he would say to Mr. T. that Mr. B. desired a controversy with him on the point mentioned, and then communicate to Mr. B. that Mr. T. desired the same with *him*. In this way probably the discussion between the two (which we have fully described in Chapter IX.) was brought

about, the first letter being carried to Mr. T. by Mr. Wood.* This mental struggle, perhaps, had some effect to alienate Mr. T. from Mr. B., though we speak doubtfully, because we would speak charitably. After the controversy, Mr. Ballou ought always to be regarded as holding that the Scriptures do *not* reveal the dogma of punishment in the future state; yet he held there was *no* reason for animosity, much less of two parties, or of disfellowship. He stated his views clearly, and he was willing others should do the same; but he wished for *peace* and love among the brethren. Such were the feelings with which he entered upon his first duties as editor of the *Magazine*; and during the two years in which he had the sole control, the controversy between Universalists, at least, was but slightly seen in that paper. It was during the ten months [namely, from July, 1821, to May, 1822] while the paper was not at all under the care of Mr. B., that the controversy entered there. We have shown, in a former paragraph, Mr. Wood's proposition in regard to the manner of discussing the question, out of which grew a useless display of words. Two of the new editors (Mr. Ballou, senior, declining to act, as he had been engaged in the matter) determined to put an end to the petty war, and it was done.†

SECTION III.—PASTORAL LABORS.

It must not be forgotten, Mr. Ballou believed that his first duties were owed to the flock of his care in Boston,

* *Gospel Visitant*, volume II., p. 116.

† See *Universalist Magazine*, volume III., pp. 183, 191.

though there were general, but very important duties, he owed to the cause at large. He was ready at all times to hear the call of the sick — to visit them; to comfort those who mourned, and bind up the broken-hearted. His pulpit labors were very acceptable; and again and again were the sermons which he preached requested for the press. These sermons he never wrote except for the press. If a sermon were written before it was preached, he never carried the manuscript into the pulpit. We do not say he never read a sermon from the pulpit in his life; but we may truly say we never knew him to do so; and yet in many cases have we known the sermons to have been written before delivery, especially on occasions of dedications, ordinations, &c. &c. On the fourth Sabbath in February, of this year, he preached a sermon entitled "The Golden Calf," from the words, Exodus 32: 35, "And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made." Aaron, who made the golden calf, was a prototype, so to speak, of the false priests of our own day, who follow the people, and administer to popular prejudices. Aaron well knew the reverence which the Egyptians had for the ox; and, as the Israelites had imbibed many Egyptian superstitions, he formed his idol to suit those superstitions. Mr. Ballou applied the subject to the false religion of our own times, and the craft of a priesthood by which the people are led into error. He deliberately held that the Jews would never have fallen so deeply into error, had it not been for false leaders. As Isaiah said, "The *leaders* of of this people cause them to err, and those that are led

of them are destroyed." 9 : 16. But Mr. Ballou had no hatred in his heart. He said, in the course of this sermon,

"My friends, I solemnly declare that I feel no opposition, no enmity, against any denomination of religionists in the world, if I know my own heart. These remarks are not designed against men, against my fellow-beings; but I acknowledge my determined opposition to all priestcraft, to all religious deception; and I openly avow my entire devotedness to the work of rending the veil of superstition from the minds of men to the utmost of my feeble abilities. I hold in utter abhorrence the craft and art by which thousands are deceived, and made to believe that the spirit of God teaches these abominations, which are as unlike God as was the Moloch of the ancients, to whom thousands of innocent children were sacrificed."

One part of this sermon was devoted to showing how those who preach and sustain false religion are tormented by it, as the people of Israel were plagued because they made the calf which Aaron made. But he turned, at last, from all this scene of misery and servile religion, to lend an ear to the celestial voice of comfort. He quoted the words of Jesus to the weary and afflicted. He invited the people away from all the errors, sins, griefs, cares, and sorrows, of human life, to the religion of Jesus. "Come," said he, "all that are weary and heavy laden, come;" "find rest unto your souls." His concluding words were :

"The religion of Jesus is confidence in the divine favor; it is hope in everlasting life; it is forgiveness to those who injure us; it is fervent in supplications for those who despitefully use us and persecute us. This religion is designed to overcome evil with good, and to reconcile all things to God; so that every knee shall

bow, every tongue shall confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."*

On the evening of the third Sabbath in March, he delivered the famous sermon which had attracted so much attention in Philadelphia, entitled the "Feast of Knowledge," which was immediately published and offered to the Boston public. It had been written out by him after his return home.†

In the month of September he preached his sermon entitled "St. Paul a Universalist." The text was 1 Tim. 2: 7,— "Whereunto I am ordained a preacher." The main question, after a proper introduction, was, "Unto what was Paul ordained a preacher?"

"He was ordained a preacher of the sentiment which he had just expressed, and to which he alluded in the words of our text. This sentiment is first expressed in an exhortation, as follows; "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty." This exhortation makes it perfectly evident that St. Paul did not believe that God had, before the foundation of the world, ordained a part of the human family to endless wrath; for, had this been

* See "A Sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house in Boston, on the evening of the Fourth Sabbath in February, 1822. By Hosea Ballou, pastor."

† "A Lecture-sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house in Boston, on the evening of the second Sabbath in March, 1822. By Hosea Ballou, pastor. Being the Substance of that which he delivered in the Grand Saloon of Washington Hall, Philadelphia, on the evening of first Sabbath in January."

his sentiment, he surely would not have exhorted men to pray for them, nor to give thanks for them.

* * * * *

“This sentiment is corroborated by an important declaration of the apostle, which follows the last quoted, and which stands as evidence and support of the proposition that it is the will of God that all men should be saved. It reads as follows: ‘For there is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.’ This declaration, that the one mediator gave himself a ransom for all men, and that this ransom was to be testified in due time, evidently shows that it was the apostle’s belief that, in consequence of the will of God in the salvation of all men, the mediator had given himself a ransom for all, and that this universal ransom was a truth to be testified to the people. The next words are those we have chosen to lead this discourse: ‘Wherunto I am ordained a preacher.’ The evident meaning of the apostle in these words is, that he was ordained a preacher of the sentiment which he had just expressed, which sentiment we have already shown to be that of universal salvation.”

The preacher then went on to quote, from almost every epistle of Paul, those brilliant passages in which that distinguished apostle taught the great doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men.*

SECTION IV. — NEW PREACHERS IN 1822.

More or less under the influence of Mr. Ballou’s labors, new preachers were continually coming into the denomination; and, like scions from the parent tree, they were set in new places to grow, and blossom, and bear

* “A Sermon, delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house in Boston, on the afternoon of the First Sabbath in September, 1822.”
By Hosea Ballou, pastor.

fruit. We might have mentioned under 1819, 20 and 21, the names of R. L. Killam, Kitteridge Haven, Thomas G. Farnsworth, Benjamin Whittemore, and several others, converted by reading his works, which had been spread abroad far and wide. In 1822, or about that time, Mr. Ballou received the intelligence of the conversion of Rev. Seth Stetson, an Orthodox clergyman in Plymouth, Mass.; Rev. H. H. Winchester, in Windham county, Vt.; and last, though not least, Rev. Walter Balfour, who had been a constant reader of the *Magazine* from the beginning; yet the credit of first having opened the eyes of the latter to the doctrine of universal grace belonged to Rev. Moses Stuart, of Andover.* All these cases of conversion added greatly to the comfort of Mr. Ballou. Like the venerable apostle John, he said, "I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth."—3d Epis. 4.

SECTION V. — NEW CHURCHES DEDICATED IN 1822.

There can be no doubt that his labors had also contributed largely to the building up of societies, and the erection of meeting-houses. In April of this year it was announced that the Universalists of Philadelphia, soon after Mr. Ballou left that city, had resolved upon the erection of another church, in the Northern Liberties, so called; and in September the corner-stone was laid, and the work went on.

* See "Memoir of the Rev. Walter Balfour, Author of Letters to Prof. Stuart, and Various Other Publications. By Thomas Whittemore Boston: J. M. Usher. 1852."

A noble church had been erected in Providence, R. I., upon one of the most beautiful sites in the city; and Mr. B. went down, with several of his brethren, to the dedication. He always reflected, when he went to that state, that he was going to the land of his fathers. On the occasion referred to, after Scriptures had been read by Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, of Roxbury, and prayer offered by Rev. R. Carrique, of Hartford, Ct., Mr. B. preached the dedicatory discourse from Gen. 28: 17,—“How dreadful is the place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.” The sermon was regarded as an admirable one. He recited, in his own language, the interesting events mentioned in the context, and then he said that the facts which made the cold ground on which the patriarch lay the house of God and the gate of heaven were :

“1st. The special presence of God. Jacob said, ‘Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not.’

“2d. A ladder set upon the earth, whose top reaches to heaven, on which the angels of God ascend and descend.

“3d. A divine manifestation of the covenant of promise, which God made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And,

“4th. The testimony of the divine Being, that he would keep the patriarch in all places whither he should go, and never leave him nor forsake him until he had fulfilled his promise.”

It was a beautiful illustration by Scripture which led him to say that Jesus was the ladder that reached from earth to heaven. Our Lord seems to have had his mind on the vision of the patriarch, when he said to Nathaniel, “Verily, verily I say unto you, hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and

descending upon the Son of man." This ladder may be very justly styled "the gate of heaven," for it reaches from earth to heaven, and is a passage-way from one to the other. Jesus says, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." The general idea of the discourse was, that the gate, or way, to heaven, was Christ and his doctrine. We enter into heaven by those means,— by believing truth, by keeping the commandments of God, by cultivating the spirit of love.

As it was the manifestation of the divine promise to the patriarch, that in him and his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, which made the place where he slept the "house of God" and "the gate of heaven," so it is the doctrine referred to by Mr. Ballou which would equally bless the house which they had assembled to dedicate.

In concluding the discourse, he expressed his desires in this strain :

"May it please the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, to grant to the builders of this house, to the worshippers therein, and especially to our brother who may labor in holy things in this place, clear manifestations of the everlasting covenant, of Jesus its divine mediator, of the doctrine and spirit of his love, that this house may be to old and young, to male and female, none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven. Here may the gentle reproofs of the spirit of truth seasonably check impure desires, and the admonitions of righteousness be successfully dispensed! May the faithful word of reconciliation, the doctrine of God our Saviour, drop as the rain, and distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the gentle dews upon the mown grass. Here may the church of God flour-

ish, and those who hear and know the joyful sound of the gospel walk in the light of the divine countenance."*

The *Rhode Island American*, one of the secular papers of the town, said that this "ingenious and pertinent discourse" was delivered before an audience "numerous to excess, the whole body of the house being almost exclusively filled with ladies. Many of the respectable clergy of the town, and several from abroad, attended on the occasion." Fifteen thousand dollars' worth of pews were sold on the next day.

Following the dedication at Providence, came the dedication of the church at Cambridgeport. This happened on Wednesday, 18th December, 1822. Messrs. H. Ballou, 2d, T. Whittemore, H. Ballou, T. Jones, and Jacob Frieze, performed the services, the sermon having been assigned to Mr. Ballou, senior, under whose teachings the society had grown up. He took for his subject Deut. 14: 23,—"And thou shalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose to place his name there, the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herds and of thy flocks; that thou mayest learn to fear the Lord thy God always." The festival here referred to was designed for the happiness and prosperity of the people. They were to take a tithe of all the produce of their fields and flocks, and come together, in the sacred place where God had set up his name, and eat religiously and joyfully before the Lord. They were to be happy, but it was the happiness

* See "Sermon delivered at the Dedication of the Universalist Chapel in Providence, R. I., November 20, 1822. By Hosea Ballou. Boston: 1822."

which sprung from a recognition of divine goodness. It was to be a social service; all the people were to come together, and learn in this joyful manner to love and serve God. Mr. B. said:

“In applying this subject to the happy occasion which has invited this solemn and joyful assembly, the following particulars will be briefly noticed:

“1. The true doctrine of the divine name, the establishment of which in a certain place consecrates and renders it a proper place for religious assemblies, and the solemn exercises of divine worship.

“2. The true nature and spirit of devotion; and,

“3. The design or object to be promoted by the worship of God.”

At the close, he congratulated the society on their success:

“Christian friends and brethren, who have cheerfully and willingly offered of your substance to erect this beautiful and convenient house for the public worship of our common Father in heaven, may I be indulged, not only in my own behalf, but in behalf of my ministering brethren, to congratulate you for the good success which has attended your laudable and praiseworthy exertions. And this day brings us to the mutual enjoyment of reciprocating our best and most refined affections, while bowing before the sacred name, and dedicating this fruit of your labors and expenses as a nursery for your families, and the rising generation, in the wisdom, love, knowledge and true fear of the Lord. Brethren, may all your hopes be realized, and may the ministry of reconciliation prosper within these walls, to the honor of God, and to the comfort of multitudes for many generations to come.” *

* See “Sermon delivered at the Universalist Meeting-house in Cambridgeport, on Wednesday, Dec. 18, 1822.” By Hosea Ballou, Boston.

SECTION VI.—TRAVELS AND PREACHING.

In addition to the journeys which the reader will perceive Mr. B. must have taken to have fulfilled the duties already described, there were other travels this year. He attended, June 12th, the Southern Association at West Wrentham, Mass., of which he was elected moderator, and at which he delivered a discourse on the preaching of the gospel, *but not with wisdom of words*,—1 Cor. 1: 17. The fourth Sabbath in the same month he spent with the little flock at Atkinson, N. H. Whether there were any reasons for the selection of the subject we do not know; but he preached, in the morning, from this singular text, Isa. 3: 12,—“As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them.” On Wednesday, 14th August, he visited Dedham, Mass., by invitation [for all his journeys to preach, except at conventions and other like meetings, were made by invitation]. The subject of his discourse was, the unreasonableness of the opposition to the doctrine of universal grace, from John 15: 25,—“*They hated me without a cause.*” It produced a sensation; a copy was at once solicited for the press, and it was published in that town.* In October he made a journey to the southern section of Vermont, in company with Mr. Ballou, 2d, to visit their kindred in that region. The Uni-

* “A Sermon on the Nature and Tendency of the Opposition to the True Doctrine of Jesus Christ; delivered at Dedham, on the evening of August 14th, 1822. By Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston. Published by request. Dedham: H. & W. H. Mann. 1822.”

versalists of Franklin county, Mass., availed themselves of the presence of the preachers to form a new association for that county. The meeting was holden in Bernardston, on the 10th of the month named, when the Franklin County Association of Universalists was formed. The venerable Rev. David Ballou [then in his sixty-fifth year] was elected moderator, and Dr. John Brooks, a respected physician of the town, who sometimes officiated as a preacher, clerk. We do not describe any of the doings of the new association, for want of room. The services through the day were performed by the three Messrs. Ballou,—Hosea 2d, Hosea senior, and David. Concerning the sermon of the second here named, Dr. Brooks wrote at the time :

“ A large and respectable audience were then entertained and instructed by the word of God, dispensed by our much-beloved and faithful brother, Hosea Ballou. Never did people listen with more profound attention, and, we trust, spiritual profit. Most truly did the doctrine of divine love ‘ drop as the rain, and distil as the dew.’ Many, we doubt not, will ever remember the text,— ‘ So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.’—Rom. 10 : 17.”

Such testimony as this, which we have frequent occasion to quote in regard to Mr. B., did not originate in a taste for extravagant praise, but it sprang from the irrepressible feeling of the heart. From Bernardston, Mr. B. went to Wilmington, Vt., where, on the 22d October, he delivered a sermon at the ordination of Rev. H. H. Winchester, one of the new preachers mentioned in Section IV. of this chapter. Every Sabbath during this journey he preached to large congregations, who were

animated, instructed, and made better and happier, by what they heard.

SECTION VII. — CONVENTION OF 1822.

We give a distinct section to Mr. B.'s visit to Warner, N. H., to attend the session of the General Convention. He was elected moderator. Sermons were preached by H. Ballou, 2d, Elias Smith, Sylvanus Cobb, Sebastian Streeter, Hosea Ballou, and I. Whitnall. The congregations at such meetings generally increased until the afternoon of the last day, after which the people sought their homes in the towns around. The sermon in the evening of that day was designed for the benefit of those who remained until Friday morning. Mr. Ballou's sermon in the afternoon was from the words, Ps. 46 : 4,— "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God." This was regarded, at the time, as a discourse of unusual power. Rev. S. Cobb attended the convention for the first time this year, and heard Father Ballou for the first time. The discourse made an impression on his mind which he will probably bear with him to his death-bed.*

* Rev. Sylvanus Cobb has furnished the following reminiscences of the session at Warner. They will be read with interest by all :

"The first session of the General Convention of Universalists which I attended was held in Warner, N. H., September, 1822. And it was there that I heard, for the first time, a discourse from Rev. Hosea Ballou. That convention was more numerously attended by ministering brethren than any which had preceded it, and ten young men then and there received letters of fellowship as preachers of the gospel. Father Ballou manifested a very deep and paternal interest in the young preachers. I received the fellowship of the convention two years

Ten ministering brethren received "letters of fellowship" at this session, several of whom made themselves

before. I was appointed to preach on the evening of the first day of the session, at Warner. Father Ballou sat in the desk. He felt so earnest a concern for the young stranger that his *silent* thoughts moved his lips, and became *audible* to my ear. These audibly-whispered thoughts at first betrayed doubts whether I thoroughly understood the subject on which I chose to speak. At length, his distinctly-whispered thoughts, which he was not conscious of whispering at all, expressed emotions of such satisfaction as had the inspiring effect upon me which was apparently exerted upon Methodist preachers by the responsive *amen* of the hearers.

"Pardon this reference to my own performance on that occasion. It is only to bring out an amiable trait in that servant of Jesus, who came to me the next day with words of kindness which strengthened my soul, and begat in my heart a filial love and respect which has never ceased to live and glow.

"On Thursday afternoon, Father Ballou was the preacher. He was then in the prime of life, being about fifty-one years of age. His text was Ps. 46 : 4, — 'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God.' As this river supplies various streams, he took it to be synonymous with *fountain*. And this fountain is *God*, the source of all good. He proposed to visit and explore several different streams from the fountain of infinite wisdom and love.

"1st. He explored the stream of Divine Providence, bearing blessings adapted to our temporal wants.

"2d. He took us along the flowery banks of the stream of the Divine promises, given us in the gospel of his Son. But he did not permit us long to walk upon the banks of that stream. He charmed our souls to a willing plunge with him into the deep waters of the stream, 'a river to swim in, a river that could not be passed over.' We were certainly all believers in free-will then ; and yet we were *drawn* by a *force* which we found it not in us to resist.

"3d. He took us to the stream of the Divine economy in the dispensation of rewards and punishments. This stream, he said, was from the same fountain, but, flowing through different channels, it was sometimes a mediocinal stream, bitter to the taste. Taking it in this connection, he showed most beautifully the harmony of the retributive dispensations of God's government with that spirit of grace whence issues the gospel river.

highly useful, of whom it were improper not to name Thomas S. King, Lemuel Willis, Dolphus Skinner and Massena B. Ballou, son of Hosea. The father's heart was seldom more full of joy than at this session.

• SECTION VIII.—UNIVERSALIST PERIODICALS.

The brethren in all sections had become much encouraged by the influence which was being exerted by the Universalist periodicals. The *Universalist Magazine* was the leader in the point of time. There had been periodicals previously in the country, devoted to Universalism; but they were not weekly issues, but pamphlets, published monthly or quarterly, as the *Berean*, in 1802, the *Gospel Visitant*, in 1817, and the *Herald of Life and Immortality*, by Elias Smith, in 1819. But there were, in 1822, besides the *Universalist Magazine*, the

“4th, and lastly. He brought us to the stream of *brotherly love*. This, he said, flowing from the same divine fountain into the human heart, takes the name of brotherly love when it flows from heart to heart. On this branch of the subject he was surpassingly eloquent. The stream of love from heaven filled and overflowed his own soul, and thence ran and filled and overflowed the souls of the great congregation. The stoutest hearts were *melted*, and all the people *wept like children*, overcome with gratitude and joy.

“The preacher closed with addresses to the society, ministers and delegates, and singers. The address to the singers carried them too far into heaven to admit of their immediately finding a comfortable resting-place on earth. Half an hour after the services were closed, I went into the house where I had received entertainment, and two of the female singers were walking the house, with clasped hands pressing their bosoms, weeping convulsively, but joyfully, from the overpowering emotions produced by the preacher's heavenly eloquence.

“Such is a meagre sketch of the first sermon which I heard from Father Ballou.”

following: *The Gospel Herald*, published weekly, in the city of New York, in eight royal octavo pages, Mr. Henry Fitz editor; *The Philadelphia Universalist Magazine and Christian Messenger*, published monthly, in Philadelphia, in forty-eight royal octavo pages, Rev. Abner Kneeland editor; *The Christian Repository*, published quarterly, in Woodstock, Vt., in thirty-six duodecimo pages, Rev. Samuel C. Loveland editor; *The Christian Intelligencer*, published quarterly, in Portland, Me., in thirty-two octavo pages, Rev. Russell Streeter editor; and *The Religious Inquirer*, published semi-monthly, in Hartford, Conn., in eight super-royal octavo pages, Rev. Richard Carrique editor. Four years previously, there was not *one* work of this kind in America, conducted by Universalists, except Elias Smith's, which was little more than a tract.

SECTION IX. — INFLUENCE OF DOCTRINES.

Mr. Ballou preached much on the subject of punishment. He believed that God had ordained that sin should carry with it its own punishment,—that “*the way of the transgressor is hard.*” He believed, if men were made to feel the force of this doctrine, they would be less likely to sin than if they thought they could escape. The expectation that the way of sin is easy and pleasant is the only fact which gives force to temptation, especially if added to the hope that punishment threatened against sin may be avoided ultimately by repentance. He said to his fellow-men :

“ Whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, it is duty which dictates me to tell you that the way of transgressors is hard. The mistaken notion that this is not true, is the real cause which leads the wicked in the way of transgression. If the temptations to sin were not so contrived as to hold out a promise of *present ease and enjoyment*, they would never succeed. Whoever will look on this subject with the eye of reason, enlightened with experience, will see its truth as clearly as he can behold the sun in the heavens in a cloudless day. Now, if this be granted, it is equally clear that all the mighty host of clergy who contend that it is a licentious doctrine which teaches that virtue and vice are competently rewarded in this life are in error, and are giving to temptation the only attraction that can possibly render it fatal.”

Mr. B. had no belief that the fantasy of a terrible hell in the future world ever did any good. It was one of the means by which bad priests had in all ages ruled the world ; it had been the cause of indescribable anguish to men ; for it was the weak and timid, like Cowper, who feared it, more than the wicked and the violent. While, therefore, it has done much hurt upon the one hand, it has done little good upon the other. It is because the fear of hell in the future state has been so strong an aid in sustaining priestcraft, that the clergy have always been so loth to weaken it. It is this, in part, which leads them to detest the doctrine of Universalism, and represent it as a wicked and dangerous doctrine. In dwelling on this subject, in the course of this year, Mr. Ballou said :

“ Reader, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, the time is come that the plain, honest truth must be told, that the way of transgressors is hard. It is here, in this life, that wicked men make their hell, and torment themselves in it. And

that sort of religion which excludes peace and enjoyment from its paths is the way of transgressors, and is hard. This religion, like all other wickedness, is the tormentor of its votary. There is no false religion in the world that does not torment those who adhere to it, and there is no sin in the world which does not torment those who practise it. On the other hand, the true religion gives peace in believing and joy in the Holy Spirit; it imparts that rest which remaineth for the people of God; and all the virtues to which the divine commandments invite us are so many invaluable treasures, more to be desired than the most fine gold."

Mr. B. maintained, always, that the doctrine of the best tendency was that which gave the clearest and strongest assurance that sin should have an adequate punishment in the present life. He urged this again and again. But the world said his doctrine was of evil tendency; and even his own brethren, who believed in a future limited punishment, joined in this cry.

"The writer of these observations deeply regrets that faithfulness to the cause of truth compels him to be further particular in these preliminary remarks; but, it having of late become common for those Universalists who profess to believe in a future state of retribution to contend that a disbelief of this article of faith is of an immoral tendency, it seems as necessary to understand the merits of the assertion when urged by this class of Christians, as when it is used by other denominations.

* * * * *

"So, likewise, both Calvinists and Arminians unite against Universalism, and say, If all men are to be saved, it is no matter what we do; if we believed this doctrine, we would never worship God; we would never read the Scriptures; we would never pray; but would blaspheme, lie, steal, get drunk, rob and murder. Their zeal, which is not according to knowledge, drives them so rapidly in the dark, that they never stop to ask themselves whether real Universalists do not go to meeting as much as any denomina-

tion ; whether they are not as well read in the Scriptures as any people in Christendom ; whether it be certain that they are not as attentive to the closet, according to the Saviour's directions, as themselves ; nor do they ask whether Universalists blaspheme, lie, steal, get drunk, rob and murder, more than those who believe in eternal misery."

Again he said, a few months after :

"My study of human nature and of moral principles has led me to believe what the Scriptures, to my understanding, do plainly teach, that those are blessed in this world who fear God and work righteousness, and that the way of the transgressor is hard. Men are now as happy as they are righteous, and they are as miserable as they are sinful ; therefore, to my understanding, if all men are to be rewarded in the future world according to their works in this, they will be just as happy and just as miserable as they are in this world."

Such were his views, expressed year after year, and almost month after month, as long as he lived. He believed in their correctness, without the slightest doubt ; and he was very desirous that the world should receive them.

SECTION X. — SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION.

In December, 1822, Mr. Ballou attended the session of the Southern Association, at Western (now Warren), Mass., of which he was elected moderator. The most interesting event of this session was the ordination of Rev. Jacob Frieze and Rev. Thomas G. Farnsworth ; and Mr. B. was selected to preach on the occasion. He took for his text the words of Peter (1st Epis. 4 : 11), "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God ; if any

man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth : that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." What text could be more appropriate for a sermon at an ordination ?

SECTION XI.—THE APPEAL AND DECLARATION.

Some who will read this book will remember these ominous words, as descriptive of two publications that brought about a more serious rupture in the Universalist body than had ever before occurred. The "Appeal to the Public" was published by Jacob Wood, over the signature of "Restorationist," undoubtedly with the concurrence and approbation of others. The "Declaration" was a paper addressed to the world, signed by Jacob Wood, by the request and in the behalf of others, in which the authors thereof attempted to show that the ancient doctrine of universal restoration had been corrupted ; that this corruption was seated and growing among the Universalists of the United States ; and that it had become a great hindrance to the spread of the truth, as well as detrimental to the morals of the community. The authors of this "Declaration" professed, therefore, that they considered it a duty which they owed to God, and their own consciences, to make the following *declaration* :

"1. That, in our opinion, the doctrine of universal salvation at the commencement of a future state, and that of the final restoration of all men by Jesus Christ, through faith and repentance, are distinct and different doctrines, and are incapable of being reconciled together.

"2. That we consider the former doctrine to be subversive of a just sense of our accountability to God, and the proper distinction between virtue and vice; and, consequently, lessens the motives to virtue, and gives force to the temptations of sin."*

This was the wedge that split the denomination asunder. These men went on to declare that the kind of Universalism which they had attacked set aside the scheme of salvation by Christ; was subversive of a just sense of our accountability to God, and of a proper distinction between virtue and vice, &c. &c. The most of those engaged in this matter had preferred not to give their names, Mr. Wood appearing over his proper signature in their behalf. Mr. Ballou knew perfectly well who they were; and it pained him to the heart to see that he was denounced by brethren with whom, in former years, he had taken sweet counsel.

By the concurrence of the three editors of the *Universalist Magazine*, both the "Appeal" and "Declaration" were transferred to the columns of that paper on January 25, 1823. The introduction was written in their behalf by the elder Mr. Ballou, and was in the following words:

"By presenting the following Appeal and Statement of Faith, found in the *Christian Repository* for December last, to our readers, we comply with the request of those who framed them. We are authorized to state that they are the result of the advice and counsel of the following ministering brethren, who belong to

* Those articles were first published in the *Christian Repository*, Woodstock, Vt., December, 1822, edited by Rev. S. C. Loveland, a gentleman who did not secede with the Restorationists.

and stand in fellowship with the General Convention of Universalists; namely, Rev. Jacob Wood, Rev. Edward Turner, Rev. Paul Dean, Rev. Barzillai Streeter, Rev. Charles Hudson, and Rev. Levi Briggs.

Mr. Ballou further said in the introduction, addressing the Universalists at large:

“Christian brethren, it is a most painful, heart-agonizing task, to put into your hands what we know must produce in you surprise and grief of no ordinary character; but you are assured that this *gall and wormwood* has for years been tasted by those who saw the first germ of this *root of bitterness*. Yes, the shade of many a night has witnessed the anguish which preyed on the heart of him who writes this notice, and his pillow has received the tears of grief, occasioned by the increasing symptoms which portended the unhappy schism now made manifest to the public. We expect the daughters of the uncircumcised will triumph; but what is this in comparison with our sighs and tears on the defection of those we love? Let us, with confidence, rely on Him whose invisible hand worketh all things after the counsel of his own will; and in our hearts say, ‘Not our will, but thine, O God, be done.’—*Editors.*”

SECTION XII.—REPLY TO THE APPEAL AND DECLARATION.

The editors of the *Magazine* proceeded at once to reply. If the spirit manifested by the authors of those publications were to be encouraged, they felt there was an end to all good fellowship. It was never objected to those brethren that they defended the doctrine of future punishment, for that they had a perfect right to do; but they evidently aimed at *division*. It was feared they wished to drive out Mr. B. and his friends from the

denomination, or, failing in this, to secede and form a new sect. The plan grew to maturity; and, as they had not the influence to control the whole body, they went out and formed another, called "Restorationists." This they had a right to do, if they were willing to take the consequences; but was it right to throw the odium of the measure upon others? Had they the right to claim that they were the friends of peace, and that others made the separation, when it was fairly their own act? There was one thing that gave great trouble to these half-dozen brethren, namely, they could not carry with them, in their measures, many who professed to believe in future punishment, as Rev. Russell Streeeter, Rev. Lemuel Willis, Rev. Dolphus Skinner, and some others. Let us attend to the reply of the editors of the *Magazine*. We shall give extracts merely, for the article was a long one, and we do not desire to take up more room with this painful subject than is necessary:

"In last week's *Magazine* we republished, from the *Christian Repository*, 'An Appeal to the Public,' signed 'Restorationist;' and a Declaration (as we shall call it), signed 'Jacob Wood,' in behalf of others.

"It is now about seven weeks since those pieces were first published. In the mean time, we have labored with our brethren who were the authors, for the purpose of persuading them to recall their publication; but to no avail. We now submit to the alternative of publicly disproving their representation, and exposing the real character of their procedure, in preference to permitting it to stand uncontradicted before the world, alienating the hearts of brethren, and exciting suspicion and discord."

They then proceeded to lay open the mystery which

hung over the origin of the "Appeal" and "Declaration." Although Mr. Ballou and his friends were reported as fomenters of discord, they were left without any certain knowledge who were the authors of these pieces for about three weeks, and then the names were obtained after one refusal. But, having learned who were the authors, they proceeded to perform what was the most painful duty that had ever devolved upon them as editors :

"To begin, we must beg the reader to compare their '*Appeal*' with their '*Declaration*.' He will discover a most condemning absurdity on the very face of those two pieces, when they are compared. How do the authors represent *themselves* in the *Appeal*? Answer: as striving 'to preserve the union of the order,'—as seeking to continue in fellowship with those that deny, as well as with those that believe, the doctrine of future punishment. Indeed, it is one of the grand objects of the *Appeal* to convince the public that they had assiduously endeavored to prevent a separation. Very well. Now, turn to their *Declaration*. What do they *there* say concerning the doctrine of *no* future punishment? Answer: that it 'is subversive of a just sense of our accountability to God, and the proper distinction between virtue and vice, and, consequently, lessens the motives to virtue, and gives force to the temptations of sin.' And still they pretend to have been laboriously pursuing a course of measures for the very purpose of continuing in fellowship with those who believe and avow this *pernicious* doctrine!—this doctrine, of which they again say, 'If it be not certain that' it 'gives force to the temptations of sin, there is no moral certainty upon any subject whatever!'—of which they also say, *repeatedly*, it 'sets aside the scheme of salvation by *Christ*!' Mark this, reader: it '*sets aside the scheme of salvation by Christ*!' as well as is 'detrimental to the morals of community,' and irreconcilable with their own doctrine;—and yet they are willing to profess, before

God and man, to fellowship those who believe and avow it,—to fellowship them as *Christian ministers!* and have even studiously sought to prevent everything that might lead to a separation from them! Let those believe all this story who can. The fact is, he who contrived this story has *not wished* to prevent a separation; he has *sought* one with all his heart, as we shall show before we conclude; but he and his associates knew that a separation would be unpopular, and wished to fix the odium of the measure on others.”

Faithfulness to the truth compels us to declare that the authors of this “Appeal” and “Declaration” had not sought to preserve peace and tranquillity. This is very evident from the following statement of facts which we copy from the reply of the editors of the *Magazine*:

“In the year 1816, Mr. Jacob Wood applied to the General Convention of Universalists for a letter of fellowship, and received one. In this very year (more than six years ago) he persuaded one of the Universalist ministers to believe that it was necessary that the convention should take a decided stand in favor of the doctrine of future punishment; and at the same time privately instilled prejudices into his mind against Mr. Ballou, then of Salem (now of Boston), who was supposed to doubt that doctrine. At this period, Mr. Wood was preaching in Haverhill, Mass., where he talked so much against Mr. Ballou that the society became dissatisfied with him as their preacher. All this while he pretended much friendship in Mr. Ballou’s presence, as he likewise generally has since. Soon after this, he represented to Mr. Ballou that Mr. Turner was desirous of a correspondence with him on the subject of future punishment, and persuaded Mr. Ballou to write to Mr. Turner, and invite such a correspondence. Let it be noticed that, until this correspondence, which was carried on in the *Gospel Visitant*, there had been nothing special said or

written against the doctrine of future punishment. After engaging Mr. Ballou and Mr. Turner in the controversy, Mr. Wood obtained letters from almost all the Universalist ministers in New England, stating their belief in future punishment; and then published extracts from those letters, without the knowledge of the writers, in an appendix to a 'Brief Essay on Future Retribution.' He said he did this for the purpose of making known that the Universalists were believers in future punishment. The essay, with the letters, was published *under the approbation of Messrs. Turner and Dean*, who had written their own letters for publication in it. In this essay, Mr. Wood manifested some harshness, of which the following extract is a specimen: 'The many gross absurdities to which the doctrine of *immediate universal salvation* is liable, and the *vicious effects which it is calculated to produce*, render it a doctrine justly deserving of *disapprobation* and *CONTEMPT*.' This pamphlet came out about the first of September, 1817; and, within a week or fortnight afterwards, the General Convention met at Charlton, where Mr. Wood was then preaching. At this convention, Mr. Wood *privately* endeavored to persuade a number of ministers (among whom was one of the editors) to join him in a separate association, under the title of 'Restorationists,' but did not succeed. It would seem, from several circumstances, that Messrs. Turner and Dean then knew and approved of this attempt.

"Mr. Wood had previously *agreed*, with one of the ministers, to bring the subject of future punishment before this convention at Charlton; and, if there proved to be a majority of members who would not assent to that doctrine, to declare their separation from them, and declare it *openly*. However, when the period agreed on had arrived, Mr. Wood refused to act according to agreement, but took the *clandestine* manner we have described. We wish the reader to bear in mind that at this period there had existed no excitement against the doctrine of future punishment; there had been so little said or written against it, that very few of the Universalist ministers knew each other's opinions on the subject.

"At the convention in Charlton, Mr. Wood pursued his former

practice of privately instilling prejudices, some of them of the most cruel kind, against Mr. Ballou; and boasted that 'he had got to come down.' He had likewise pursued the same practice in his conversation with the members of his society in Charlton, till it had become a subject of very general complaint among them.

"Ever since that convention, he has, both in conversation with the ministers and in letters to them, confidently declared that there would be a separation of the convention. Of himself and his associates, he has said, that they do not think that a union *ought* to be maintained, or *can be justified*, between two so opposite theories as are professed by the members of the convention. [Mark this, reader; for they, in the Appeal, pretend to have labored for union.] He has almost uniformly maintained that the doctrine of *no* future punishment tends to immorality; and that the professed believers of it are, in general, infidels. The following is only a *specimen* of his representations: Returning from Boston, he stopped at Mr. Nathaniel Whittemore's, in Lancaster. Mr. Whittemore asked him, 'What news?' to which he replied, 'Bad news, bad news, Br. Whittemore:—I am really sorry!' 'What is it?' rejoined Mr. Whittemore. Mr. Wood answered, 'Nine-tenths of Br. Ballou's society are infidels, —I am really sorry.' As to his common practice of talking against Mr. Ballou, it may be well understood by considering the fact that he has repeatedly *declared* to the ministers that it is his *design* and *determination* to lessen Mr. Ballou in the public esteem; and the societies where he has preached can bear him testimony, that he has showed himself in earnest in the prosecution of that design.

"When we consider all these facts,—the part that Mr. Wood has acted with the knowledge, and, often, coöperation of Messrs. Turner and Dean,—and the course that Messrs. Turner and Dean themselves have pursued, though not so *openly*,—we stand in utter astonishment at the falsehood of the Appeal. Have *they* endeavored to preserve union? Are we the authors of the threatening separation? Why, Mr. Wood himself has voluntarily and deliberately stated that he *knew* ENVY to be the cause of the

threatened schism! Br. B. Whittemore had asked him the cause of Messrs. Turner and Dean's opposition to Mr. Ballou. 'Br. Whittemore,' said Mr. Wood, in answer, 'I know human nature so well as to know that envy is the cause of the impending schism.' He likewise told one of the editors that he had no doubt that the opposition of Messrs. Turner and Dean was caused by envy towards Mr. Ballou.

"Mr. Dean has reported, *secretly*, that Mr. Ballou retained nothing of Christianity but the *name*; and has talked against him in such a manner, to some of the brethren, that they have told Mr. Ballou they never should repeat the conversation, nor tell him what it was, unless they saw him in real danger from it. About two years ago, Mr. Turner intimated an unwillingness to proceed on in harmony; for, said he, 'then there would be nobody but Ballou.'"*

Such were some of the leading facts in the reply. It produced a stunning effect. The brethren who had published the "Appeal" and "Declaration," made no further movement for some time. No rejoinder to the reply of the editors was attempted, and it seems to have had the force of demonstration among the people. The only thing in which Mr. Ballou had done wrong, if it was wrong, was in defending what he honestly believed to be the doctrine of retribution, as taught in the Scriptures. He had not sought division, but *peace*. He saw no reason why Universalists might not go on in harmony, although they differed somewhat on the subject of punishment.† If he defended his opinions, they had the same

* The original reply of the editors of the *Universalist Magazine* to the "Appeal" and "Declaration" will be found in the fourth volume of that paper, pp. 125—127. It was prepared and written by Rev. H. Ballou, 2d, and was signed by the three, Hosea Ballou, Hosea Ballou, 2d, and Thomas Whittemore.

† He said, two or three years after this: "Suppose a whole family is

right and opportunity to defend theirs; and the public could judge which was in the right. He felt deeply wounded, especially at the defection of Mr. Turner, whom he had known and loved so long. He resolved to be faithful to the cause of truth,—to do his duty to the utmost of his ability,—and leave the consequences to God.

SECTION XIII.—THE CONSEQUENCES.

It is painful to look at the consequences that followed these publications. Brethren who had heretofore stood high, found that their influence was greatly impaired. Mr. Wood soon left the society of which he was pastor;

on a journey, from New England to the western country, where the provident father has vested a large sum in landed estate, where he purposes to settle for the remainder of his life. He has provided comfortable means and eligible accommodations for his whole family on their journey, and their prospects justify every rational gratification of hope. But among the children, who are ignorant of the country whither they are bound, and of the distance they must travel to reach it, some difference of conjecture arises. One thinks it will require six months to perform the journey; another is fully persuaded that they shall all be safe at their home in three months; there are also different opinions among them respecting the country through which they are to pass. Some have formed a notion that they must encounter very rough and fatiguing way, — others think the road is more smooth and comfortable; but they all agree that in due time, having passed all which was necessary, they shall arrive at their destined, happy home. Would it not be unwise for these children to indulge a bitter spirit toward each other on account of these various notions? Would it not be the very height of folly, and even perverseness, for these children to refuse to travel together on their journey, because they entertained these different opinions? Let the children be quiet and love one another, trust all their concerns to the wisdom and providence of the parent, who impartially regards them, and who will bear them company, and bring them safely home."—*Universalist Magazine*, volume VII. 139, 140.

and, after obtaining one or two subsequent settlements, abandoned the ministry altogether. He was less malicious than ambitious. Mr. Turner had stood very high in the public respect; and the society of which he was pastor, was one of the largest and most respectable of the Universalist societies. From this time his influence was broken. He made an ineffectual attempt to restore it, by a sermon subsequently published, from the words, "Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence, which I make now unto you," Acts 22: 1. A majority of the society became dissatisfied, and, after a brief lapse of time, he removed to Portsmouth, N. H., to supply the vacancy which had been made by the removal of Rev. S. Streeter to Boston. Messrs. Levi Briggs and Barzillai Streeter soon left the ministry, as did also Mr. Hudson, a few years later, who went into political life. It remains for us to speak only of Mr. Dean. He had been settled in a new and beautiful church in Bulfinch-street, in Boston. The society kept along for years, but dwindled gradually, until, by his consent, it went into the hands of Unitarians, and his connection with it was dissolved. He entered the last-named sect as a preacher. Mr. Ballou never harbored a particle of ill-will towards these men. He would often speak of them with great affection; and when he referred to his intercourse with some of them in early days, it was difficult for him to refrain from tears. His influence in his own society, and among the Universalists at large, was not abated, nor did it abate to the day of his death. Having thus taken a glance into the future, we will return to the regular course of the narrative.

SECTION XIV.—ORDINATIONS, ETC., IN 1823.

It was with much satisfaction Mr. Ballou learned, at the very beginning of 1823, that the Universalists of New York were zealously engaged in the formation of a new society, and contemplated the erection of another house of worship. His visit to the city had evidently inspired them to this, although he probably gave no direct advice to that end. He took little part in advising the brethren when they should form societies, or build meeting-houses; his great object was, in all his labors, to edify men in Christian truth. When we say, therefore, that his visit to New York inspired the brethren to make the efforts we have described, we do not mean that he was a schemer, forming plans for the action of others; but it was done in no other way than in bringing them to feel the power of the truth as it is in Jesus. The cornerstone of the edifice referred to was laid July 10th.

In February, he made a journey to Vermont, to attend the dedication of the new Universalist house of worship at Hartland. His old friends gathered together, in scores and hundreds, to see him again. The services took place on the fifth of the month; the day was remarkably fine, and the congregation overwhelmingly numerous. The services were performed by Revs. Lemuel Willis, Robert Bartlett, Dolphus Skinner, and Hosea Ballou,—the latter preaching the sermon.

The ordination of Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, as pastor of the Universalist society at West Scituate, Mass., took place on Wednesday, 21st May. Mr. Ballou

gave an admirable sermon from the words of Paul, 2 Timothy 2: 23—25. The day was remarkably fine, and a crowded audience manifested a deep interest in the services. The ordaining prayer was by Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, the charge by Rev. Seth Stetson, and the fellowship by Rev. Thomas Whittemore.

On the twenty-ninth of the same month (May) Mr. Ballou was invited to Medway, Mass., to deliver a sermon at the dedication of a new meeting-house there. The other services were by Rev. J. Frieze, of Milford, and Rev. T. Whittemore.

Among the new preachers of this year, we must not fail to mention Rev. L. R. Paige, who had been converted to Universalism by reading the Treatise on Atonement. In a letter to Mr. Ballou, dated April 28th, 1823, he said, "About this time" [the time of his conversion] "I had an opportunity to peruse your 'Treatise on Atonement;' and it is a duty which I owe to you and to myself to state, that that was a mean, in the hand of God, of removing from my mind many clouds, which had heretofore obscured my vision." Mr. Paige has been a very useful man. He was much engaged, shortly after he entered the ministry, in defending the truth against the attacks of its enemies; and is the author of several valuable works, as his "Selections from Eminent Commentators," and three volumes of a commentary on the New Testament, embracing the four Gospels and the book of Acts. He will, we trust, complete this work, if his life and health shall be spared.

SECTION XV.—MR. BALLOU VISITS MAINE.

In the month of June Mr. Ballou visited the State of Maine. He embraced this opportunity, on account of the meeting of the Eastern Association at the time in Waterville. This was not his *first* visit to Maine. He had been in the district as early as 1811, to attend the meeting of the Eastern Association, at Freeport; and he went down again in 1814, and attended the session of the same Association at Turner, where he acted as moderator, and wrote the Circular Letter. He made a visit as far as Portland, 16th August, 1821, to attend the dedication of the Universalist meeting-house in that city; and he preached the sermon in the afternoon of that day, at the installation of Rev. Russell Streeter. He did not go to Maine again until the time we have mentioned;—June, 1823. He left Boston, in a private carriage, on the seventeenth of the month, and journeyed leisurely to Portland, where he preached on Sunday, 22d. On Monday he reached the banks of the beautiful Kennebec, and on Tuesday passed on to Waterville. There he met his brethren, Russell Streeter, Sylvanus Cobb, William A. Drew, William Frost, Fayette Mace, Alvan Dinsmore, J. W. Hoskins, Daniel Young, and perhaps some others. He preached on both days of the session. On the first day he took as his text Gen. 49: 10,—“To him shall the gathering of the people be.”

“It was (says the Rev. Russell Streeter) decidedly one of the most finished and powerful discourses which I ever heard him deliver. He dwelt with exceeding emphasis and pathos upon

'the *gathering* of the people' to Jesus, according to numerous rich and glorious promises and prophecies, which he felicitously introduced. I remember well, that 'the *gathering* of the people' was finely and eloquently illustrated, by considering the promised Shiloh as 'the *light of the world*, the *bread of life*, and the *fountain of living waters*,' and showing how these desirable and indispensable objects would '*gather*' the *benighted*, the *hungry*, and *thirsty* people, when revealed or made known to them. The several descriptions of sufferers were depicted in natural and affecting colors; and their '*gathering*' to the light of love, the bread of heavenly life, and the living, gushing waters of salvation and joy, was described in a glow of earnest rapture, and in tones as sweet as angels use. But, it is almost profane to attempt to give any idea of the sweeping eloquence of that occasion. The Scriptures quoted were such as the above glorious topics would naturally suggest."

His sermon upon the next day was from 2 Corinthians 4: 5,—"*For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.*" Of the two sermons preached by him on this occasion, the former struck some minds the more forcibly, and the latter others. Mr. Streeter, whom we have already quoted, describes it as "able and good, and the same in substance as it appeared from his pen in print; but, in reading it, as was said of the Grecian orator, the storm of eloquence is not felt. It was not so splendid and melting as the one before mentioned, but, on the whole, equally instructive and useful." The Rev. William A. Drew says, "It was one of the best Mr. Ballou ever preached or published. It contained doctrines so attracting to an Orthodox clergyman in Dresden, Me., that he obtained a printed copy, and preached it nearly verbatim to the people of his charge, and thus greatly enhanced

his credit among them as a clear thinker and sound divine."

One of the interesting events of the session was the dedication of children. Rev. S. Cobb and Rev. William A. Drew were then young, and they brought their first-born to this meeting to consecrate them to the Lord. The beloved father Ballou was selected to perform the service. He received each child, pronounced its name, and, lifting his tearful eyes to heaven, said, "I receive thee as a member of the body and church of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom I now dedicate thee, to be baptized of him into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; pronouncing upon thee the blessing which the Lord commanded his servant to pronounce upon all the congregation of his people: The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. Amen."*

* This practice of the dedication of children was first suggested by Mr. Murray, to take the place of infant sprinkling. He did not believe in water baptism. John baptized with water, but Jesus baptized with the Holy Ghost. As there was only *one* true baptism, and as that must be baptism as communicated by Christ, therefore water baptism is not a Christian ordinance. Soon after Mr. Murray had commenced preaching in this country, he was repeatedly requested to baptize children; and he had doubts of the propriety of the service. We give his own words:

"After much deliberation, I proposed, and many of my hearers have adopted, the following mode: The parent or parents (I am always best pleased when both parents unite) bring their children into the great congregation, and stand in the broad aisle, in the presence of the worshippers of God. The father, receiving the babe from the arms of the mother, presents it to the servant of God, who stately ministers at his altar. The ambassador of Christ receives it in his arms, deriving his

SECTION XVI. — SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION, 1823.

We notice particularly the meeting of this body, on account of the action taken in respect to the authors of the "Appeal" and the "Declaration." The session was holden in Strafford, Conn., the residence, at the time, of Rev. Thomas G. Farnsworth. Mr. Ballou was elected moderator; Revs. J. Frieze, D. Pickering, T. Whittemore, J. Bisbee, and H. Ballou, preached; and Rev. L. R. Paige and Wm. Morse received letters of fellowship. One brother (Z. Fuller) was ordained, on which occasion Mr. Ballou preached from 2 Cor. 4: 5.

"The attention of the Association was called to the consideration of two communications published in the *Christian Repository* for December, 1822, entitled an 'Appeal to the World' and a 'Declaration,' having for their authors certain brethren in fel-

authority for this practice from the example of the Redeemer, who says, Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. The minister, therefore, taking the infant from its father, who gives him, as he presents it, the name of the child, proclaims aloud, John or Mary, we receive thee as a member of the mystical body of Him who is the second Adam, the Redeemer of men, the Lord from heaven. We dedicate thee to Him, to whom thou properly belongest, to be baptized with his own baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and we pronounce upon thee that blessing which he commanded his ministers, Moses, Aaron, and his sons, to pronounce upon his people, saying,

"The Lord bless thee and keep thee;

"The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee;

"The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

"For this procedure we have the command, the express command of God. Our reason and our religion concur to approve the solemnity, and our hearts are at peace."—*Letters and Sketches of Sermons*. Boston, 1812. Volume II, 367, 368.

lowship with this Association; which communications indicate a breach of fellowship, and are injurious to the good feelings and harmony which ought ever to prevail among brethren engaged in one cause, having for the end of their labors the cultivation of the moral and social virtues, the liberation of the human mind from prejudice and bigotry, and the production in the heart of the spirit of benevolence, philanthropy and love.

“ Voted, That the said ‘ Appeal ’ and ‘ Declaration ’ be referred to a committee of three, for their examination; and that they report what notice this Association ought to take of the same. Brs. R. Carrique, J. Bisbee and J. Frieze, were appointed on this committee.”

This committee, which was certainly a very respectable one, after taking due time to deliberate upon the subject, made the following report :

“ The committee to whom was referred the consideration of the ‘ Appeal ’ and ‘ Declaration ’ made the following report, which was adopted by the unanimous vote of the members of the Association :

“ This Association considers it expedient to express this public disapprobation of a ‘ Declaration ’ and an ‘ Appeal,’ which appeared in the *Christian Repository* for December, 1822, as they tend to dissolve the bonds of union, by manifesting a disposition in their authors to deprive us of the name and character of Christian ministers.

“ Voted, That Brs. Carrique, Bisbee and Frieze, be a committee to write to the brethren who are the authors of the ‘ Appeal ’ and ‘ Declaration,’ and make known to them the views entertained by this Association of said communications.”

Rev. Mr. Dean, the only one of the six signers of the “ Declaration ” who was present, left at the close of the first day of the session, and returned to Boston.* In

* He effected an individual settlement of his difficulties with Mr. Bal-

six months from this date the association met again in Milford, Mass., when the committee above referred to reported that they had attended to the duty assigned them, without success. But, at the close of the first day, there were symptoms that the authors of the "Declaration" had relented, and a committee was appointed to draft terms of reconciliation; and on this committee were placed Hosea Ballou, D. Pickering, J. Frieze, Richard Carrique, and H. Ballou, 2d. They reported, upon the next day, the following plan of settlement:

"Whereas certain publications, called an 'Appeal to the Public,' and a 'Declaration to the World,' have been construed to indicate a disfellowship, as expressed in a resolve of the Southern Association, the undersigned, authors of the 'Declaration,' being possessed of a fervent desire to restore the happy union and fellowship of our religious order, and to enjoy ourselves, and to assist our brethren to reciprocate with us, the inestimable blessings of harmony and brotherly love, desire to remove all difficulties above noted, by certifying that we do most cordially acknowledge and accept, as Christian ministers and brethren, such as differ from us on the subjects of doctrine maintained in the above-named publications. And we receive and consider the acceptance of this proposal by the Association as an assurance on their part that they reciprocate the sentiments and feelings of Christian fellowship above-mentioned."

The above paper having been signed by Revs. Edward Turner, B. Streeter, and Charles Hudson, it was voted "That the same is fully satisfactory in relation to the

lou at this session in Strafford; but he could not give a correct statement of it after he arrived home. Mr. Ballou's heart was ever ready to receive him, when he would come as a brother; but such were Mr. D.'s representations in regard to the settlement, that it was not a month before he was far deeper in difficulty than he had been before.

signers thereof; and that this body reciprocate the Christian feeling and fellowship therein expressed." Of the six authors of the "Declaration," these three were the only persons present.

SECTION XVII. — PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE, 1823.

It is impossible to tell in every case how far the influence of Mr. Ballou reached. The light that radiated from his mind extended out on every hand; but how widely who can know? There is no exact rule by which we can calculate the influence of a man. We describe the state of the cause as we go on, and leave others to form the best judgment they can how far Mr. Ballou's labors and influence contributed to produce it. A writer in the New York *Gospel Herald* said, in August of this year:

"There are now eight periodical publications devoted to the interests of this denomination in the United States; four in New England, one in Philadelphia, and three in the State of New York; 'not less than ten thousand copies of the different papers are subscribed for, and in constant circulation,' — probably thousands more are distributed gratuitously, — 'there is no state, district, or section of country, where they are not more or less known and read.' The Universalists have about one hundred and twenty preachers. They have about two hundred separate societies in the United States, of which seventy are in the State of New York."

It was reported, also, that ten Universalist meeting-houses had been built this year. There was much speculation and hope in regard to a book which would soon appear, it was said, from the pen of Rev. Walter Balfour, a recent convert to the Universalist faith. It was believed

that he would show, more clearly than it had been done before, that the doctrine of endless misery had no just ground of support from any of the original words rendered *hell* in the common English version; that his examination into the subject would be more thorough than any that had been made, although he would arrive at the same results to which others had come, before him. Indeed, the "proposals" for the book were out as early as August, 1823; and the new work would be called "An Inquiry into the Scriptural Import of the Words Sheol, Hades, Tartarus and Gehenna, all translated *Hell* in the Common English Version." Expectation was high, and the four words mentioned came into very common use among Universalists. Our new friend said, in his prospectus, that his principal object had been to ascertain, by an examination of all the passages in which these words occur, whether the inspired writers used any of them to mean a place of endless misery for the wicked. Though it was generally allowed that the first three were not so used, yet, as some of the texts in which these words occur were still quoted in proof of this doctrine, such texts were considered. As it was universally contended that the word *Gehenna* is always used by the sacred writers to signify such a place of misery, all the texts in which it occurs would be particularly examined. This investigation of the above words, as to their Scripture usage, had ended in the conviction, in the author's mind, that, originally, no such idea was attached to them. It was undertaken merely for his own satisfaction upon this deeply interesting subject to the human race; but, having delivered what he had written in a series of dis-

courses, at the request of many who heard them, they would be now submitted for publication. Many people blessed the Lord for this man's conversion, and none did it more fervently than Mr. Ballou, as will be shown hereafter. He waited impatiently for the book.

SECTION XVIII. — CONVENTION OF 1823.

The convention this year was in some respects a joyful one, and in others melancholy. It was holden far off, namely, in the village of Clinton, Oneida county, N. Y., some few miles south of Utica. The great body of the people and of the preachers went to hear the gospel preached, and to feast upon the bread of heaven; but several of the ministers from Massachusetts went with personal difficulties to settle. Very deep indeed was the disappointment of the great body of the persons present. Mr. Ballou had no ill will to any one; he had held out the olive-branch to Mr. Dean till it had withered in his hand. A necessity existed that he should make a complaint against that brother; but, to offset this, Mr. Hudson (one of the six signers of the "Declaration") also instituted a complaint against Mr. Ballou. The convention, averse to acting in the matter, voted to exonerate them both, though under circumstances which showed there was little doubt that in the opinion of the convention Mr. Ballou had been a promoter of peace so far as was in his power, and that he was a deeply-aggrieved man. Mr. Dean immediately requested liberty to withdraw from the fellowship of the convention, and this request was granted. The brethren were led by this

fact to hope that the chances of peace were greatly increased. Before we close our account of this session, we take occasion to say that Rev. Thomas F. King was ordained, and Rev. Warren Skinner, among others, received letters of fellowship. The ordination sermon was preached by Mr. Ballou, from John 6: 33. Between Mr. Ballou and Mr. King, as long as the latter lived,* there existed a cordial friendship.

SECTION XIX. — DEATH OF REV. WM. FARWELL.

In the month of December (11th), the aged and venerable Wm. Farwell died, at the house of his son, in Barre, Vt. He was always a friend of Mr. Ballou,—a good man, a sincere, ardent lover of the gospel. Rev. John E. Palmer, who knew him well, and who preached his funeral sermon, said :

“He had enjoyed very good health, for a man of his years, till within two weeks of his death, when he fell on the ice, and about the same time took a violent cold, which terminated his mortal life. He had but just returned from a journey of four months into New York, New Hampshire, and through this state, and preached, the Sabbath before his confinement, in this vicinity. Br. Farwell remained firm in the belief ‘that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world,’ to the last, and met death with Christian fortitude and resignation, giving, in the manner of his death, the lie to the old assertion, that a belief in universal salvation may do to live by, but will not do to die by. His wife, with whom he had lived a full half-century, survives him, and is happy in the faith of the gospel.”

* Mr. King died in Charlestown, while pastor of the Universalist society in that place, in September, 1839.

Mr. Ballou was written to, at the time of the death, and requested to furnish a suitable notice of the man. He always respected Father Farwell, for his honesty, goodness, faithfulness, purity of heart, ardent love of truth, freedom from all worldly ambition, and quick sensibility to the woes of his fellow-men. But he said he felt inadequate to doing justice to the man's life and character. His beloved brother, he added, had endeared himself to the whole fraternity of Universalists by "his amiable and Christian character;" and his "life and conversation formed the best eulogium of him whose memory would live long in all our hearts."

SECTION XX. — UNITARIANS.

The course which would be adopted by the new sect of Unitarians, in regard to the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness, was still to be revealed; and it was watched by the Universalists with much interest. Rev. James Walker, now President of Harvard University, but then the pastor of the Unitarian society in Charlestown, and one of the editors of the *Christian Disciple* [the leading Unitarian review], said, early in 1823:

"If by 'everlasting punishment' is meant 'the proper eternity of hell-torments,' it is a doctrine which *most Unitarians of the present day concur in rejecting*; some understanding, by that 'everlasting destruction' to which the wicked are to be consigned, an absolute annihilation; *others* conceiving of their sufferings as *consequential*, and *indefinite* as to their duration; and *others*, that *all punishment will be remedial, and will end at last in a universal restoration to goodness and happiness.*"

This was, perhaps, the boldest statement on this point that had ever been made by the American Unitarians. In copying it, the editors of the *Magazine* said :

“It is with heartfelt joy that we see a gentleman of so high standing among our Unitarian brethren lay before the public this plain and explicit declaration ; and, would those brethren deign to receive a well-meant exhortation from us, we would urge them to become just as plain and explicit on this point in their preaching, before their congregations. If they do reject the doctrine of endless misery, it is a duty they owe to God and man never even to *connive* at its support. It is a doctrine which reflects the most horrid character conceivable on Deity, as they themselves will admit ; and as to its effects on the mind, they need not be informed that it is driving multitudes to madness and death, and rendering the lives of some of the most affectionate and some of the best of their fellow-creatures intolerably wretched.

“Those of the Unitarians particularly who believe in ‘universal restoration’ ought not to conceal the light God has granted them. Admit that, if they frankly avow their trust in the living God as the Saviour of all men, they will suffer reproach,—are they not willing to endure the little odium, for the sake of imparting to their hearers and to society at large those unspeakable consolations and glorious hopes which themselves enjoy ? Brethren, ye are *debtors* to the Greeks and to the barbarians, to the wise and the unwise ; be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.”

But the editor of the *Christian Register* [the Unitarian paper in Boston] had not the same courage and spirit with Rev. Mr. Walker. The dominant sects were becoming very much alarmed at the spread of the Universalists ; and the editor of the *Boston Recorder* [the leading Orthodox journal in Boston], more frantic than others, had unavoidably given vent to his long-increasing sorrow at their success. The editor of the *Register*,

after joining in the dirge, turned upon the Calvinist, and charged him and the party to which he belonged with being the cause of the existence of Universalism, to which he maintained the people had been driven by the abominations of the Calvinistic creed. Mr. Ballou said, in the *Magazine*, over his own initials :

“ My brother, the editor of the *Christian Register*, has noticed, in that paper of August 1st, the great alarm which a writer in the *Boston Recorder* expresses at the prevalence of Universalism ; and although he, in heart and soul, unites his lamentations with those of said writer, on account of the spread of a doctrine so pernicious to the morals of society, he faces about directly, his back towards the Universalists and his bold and imposing front towards the whole veteran phalanx of Calvinism, and charges his pious and holy brethren of that long-venerated order with being the principal cause of this pernicious principle, and of its fearful spread.”

As to the relative influence which Calvinists and Arminians have in leading men to Universalism, Mr. B. said, on the same occasion :

“ He is confident of the following facts, as he evidently considers them : 1st. That Calvinism has led people into the dangerous error of Universalism. 2d. That Universalism naturally tends to wickedness ; and, 3d. That what he calls liberal Christianity is calculated to prevent the prevalence of this dangerous doctrine, and to counteract its evils. What have the Calvinists maintained which has at all promoted Universalism, or given it countenance ? I will give the answer. They have maintained, and will always be able to maintain, that our heavenly Father knew what he was doing when he created man, and that he created all those for a state of endless blessedness who will finally enjoy such a state ; and that he designed all those for a state of endless suffering who

are finally to endure such a state. This is one grand point of Calvinism ; and it is a fact that no man, in the exercise of sound reason, who believes in divine revelation, will ever contradict this self-evident proposition. But how does this general proposition give support to Universalism ? Answer : By no other rule of argument than that which is furnished and used by those Arminians who style themselves *liberal Christians*. They contend that it is absurd to suppose that the all-merciful Creator ever made any rational being for endless misery ; and they further contend that it is charging him with absolute cruelty to maintain such an opinion. And this the Universalists believe, on the same authority—the authority of divine revelation, and the testimony of reason—on which our Arminian brethren found and support it. Now, I ask, and I leave it to all candid Christians to answer, Which of the two, Calvinists or Arminians, do the most towards maintaining and promoting Universalism ?

“The Arminians successfully contend that the divine Creator designed all men for the enjoyment of holiness and happiness forever ; that he still wills the felicity of his whole creation ; that he is using means to effect his will : and the Calvinists as successfully argue that God ‘worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.’ Now, it is a plain fact, which any one may see, that, if God designed all men for a state of holiness and happiness, and if he ever carry into effect his original design, Universalism is as plain a truth as either of the propositions by which it stands proved. But which of these two propositions gives to Universalism the most support ? The fact is, they afford to the doctrine of universal salvation *equal* support. And nothing is plainer than that the Calvinist has as good a right to accuse those who call themselves *liberal Christians* of being the authors of the doctrine of Universalism, as the latter have to accuse the former of being so. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the two enemies of the simple gospel of Jesus Christ should accuse each other of supporting the very principle which they are endeavoring to pull down ! The Calvinists are so sanguine on this subject that they openly declare that these *professed liberals* are, in fact, Universalists, and that they should esteem them better if they were honest enough to

confess it. And it is also a fact, that many of the liberal Christians have found out that their Calvinistic brethren are in the right, and acknowledge that they do not believe in the unmerciful doctrine of endless punishment."

And there Mr. Ballou quoted the paragraph of Rev. Mr. Walker, which we have given above.

No man was ever more thoroughly convinced that Universalism exercised a good influence than Mr. Ballou. He believed it with all his heart; and he *knew* the effect of it was good on himself. He had seen the effect of it in his own family, where every one, even from childhood, had been taught to believe it. He lived in the very atmosphere of the doctrine, and he knew the consequence was salutary. He therefore replied to the editor of the *Christian Register*, who charged Universalism with evil consequences, in the following strain :

" But the editor of the *Christian Register* seems anxiously concerned about the evil consequences, to the morals of society, which he so clearly sees will result from a belief that we are not to be punished in another world for the wrongs we do in this. He is confident that such a belief naturally tends to vice; but he does not condescend to show wherein it can thus tend to vitiate our morals. He is charitable enough to suppose that we who maintain this dangerous doctrine are, ourselves, ignorant of its moral consequences. I must, therefore, be permitted to ask him, how it should happen that he, who does not believe this doctrine, should be any better acquainted with its moral effects than I am, who came into this happy belief in youth.

" I was told in my youth of the immoral tendency of my doctrine; I was told that, if children were brought up without the fear of hell in a future world, they would become the most abandoned characters. Thanks be to God, I have out-lived the decep-

tion. God has blessed me with a numerous family; and I am confident that I never intimated to one of my children that punishment awaited them in the future world for the wrongs they should commit in this; nor do I believe that any of them can say that they have shunned the evil practices in which too many youths have indulged because the thought of future torment repelled them.

“I have another question to ask this editor, namely: If he supposes that I am ignorant of the moral tendency of my doctrine, why has he neglected to point it out? He only tells me what ~~the~~ thousand ignorant, superstitious people have told me long ago. Why does he not point out particulars? In a word, why does he not show what connection there is between the genuine love of virtue and the fear of torment in a future world? If he has a wife, and family of children, I request him to show to them that he loves them, provides for their wants, and refrains from murdering them, because he fears the torments of hell hereafter. I demand of him, and I have a right to, to show me, not merely assert it, how it is that the fear of hell in the future world now makes him and keeps him an honest man, a lover of God, and a good Christian.”

So much for the relative position of Mr. Ballou and the Unitarians in 1823.

SECTION XXI.—ENGLISH UNITARIANS.

But, while the American Unitarians were thus shy of their Universalist brethren, the latter had the happiness to learn (which they did about this time) that all the leading English Unitarians were, and had been for several years, believers in the great doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men. All their leading writers have espoused it: Dr. Priestly, in several of his works; Mr. Lindsey, in his *Conversations on the Divine Government*,

showing that everything is from God, and for good to *all*; Dr. Estlin, Mr. Grundy, Mr. Yates, Mr. Belsham, and Mr. Richard Wright, in their numerous works. Also, Dr. Smith, once minister of the Unitarian church in Edinburgh, then of Yeovil, England, in his admirable work, entitled "Illustrations of the Divine Government;" tending to show that everything is under the direction of infinite wisdom and goodness, and will terminate in the production of universal purity and happiness. This excellent work, first printed in Glasgow, in 1816, had passed through two London editions, and had received the decided approbation of the Unitarians as a body.

SECTION XXII.—OPINIONS MAINTAINED.

In addition to the subjects named, there were others that dwelt much on the mind of Mr. Ballou at this time. He treated often on sin as a source of great disquiet and torment to mankind; but it could not harm God. In the words of Job, "If thou sinnest, what doest thou against him? or if thy transgressions be multiplied, what doest thou unto him? If thou be righteous, what givest thou him? or what receiveth he of thy hand? Thy wickedness may hurt a man as thou art; and thy righteousness may profit the son of man." Job 35, 6—8. Sin cannot deserve an infinite punishment, said Mr. B. It may injure man on earth, but it cannot injure God. He knows that the sins of men can never do Him any harm. Why, then, should he inflict infinite torments on men? When it was said it is impious to ask such questions, he replied, it was *not so*; but it was really impious to

charge on God the cruelty of making his creatures endlessly miserable. God will not justify man in becoming his neighbor's enemy, even when *injured* by him; will he therefore become *our* enemy, when our sins cannot injure him at all?

In his view, the doctrines of men were full of inconsistencies. They represented God to be good, but he would torture his creatures forever; the authors of these doctrines taught that God had "preordained whatsoever comes to pass," and yet he had become the enemy of his creatures on account of what they had done; God's vengeance burned against sinners to that degree that they were in danger of endless ruin, and yet he so loved the world that he sent his Son to save it; that he has an elect number who will be saved, and the rest *must be lost*, and yet missionaries are sent to the heathen to save their souls from immortal woe; that God has prepared a pit of fire and brimstone in which to torment sinners in the future world, and yet he has sent his Son on purpose to prevent their going there; that God designed all mankind for happiness, when he positively knew that millions of them would be lost forever; that Jesus Christ will eventually execute divine vengeance on millions of the human race, and yet he graciously gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time, &c. &c.

Mr. B. addressed himself to the Methodists, in a fine article, to endeavor to convince them that the doctrine of the Trinity, which they had incorporated into their Articles of Faith, was inconsistent with the Bible and with itself, and ought not to be regarded as any portion of the Christian faith. He labored much to give men

true views of the nature of salvation; to show them that Jesus did not die to save men from misery in the eternal world, or from any wrath in God, or from any corruption of their own natures, except such as is caused by the practice of sin; but to save them, in fact, from sin itself, and "deliver them from the present evil world," Galatians 1: 4. Such were some of the opinions to which Mr. B. gave prominence during this year, in the course of his labors in the pulpit, and by the press.

SECTION XXIII.—HIS FIRM CHRISTIAN FAITH.

But let us not forget how ardently he sought to inculcate faith in the revelation which God hath made to man. In writing to an unbeliever, in September of this year, he said :

"The words of sacred truth, 'The Lord is risen indeed,' are, to me, a source of confidence and joy, in the same degree as I am enabled to exercise faith in them. 'The Lord is risen indeed.' Give me assurance of this, and I care no more about all the theological speculations of the schools for ages, than I do about a wind which passes over a desert of sand. Just as firmly as I believe that Jesus arose from the dead, I believe that all mankind will eventually be so made alive, and enjoy an eternity of immortal holiness. And I am satisfied, beyond a reasonable doubt, that this was the sentiment which St. Paul meant to express in 1 Cor. 15: 22, &c., 'For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.—It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.' In that spiritual glorious constitution, divine revelation gives us no intimations of any physical or moral evil; and where neither of these is, there can be no infelicity."

SECTION XXIV.—VISITS NANTUCKET.

It was not far from this time that Mr. Ballou made a visit to the island of Nantucket. There had arisen a dissatisfaction there between some individuals of wealth and the clergyman of the principal society; and they, from opposition to their former clergyman (not the most honorable motive), resolved to form a new society. The fate of this society was what might have been expected under such circumstances,—it flourished for a few years, then dwindled and died. Whether the event we are about to relate took place at the first visit of Mr. Ballou to the island, we are not prepared to say. He was on his return home, had crossed to the main land, and taken the stage, we believe, at New Bedford. A stranger who was in the coach commenced conversation with him.

Stranger. "Are you from Nantucket, sir?"

"I am," replied Mr. B.

Stranger. "Is there any news at the island?"

"I heard none," said Mr. B. "There might be much news, and I not hear of it."

Stranger. "Ah! well! They say old Ballou is down there preaching; did you hear anything about him?"

"He has been preaching there, sir."

Stranger. "Large congregations, I suppose; did you hear him, sir?"

"I did, sir, several times."

Stranger. "Well, I don't like him; he's coarse in his preaching; he don't believe in any future punishment; he holds that all men will go to heaven when

they die, just as they leave this world; I don't like him. There's Mr. Dean, I think he is a very fine man, a gentleman,—I should like to hear him preach."

"Did you ever hear Mr. Ballou preach?" said Mr. B., very calmly.

Stranger. "No! no, sir, I never heard him preach; I have no desire to hear him preach; but I should be gratified at an opportunity to hear Mr. Dean. Did you ever hear Mr. Dean, sir?"

"Yes, sir, I have heard him several times."

Stranger. "Well, he is a fine man, sir, a gentleman; but Ballou I do not like at all; he preaches a horrid doctrine."

"And what does he preach, sir, that is horrid?"

Stranger. "O, he holds that all men will go to heaven at once, when they die."

"Well, sir, suppose they do, is that *horrid*? Is it not very desirable to have all men become holy and happy?"

Stranger. "Ah, sir, but he holds that men will go to heaven in their sins."

"But, sir, you have confessed that you never heard him preach; how do you know he preaches in that manner?"

Stranger. "O! I have heard so, a thousand times."

"But you may be misinformed, my friend. I am quite confident Mr. Ballou holds no such doctrine. If you were to put the question to him, I think he himself would say he held to no such doctrine."

Stranger. "I am surprised. Well, what does he hold to, then?"

"I think if he were *here*, he would say he did not believe, what you have attributed to him, that men are to go to heaven *in their sins*. I am quite confident he would not (almost tempted to reveal himself). He would probably say he held that men are to be saved *from their sins*."

Stranger. "Well, you seem to know. Will you let me ask where you live?"

"I live in Boston, sir."

Stranger. "Do you attend a Universalist church?"

"I do, sir."

Stranger. "What church do you attend?"

"I attend Mr. Ballou's, sir."

Stranger. "Are you intimately acquainted with Mr. Ballou, sir?"

Here was the point for the denouement, and Mr. Ballou replied, amiably,

"My name is HOSEA BALLOU, my friend!"

The stranger looked as if he would gladly have shrunk under the seat on which he sat, if it had been possible. He sought to stammer out an apology; but what could he say? If he had said, "Sir, excuse me, I did not know it was Mr. Ballou," it would have been a mere confession that he would not knowingly have said those things in Mr. Ballou's presence, but he was perfectly willing to say them in his absence. So bigotry and impudence sometimes get punished. Mr. Ballou was very quiet, and uttered not a recriminating word; but the stranger felt so deeply embarrassed, that every kind expression from Mr. B. only added to the man's confusion, and he left the coach at the first convenient place,

without intimating to Mr. Ballou that he was going to part from him.

SECTION XXV.—UNIVERSALIST PERIODICALS IN 1824.

As the *Universalist Magazine* had led off in the matter of newspapers devoted to the subject of Universalism, it seems to belong to a true history of Mr. Ballou's influence, to show how this class of publications increased.* In 1824 there were the following :

"*Universalist Magazine*, published weekly at Boston, quarto, \$2.50 per annum, or \$2 if paid at the commencement of the volume. Rev. H. Ballou, H. Ballou, 2d, and Thomas Whittemore, editors.

"*The Gazetteer*, published weekly, at the city of Philadelphia, 8 pages quarto, \$3 per annum. Rev. Abner Kneeland, editor.

"*Gospel Herald*, published weekly, at the city of New York, 8 pages royal octavo, \$2 per annum. Mr. Henry Fitz, editor.

"*Christian Repository*, published once in two months, at Reading, Vt., 48 pages duodecimo, \$1 per annum. Rev. S. C. Loveland, editor.

"*Christian Intelligencer*, published semi-monthly, at Portland, Me., 4 pages quarto, \$1 per annum. Rev. Russell Streeter, editor.

* The publisher of the *Universalist Magazine* said, in an address to his patrons, published this year : " As soon as it was known in different parts of the heritage of our common Lord that the *Magazine* was well encouraged, it was an inducement to the brethren in different states, who were equally desirous of promoting the common cause, and of contributing their labors and exertions to help forward with the good work, with ourselves, to commence similar publications, and to use all suitable means to obtain the public patronage. And, wonderful as it may seem, no less than a dozen have since been projected, and sent forth to enlighten the public hemisphere, to warm and fertilize the mental regions with the fruits of righteousness."

"*Religious Inquirer*, published semi-monthly, at the city of Hartford, Conn., 8 pages royal octavo, \$1 per annum.

"*Evangelical Repertory*, published monthly, at Charlestown, Mass., 16 pages octavo, 75 cents per annum. Rev. Edward Turner, editor.

"*Gospel Advocate*, published weekly, at Buffalo, N. Y., 8 pages royal octavo, \$2 per annum. Rev. Thomas Gross, editor.

"*Herald of Salvation*, published semi-monthly, at Watertown, N. Y., 8 pages royal octavo, \$1 per annum. Rev. Pitt Morse, editor.

"*Gospel Inquirer*, published semi-monthly, at Little Falls, N. Y., 8 pages royal octavo, \$1 per annum. Rev. George B. Lisher, editor.

"*Messenger of Peace*, published semi-monthly, at Hudson, N. Y., 8 pages royal octavo, \$1 per annum. Rev. R. Carrique, editor.

"*Rochester Magazine and Theological Review*, published monthly, at Rochester, N. Y., 16 pages octavo, \$1 per annum. Rev. J. S. Thompson, editor.

"*Christian Telescope*, published at Providence, R. I., 4 pages quarto, weekly. Rev. D. Pickering, editor."

SECTION XXVI.—ENCOURAGING FACTS.

Besides the removal of Rev. Mr. Streeter to Boston, there were some other encouraging facts as to affairs in the vicinity of Boston. A hope sprung up at one time that Rev. Elias Smith would cease to be unstable, and become of use to the denomination. True, the hope was doomed to disappointment, but it gave comfort at first. He said he felt in his own soul, since he had become a Universalist, that he had reached a place of rest, and that he should wander no more. To use his own language :

"The Scriptures foretell an end of transgression and sin : That

all shall be gathered together in one in Christ; that all in heaven and earth shall be reconciled in Christ; that all shall in Christ be made alive, who die in Adam; and that all who have borne the image of Adam shall bear the image of Christ; that all shall bow before him, and confess him Lord, to the glory of God, and that every creature in existence shall, to the approbation of the four and twenty elders, sing, Worthy is the Lamb. That God's will shall be done in earth as in heaven. This cannot be, until there shall be none sinners, none mortal or dead.

"How glorious! How suitable to man! How honorable to God! In what harmony with the angels' song! In what harmony with the Saviour's declaration, to give all flesh eternal life!

' Here will I set up my rest;
My fluctuating heart
From the haven of his breast
Shall never *more* depart.'

"These things are faithful and true, and will stand forever."

But, alas! Elias Smith could not avoid change. He was "carried about with every wind of doctrine." We have no doubt he felt all he said on that occasion; but, like the apostle Peter before his Master's resurrection, he did not know how feeble he was.

A matter of much more importance, which cheered the heart of Mr. Ballou about this time, was the publication of Mr. Balfour's Inquiry, for which the Universalist public had been looking for several months. It was a grand work for that day, and animated the hearts of thousands of good men.* Mr. Ballou had labored for years to

* The title was, "An Inquiry into the Scriptural Import of the Words Sheol, Hades, Tartarus and Gehenna: all translated Hell, in the common English version. By Walter Balfour." Charlestown: 1824. The first edition was a large octavo of 448 pages.

bring men to entertain the views taken by Mr. Balfour in this work; and he therefore felt no common degree of satisfaction in seeing those views adopted by a man of Mr. Balfour's repute for learning and candor. Mr. Balfour had not learned his opinions from Universalists, but from a diligent, careful and honest study of the sacred Scriptures, with a sincere desire to know what is truth. This course brought him out where Mr. Ballou had arrived before him; but Mr. Ballou said, in his meekness of spirit, that it made him inexpressibly happy to see "that what he had feebly endeavored to vindicate" was "espoused by a man of abilities and endowments which are compatible with the vast merits of the subject." He hailed Mr. Balfour as a fellow-laborer; he exerted all his influence to give encouragement to the man, and circulation to his book. He caused a notice of it to be published, in which he said:

"This work is recommended to Universalists as being wonderfully calculated to show the true meaning of those passages in which the word *hell* occurs, and to prove that in its legitimate sense it gives no support to the gloomy doctrine of a future state of sinfulness and misery.

"This work is recommended to the clergy who continue to preach the doctrine of eternal torments in *hell*, as a work which cannot fail to redeem their minds from the worst of all bondage, and bring them into the enjoyment of that faith and hope which correspond and harmonize with their benevolent desires and prayers, that they are in the habit of offering for all men.

"The attention of the public, and of every Christian denomination, is most fervently solicited to this work, it being an effort of much labor, designed for the purpose of accommodating both the learned and the unlearned with an understanding of many important facts relative to divine revelation, calculated to show

that the sacred oracles give no support to a doctrine which has so long repelled the heart, and tended to infidelity. Freed from this cloud of darkness and error, rendered dense by blind tradition, the divine oracles shine forth in their native splendor; nor will they fail to attract every eye, nor to irradiate and warm every heart."

Mr. Ballou had no envy to gratify. He hailed every new co-worker with great joy, and still kept praying to "the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into his harvest."

SECTION XXVII.—DEATH OF FRIENDS.

But, if there were joys this year, there were also sorrows. Several of Mr. B.'s friends had passed away. We cannot fail to mention one, an old man, whom we distinctly recollect,—Salmon Dutton, Esq., of Cavendish, Vt. He was a believer of Universalism almost ten years before Mr. Ballou began to preach. The last session of the General Convention which this man ever attended was the one at Warner, in 1822, one of the most precious meetings ever holden on earth. From Warner, father Dutton travelled to Boston, where he called on Mr. Ballou. On this journey he took a cold, and a disease set in from which he never recovered, although he lived nearly two years. As he drew near the gates of death, he desired to hear from Mr. Ballou once more before he died; and, calling one of his grandsons (A. Wheeler, jr.) to his bed-side, he requested him to write down the words as he uttered them.

“*Cavendish, May 7, 1824.*”

“DEAR BROTHER : These are to inform you of the present situation of my body and mind. I have not enjoyed a well day since I saw you in Boston, about the 24th or 25th of September, 1822, which was caused by my taking a bad cold, the day after convention, on my way to Boston. I have experienced but little pain during my sickness, and my mind has been very calm and clear, and my judgment and memory remain unimpaired. By a long and happy experience, I find the sentiment I embraced more than forty years ago, which was in the meridian of my life (being now in my eighty-first year), to be a good sentiment to live by, as it is a faith which works by love, and purifies the heart, and causes the subject to put his trust in God. This sentiment I obtained by a persevering and prayerful search of the Scriptures ; which I was induced to, by the different and contradictory systems that were taught in the world. It was my heart’s desire and prayer to God that the truth might be made clear to my understanding. This was all previous to my having any human aid. I think that the writings of Shippie Townsend, of Boston, and a book written by James Rely, were among the first on the subject which I read, and which proved very instructive to my mind. I think it was not many years afterwards when I formed an acquaintance with yourself, and in a short time our acquaintance became very intimate, and from your preaching and private conversation I have received much instruction and edification. I am constrained to make mention of this, from sincere and humble gratitude to God for so great favors bestowed on me, through your instrumentality. I find it is not only a good principle to live by, but also to die by, as it has been a great source of comfort in my old age, and bed of sickness. My meditations have been sweet and comfortable, free from any *fearful apprehensions* of an hereafter.

“ I view myself now very near my end ; and, if I could receive a consolatory letter from you before I depart, informing me of your health and enjoyment, and such other matter as you may think proper, it would be very gratefully received.

“ This letter being written verbatim from my own words, I wish to have it read in the same way and manner as though I

had written it myself. And so I remain your sincere and loving brother,
SALMON DUTTON.*

Such was the sentiment of the aged believer on his death-bed, for he died in a very short time after this letter was despatched. The doctrine he had long believed comforted him in the trying hour. He wished to give his dying testimony to the efficacy of the truth. He loved Mr. Ballou, from whose conversations he had enjoyed much consolation, and he desired one more communication from him. Mr. B. immediately sat down, and addressed him as follows :

“*Boston, May 11, 1824.*”

“VENERABLE SIR AND DEAR BROTHER :

“I return you my sincere thanks for your favor of the 7th instant. Although it gives me to understand that there is no probability of my ever having the satisfaction of seeing you again in this transitory world, yet it presents me with your dying testimony in honor of that blessed faith which you long since sought and found, and which you have ever esteemed as a most precious treasure.

“The opposers of this faith have often said that it would do to live by, but that it would fail of giving consolation in death. You, dear brother, are enabled to assure your friends and the world that the doctrine which embraces the whole human family as heirs of immortality and eternal life, which are brought to light through the gospel, has been a constant source of comfort in life,

* The friends of Mr. Ballou were found among the most substantial inhabitants of the places where he was known. *The Gazetteer of Vermont* makes honorable mention of Salmon Dutton. Speaking of Cavendish, it says, “There are two villages, namely, Duttonsville and Proctorsville. Duttonsville derives its name from Salmon Dutton, Esq., the first principal inhabitant.”—*History of Vermont, by Zadock Thompson.* Part III., p. 48.

and is now, at its close, the staff on which you recline in peace. As you have been enabled to defend the truth by your life and conversation in the world, and also by several valuable publications, so it seems to be the will of God that you should add your dying testimony to all your past efforts to defend and support the truth. Thanks be to God for his goodness !

“ Brother Dutton, should this reach you while living, be assured that I feel desirous of presenting you with my dying testimony in accordance and in unison with your own ; for, though I may have years yet to live in this world, yet this communication is, no doubt, my last to you ; and, in a sense, is the same as if it were my last to the world. We have travelled in mind in great harmony ; we have seen wonders wrought in advancing our precious faith, and we have reason to rejoice with suitable triumph in the name of Him to whom every knee shall bow, and whom every tongue shall confess to be Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

“ My health, which was much reduced in consequence of a greater pressure of business, and more incessant labor, after I came to this city, than even a good natural constitution was able to sustain without damage, has been, on the whole, improving for more than two years, and is now better than it has been for several years past. I have likewise the satisfaction of witnessing a truly wonderful increase of rational religion and liberal principles. Even Orthodoxy itself begins to borrow some features from liberal sentiments, not only to hide some of her native defects, but that she may attract attention by charms which are not her own. You, my venerable father in Israel, can, with the fullest confidence say, as did Simeon of old, when in his withered arms he held the blessed Saviour, ‘ Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word ; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people ; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.’ So may it please God that your last moments may be as tranquil as the unruffled lake when the soft beams of the setting sun are reflected from its bosom, and leave a promise of a glorious morning to come.

Yours, affectionately,

“ HOSEA BALLOU.”

Whether the venerable old man lived to read and understand Mr. B.'s answer, we cannot say; though it is probable he did. His death took place on the 7th of June, which it will be seen was just one month from the date of his letter. No inconsiderable number of the aged fathers of our faith, as they passed away from earth, left messages, either written or verbal, to Mr. Ballou, assuring him, with their latest breath, of the comfort they had received from their faith, both in living and dying.

SECTION XXVIII.— FURTHER ACTION OF ASSOCIATION.

In June, 1824, the Southern Association of Universalists held its session at Attleboro, Mass., where the difficulties between certain brethren, whom we have before named, and the rest of the Universalists, came up again for a settlement. Mr. Ballou was present. The societies had begun to take a decided stand against this division. It must be confessed, in truth, that Mr. B.'s influence was in no way impaired. The people believed he had done right; that he had sought "after the things which make for peace"; and notwithstanding the efforts of others to impair his influence, he stood erect in the midst of the storm, like the gigantic oak, while other trees of the forest had fallen. Those who had signed the "Declaration" and "Appeal" were losing their hold upon the affections of the people. Such was the state of things when the association we have named met at Attleboro. Rev. Sebastian Streeter, then just settled in Boston, was made moderator. Rev. Messrs. Dean and

Wood were both present, although the former had been dismissed from all fellowship with the order, at his own request, by the General Convention of 1823. The difficulties with Rev. Messrs. Turner, B. Streeter, and Hudson, had been settled, as we have shown, at the preceding session of the association in Milford; and Rev. Mr. Wood signified his assent to the same terms at Attleboro, and thus the cause of complaint against him was removed. Rev. Mr. Dean stood, as it were, alone, professedly a *Trinitarian* Universalist, and an ardent defender of future punishment. It was rumored among the clergy, early in the session, that he would ask to be received into the order again. The most of the brethren took ground in favor of admitting him, though a few were decidedly opposed to such a measure. Among the former was Mr. Ballou; among the latter was Mr. T. Whittemore. It was a rare thing then to see these gentlemen on opposite sides. The truth was, Mr. W. believed that, as the denomination had then *no* connection with Rev. Mr. D.,— as he had gone out from among us of his own accord,— as his connection with the order for the last eight or ten years had been the source of great disquiet, and as there was not sufficient ground of faith that his renewal of connection with us would not fan the flame anew, Mr. W. felt it his duty to oppose, and *did oppose*, the granting of Rev. Mr. D.'s application. Mr. Ballou's heart was so full of tenderness, that the moment Mr. D. looked towards him, and asked for fellowship again, expressing thereby in the most formal and sacred manner a desire to live in peace and harmony with the denomination, he was entirely overcome. He made not the slightest objection to grant-

ing Mr. D.'s request ; but, on the other hand, used his influence publicly and privately to have it granted. He took Mr. Whittemore aside, and said, " I believe Br. Dean is sorry for what has happened ; I *cannot* vote not to receive him ; if we err at all, let us err on the side of forgiveness. Withdraw your opposition, Br. W., for my sake ; perhaps the joys of former days will return." Mr. Whittemore saw nothing but evil in the vote about to be taken ; but, at the request of Mr. Ballou, he abated his efforts to prevent its passage, which probably he could not have done, had he made his fullest exertions to that end. Mr. Dean was received again into fellowship.

The sermon which Mr. Ballou preached on this occasion was a most singular and remarkable one, from the words, " Is anything too hard for the Lord ?"—Genesis 18 : 14. We cannot give a description of it. It was purely extemporaneous, and was never published. The doctrines of men were never more faithfully exposed than they were at that time. Smiles and tears were visible, like alternate sunshine and rain. The people were so deeply moved that they kept in almost constant motion, quite unconsciously to themselves. Look up into that pulpit. Mr. Ballou had taken up with him Rev. Messrs. Dean and Wood. It was a spectacle we had not seen for a long time. Mr. Dean had offered the principal prayer, and Mr. Wood was to offer the concluding one. They sat on the right and left of Mr. B., as he delivered this masterly discourse. He was a happy man at that service. He believed he had regained a brother.

SECTION XXIX.—MODIFIED OPINIONS OF HELL.

When Mr. Ballou began to preach, we may almost say the whole country was given up to the belief of the awful doctrine of Calvinism. It was thought that by far the greater part of mankind would sink down to deep and long despair; but, as early as 1808, or 1810, the effect of the labors of Universalists to remove the popular superstitions concerning this subject began clearly to be seen. How far we are to attribute this change to the labors of Mr. Ballou, it is, of course, difficult to tell; but that the change was wrought out by the Universalists cannot be gainsayed. It was caused by the silent working of their doctrine upon the public mind. Dr. Lyman Beecher was one of the first to come out on this subject. He said:

“It seems to be the imagination of some that the kingdom of darkness will be as vast as the kingdom of light, and that happiness and misery, of equal dimensions, will expand, side by side, to all eternity. But, blessed be God, it is a mere imagination, totally unsupported by reason or revelation. Who ever heard of a prison that occupied one-half of the territories of a kingdom? and who can believe that the universe, which was called into being, and is upheld and governed, to express the goodness of God, will exhibit, in fact, equal evidence of malevolence? How could the government of God be celebrated with such raptures in heaven, if it filled with dismay and ruin half the universe? How vast soever, therefore, the kingdom of darkness may be, in itself considered, it is certainly nothing but the prison of the universe, and small, indeed, compared to the realms of light and joy. The misery of that unholy community, when the eye is fixed upon that only, fills the soul with anguish; but when, from the dreadful exhibition of sin, and display of justice, we raise the adoring eye

to God, reigning throughout his boundless dominions, and rejoicing in their joy, the world of misery shrinks to a point, and the wailings of the damned die away and are lost in the song of praise."

After Dr. Beecher, came Emerson, in his work on the Millennium, who said that, although we are *not* to suppose that Satan is to be destroyed, as a serpent is destroyed, by crushing his head,* yet it does not look like bruising the serpent's head to have a great part of mankind go to destruction. "If the greater part of the human race are to be lost," said he, "by the cunning craftiness of Satan, would that look like bruising his head? To me it would seem far otherwise."† We shall dwell but a moment on this topic. From this time, the features of the so-called Orthodoxy were more and more changed. A favorite figure used by Mr. Ballou, to show the effect of Universalism in bringing that system of worldly wisdom into discredit, was that of the power of the ark of the Lord over Dagon, the idol of the Philistines. In one of the battles between the Philistines and Israel, the former had taken the ark of the Lord, the seat of the divine presence, in the camp of Israel. "And the Philistines took the ark of God, and brought it from Eben-ezer unto Ashdod. When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon. And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the

* This, however, was the very figure of the sacred penman. See Gen. 3 : 15.

† See "Lectures on the Millennium, by Joseph Emerson. 2d edition. Boston : 1830." pp. 10, 11.

Lord. And they took Dagon, and set him in his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him."—1 Sam. 5: 1—4. Dagon became essentially changed by the power of the divine presence. When men bring truth and error into contact, the latter must fall. Mr. Ballou said, if the idol Calvinism continued to be mutilated, it could not be many years before only "the stump" of Calvinism "would be left to him."

CHAPTER XIII.

REMOVAL OF REV. S. STREETER TO BOSTON; EARLY VIEWS OF TEMPERANCE; JOURNEY TO VERMONT; TO WATERTOWN, N. Y.; SUBJECTS WHICH MR. B. MADE PROMINENT AT THIS TIME.

EMBRACING THE REST OF THE YEAR 1824.

SECTION I. — MR. STREETER REMOVES TO BOSTON.

EARLY in 1824, Rev. Sebastian Streeter, then of Portsmouth, N. H., received and accepted an invitation to take the pastoral care of the First Universalist Society, in Boston. Rev. Mr. Dean had followed a portion of his society to Bulfinch-street, in this city, where a new meeting-house had been built. It was a matter of great satisfaction to Mr. Ballou to have his faithful friend and fellow-laborer from Portsmouth remove so near to him; for, since the coldness of others had been manifested so painfully, Christian sympathy had become doubly precious to him. Mr. Streeter was inducted into office in Boston on Thursday, 13th of May. His brother Rev. Barzillai Streeter, of Salem, offered the introductory prayer, and his brother Rev. Russell Streeter, of Portland, preached the sermon, from 2 Cor. 3: 6. The installing prayer

was offered by Rev. H. Ballou, 2nd, of Roxbury; the charge was by Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester; the fellowship by Rev. H. Ballou, of Boston; and the concluding prayer by Rev. Edward Turner, then of Portsmouth. Mr. Dean took no part, although he had been the late pastor of the First Society. Rev. Edward Turner had removed from Charlestown, where he once stood a monument of glory to the Universalist denomination; but the difficulties in which he had been engaged, in respect to Mr. Ballou, had impaired his influence. Many were the tears that were shed when he left that town. He had been loved, cherished, honored, there.

SECTION II.—MR. BALLOU ON TEMPERANCE.

At this early day, Mr. Ballou raised his voice in favor of the cause of Temperance. As an individual, he was "temperate in all things." In food, in drink, in labor, in dress, in all the habits of his life, he was free from excess. The writer can remember the time when Mr. B. used intoxicating drinks; but it was at the time when almost everybody used them, and when the melancholy spectacle was sometimes seen of a clergyman overheated with alcoholic fire on the Sabbath day. Mr. B., even then, used such drinks very sparingly; for at no time, after we knew his habits [1820], would he drink more than a half-gill of spirit in twenty-four hours. He became convinced, as early as 1824, that the use of intoxicating drinks was wrong. This was before the temperance reformation arose. The American Temperance Society was formed in 1826. In the same year,

Rev. Wm. Collier commenced the publication of the *National Philanthropist*, and this was the beginning of the temperance reform in the United States. Dr. Lyman Beecher's sermons on the nature, signs, evils and remedy of intemperance, did not appear until 1827. Mr. Ballou did not enter the field as a lecturer on temperance, nor did he produce any book expressly on this subject; but the matter was in his thoughts, and he was not fearful to publish his opinions. We recollect an article of his which appeared in August, 1824, entitled "American Condemnation:"

"Reader, you startle at the title which heads this communication, and, perhaps, feel inclined to ask, What poor, bewildered soul can be so ignorant concerning the glory and prosperity of our country, the peace and happiness of society in general, and, more than all, the excellency of our moral and religious improvement, as to speak of our *condemnation*? I own that our country is justly celebrated for its political, civil, religious and literary institutions; for the prosperity, peace and happiness, of society in general; and yet, after all, I have to mourn the deplorable iniquity for which we, as a people, stand condemned at the bar of moral adjudication. One deadly vice, one damning sin, lies at our door! I mean the vice of intemperance."

Mr. Ballou introduced the *temperate* drinker and the vendor of ardent spirits as justifying himself in the following manner:

"Yes, yes, the vice of intemperance, says the *temperate* drinker, that is a very great evil in society; but, thank God, I am clear. Notwithstanding I deal largely in all sorts of ardent spirit, yet it is but seldom I use any *myself*; those who use it to excess are alone accountable for the offence; they alone must suffer the consequences of the crime; I am clear. And now stand forth a vast

multitude of respectable citizens, and plead entire innocence in respect to the sin which has been named; and, casting their eyes at a poor, miserable group of idle, dissipated wretches, whom they spurn from their company, exclaim, 'These are the guilty;' 'On them let the condemnation fall;' 'At their doors let the iniquity lie.'"

Mr. B. took the ground that the *vendor* was guilty, as well as the *consumer*. "Let us," said he, "examine into the case, and comprehend the relation in which those who protest their innocence stand to the vice under consideration."

"If the parent of a numerous family, who is vastly rich, who has a large estate for each of his children, should bring them up in the habit of intemperance, till their appetites became strongly inclined to ardent spirits, and then should sell them as much as their several estates would purchase, and by this means reduce them all to entire poverty, and their health, their strength and their mental powers, to utter ruin, could he, in strict moral propriety, say that he was entirely innocent? Is it said that this parent is himself temperate, that he seldom tastes of ardent spirits, that he has been prudent and saving, has been kind to his children and given them large estates, and that they have been prodigal, intemperate, and have spent the whole, and ruined themselves? No one is so blind as not to see that a most unreasonable avarice in the parent, whose duty obligated him to guard his children against intemperance and every temptation which leads to so deadly a vice, was the cause of parental neglect, and of the ruin of the wretched children. Now, as parents are to children, so are those who have wisdom and knowledge in society to those who lack these advantages; and they are accountable for the use they make of the whole of their powers and abilities in relation to those who are naturally dependent, and need the wisdom of others to guide them."

Thus Mr. Ballou held the temperate drinker and the

vendor of ardent spirits to be guilty, in part at least, of the wide-spread drunkenness there was in the land. He expostulated with the public in the following strain :

“ Finally, we must come to the following queries: Have our laws, our magistrates, our public men, our merchants, parents of families, our ministers of religion, done all that their duty calls them to do in order to check this vice of intemperance? Is there not, in this enlightened age and nation, wisdom enough to devise some means to prevent a vice which renders thousands worse than useless? Is there no better way that can be invented, than to amass wealth and riches by ruining thousands, soul and body, and then maintaining them in charitable institutions? ” *

Thus we see that the opinions of Mr. Ballou on the subject of intemperance were sound, and such as have been adopted by the leading friends of temperance since that time.

SECTION III.—ROCKINGHAM ASSOCIATION FORMED.

The truth made many triumphs this year. Among Mr. Ballou's travels, all of which it is impossible for us to describe, he went up, in the month of August, into the interior of New Hampshire, to form a new association. The meeting was holden in Deerfield, and the new body was called the “Rockingham Association of Universalists.” Besides Mr. Ballou (who was elected moderator), there were Revs. S. Streeter, Dolphus Skinner, Lemuel Willis, Josiah Gilman, Eliphalet Case, jr., and Wm. Bell. The meeting was continued for two days; and Mr. Ballou preached on the afternoon of the second.

* These extracts on the matter of intemperance are from the *Universalist Magazine*, vol. VI., p. 26.

SECTION IV.—DEDICATION AT HARTFORD, CONN.

He went, also, in the same month, to Hartford, Conn., to officiate at the dedication of the new house of worship, which his services had been so instrumental in procuring to be erected; and also at the installation of Rev. John Bisbee. In the performance of these services he was joined by Rev. Messrs. Flagg, of Dana, Mass.; Mitchell, of New York; Pickering, of Providence, R. I.; Dodge, of New London; and T. F. King, then of Norwalk, Conn. On the first day (Wednesday, August 18), the dedication took place. Mr. Mitchell offered the dedicatory prayer, and Mr. Ballou preached from Haggai 2: 6, 7,—“For thus saith the Lord of hosts: Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts.” Great harmony prevailed. Mr. B. regarded the original application of his text in the following light:

“The shaking of nations, the convulsions of kingdoms, the confusions and divisions which characterized doctrines and the ministers of religion, at that eventful period when the kingdom of the Redeemer was set up in the world, together with the glory of the gospel day, may be regarded as the fulfilment of the words of the prophet.”

But there was a modern application of the prophecy. The desire of all nations, who was promised, was the Messiah. His glory filled the temple. But Christianity

soon became corrupted; and it has become necessary to shake the order of things once more.

“The falling away of the Christian church, the corruptions of its doctrines by the inventions of an ignorant, superstitious priesthood, sanctioned by the authority of synods and councils, having introduced the man of sin into the temple of God, who has for ages been worshipped as God, the glory which Jesus manifested departed, and the darkness of papal errors and abominations has succeeded.

“But the reign of the beast may be said to have come to an end; the true testimony is received, and God is now carrying on the work of shaking earth and heaven, removing those things which are shaken, as things which men have made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain. The desire of all nations is advancing to enter the Christian sanctuary, and God is about to fill the same with glory.”

He went on to speak of those things which may be shaken, and to show that these are the systems of doctrine which men have invented, and which must be removed. Haggai's words were interpreted, in the epistle to the Hebrews, as follows: “And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.”—12: 27. Under this part of his subject, the preacher went into a consideration of the false doctrines which the wisdom of this world has invented and set up in the holy places of Zion, which, instead of making religion “the desire of all nations,” have made it repulsive and painful to the pious and benevolent mind. He spoke of despotic governments as one manifestation of unrighteous authority, and showed the effect which the establishment of our own form of

government had had in shaking the thrones of Europe. And then he came to what he called the "erroneous creeds of Antichrist," and he said he saw before him "a mass of rubbish, whose incoherence produces confusion, in comparison with which the confusion of languages at Babel might seem like harmony." There was scarcely ever a time in which he exposed the errors of Calvinism with more force. In the course of his remarks, on suggesting a caution whether he might not misrepresent the dogmas of that system of worldly wisdom, he said, honestly, that men *could not* misrepresent it to its disadvantage; that, as it presented to us the most horrid conceptions of the Almighty and his government which it was possible for the human mind to conceive, any misrepresentation could only make it appear better than it was in itself.* Thus Mr. Ballou thundered against Calvinism

* His words were: "We are not endeavoring to give these things any false color to represent them as odious; no, any false color would serve to hide their native deformity, and would give them a grace which they do not possess." See "A Sermon Delivered at Hartford, Conn., on Wednesday, August 18th, 1824, at the Dedication of the New Universalist Meeting-house. By Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Second Universalist Society in Boston, Mass. Boston: 1824." These words of Mr. Ballou bring to mind the language of the Welsh writer, Llewellyn, who in his Tracts (see *Monthly Repository*, enlarged, vol. VIII. A. D. 1792) describes the Calvinistic theology in the following forcible manner:

"I challenge the whole body and being of moral evil itself to invent, or inspire, or whisper anything blacker or more wicked; yea, if sin itself had all the wit, the tongues and pens, of all men and angels to all eternity, I defy the whole to say anything of God worse than this. O, sin! thou hast spent and emptied thyself in the doctrine of John Calvin. And here I rejoice that I have heard the utmost that malevolence itself shall ever be able to say against the Infinite Benignity! I was myself brought up and tutored in it, and, being delivered and brought to see the evil and danger, am bound, by my obligations to God, angels and men,

in the very centre of Connecticut, in 1824. He came, at the close of his discourse, to enter upon a duty infinitely more pleasing to him, namely, to show what was "the desire of all nations."

"What do all nations mostly desire? Answer, LIGHT. 'And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.' Jesus is 'the light of the world, the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' Will any object, and say that men put darkness for light, and light for darkness? This proves two things in favor of my argument: 1st, it shows that the desire is so strong for light, that, even when darkness is mistaken for it, the mind is tenacious to hold it fast. And 2d, it proves that *more light* is needed. We may accuse the nations, if we please, of an aversion to the true light, and in return we may receive their recrimination; but, if we travel to the ends of the earth, we shall never find the people who will say they do not desire the knowledge of divine truth. Light to those who are in darkness is surely most desirable. 'God is light;' and he has given Jesus, 'a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel.' †

"When all the dark and dismal clouds of error and superstition

to warn my fellow-sinners; I therefore here, before God and the whole universe, recall and condemn every word I have spoken in favor of it. I thus denounce the doctrine as the rancor of devils; a doctrine the preaching of which is babbling and mocking, its prayers blasphemies, and whose praises are the horrible yellings of sin and hell."

* There seems to be a manifestation in this paragraph of the fact that Mr. Ballou was a member of the fraternity of Free Masons. We take the occasion, therefore, to say, that such was the fact. He joined that order when he was a young man. The principles of brotherly love which Free Masons professed always had a great attraction for him, and he loved the order the more ardently, when they showed the more clearly these principles. We have showed (vol. 1., p. 260) that he delivered a sermon at a Masonic festival, in 1806. After his removal to Portsmouth, he was elected Junior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of New Hampshire, which office he held in 1811. This, we believe, was the highest, except two, of any elective Masonic office in the state.

shall have passed away, this eternal Sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his beams, and be the fulness of universal desire."

SECTION V. — CONVENTION OF 1824.

This was the *first* session of the General Convention the biographer ever attended. It was holden in Strafford, Vt. Father B. invited the writer to accompany him. As it will show the care and diligence with which he pursued his journeys, we will describe this one with some particularity. We had agreed to start immediately after service on Sunday afternoon, for otherwise we could not have reached in season the place where the convention would meet. He was to obtain the horse and chaise; and we had no concern about that matter, for we knew him to be an excellent judge of horses. He was, too, one of the most tender and careful men with a horse we ever knew. He never could eat his own food with full pleasure, unless he *knew* that *the horse* was well taken care of. In consequence of his care in this respect, he could always obtain the best horses, perform remarkable journeys with them, and bring them back as well as they were when he took them, so that the hostler would sometimes say, "Why, sir, I should not think you had been a journey at all." But we pass on. He came to our residence, took tea, and we went off through South Reading to Andover, Mass., where we spent the night. He walked to the stable to give special directions in regard to the horse, as to what feed he should have that night; and precisely at four o'clock in the morning, he remarked to the hostler, he must have thus and so [whatever it

was]. "Now," said he, "I want you to be very particular."—"I will, sir," the man would reply.—"Yes, but are you sure you shall wake at four? How shall I know that? I have got to leave at five, and this horse must not go on without his proper feed."—"O, sir, don't be afraid; I'll have the horse ready."—"Well, I hope you will; now tell me over what I have said to you, that I may be sure you understand me." So the hostler would repeat his instructions, and the preacher would go in and go to rest, having seen that his wishes in regard to the horse were fully regarded, so far as the night was concerned. If he had any doubts, he would himself be out in the stable at four, and perhaps be obliged to wake the lazy hostler. He said to us on retiring, we will make one revolution of the wheel by five o'clock; and we knew that we must be ready at the precise time. He never wanted to stop to look after baggage, or umbrellas, or gloves; he expected a man travelling with him always to put those articles where he could lay hands on them at once; and, if they had got to be looked up, the time for doing it was before the hour for starting. Let the reader forgive these trifling particulars; we describe them because they bring out some of the characteristics of the man.

We have said we spent the night at Andover. We were in the chaise three minutes before five, and he drove to Salem, N. H., to breakfast; thence to Hookset to dinner, and to Salisbury before stopping for the night. The rule was to drive six miles an hour, and to stop once in two hours to refresh the horse, and at least an hour and a half at noon. At each place the horse had that

food which he received the most readily, and as much as was good for him. On Tuesday morning we drove to Andover, N. H., where we stopped to breakfast at a public house kept by a very intelligent, neat and amiable mulatto lady. Father B. was pleased with her good sense, modesty, neatness, devotion to her duty. She gave us fish from a neighboring pond, with beautiful bread and butter, which she made with her own hands; than which there was nothing sweeter on the table, except the pure honey in the comb, which she had taken from her hives. "Why (said he, after he came out), how little we need to make us happy in this world! God has supplied us with everything which is necessary for our wants; and the only condition to fulfil, to make us happy, is to be prudent and wise ourselves. Br. Whittemore (he continued), there is more real happiness in that house, small as it is, than there is in the palaces of Europe and Asia." We spent the hours, as we rode, in very profitable conversation. The noon brought us to Lebanon, N. H., where we dined, and thence we passed on sixteen miles, northwardly, to Strafford, Vt. We were received at the house of Judge Harris, whose wife was the daughter of Rev. Joab Young, formerly the Universalist clergyman of the town, who had been dead many years. Here we found a happy resting-place for two days. On Tuesday evening the convention was organized by the choice of Rev. Edward Turner moderator, Hosea Ballou and Sebastian Streeter clerks. The first sermon was by Thomas Whittemore; the second, by Rev. S. Streeter, at the ordination of Rev. E. Case, Mr. Ballou offering the ordaining prayer; the third was by Rev. Mr.

Turner, and the fourth by Mr. Ballou. Besides these, which were the principal services, there were several evening meetings. Mr. Ballou's text, we well remember, was Matt. 22: 37—40. The following extracts are from an epitome of the discourse made at the time. He commenced by repeating the words, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," &c.

"Who makes this declaration, and puts forth this command? Answer: The Lord, who is the Creator, Preserver and Ruler of all beings. On whom is this commandment binding? On the Jews only? No; on the Gentiles also. Of what moral principle is this commandment predicated? Is it predicated of the *sovereignty* and *majesty* of the Lord our God? No; for a moral command must be established on a moral principle like itself; and this command requires no *sovereignty* nor *majesty*; but it requires love. Then love is its foundation. And as a foundation must be laid before a superstructure can be raised upon it, the love of which this commandment is predicated must have existed before this commandment could have become binding. One momentous truth is now clear:—the Lord our God loved all mankind before he could, on moral principles, require all men to love him."

Such were the sentiments of the first section of the sermon. He proceeded to illustrate them.

"The subject under consideration is made plain as follows: There is in nature a requirement binding on children to love their parents; and this requirement has its foundation in the love which is previously exercised by parents towards their children. The *command* to love our parents is only an expression of our duty, growing out of the favors which are the fruits of the relation that subsists between them and us. If no such relation existed, or if no such fruits were enjoyed, then no such natural requirement could be binding, no such command could be reasonably put forth; and, of course, no transgression could be cognizable where

such love was not exercised. It is then clear, on the most simple ground of reasoning, that, if our Creator did not love us, he could not require us to love him; and if his love was not fruitful in favors towards us, there could be no requirement binding on us to love him, nor just cause of censure if we did not."

Mr. Ballou then proceeded to speak of the *extent* of this love.

"There is another subject of inquiry respecting the commandment under consideration, which is no less important than those which have been considered. The question is, how extensively does the divine love operate, on which this commandment is founded? The answer to this question is easily obtained by the extent of the requirement; for, as the requirement is founded on the divine love, it must be as extensive as the love on which it is founded, and no more so. If the command to love God meant no more than that we should honor him with some outward rites, or a few respectful ceremonies, then it would be reasonable to suppose that the Lord our God has laid us under these obligations by some outward tokens of his favor, by which nothing could be certainly known of his real disposition towards us. But the commandment runs thus, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.' Now, as it must be allowed that the expressions, *all thy heart, and all thy soul, and all thy mind, and all thy strength*, were designed to express all the moral and physical powers of man, we must allow that the command will not be fulfilled while we hold the least power or faculty in reserve which is not devoted entirely to love the Lord our God. This being understood, it furnishes the true answer sought; for, if the Lord our God had any power, faculty or principle, which was not wholly exercised in love to mankind, he must, to be consistent, allow a reservation in us, which should correspond with the one in himself. But, as he requires us to love him with all the ability we possess, so he loves us with all the ability possessed by him.

"Here is an inheritance which is 'incorruptible, undefiled, and

which fadeth not away.' In the light of this most glorious subject the enemies of truth must find themselves confounded. How can they maintain the doctrine of the divine enmity towards men, without absolving them from both law and offence? The moment that God should cease from loving a creature whom he has made, would be the moment that that creature's power to sin would cease. But, while the Lord our God shall continue to love all his creatures, it will remain our duty to love, obey and serve him."

Such is an epitome of the arguments of Mr. Ballou in his sermon at the Convention of 1824. The illustrations, the searching interrogatories, the masterly appeals to the heart, do not appear. We cannot give them. We remember with what eagerness his old friends clustered around him, rejoiced to see the one who in his early manhood used to dwell among them. But he was obliged to hurry home. We left Strafford after service, and rode to Lebanon, thence on Friday to Hooksett, and on Saturday we reached Boston.

SECTION VI.—VISIT TO FRANKLIN COUNTY.

In October, Mr. Ballou went to Franklin county, Mass., to attend the meeting of the association bearing the name of the county. It seemed, to those who knew him best, that he never wearied in doing good. He never required any compensation for attending these meetings of conventions and associations. Sometimes he bore the whole expense of the journey, with no reward except that which arose from the reflection that he had done his duty; sometimes he would take a brother with him, and they would divide the expenses between them; and sometimes, though very seldom, the friends in the vicinity of the

meeting would pay his chaise-hire. His heart was in the work of spreading the gospel; it was his meat and his drink; and this is the fact which accounts for his zeal through a long ministry of sixty-one years, that abated not, from the time he began to preach, at the age of twenty, to the last hour of his life. For, let it be remembered, he was taken with his last sickness while in the very act of preparing to go to the meeting of a convention; and at his death he left two Sabbaths' appointments unfulfilled. But to the association of which we are now to speak.

The meeting was holden in Bernardston. The venerable David Ballou was appointed moderator. Three sermons were preached: one by Br. Lemuel Willis, from Col. 1: 13; one from Mr. B., from the words (2 Cor. 5: 20), "Be ye reconciled to God;" and one from Br. H. Ballou, 2d, from 2 Tim. 4: 4. By turning to the texts, the reader will be the better able to understand and enjoy the following paragraph from the account of this meeting, which was published at the time, by Dr. John Brooks, the clerk.

"The intense attention manifested by the audience, to the several discourses which were delivered, and to the fervent prayers which were offered, afforded convincing proof that the pure gospel of God our Saviour was a welcome theme, even to those whose ears, in time past, have been turned away from the truth, turned unto fables. The folly of all attempts to placate the wrath of a God of unchangeable love, and by religious sacrifices and services to induce him to be gracious, and thus to reconcile him to the sinner, as a substitute for being reconciled to him, was presented in so clear and convincing a light, that it is believed none could avoid seeing that the *common* doctrine of atonement is not the

truth, but a mere fable; even one of those fables to which people turn, when they turn away from the truth. It is, therefore, devoutly hoped that there were some who were delivered from the power of darkness, and were translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son, on that happy occasion. Did not our heart burn within us when they talked with us, and enabled us to understand the Scriptures? Was there not joy and peace in believing? Could we not say, O, how I love thy law? Did we not feel that in keeping the commandments of God there is great reward, and that it is unreasonable to suppose we have need of being otherwise compensated for it? A thousand blessings rest on our brethren, for the good they were instrumental in imparting to us through the ministration of the word. A thousand thanks be rendered to God our Saviour, for the favorable opportunity enjoyed to hear the good news of salvation from the lips of our faithful brethren in the ministry, especially from our long-trying, devoted, worthy and beloved brother, who delivered the second discourse. We trust our venerable brother is realizing the truth of the declaration, 'He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'"

SECTION VII.—DEDICATION AT WATERTOWN, N. Y.

On Monday, Nov. 1st, Mr. Ballou left Boston in the stage, for a journey to Watertown, N. Y.; and in some respects a long and tedious one it proved. His main object was to attend the dedication of the new Universalist house of worship in that place. The travelling was bad, and he passed on through Brookfield, Ware and Northampton, in Massachusetts, holding pleasant and profitable conversations with his fellow-passengers, on the subject of religion. There was one incident we will not pass over, but will give it in his own words.

“The day after, a widow, belonging to Pittsfield, Mass., entered the stage in that town to go to Denmark, in the State of New York, to visit her young son, whom she had not seen for six years, who is now about fifteen. Denmark is about sixty miles north of Utica. This lady I found to be quite Orthodox in her views, and quite disposed to question me concerning mine. At the inn in Albany, where the stage put up, we had some very serious conversation on the subject of the ignorance and unbelief of men. Her queries respecting this subject were directed in the usual way, and were designed to prove that, in consequence of unbelief in the Saviour, the sinner is exposed to be cast off, without mercy. Having noticed in this lady an anxious desire to find her child, and perceiving that her affections were tender towards her fatherless son, I thought proper to try to open her eyes by the means of appealing to her maternal affections. Madam, do you think that your son will know you? She, with manifest emotion, replied, ‘It is so long since he saw me, that I do not think he will.’ And, should you find that he has so forgotten you as not to recognize your person and countenance, do you think he would be in danger, on that account, of losing your favor? Tears started in her eyes, and the weight of the question was sensibly manifest. She replied, in the softest accents, in the negative. Well, madam, should you find that your son has forgotten your countenance, and should you inform him of the fact of which you should find him ignorant, and yet he should not believe, should you then feel no kindness for your son? She fully appreciated the question, and still answered in the negative. I then called her attention to that remarkable passage in the 49th of Isaiah, in which the divine loving-kindness is recommended to exceed the compassions of the mother to her tender offspring. She signified her satisfaction, and gave me to understand that the argument had reached its object. I wished her good-night, and retired to get a little repose, as we were to take the stage for Utica at eleven o’clock that night.”

He did not permit small matters to discourage him. Such a journey as this, in the months of November and

December, was exceedingly disheartening and tiresome. He said :

“ The next evening we arrived in Utica, which place we left at twelve o'clock that night. As a sample of the disagreeable travelling in this region at this season, I will here mention that, with all possible diligence, the stage was five hours going from Utica to Trenton, a distance of only thirteen miles. Two gentlemen and one lady belonging to Sackett's Harbor, and a lady belonging to Watertown, were our fellow-sufferers this dark night on this tiresome road. Late the following evening we arrived at Denmark, and the next day (Saturday) about one o'clock, at Watertown, N. Y.”

Thus he had been six days in going from Boston to Watertown, travelling almost day and night. On Sunday forenoon he preached in the court-house in the latter place, although the day was cold and stormy, to a great crowd. The Methodists, learning that the court-house would not contain the people, generously offered their church in the afternoon, which was much crowded. On Monday he offered prayer in the new church, after which the pews were sold. On Tuesday he preached in Brownville, in the Presbyterian church, the clergyman being present. The dedication was on Wednesday. A greater number of people collected than could by any possibility get into the house. In the evening he gave another sermon, to many hearers. On Thursday he officiated at the installation of Rev. Pitt Morse, at Watertown. In the evening he preached at the village of Sackett's Harbor, on Lake Ontario, in the Presbyterian church, which was obtained for him with much difficulty. On Friday he preached in the town of Henderson, on the lake ; and

the next morning at Lewisburg, to a large assembly. Returning to Watertown, he preached, on the next day (Sunday), twice in the new church, "which was much crowded with an attentive and devout audience, though the day was unpleasant, and the travelling uncomfortable in the extreme."

The people were exceedingly unwilling that he should return speedily home. They desired him to spend at least a month in that region. He said :

"On Monday I took my leave of my friends in Watertown, who manifested, on the occasion, an affection and concern for me which have made an impression on my mind that will, without doubt, endure the remainder of my pilgrimage on earth. Notwithstanding my fervent solicitude to return to my family and friends at home, I deeply regretted that it was not consistent for me to comply with a great number of requests to preach in different towns in that region, and a number of places on the road as I returned. But, knowing that I should be expected in Boston the coming Sabbath, I set my face accordingly, praying God to protect me from danger, and prosper my return." *

SECTION VIII.—OPINIONS ADVANCED IN 1824.

It may not be unprofitable to notice the opinions which seemed to take the lead in Mr. B.'s mind during this year. From the time of his conversion to Universalism, he had believed Calvinism to be radically false in

* The sermon which Mr. Ballou preached at the dedication just described was from Psalm 36 : 7, 8. It was never published, except in the *Herald of Salvation*, a religious paper issued in the place where the sermon was delivered. We have preserved a copy of it, and we consider it very valuable ; but we feel constrained, for want of room, to omit quotations from it.

everything that was peculiar to itself. He had believed, indeed, in the superintending agency of God, and that not even a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice and permission. He never looked upon the world as the sport of chance. God was as much the Governor of men as the Creator of them; and He executed His holy will in ways not always clear to mortal sight, but still always wise and just. But, above everything in the opinions of men which Mr. B. lamented, was the partiality and cruelty which the systems of human invention ascribed to God. He was, therefore, the decided, constant and active opponent of the Calvinistic divinity, and of the doctrine of endless torture in every form. He could not believe that all those who professed to hold that doctrine actually regarded it as truth. They were wedded to it as a system,—it was embraced in the creeds they had subscribed; but they did not act as if they truly *believed* it. They did not maintain it with that confidence which would arise from a strong and clear conviction that it was capable of defence; nor were they so ready to enter into an investigation of the true sense of those passages which they regarded as pillars of the doctrine they held, as we might suppose men would be who had entire confidence that it was the doctrine of the word of God. He was sometimes fearful that sectarianism had an effect on the popular clergy so blinding, that they thought it good policy to teach to others what perhaps they had doubts of themselves. Possessed of such a conviction, and having for years been in the habit of freely speaking his opinions, he often expressed the fear that there was more sectarian pride than love of truth manifested in the zeal

with which the partialist clergy, so called, defended their peculiar doctrines. He never ceased to oppose those doctrines. He believed them to have originated not in the wisdom of God, but in "the cunning craftiness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive."—Eph. 4 : 14. He felt that he had adopted the ministry of reconciliation; and, having such a ministry, he fainted not, but "renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifestation of the truth, commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God."—2 Cor. 4 : 1, 2. If it had been possible for the great apostle of the Gentiles to have known Hosea Ballou, he could not have described him more accurately. Mr. Ballou could say with that apostle, "We are not as many, which corrupt the word of God; but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ."—2 Cor. 2 : 17.

Not once in all his life, we have often heard him say, did he give an interpretation to a passage of Scripture which he did not believe was consistent with the will of God. Because he believed that the texts which are used to prove the doctrine of future judgment and endless punishment were continually misapplied by the clergy of our times, he labored, on every proper occasion, to show that such texts, when properly understood, give no support to those doctrines. He dwelt much on these points, this year. As an instance, see what he said on the passage, 2 Cor. 5 : 10,—“For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath

done, whether it be good or bad." The extract occurred at the close of a somewhat long article :

“ Observe, then, the true reading of the passage, leaving out the supplied words, by which it will be easily perceived that the recompense mentioned in the text is to be received *in the body* where the works are wrought. ‘ For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things in his body, according to that he hath done, whether good or bad.’ Where is this retribution to be received? Answer : *in the body, where the works are done.* The author of the text had been brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, and had received according to what he had done. When the Lord met him, on his way to Damascus, and said, ‘ Why persecutest thou me?’ the question opened such a scene of inward inquiry and heart examination as resulted in a most perfect adjudication in his own conscience ; he then received according to what he had done. Sin revived, and he died : but, wherein he had acted according to his understanding, he obtained mercy.

“ In the verse following our text the apostle says, ‘ Knowing, therefore, the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men ; but we *are made manifest* unto God, and I trust also are made manifest in your consciences.’ Here let us remark, 1st. The apostle spake of what he knew. ‘ Knowing, therefore, the terrors of the Lord.’ He had experienced the trial ; he had appeared before the judgment-seat of Christ. 2d. This the apostle expresses when he says, ‘ But we are made manifest unto God.’ The word *appear* in our text, and the word *manifest* in the verse following, are variations of the same word in the Greek ; and, when considered in their connection and relation, make it plain that the apostle’s meaning was, that he had passed this ordeal and had received according to his works, and that we must all be made manifest to the light of divine truth, as he had been.

“ Now comes the cry of licentiousness. Says the opposer, I will indulge in all manner of sin, if there is to be no future judgment, and no retribution in the future state for what I do here. Well ; out of thine own mouth shalt thou be condemned. Hear

the words of the Judge,—Mark 7,—‘The things which come out of him, those are they that defile the man. Out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness; all these evil things come from within, and defile the man.’ And you here acknowledge that you have all these things within you; and the reason you do not practise them is, you stand in fear of retribution in a future world! Thou art most unclean. May the thoughts of thine heart be forgiven thee.”

What an exposure of hypocrisy and love of sin, in the objector!

CHAPTER XIV.

ANECDOTES; TWENTY-FOURTH AND TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTERS OF MATTHEW; ORDINATION, ASSOCIATION, CONVENTION, DEDICATION; MR. B.'S DOMINANT VIEWS; HIS ARGUMENTS ADDRESSED TO UNITARIANS, ETC. ETC. ETC.

EMBRACING PRINCIPALLY THE YEARS 1825, 1826.

SECTION I.—ANECDOTES.

WE have already shown that Mr. B. believed in no salvation except a salvation *from* sin and unbelief. The notion, which so generally prevailed, that salvation is a *reward*, that it cannot be enjoyed until man shall enter the eternal world, and that it will consist in deliverance from being sentenced to endless pains, was entirely discarded by him. A slight anecdote illustrates this matter quite clearly. He had gone into some interior town to preach, and had found lodgings at a house of which the mistress was opposed to Universalism, but she was not a bigot. She held that mankind were to be saved as a reward for *being* good, and that this reward consisted in being admitted to the holy presence of God. Passing out through the broad kitchen, he found this woman engaged in the labors which Saturday afternoon generally

imposed upon her. He had not seen her until this moment, when she spoke to him very politely,—

“This is Mr. Ballou, I suppose?”

“Yes, madam, my name is Ballou.”

“Well, Mr. Ballou, they say you hold that all men will be saved. Do you really believe that doctrine?”

“Yes, madam,” said he, “I really believe it.”

“Why, sir!”—with some astonishment,—“do you really believe that all men are going to be saved just such creatures *as they are?*”

He saw that she did not understand the nature of salvation; and he therefore adopted the following method to enlighten her:

“What is that you have in your hand, dear woman?”

[Laughingly.]—“Why, it is my mop.”

“Your mop? Well; what are you going to do with it?”

“I am going to mop up my floor. I always do it on Saturday afternoon.”

“Well, sister, I understand you. Are you going to mop it up *just as it is?*”

“Mop it up just as it is!”

“Yes; you wished to know if I hold that all men will be saved *just as they are.* Do you intend to mop up the floor *just as it is?*”

“Why,” said she, “I mop it up to clean it.”

“True,” said he; “you do not require it to be made clean before you will consent to mop it up. God saves men to purify them; that’s what salvation is designed for. God does not require men to be pure in order that he may save them.”

On another occasion, he was the guest of a gentleman whose wife was a member of the Congregationalist church; but she was a kind woman, and she was more willing to have Mr. Ballou at her house than some clergymen of her own faith, for she said he was so humble and quiet, and made her so little trouble, it was a pleasure to see

him. Some clergymen, she said,— and most frequently those that were young, — would seem as if they thought other people were made only to wait on them. On a certain day this good lady said,

“Mr. Ballou, I wish our minister could have as full an attendance upon his preaching as you do.” It was a bright Sunday morning in May, and she saw that the services of Mr. Ballou would be largely attended, that day, by people within the distance of five or ten miles around. “Yes,” she added, “I wish my good minister could have as large an attendance.”

“Well; what is the reason he does not?” said Mr. Ballou.

“O,” said she, “I don’t know; he’s almost discouraged; the people don’t attend public worship as they ought.”

“Well; what do you think is the reason?” he inquired again.

“Because,” said she, “they do not love the Lord’s house.”

“But why do they not love the Lord’s house?” he asked.

“I don’t know,” she replied; “I don’t know.”

“Well,” said he, “sister, I will tell you. Their souls are not nourished by the doctrine your good minister preaches. When any place is really a Zion, in the scriptural sense of that term, the people will love to go there. They will say one to another, as we read in Isaiah, ‘Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob.’— 2: 3. Now, concerning this Zion, God hath said, ‘I will abun-

dantly bless her provision; I will satisfy her poor with bread; I will also clothe her priests with salvation, and her saints shall shout aloud for joy.'—Psalm 132: 15, 16. In this Zion he will make unto 'all people a feast of fat things,'—Isaiah 25: 6. If your minister (continued Mr. B.) would feed the people with the bread of life, they would love to attend upon his teachings.

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"But, see here," said Mr. B.; "what makes all the poultry gather around you so?" for the woman had gone out upon the lawn with a half-peck measure in her hand (he following her), and the hens and half-grown chickens came running and flying and leaping over each other's heads, to get near to her. "What makes them so eager to gather around you?"

"Because," said she, "they know I am going to feed them."

"Well," he added, "if the people could only know that your minister would feed their souls, he would not have to preach to empty pews."

SECTION II. — THE TWENTY-FOURTH AND TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTERS OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

At the beginning of the year 1825, Mr. Ballou gave a careful review of his opinions concerning the interpretation of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew. Where he saw reasons to alter them, he did so; but this critical examination tended only to confirm him the more in the general application which he had pre-

viously made of these chapters. At the close of a series of observations, he said :

“I deem it unnecessary to be further particular on these parables, which were evidently introduced into our Saviour’s reply to his disciples, to represent various circumstances relative to the destruction of the Jews and their city and temple ; also concerning those who should profess his gospel, or propagate his religion, at the time when those judgments were executed on the Jews. Especially do I deem it unnecessary further to occupy the reader’s time on this subject, having formerly written on these parables. But, not having in my notes made all the distinctions which I now think ought to be made, I was induced to write the foregoing remarks, in addition to what I had written before.”

We must look at this additional light, — these *new* distinctions. In his “Notes,” he had taken this general ground, — that in the parable of the virgins the kingdom of heaven represented the house of Israel under the law ; the lamps were the rites observed in the law and its priesthood ; the oil was the knowledge which these rites were intended to signify ; the slothful state of the Jews before the coming of Christ was represented by the sleep of the virgins (see Matthew 25 : 1—13). The parable of the unprofitable servant (Matthew 25 : 14—30) Mr. B. interpreted on the following basis : Christ was represented by the servant who received five talents ; John the Baptist by the servant who received two, and the house of Israel by him who received one. In reading Mr. Ballou’s earliest interpretations of the parables, we find our wonder excited, not that he sometimes did not give the interpretation which he would have given in subsequent years, but that he so often, of his own unaided

study, reached the full truth, so that forty or fifty years' subsequent study of the Bible did not cause him to change his opinions. In regard to the parables, he had been obliged to view them differently from all his seniors in the ministry, but more especially from Mr. Murray. He had been obliged to get a new plan of interpretation altogether,—to strike out a new course, without compass or star, except the Bible. In some minor particulars he afterwards had reason to change his views; but, in the great points, the leading facts, his opinion remained the same. When he came to review his interpretations of the three parables in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, he saw that he had been correct in supposing that they did not refer to the future world, but rather to the time of Christ's coming at the destruction of the Jewish nation. But he saw that he had erred in applying the parables of "the virgins," and "the unprofitable servant," to the open and avowed enemies of Christ in any sense. These two parables referred to the *faithful and unfaithful disciples*; while that of the "sheep and the goats" took a wider range. It is better that we permit him to describe his own opinions:

ON THE THREE PARABLES IN THE TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER OF MATTHEW.

"There are three parables in this chapter, and it is thought, by some, that they all represent the same things. They are all applied, by divines, to what they call the last and general judgment. The five foolish virgins in the first parable, the servant who received the one talent in the second, and those who are called goats, on the left hand of the Son of man, in the third, are supposed to represent the same kind of persons; and divines, who

believe in the doctrine of a final separation of the human family in the future world, and the endless happiness of one class and the endless misery of the other, uniformly suppose that the characters mentioned in the parables represent the class which is to be finally and forever miserable.

“ Having the case thus clearly stated, let us next determine to whom the Saviour delivered the discourse which contains these parables. See chapter 24 : 3, — ‘ And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be ! And what shall be the sign of thy coming, and the end of the world ? ’ Here it is of importance that we carefully notice the fact, that all which follows in this twenty-fourth and in the twenty-fifth chapters is one continued reply to the several questions which the disciples asked him, as above ; and, also, that this lengthy reply was delivered to the *disciples only*, and to them *in private*.

“ The question now arises, why the divine teacher did not deliver these parables to the scribes, pharisees, elders, doctors, and the Jews in general ! Again, the inquiry suggests itself, why the Saviour did not urge it upon his disciples, that they should utter these parables to the people in their preaching ? and tell them, in plain language, that those portions of the divine word all alluded to the last judgment, and to the final separation of the human family ! It does not appear that the disciples were directed to utter these parables to the people ; nor can we learn that it ever came into the minds of the apostles to use them as they are now used by those who apply them, as has been stated, to a final division of the human family.

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“ It is one of the most important labors to which what is now called the Christian ministry is directed, to urge the people to the consideration of religion, with a view to be prepared to meet their judge at the solemn and awful tribunal, which the preachers contend is set forth in this twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew.

“ Our queries on this subject have already called up the questions, why Jesus Christ did not deliver these parables to the Jews, nor direct his disciples to state to them their substance ?

or why the disciples, in their ministry afterward, never preached this last judgment to the people, as it is alleged their Master had preached it to them ?

“ By a careful attention to the manner in which this general subject was introduced, and to the order in which the wisdom of the Saviour directed it, we may very easily dispose of the foregoing queries, and arrive at a satisfactory understanding of the several parables under consideration.

“ This general subject begins in the twenty-third chapter, which contains a denunciation on the religious enemies of Christ, such as scribes, pharisees and doctors of the law, and on the city of Jerusalem. The two following particulars, concerning the last-named chapter, the reader is requested to keep in recollection : 1st, That those on whom the Saviour denounced the judgments of heaven he repeatedly called *hypocrites* ; and, 2d, That he assured them, verse thirty-six, that the judgment which he denounced would be executed on that generation.

“ When he had ended his communication to the rulers of the Jews, and to all the different persons whom he addressed, as stated in this twenty-third chapter, he went out and departed from the temple. He had now finished his ministry as it respected the Jews, and had delivered to them his last message. And whoever will carefully read this twenty-third chapter will marvel at the plain dealing with which Jesus treated those dignified professors of righteousness on whom he denounced the righteous judgments of God. As he departed from the temple, his disciples came to him, to show him the buildings of the temple. ‘ And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things ? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.’ This declaration concerning the temple was evidently connected with what he had just before delivered to the scribes, pharisees and doctors, in the temple, in hearing of his disciples ; for Jesus had just before closed his statements to the Jews, by speaking of the desolation of their house.

“ The account proceeds in chapter 24, verse 3. ‘ And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him pri-

vately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?' The reply of Jesus commences with the fourth verse of this twenty-fourth chapter, and continues to the end of the twenty-fifth chapter. Beginning with the fourth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter, we see that Jesus, in his reply, speaks of the destruction of the Jews and their city, together with the signs which should precede that terrible event, until we come to the thirty-sixth verse. In the thirty-fourth verse, he assured his disciples that that generation should not pass away till all the things of which he had been speaking should be fulfilled. The reader is requested duly to notice that this declaration is evidently connected with the one made just before, which the reader has already been requested to keep in mind, namely, that the judgments denounced on the Jews should be executed *in that generation*. See verse thirty-sixth, of chapter twenty-third. There is another circumstance which we do well to notice here; and that is, that among the things which Jesus told his disciples should take place in that generation, his coming in his glory, &c., is included. See verses thirty and thirty-one, of chapter twenty-four. And it is also necessary to remark that this coming of Christ is the same as set forth in the last parable of the twenty-fifth chapter, which our divines are in the habit of calling the last and the general judgment. As I have elsewhere, and in a number of instances, shown that the parable of the sheep and goats was spoken to represent the rejection of the Jews and their dispersion, and the reception of the Gentiles to the privileges of the Gospel, I deem it unnecessary to labor to substantiate this application in this place, except to request the reader to notice that the coming of Christ, set forth in the parable of the sheep and goats, is the same coming of which mention is made in the preceding chapter, and which Christ said should take place in that generation. Whoever will carefully notice this will be fully satisfied that our divines are incorrect in applying the last parable in chapter twenty-five to a future judgment.

“Let us now return to the order of the account in chapter twenty-four. See verse thirty-six. ‘But of that day and hour

knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.' The Saviour then proceeds to compare the event which he had been relating to that of the flood, and, at the forty-second verse, begins a special exhortation to his disciples. The reader will keep in mind that Jesus was speaking to his disciples only, and alone. He says, ' Watch, therefore, for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. But know this, that if the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up. Therefore, be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.' Here again is the same coming of the Son of man of which Jesus speaks in the last parable of the twenty-fifth chapter, which our doctors constantly apply to the last judgment in the future state. But who will undertake to account for their mistake? Do they suppose that Jesus meant to exhort his disciples, there on the Mount of Olives, to keep up a constant watch, looking out for the coming of the Son of man, until some period of time which in our day is still future? Do they suppose that these disciples have, ever since the interview which they had with Jesus privately on the Mount of Olives, been looking for his coming? Nearly eighteen hundred years have passed away since Jesus told his disciples that he should come with power and great glory in that generation, and exhorted them to watch that they might be duly guarded on the occasion; and our divines contend that he has not come yet! And, to keep along with their error, they now come forward with these exhortations, which Jesus delivered to his disciples in private, and insist that he meant to exhort us, in this day, to watch for his coming! And, if things go on as they have done, after we have watched all the days of our lives, the generations which may come upon the stage hereafter may be told that Jesus meant that they also should watch for it.

“It is possible that the reader may wish to ask why Jesus exhorted his disciples to watch. The answer is, because his coming would be at a time when, if they were not watchful, they might least expect him; and also because the coming of which he had spoken to them was for the desolation of Jerusalem, and, if

they were not on their guard, they would be shut up in the city by the armies of the Romans. Look back to verse fifteenth and on : ' When ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whose readeth let him understand), then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains ; let him which is on the house-top not come down to take anything out of his house ; neither let him that is in the field return back to take his clothes. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days ! But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day. For there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.' That his disciples might watch and make their escape from Jerusalem at the day and hour of danger, Jesus gave them these warnings and exhortations. It is truly humiliating to hear our divines, who pride themselves in their learning and in their high attainments as to the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, now urging the exhortations of Jesus to his disciples, respecting their escape from the destruction of Jerusalem, on the people of our day, as if *we* were in danger of being shut up in that ancient city by the Romans, who destroyed it nearly eighteen hundred years ago !

" Let us return to the account as it proceeds in order. See verse forty-five, and on : ' Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season ? Blessed is that servant whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods. But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming ; and shall begin to smite his fellow-servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken, the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites ; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' The reader will now call up what he was requested to remember, namely, that Jesus called those on whom he denounced the judgments of heaven, in the twenty-third chapter, *hypocrites*, by

which it appears that the divine teacher intended to signify to his disciples that, if they neglected their duty, got off their watch, and proved unfaithful to his cause, he would, at his coming, appoint them their portion with those hypocrites on whom they had just heard him denounce destruction. These disciples were appointed rulers over the household of their divine Master, to give to his household their meat in due season; and, if they proved faithful, he promised them promotion; but, if they should prove unfaithful, he would devote them to the same destruction which he had just denounced on his enemies, the Jews. This general intimation would properly apply, not only to those disciples who were then present, on the Mount of Olives, but also to others, who should, in their day, be employed in the gospel ministry.

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“I have thus pursued the account to the conclusion of the twenty-fourth chapter, where it appears evident that the Saviour was speaking to his disciples as to how it would fare with them, and other professors of Christianity, at the time when Jerusalem should be destroyed, and the Jews dispersed.

“The twenty-fifth chapter contains three parables, which evidently relate to events set forth in the twenty-fourth chapter. But care should be taken to make the distinctions in the parables according to their evident application. The two first, no doubt, apply to the disciples of Jesus; the last applies to three classes, namely, to the unbelieving Jews who persecuted the disciples, to Christian believers who kindly entreated the disciples, and to the disciples themselves. The disciples of Christ and professors of his gospel were represented by ten virgins in the first parable, and by servants who received different sums of money in the second; and it is very clear that these two parables apply to the subject with which the twenty-fourth chapter closed. See the close of that chapter: ‘There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.’ See also the close of the second parable: ‘There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.’ The reader will do well to open to the place, and carefully read the passage, comparing these two first parables with the subject treated on in the last of the twenty-

fourth chapter, which will supersede the necessity of my saying more on this part of the subject.

“ But the last parable has a more extensive application ; for there are evidently three classes of which the Judge speaks, — the sheep on the right hand, the goats on the left, and his brethren who had been kindly entreated by those on his right, but neglected by those on his left.

“ Here, again, recollect that Jesus was speaking to his disciples, whom he was going to employ in the promulgation of his gospel ; and, as he had just before, in this discourse, informed them that they would be persecuted by his and their enemies, he now gives them to understand that he would treat the people, when he came to execute the judgments which he had just denounced on the Jews, accordingly as they should treat Christians. These he calls his brethren, and assures them that any favor which the people should show them he should consider as shown to him, and any neglect with which they should be treated he would accept as done to himself. The conclusion of this parable introduces those who received the gospel through the ministry of the disciples, and entreated them kindly, to the life and peace of the gospel age ; but consigns the enemies of the gospel, and of the disciples of Jesus, to the age of suffering which has, ever since that generation, been the lot of the Jews, on whom Jesus denounced the righteous judgments of Heaven.

“ The reason why these parables were not delivered to the Jews appears evident. They were designed for special information to the disciples of Christ, which information was to them of no inconsiderable advantage. It gave them certain signs and tokens by which they would know when to leave Jerusalem, for the security of their lives ; it informed them of the necessity of faithfulness in their callings, that they might obtain his approbation at his coming, and avoid the calamities which he would at that time execute on his enemies.”

SECTION III.—ORDINATION OF REV. C. GARDNER.

In June 22d, of this year, Mr. B. was present at the

ordination of Rev. Calvin Gardner to the pastoral care of the Universalist society in Charlestown, Mass., as successor to Rev. Edward Turner. It was the wish, both of the candidate and of the society, that Mr. B. should give the charge. The sermon was preached by the venerable Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, from the words of the apostle, 1 Peter 4 : 11,—“ If any speak, let him speak as the oracles of God,”—a passage which many years before had made a deep impression on Mr. Ballou's mind. The fellowship was tendered by Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, then of Scituate; the address to the society by Rev. Seth Stetson, of Salem, Mass. But our purpose is to speak merely of the charge. The effect which it produced upon the people is well remembered. In presenting the Bible to the candidate, according to the custom of that order of Christians to which Mr. B. belonged, he said :

“ We present the Scriptures because they contain a true manifest of the whole doctrine which the gospel minister is bound to hold forth to the people, and are a perfect directory, by which he should perform his whole duty, and form his moral and religious character. They contain the Christian's bill of rights, chartered by the only potency to which he submits the dictation of his conscience. They are not only paramount to but supersede the authority of councils and synods, containing the world's franchise from sin and death, and man's title to immortality and eternal life.”

“ Adhere, my brother,” said he, “ to the word of God. That will give your own soul peace, and make your ministry to abound in all good fruits.” Devotion to creeds, formed by worldly wisdom, has done great harm.

“Ages of darkness, during which the Christian church has been rent into separate and opposing parties, thundering the most cruel anathemas against each other, carrying beneath their banners the sword and torch of persecution, with all the apparatus of torture and death, have furnished most solemn and awful mementos, written in blood, against the folly of departing from the holy Scriptures, and of framing creeds and formularies as guides to faith and practice.

“Thus admonished, we, my brother, receive these Scriptures as the substance of our faith, and as the guide of our practice; and as such we present them to you.

“Taking St. Paul’s charge to Timothy for a model and guide, ‘I charge thee, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and kingdom, preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.’

“Much of the duty of a Christian pastor is embraced in the words just quoted. He must preach; but he must not preach his own inventions, nor the inventions of other men; he must not preach his own imaginations, nor the imaginations of other men; he must not preach *ables* and idle stories, though rendered sacred by tradition, and though prescription be urged in their defence; but he must preach the word, and this is all he must preach. This *word* is THE WORD OF GOD; it is THE WORD OF PROMISE; it is THE WORD OF FAITH; it is THE WORD OF LIFE; it is THE WORD OF RECONCILIATION, ‘to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.’”

As to the ordinances, meaning principally the Lord’s Supper, he said:

“In attending to what may be termed gospel ordinances, be careful that they are not set up as idols before which the trembling knee must bend, and the fearful heart must shrink with horror; but let them be administered as emblems and tokens of the divine favor, designed for our accommodation, edification and comfort; and understand how to apply our Saviour’s sentiment

regarding the Sabbath to these conveniences. 'The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.' And, above all things, avoid the anti-Christian practice of excluding from Christian ordinances such as are the purchase of the Saviour's blood, because their understandings are not graduated by your scale."

Mr. Ballou persuaded the young candidate, who would be called to move about in a large circle of fashion, not to forget *the poor*. Jesus never disregarded such.

"Visit the people of your charge, the poor as well as the rich; and let them always behold in you the open, frank, sincere friend; the truly humble and faithful disciple of our divine Master. Practise no artful dissimulation; it is enmity to the spirit of Christ, it can never commend you to this people; their genius would despise it."

The candidate was warned that there were enemies without, and enemies *within*. He must keep a watch upon his own heart; and, if he should be faithful, he would be an honor to himself, and he would stand like a pillar, a support and an ornament, in the temple of the New Jerusalem.

"Brother, you will meet with trials. There is opposition from without; there are imperfections that will war within. The first you will overcome with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; the latter 'kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer.'

"For your encouragement, you will duly regard what the Spirit saith to the churches and to the angels of the churches: 'Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem. To him will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.' I will 'give him a white

stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.' ”

What other man could give a charge like father Ballou ?

On that occasion the candidate felt all the deep responsibility of his situation. The prayer of consecration, offered by Father S. Streeter, has been answered ; C. Gardner has stood faithful to the cause of Christ to the present day.

SECTION IV.—ROCKINGHAM ASSOCIATION.

There was a mistake, in 1825, as to the time of the meeting of the Rockingham Association, and there were but two brethren in attendance, namely, Rev. Edward Turner and father Ballou. The meeting was holden in Nottingham, and was continued for two days. Both the preachers gave sermons on each day. The meetings were well attended, and many friends appeared, said Father B., and gave much proof of their commendable zeal and devotion to the cause in which the association professes to be engaged. The meeting adjourned to Meredith Bridge, N. H.

SECTION V.—GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1825.

The convention met this year at Hartland, Vt. Rev. Paul Dean was elected moderator. Twenty-four preachers were present. Sermons were preached by Brs. S. Cobb, then of Waterville, Me.; H. Ballou, from 1 Kings 8: 5; William Morse, late of Philadelphia; S. Streeter,

of Boston, and Rev. P. Dean. Mr. Dean in his sermon avowed distinctly *Trinitarian* opinions, attempting to maintain from his text (Acts 20: 28) that it was God himself who suffered upon the cross. This, we believe, was the *last* time the doctrine of the Trinity ever was preached before the convention. It was thought at the time that Mr. D. was more of a *Trinitarian* than he would have been if Mr. B. had not been a *Unitarian*.

SECTION VI.—DEDICATIONS IN 1825.

The Universalist meeting-house on the island of Nantucket was dedicated on the 3d of November. Although Mr. Ballou had done much to build up the Universalist society in that place, it was not possible for him to be present at the dedication, and the sermon was preached by Rev. Joshua Flagg, which, we believe, was the last sermon he ever preached at the dedication of a church. A meeting-house was also dedicated on the 17th of this month, at Brooklyn, Susquehanna county, Pa., though with that Mr. B. had no direct connection, as he had never been in that part of the country. Still another house was dedicated this month, namely, the new brick one at Haverhill, Mass.; and at the latter service both father Ballou and the writer were present, with Br. William Bell, then of Salem, N. H. The sermon was preached by father B., and a discourse in the evening by Mr. Whittemore, from Deut. 32: 31. We remember this journey very well. The two last-named persons started from Boston in a chaise, and rode to Haverhill on Tuesday. On Wednesday, the services which we have

described took place. On Thursday morning, all the preachers rode to Pelham, N. H., where a public meeting was holden in the Methodist church, which was sometimes used by the Universalists. It was the day of the annual Thanksgiving in New Hampshire. A large number of persons came together, and listened to a sermon in the forenoon from Mr. W., based upon Col. 3: 25. In the afternoon father B. preached, what we find described in our journal as "a most excellent sermon." The text was, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God."—1 John 3: 1. The great aim of the preacher was to show what manner of love it is which God cherishes towards mankind. It was not a partial love; it was not a fickle, changeable love; it was not a blind, undiscerning love; it was not a purchased love; for "many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned." The love of God was higher than all earthly love, higher than that of an earthly parent to his offspring, higher than that of a tender mother to her nursing infant; for she may forget her child, but God cannot forget his children. There is only one thing God can forget, and that is the iniquity of man; for he saith, "Their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us," said the preacher; and here he entered into a thrilling description of God's love as compared with his other attributes. His love was as great as his wisdom; it was as great as his power. God has manifested his wisdom

in everything he has made. With what force did the preacher here introduce the passage, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou *made them all.*" God never made anything, said he, that does not manifest his wisdom. His love is as extensive as his wisdom. What would wisdom be, if not accompanied by love? It would be mere cunning, and would be more dangerous than even folly itself. And behold the power of God: he is almighty; "he doeth his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, why doest thou so?" The power of God is unbounded, infinite; but it is no greater than his *love*. What is power, if unaccompanied by benevolence or love? It is fearful. Power without love and kindness makes the tyrant; there is nothing which is more to be dreaded than power unaccompanied with wisdom and love. We see, then, that in God these three attributes harmoniously blend. "Behold (said he) what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us." It is a love as great as his wisdom, as great as his power; and, of course, it is infinite. Thus the preacher went on, enlightening our minds, and drawing out our hearts in fervent gratitude to the Eternal One, who is the author of all our blessings. The effect of the sermon was great. Men who were not used to weep, wept then,—not tears of terror, but of joy, of gratitude, of contrition, that they had sinned against so great and so good a being. Almost every hearer went away from the house musing upon the theme, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." But we must

here close the description. We went to spend the night at the house of Rev. William Bell, and on the next day we rode together to Boston.

SECTION VII. — HIS DOMINANT VIEWS.

We have shown, under the year 1824, the views which Mr. Ballou took of various important subjects. There was one on which he was almost always deliberating, namely, that of *retribution*. He believed most devoutly that God *will* render to every man according to his deeds; that there is no possibility that the sinner can escape the punishment of his sins. He was careful never to represent punishment so distant that the effect of it would be lost, or so great as to appear improbable. He believed that it would be impossible ever to punish the sinner according to his works, consistently with the partialist theology.

“Respecting this subject there seem to exist some very unaccountable peculiarities in the opinions of religious people. All denominations of Christians profess to believe the apostle’s declaration, that ‘God will render to every man according to his works.’ Even the Universalists think they are of the apostle’s opinion, though they are accused by all their opposers, of every creed, of denying this divine testimony directly.

“It must be acknowledged, by every one who is at all acquainted with the Scriptures, that they are not clearer on any one subject than on this. But, is it a fact that religious people, generally, believe this plain, Scripture doctrine? Is it a fact that the opposers of Universalism, who accuse the Universalists of denying this doctrine of retribution, do indeed believe it themselves? For myself, I am fully satisfied that they do not. And I will here state

certain things which they profess to believe, which fully deny the apostle's testimony. They profess to believe, and they are engaged in defending it as a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, that sin is infinite, and deserves infinite punishment; and they also as fully believe and as zealously contend that they themselves, and all the rest of mankind, 'have sinned and come short of the glory of God;' and yet they do not believe that they are to endure this infinite punishment. They profess to believe that many of the human family will endure it to all eternity, but they do not even pretend to believe that *they* are thus to suffer. The apostle says, 'God will render to *every* man according to his deeds.' He gives no intimation that a wicked man, who, among other abominations, accuses the Universalists of denying the apostle's doctrine of retribution, shall not receive according to his deeds! These religious professors openly, boldly and fearlessly, present themselves before their Maker, and tell him to his face that they have so vilely transgressed his commands that, according to strict justice, they deserve to be consigned to endless woe; and then, with about the same countenance, and in the same monotonous voice, they close the dull performance of addressing the Supreme Being, by formally thanking him for his favor, which, on the one hand, remits the punishment which is according to their deeds, and, on the other, without the consideration of the least merit, grants them a state of never-ending, unspeakable felicity!"

SECTION VIII. — SECRET MEDITATIONS.

But Mr. Ballou did not always dwell upon controversy. He had frequent moments of pious meditation, in which he realized the truth of the apostle's assurance, "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to thee." He did not often commit these thoughts to paper. He had not a taste for that kind of daily record which some pious people keep of the exercises of their minds. He had so often seen outward forms abused, that, if he erred

at all, it was in paying too little respect to them. Public fastings and proclamations for days of prayer he regarded as violations of the injunction of the Son of God, who said, "When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly." Most careful was he not to "draw nigh to God with the mouth and honor him with the lips, while the heart was far from him." Vital piety, that lived and glowed in the soul, he loved. No man was more susceptible of pious emotions than he. No man reflected more upon God, or held more secret and spiritual communion with him. He inherited from his father a deeply religious nature, that was ever overflowing, like a gushing spring, with gratitude and praise. We recollect a short article which he published this year, which will corroborate what we have said. It was given in the form of an "Address to the Deity."

"Supreme Majesty of heaven! wilt thou permit those sensitive powers and faculties of mind which thou hast combined in me to speak in thine ear? Yes, I am assured, though thou art infinite in thy glorious perfections, it is not inconsistent with thy greatness to indulge the aspirations which it is thy pleasure to awaken in the most humble being who is the production of thy hand.

"When I behold thee in those twinkling stars which attract my wondering eyes, and contemplate thy wisdom, thy power and thy goodness, which are displayed in all their perfections in those unnumbered worlds, my heart and all my affections are kindled into devotion, and my whole soul becomes one flame of grateful incense on thine altar. O Lord, thou wilt accept it, for that flame is thine own breath.

"And when the curtains of the night are withdrawn, and the

glory and beauty of the morning call me from sweet and refreshing slumbers, and mine eyes are opened to behold the welcome ruler of the day, who advances, at thy command, to scatter unnumbered blessings through earth and sea, the outgoings of the morning make my heart rejoice, and inspire devotions which are as fervent and as acceptable to thee as those of the evening.

“When, directed by a portion of thy wisdom, I contemplate thy varied goodness, the productions of the several seasons of the year, which are abundantly ample to supply the wants of creation, and so perfectly adapted to the constitutions and appetites of those beings who wait to receive their food from thee, my heart becomes extended in gratitude, and seeks the fellowship of every living thing, to assist in rendering to the Giver of every good and perfect gift the grateful homage due for such mercies.

“But, as it has suited the counsels of thine unerring wisdom that man shall be raised to a scale of being which shall be free from the imperfections of his earthly nature and constitution, thou hast, in goodness, appointed that the imperfections of the present state serve to bring to dissolution our present mode of existence, that the more glorious may succeed. This, by thy divine favor, thou hast brought to light through the brightness of thy glory, whom thou hast appointed Lord of the dead and of the living. When, enlightened by thy word and quickened by thy grace, I am enabled to realize these gospel truths, and connect with them thy gracious favor in the forgiveness of my transgressions,—repentance, humility, gratitude, and joy unspeakable, seem to vie with each other in a heart which now loves thee to the fulness of all its powers.

“Wilt thou, O my God, preserve in me these hopes and joys, and keep alive this celestial fire of sweet devotion, that by their influence the powers of temptation may be resisted, and the soul that loves thee be preserved from evil!”—*Universalist Magazine*, vol. VII., p. 102.

SECTION IX.—FUTURE RETRIBUTION.

The subject of future retribution dwelt much in Mr.

B.'s thoughts. He had come to an honest result himself, and he desired to bring others to the same conviction. But his mind was always open to evidence, like the watchful eye to the sunlight, or the thirsting earth to the refreshing shower. He said :

“ As the subject of a future state of retribution has received much attention, and as considerable ability has been employed, both to maintain and refute the doctrine, from Scripture authority, and as I feel well satisfied, for one, that the Bible teaches no such doctrine, it seems proper that I should endeavor to be able, if possible, to give a satisfactory answer to such questions as are suggested, and such as the subject, in conjunction with the prejudices of education, is calculated to elicit.”

He felt desirous to settle this question by the divine testimony ; but those who contended the most earnestly for a belief in future punishment did not seem disposed to rely entirely on such a source for evidence.

“ The reason why I am now particularly inclined to notice some objections which are suggested, is because these are now more relied on to prevent people from giving up the doctrine of a future state of punishment than any quotations which are brought from the Scriptures ; and yet we acknowledge the latter to be our only infallible guide. It appears very evident that all those passages which have been generally applied to a state of retribution, in a future world, are capable, to say the least, of an application which finds their accomplishment in the present mode of existence. And it seems that those who feel engaged in supporting the former and general use of the above-maintained passages are sufficiently aware of this fact, which renders it necessary for them to propose these arguments, not from Scripture, but from reason.”

He enjoyed, about this time, an interview with a Uni-

tarian preacher, during which came up the subject of which we have spoken.

“ It is now but a few days since I enjoyed a very pleasant opportunity, in conversation with a Unitarian preacher. We found that on most of subjects embracing doctrines, we were perfectly agreed; and I thought he manifested as little relish for Orthodoxy as myself. But there was one question with which he seemed disposed to favor the doctrine of a future retribution, though he was by no means inclined to contend that punishment will be endless. The sum of his question was this: If a man of power and wealth oppress the honest and industrious, and swell his own coffers by such oppressions, — if he, being artful, in order to cover his iniquities, goes so far in them as to persecute and put the just to death, all the time so deceiving the public as to secure to himself the respect and even homage of society at large, and lives in this deceit and wickedness until old age, and dies suddenly, at last, without repentance, — how can it be made to appear that such a sinner is rewarded according to his works, unless he receive a punishment for his sins in a future state?

In reply to this question, which is not new, but has been urged against the Universalists as long as I can remember to have heard of Universalism, I was led to proceed as follows:

1. If it had pleased our heavenly Father to reveal in his written word anything which so applies to this question as to make it evident that such a person, so living and so dying, must be punished in the world to come, there could be no need of this question, because such Scripture being adduced would decide the whole controversy. Here I paused, and intimated that, if he believed that there was any such Scripture, I expected he would bring it in place of his question. But he, in room of intimating that any such Scripture could be brought, desired me, in a very good-natured manner, to proceed and answer to the question as it stood. My reply, then, proceeded on the following Scriptures as its foundation: ‘ Eccle. 4 : 1, 2, — ‘ So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and, behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter;

and on the side of their oppressors there was power ; but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive.' Solomon says, in Prov. 3 : 17, speaking of wisdom : ' Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.' 13 : 15, — ' The way of transgressors is hard.' Isa. 57 : 21, — ' There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.'

" The first of the above passages seemed to meet his question as directly as if it had been written for that express purpose ; and, taken in connection with the others, seemed to lay open the whole subject. All who are oppressed under the sun enjoy as much peace and pleasantness as are the natural consequences of all the righteousness which they practise in walking in the ways of wisdom ; and this leaves all their sufferings, which are caused by the injustice of their oppressors, no other character, in reference to themselves, than those physical evils possess which are acknowledged to be inflicted by the hand of divine Providence. As moral beings, then, our enjoyments, at all times, correspond with the degree of moral righteousness to which we attain. This being established, it must follow, on the other hand, that the transgressor, at all times, as a moral being, suffers in a due proportion to the degree of wickedness of which he is guilty. The man, therefore, who was made the subject of the Unitarian's question, did, in fact, endure a suffering, during his whole lifetime, which corresponded with the wickedness which he had practised. As to what this man *appeared* to enjoy, there certainly could not be any more of moral enjoyment than there was of conscious integrity in the means which procured his enjoyment ; and surely no Christian ought to allow that sensuality is real happiness.

" If it were the sentiment of Solomon that oppressors, after they die, are miserable in consequence of the oppressions which they practise while they live, and that they enjoy much while they are practising their oppressions, why should he say, ' Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive ' ? Whether this sort of reasoning gave my Unitarian brother any satisfaction, he did not directly inform me ; though, by his smiling and making no objections to my

answer, I thought that he did not view it to be very exceptionable."

But it was sometimes alleged by Mr. B.'s opponents that there must be a retribution in the future state, in order to prepare the impenitent, by discipline and correction, for a state of happiness. This, he said, was a very amiable objection, and did not seem to proceed from that spiritual pride and Phariseism which led men sometimes to hope that sinners would be punished hereafter, and to assert that God would be partial to the wicked, and unjust to his saints, if all men should be made happy in the future world.

"The objection, in this form, has one amiable quality which was not discovered in the other views in which we have considered it. It now becomes disencumbered of the doctrine of retaliation, and ceases to oppose the doctrine on the ground of partiality. He who urges the objection in its present shape feels no disposition to maintain the doctrine of future retribution merely because he is not willing that the chiefest of sinners should be happy immediately, even *to-day*, nor yet because such may not have suffered what punitive justice requires; but his objection rests on the *necessity* of punishment in the future world, as a corrective, designed to bring the impenitent to a holy submission to the divine government and to the law of love.

"In order to give it a due consideration, in the shape in which we now have it, it becomes necessary to institute an inquiry respecting the nature and tendency of punishment to produce that reconciliation to the divine government which the objector looks to as the effect to be produced by it. This inquiry will necessarily be, what sort or kind of punishment will naturally tend to bring the sinner to love the law of holiness? The objector is called on to resolve this question in his mind; for, if he does himself *love* the law of holiness, and if he was brought to love it by

being afflicted with punishment, no doubt he can answer the question. It seems a proper one for the consideration of all those who profess to be genuine lovers of holiness. Were they brought into the spirit of this love by enduring *punishment*, such as is contended will be inflicted on the wicked in the future world? The question is of such importance that it may be urged in another form: Were the ancient patriarchs, the prophets of old, the apostles and primitive Christians, brought into the spirit of divine love by enduring such punishment as it is said will be inflicted on the wicked in the future world?

“If this question be duly considered, it must be granted at once that there will be no need of any severer punishment, in the future world, to reconcile sinners to God, than those have endured in this world who have been thus reconciled, unless it can be maintained that the wicked, in the next state of existence, will be more obdurate than they are in this world, which may render a more intense punishment necessary.

“It is very possible that a correct understanding of the subject of punishment, as to its utility, may be of service in this place. That our heavenly Father does punish us for our benefit, by causing us to endure the necessary and inseparable consequences of our crimes and folly, is a fact which we have already sufficiently proved from Scripture; but that such punishment produces in us love to the moral principle of divine holiness seems very doubtful. It is the loveliness of an object which induces the mind to love it, not the hatefulness of its opposite. Moreover, it must be allowed that the proper, proximate cause of our love of the principle of divine holiness must continue, in order for our love to continue. But who will contend that punishment must continue in order to keep us steadfast in the divine love?

“Let this subject be illustrated thus: The briars, the thorns and the thistles, which perplex and torture the traveller who has wandered from the right path, tend to arrest his progress, and even to compel him to stop and consider. While in this perplexity, he hears a *voice* behind him, ‘saying, This is the way, walk ye in it.’ He turns and finds an highway, a smooth and beautiful path, in which he travels with ease. The difficulty which he

- found in one direction rendered him unwilling to proceed further in that way ; but the good qualities of the other reconciled him to it, and continued to grant him satisfaction while he continued to travel in it.

“ If we have now a correct understanding of the necessity and utility of punishment or chastisement, it shows us, at once, that there can be no use for this punishment in the next state of existence, unless there be some wrong path in which the traveller will there wander. There must be, in that future state, the same appetites and passions, the same lusts to tempt and draw away, as those which, in this mortal state, lead into sin ; or our heavenly Father must provide us with a different constitution, possessed of different passions and lusts, which may there serve to lead us into sins corresponding with such constitution and passions, or there seems to be no ground on which to maintain this necessity of punishment in a future state. If either philosophy or the Scriptures teach us to believe that our next state of existence is to be a peccable state, I am in the dark respecting this subject, and need to be conducted into the light.”

We feel a sincere desire to give Mr. Ballou, even though he now is dead, the fullest opportunity to speak for himself on this interesting topic. His language will describe his own opinions, touching this matter, better than any form of words which we can devise. He paid no little attention to the views of his Unitarian brethren. They were very liberal, he thought, on the subject of future punishment, except on those occasions when their Orthodox antagonists took advantage of their liberality, to represent them as inclining to Universalism ; and then they would preach the supposed terrors of eternity as severely as any other class.

“ I have never been able to learn that the Unitarian divines have framed any *system of doctrine* respecting this subject. They

appear to maintain it by no argument ; but merely to state it as a fact, and as if it were not disputed. They generally, or frequently, at least, state it, wholly or in part, in the language of some passage of Scripture, which they very well know the common people understand as referring to such a subject, and the divines entirely depend on popular prejudice to justify themselves in the procedure.

“ They congratulate themselves, however, on account of their not making the future state of the wicked quite as bad as our Calvinistic divines represent it ; but, if they find the Calvinists disposed to make use of this in any way unfavorable to the popularity of the Unitarians, they will then go to work in earnest, and insist on the existence of a hell so dreadful that it would even fright themselves, if they should believe one-half of their own story.

“ If the reader should say that the above statement seems to wear an uncharitable aspect, he must be told that the sole reason is, it is a true representation of the case. If the question be asked, how I can justify them in their proceedings, I answer : I have no right to judge them as to their motives, and therefore, as they are not accountable to me, I judge them not. ‘ To their own Master they stand or fall.’

“ The doctrine of a future retribution, as taught by our Unitarian divines, is this, — that happiness and misery, in the future world, will be enjoyed and suffered accordingly as men shall have lived virtuously or otherwise in this world. This is their simple statement, and it is likewise the statement of Calvinistic divines ; but what they respectively mean to teach by this statement is vastly different. The Calvinists intend to teach that all who are regenerated by the irresistible grace of God are the virtuous, and that all the rest are wicked, let them do ever so well as to their acts between man and man. But, unlike the Calvinists, the Unitarians are so liberal as to allow every man a due reward for all his virtues, and a due punishment for every transgression. It must furthermore be understood, that the Calvinists have but one heaven for all the righteous, and one hell for all the wicked ; while Unitarians, whether they know it or not, if we may believe

what they preach, maintain that there will be no other distinctions, in the conditions of men in the future state, than such an infinity of variations as shall correspond with the infinite variety of moral character formed in this mortal life. None who have sinned will ever be so happy as they would have been if they had never sinned; and none will be so miserable as they would have been if they had been more sinful in this world. This doctrine certainly allows that everlasting condemnation will be endured, and everlasting happiness enjoyed, by the same individual. For instance: David, King of Israel, will be forever justified for the good deeds which he did, and in that justification will enjoy everlasting felicity; on the other hand, as he was, in some of his acts, extremely wicked, so for such acts he will be forever condemned, and in that condemnation will endure everlasting sorrow. And, taking David for an example, will it not be so with every individual of the human race? St. Paul, before his conversion to Christianity, was a most infuriate persecutor of Jesus and his disciples, for which he must suffer everlasting condemnation; but after his conversion he was a faithful disciple and minister of his divine Master, and for this he will enjoy everlasting justification. And, taking St. Paul for an example, so will it be with all mankind.

“ I shall not undertake to state all the objections to this doctrine which might be brought; but a few may be mentioned.

“ 1st. It is based on the supposed fact that what is denominated sin is an evil, which must be attended with evil consequences *eternally*, and this constitutes an infinite evil. This should not be allowed, as it must involve the original cause of this evil in moral blame. But it certainly does not require a very minute investigation to arrive at the fact, that the original cause must be good; and when this is seen, it is perfectly consistent to allow that the final result of all things must be the same as the original cause.

“ 2d. This doctrine is not worthy of our belief as Christians for this very good reason, the founder of Christianity never taught it. Our blessed Saviour never informed his disciples that

they should suffer, in the eternal world, everlasting condemnation for the faults of this mortal life.

“3d. This doctrine is a denial of the New Testament doctrine of entire sanctification. St. Paul speaks of a sanctification which shall leave neither *spot nor wrinkle*; and the beloved disciple says, the blood of Christ *cleanseth from all sin*. Surely, if David and Paul are to suffer everlastingly for their sins, and every other sinner also, it is very difficult to understand the doctrine of entire sanctification. But,

“4thly. There is hardly any view of this doctrine which shows its impropriety more evidently than its awarding everlasting happiness for our virtues in *this* world, but no reward for any good we may be employed in hereafter; and, on the other hand, as awarding endless punishment for our sins in *this* world, but providing no punishment for wrongs which the wicked will practise in the future state.”

SECTION X.—HIS LOVE OF HARMONY.

Notwithstanding these views of Mr. Ballou were widely different from those of other Christians, he embraced all true followers of the Lord Jesus in the arms of his charity. Especially did he desire to see the two classes of Universalists, who were distinguished by their different views on this subject, walking together in love. We have before shown (vol. ii. 223, *note*) how ardent were his feelings on this point. He had his views, and they were very dear to him; and he could not change them without evidence, nor could he keep them back from the knowledge of his fellow-men; but he was willing others should enjoy all the privileges which he claimed for himself. He could hate no one, not even his worst enemies. He loved Universalists with a fondness, becoming, with the increase of his years, somewhat paternal. He held that

they need not be split into parties; they could walk together in love. If they had differences, they could suffer them in charity; for those who held that all things should end well at last, should not become divided about the ways and means, or the times and seasons. "Let us not embitter our intercourse during the journey of life," he would say, "in consequence of our differences of opinion as to what shall happen at the end thereof. We believe that all shall end well *at last*; and let this be the bond of our union."

SECTION XI.—MAN'S MORAL FREEDOM.

Mr. Ballou regretted deeply that the Unitarian divines had adopted not only loose and unscriptural views concerning the future state, but he felt that they had also received certain opinions concerning the freedom of man, in his volitions and powers, which were at variance with the omniscience of God, and the divine sovereignty. The fact that Unitarians rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, a course in which he early and fearlessly led the way, endeared them to him; and he was grieved to see their timidity, and their attachment to certain errors of the Arminian cast. The early Arminians had some reasons for avowing the doctrine of free agency, which the Unitarians had not; for the former believed in a punishment absolutely endless and infinite, and they therefore felt the need of the doctrine of total human freedom, that they might save the divine character unimpeached by throwing upon man the entire responsibility of his endless ruin. But the Unitarians of New England,

if they would but carry out their own benign principles concerning the divine character, especially as taught by Dr. Channing, need not hesitate to ascribe to God all that should happen to man, for all should be benevolent, and should redound to his glory. There was but little controversy among Universalists on the subject of human agency and divine sovereignty, in that day ; but Mr. B. sought to show the Unitarians that their views were opposed to the divine foreknowledge ; for how could God know an event to be *certain*, which it was *not* at all *certain* would ever take place ?

“ With this laudable candor, be so good, brethren, as to look at some particular cases. Agreeably to your acknowledged belief in the divine foreknowledge, you allow that it was always known to God that the persecuting Saul of Tarsus would, on his way to Damascus, be converted, and become a faithful disciple and minister of Jesus Christ ; but the views which you maintain of human agency suppose that it was possible for Saul to have resisted the operations of divine favor designed to effect his conversion, and to have remained an obstinate opposer and an inveterate persecutor of the Christian faith, all the days of his life. Can you, brethren, candidly look at these propositions in your creed, without seeing a direct contradiction ? But you will say that this agency must be maintained, or you must consent to the Calvinistic doctrine of irresistible grace. Well, but you should consider that it is *not irresistible grace* to which you are, agreeably to your other tenets, necessarily opposed, but only to the *partiality* of grace, which may be irresistibly exercised for the conversion of sinners. If you believe that God will finally reconcile all men to himself, by the efficient operations of his favor, the belief that this grace is *irresistible*, in room of opposing, necessarily harmonizes with such an exalted sentiment. If you, like the Calvinists, believed in the doctrine of endless sin and misery, you could not allow that divine

grace is *irresistible* in its operations, without believing also in its *partiality*; and it is this partiality alone which renders irresistible grace exceptionable even to Arminians. But what objection can you have to the doctrine of irresistible grace, now, since you have given up the belief of never-ending sin and misery!"

Mr. Ballou reasoned here on the ground that the Unitarians rejected the doctrine of endless sin and misery. But this they did not generally do. Some of them, less timid than the rest, would reject it with abhorrence, and intimate a hope that perhaps all men would be saved from sin at last; but none of them professed to approve his idea that the Bible teaches no state of sin and punishment beyond the grave. This they professed to regard as a dangerous doctrine.

SECTION XII. — PULPIT EXCHANGES.

Mr. Ballou was in favor of a free system of pulpit exchanges between clergymen of different sects.

"Why should not ministers of different denominations and of various creeds condescend to exchange pulpit labors with each other? Will it be said that, by so doing, the Calvinist would show too much lenity to Arminians and Universalists; that Arminians, in so doing, would give too much countenance to Calvinism and Universalism, and that Universalists would thereby be too tolerant in regard to the partial creeds of the other two? It is confidently believed that many good reasons may be rendered against such objections. In what age of the world, and where was it ever known that an exclusive spirit ever dictated those means which were best calculated to promote truth and to suppress error?"

In the days of which we speak, it was a rare thing for a Unitarian clergyman to exchange with a Universalist, except the latter were one who believed in a limited future punishment, to whom a little more lenity, in this matter, was shown. On this state of things, Mr. Ballou remarked :

“ As to our Arminian or Unitarian brethren, they profess to be liberal ; they are willing to exchange with other denominations in all cases where they think the advantage is fairly on their side. They will exchange with the Congregational Orthodox, or the Calvinistic Baptists, because they are persuaded that they can expose their errors, and reconcile the people to their own peculiar doctrines. But, if a Universalist proposes an exchange, he is politely informed by the minister that he would be glad to exchange, but he fears it would give offence to his people. He is not afraid of offending his people with Orthodoxy, of which they believe nothing ; but Universalism, which the minister himself believes, as well as nearly all his hearers, he is afraid will offend them !

“ But, after all, on general principles, liberality is visibly on the increase ; and the period is not far distant, as we hope, when different names will subside, and the true lovers of Christ and his religion become as united in their walk as they always are in spirit.”

SECTION XIII. — DOCTRINE OF PROBATION.

The common doctrine of probation Mr. Ballou did not believe. In his sight it was unreasonable and unscriptural. The word *probation* occurs nowhere in the Bible ; nor any word, or form of words, that signify what the divines mean by the doctrine of probation. The common doctrine of the Unitarian divines was, that men

are placed in this world to be trained for another ; that the preparation is our great work here. Mr. Ballou did not believe this. He saw no such notion taught in the Scriptures. God had not suspended man's endless happiness on his mere human acts. We should think a parent excessively cruel who should determine the whole character of his child's existence, by its acts when it was in the cradle :

“ O, Father of love ! how long shall thy children be blind to thy goodness ? When God created man and placed him in the garden, did he preach to him this doctrine of probation ? Did he tell him that he was placed here to prepare for another world ? No ; God told man to ‘ be fruitful, and to multiply and replenish the earth.’ And, if we had no other teacher than Adam had, we should never think that, our future eternal state depended on anything but the wisdom and goodness of that Being who is the author of this.”

CHAPTER XV.

EVENTS OF ONE YEAR.

FROM JUNE 1826 TO JUNE 1827.

SECTION I. — SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION AT DANA.

IN June, of this year, Mr. Ballou visited once more the place of his early residence, namely, Dana, Mass. His object was to attend the annual session of the Southern Association of Universalists. The delegates convened at the house of Apollos Johnson, Esq.,* one of the brightest and best men ever reared in Dana; amiable in character, enterprising but just in business, who always believed, professed and honored Universalism, and whose sickness and death, some time after this date, shed as bright a lustre on the truth as had been reflected from his life. Rev. Joshua Flagg, who then resided in Dana, was elected moderator. We shall not describe very particularly this meeting. One item of business was the passing of a resolution declaring that Elias Smith was no longer a member of the Universalist denomination, for the reason that he had renounced the faith. Mr. Ballou's sermon, on the afternoon of the last day, was from these

* The son of Aaron, mentioned in vol I., p. 99, of this work.

words: "The Lord taketh pleasure in his people,"— Psa. 149: 4. It was an able sermon, and gave much satisfaction to a very large collection of persons, among whom were some that had listened to the preacher in the days of his early manhood. But the most of those who used in those days to rally round him were gone; and he made a very affecting allusion to them, at the close. There was scarcely an eye in the house that did not overflow. And when, at the adjournment of the association, he lifted up his voice in prayer, at the special request of several brethren, there was such a life-like calling up of past scenes, such emotion, such mellowness and tremulousness of voice, such tenderness of cadence, and through the whole such a gentle flow of appropriate thoughts and language, that we remember very well all were deeply moved. Several sturdy men wept to that degree that they at once left the house at the close of the prayer, and walked into the neighboring grave-yard, as a place of quiet, where they could remain unobserved until the emotion passed away. The clerk said, in the usual circular to the churches:

"Our public services were attended by large numbers, whose breathless silence, overflowing hearts and glistening eyes, evinced that they were grateful and devout worshippers of God. And, if we may judge from the powerful effect which was produced by the communications from the sacred altar, we labored not in vain, nor spent our strength for naught. There was no worldly policy. The public speakers proclaimed their sentiments openly and ingeniously, shunning not 'to declare all the counsel of God.' Convinced that 'great is the truth and it shall prevail,' they were not fearful to expose it both to friends and enemies, with the hope that it would comfort the hearts of the former, and break down

the opposition of the latter. It was peculiarly affecting to see the multitude of people whose heads 'were silvered o'er with age,' some of whom had travelled their twenty, thirty and fifty miles, worshipping, while, like Jacob, they leaned upon the tops of their staves. 'Young men and maidens, old men and children, praised the name of the Lord.'"

SECTION II. — BALFOUR'S SECOND INQUIRY.

About the same time came out Balfour's "Second Inquiry," which was designed to show that the words Satan, Devil, &c. &c., did not apply to a *being*, and that there was no evidence in the word of God, when properly interpreted, in proof of the existence of such a being. Mr. Balfour, by a comparison of all the passages of Scripture in which these words occurred, was able to show this to demonstration. Mr. Ballou found great gratification, in reading the book, to see that the views taken by himself, more than thirty years earlier, had been clearly illustrated and abundantly proved. He addressed to Mr. Balfour the following epistle:

"To MR. WALTER BALFOUR.

"SIR: Having for more than thirty years been convinced that the Scriptures furnish no evidence that what is in them termed Devil and Satan is a fallen angel; and having uniformly, in the discharge of the duties of the ministry, both publicly and privately, endeavored to dissuade people from the vulgar superstition respecting this subject; and having, also, more than twenty years ago, published my opinion, and accounted for the temptation in the garden, and of our Saviour, in the way you have adopted in your late publication, as may be seen in my 'Treatise on Atonement,'—you may be assured that it gives me no small satisfaction to find so much learning, ability and patience, employed on this

subject, as is found in your Second Inquiry, and employed, too, with such success.

“Though the tribute be but small, as it is your due, I tender you my thanks for this service.

“In future ages it will be a matter of wonder to the curious, who shall acquaint themselves with ancient opinions, that as late as A. D. 1826 it was necessary to publish a book for the express purpose of overcoming the superstitious belief in a personal Devil, who was supposed to be a fallen angel, and to whose agency the temptations of men were attributed. It will, unquestionably, be one point of their inquiry, to ascertain whether the author was one of the Orthodox clergy of his day; but they will not find D. D. attached to his name. Whether people will, in the times to which I allude, know enough about the hypocrisy of our times, to determine how it should happen that the clergy generally, in this age, were defenders of such a ridiculous superstition, I am in doubt.

“I really pity our clergy, for I most sincerely believe that they would honestly give up the old doctrine, concerning the Devil, if they were possessed of sufficient courage. But several considerations embarrass them. They have so long maintained this doctrine, that they now feel ashamed to abandon it. The doctrine, too, has been of incalculable advantage to the cause in which they have been for ages engaged; and they are in real doubt whether there is, or can be, a substitute found, which will be as profitable to them as the Devil has been! Moreover, the sentiment is still retained, by many ignorant people, that there is a peculiar *piety* in the fear entertained of this invisible agent; and when a minister, with a long face, such as he has learned to put on by the assistance of his theological preceptors, expresses, in a low, hollow voice, some fearful apprehensions of Satan, there are not a few who venerate him for this indication of *grace*! All these advantages, and many more, operate as weights in the balance against the lighter one of simple honesty. However, the clergy will yield finally; but not until so many of the populace give up the superstition as to render it safe for them to do so.

“There are some who, with the intention to keep themselves in

countenance, will pretend that the superstition about the Devil is harmless, and therefore it is best not to disturb it. But candid discernment will see that when the vulgar notion about the Devil is discarded, the vast kingdom which has been assigned him in the invisible world will have no existence, and that many other frightful notions will at once disappear. To these considerations we may add the vast advantage it is to every one to know that the lusts of his flesh are the only enemies which he need to resist.

“Your Inquiry also into the extent of duration expressed by the terms *Olim*, *Aion* and *Aionios*,* must prove of no small advantage to those who are not familiar with the original languages.

“But what, sir, do you expect from that formidable host who build their religion on the fear of future punishment in the invisible world, and who contend for the licentiousness of a contrary sentiment? Are you willing to endure the *holy sneers* which await you? The cup of obloquy is large, and it will be filled to running over, which you will receive at the hands of the *righteous*. Be patient, therefore, my brother, for you shall reap in due season, if you faint not.

“With sentiments of respect and gratitude, I am, sir, your obedient servant,
 HOSEA BALLOU.”

SECTION III.—DEATH OF DEA. MOSES HALL.

In August of this year, Mr. B. was called to part with another of his early friends,—a most estimable father in the profession of Universalism,—Dea. Moses Hall, of Charlestown, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His sickness was a slow decline; but, O, with what patience,

* The work was entitled, “An Inquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine concerning the Devil and Satan, and into the extent of Duration expressed by the terms *Olim*, *Aion* and *Aionios*, rendered *everlasting*, *forever*, &c., in the common version, especially when applied to Punishment.” By Walter Balfour. Charlestown: 1826.

with what cheerfulness, with what a spirit of rapture, was it endured! If Dea. Hall had actually been able to look into the eternal world, as did Stephen the martyr, and to see what Stephen saw, he could not have been more resigned and happy in the view of his departure. He left an amiable companion, and a large family of descendants, whom he exhorted to rejoice, rather than to mourn, that his deliverance from the pains of this life was so near. But there was another duty which lay near his heart. He sent for the Universalist clergymen settled in the vicinity of Boston to visit him, appointing a separate day for each one. The writer will not attempt to describe what the dying man said to the others, but he remembers very well what he said to him. He gave me as hearty a greeting, when I entered his chamber, as it was possible for a man, as weak as he was, to do. I will compress an address of fifteen minutes into a very brief space. "I have sent for you, Br. Whittemore [stopping at almost every sentence to gather breath], I have sent for you to tell you of the value of Universalism. It is a glorious doctrine. I have tried it for many, many years. * * * * * O, how precious has it been to me!" He referred to my labors at Malden, where I had been preaching a course of Sunday-evening lectures, and where several of his descendants lived; and said, "I have heard from Mr. Barrett * how much good you are doing there. Now, Br. W., I have sent for you to give you my dying testimony. * * * * * When they tell you our doctrine will not do to die by, you will know to the con-

* William Barrett, Esq., his son-in-law.

trary. * * * * I am soon going, but I am happy, happy! O, the gospel is precious! We part, but we shall meet again. Be faithful to the truth!" His aged and venerable wife sat near, of the same faith with himself, whose countenance was lit up with satisfaction, to see her husband, whom she had loved so long, completely triumphant over the fear of death.

"We are going to part," said she, "but it is as if he was only going a short journey: I shall meet him again very soon." It is a lesson of inestimable value that one learns in such a death-chamber. When he had said what he desired to express, "Now," said he, "let me hear you pray once more;" and I knelt down at his bed-side, and thanked God for the power of Christian faith, and for the cheerful hope inspired by the gospel, that all men at last shall enter into the mansions of eternal rest. "Amen," he responded, and I left him, to meet him no more upon the earth. Mr. Ballou was called to attend the good man's funeral, and preached on the subsequent Sabbath in Charlestown, from the words, "And by it, he being dead, yet speaketh,"—Heb. 11: 4. In the course of this sermon he described his last earthly interview with the dying saint, as follows:

"A short time since, when I called to see him, when we both supposed it was the last time we should speak to each other this side the grave, he conversed freely on the subject of his belief in the salvation of all men. He seemed to feel desirous to give me and others to understand that his mind was clouded with no doubts; that his confidence in the unbounded goodness of our heavenly Father remained unshaken. He was confident at that time that the day of his departure was at hand, and he expressed an entire willingness to go, and said that he had no desire to

recover his strength, or again to walk abroad. He spoke to his son, who was present with me, of his approaching dissolution, with as much composure of mind as I ever heard him converse on any subject in his life. He gave particular directions where he would have his body laid, and expressed his wishes respecting his funeral, requesting me to attend it. And, taking me by the hand, with a smile which indicated heavenly peace of soul, said, 'Brother Ballou, I firmly believe that I shall meet you again in the kingdom of our heavenly Father, where we shall part no more.' Many happy moments had we spent together, but this seemed to surpass them all. It was joy to my heart to witness the triumphs of his faith, and my prayer was that my last days might be like his." *

SECTION IV.—CONVENTION OF 1826.

The General Convention of this year met at Wells, Vt., a town in the western part of Rutland county, adjoining the State of New York. The principal fact concerning this session was that Hosea Ballou was *not* present: Thirty-five years in succession † had he attended the meetings of that body; and now, for once, he was not there. It must have been either that he was sick and unable to go, or else he was absent upon a journey. No small hindrance would have induced him to omit his

* This sermon was published, and was entitled "The Speech of the Dead; a Sermon occasioned by the Death of Dea. Moses Hall. Delivered in Charlestown, the first Sabbath in August, 1826." Boston: 1826.

† We said repeatedly, in the first volume, that Mr. Ballou's invariable custom was to attend the sessions of the convention. This was strictly true. We further said that he attended the meetings of that body "for nearly a half-century," p. 72; and in another place we added, "for more than forty years," p. 391. The latter expressions need some qualification. It was just thirty-five years in succession that he attended without any omission, namely, from 1791 to 1826, inclusive.

attendance. The Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2nd, was elected moderator, and Revs. L. Willis and Warren Skinner clerks. Sermons were preached by Revs. L. Willis, W. Skinner, B. Hickox, H. Ballou, 2nd, D. Skinner, and Sebastian Streeter, who had arrived at some time during the session. The brother last named wrote the epistle to the churches for this year, from which we make the following extracts :

“ From unavoidable causes, several brethren in the ministry, whose presence was expected, were absent ; but a respectable number, some from a great distance, by the good providence of God, attended. Many societies sent representatives, and many others forwarded communications refreshing to our hearts, and encouraging to our future prospects.

* * * * *

“ Let us, then, wake up all our powers, marshal all our means, and, with one united, mighty, ceaseless effort, ‘ strive together for the faith of the gospel.’ Let an increased attention be paid to the sessions of the general convention. Let no preacher be absent, unless through absolute necessity. Let every society send a representative, or, at least, a letter stating in detail its condition. Let all committees, and especially those appointed to visit associations, without fail, make a faithful report, either in person or by communication. Let a more general and liberal patronage be given to our periodical publications. These may be made powerful vehicles of truth to the world. Let every believer contribute as generously as his circumstances will possibly admit to the maintenance of public worship ; and be particularly careful to patronize and encourage the younger preachers. They, so far as instruments are available, are our chief dependence. Finally, brethren, let us be ‘ constant in prayer, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord in all holy conversation and godliness.’ ”

SECTION V.—DEDICATION AT DUXBURY, MASS.

In October, 1826, Mr. B. visited the town of Duxbury, Mass., to dedicate the house which had been erected by the Universalist society in that place. A most impressive dedicatory prayer was offered by Rev. Sebastian Streater (and with what unction he would pray many who will read this book have known), when Mr. Ballou arose to deliver the discourse. His text was Ps. 100: 3, 4, 5. He sought to show the important truths suggested by the fact that the Divine Being made us, and that we did not make ourselves. He presented a concise view of the reasons given in the text why we should pay our devotions to our Maker and Preserver; and, third, he spoke of the benefits arising from a faithful attention to these devotional duties.*

SECTION VI.—HIS LOVE OF UNIVERSALISM.

He had consecrated his whole life, from his nineteenth year, to Universalism. He had given to it "himself, his powers, his hopes, his youth." He had labored for it by day and by night. He had suffered reproach in its behalf. He had known little else among the people besides Jesus Christ and him crucified. One of the chief glories of the gospel, in his sight, was the revelation it

* This discourse was published. See "A Sermon delivered at the Dedication of the New Universalist Meeting-house in Duxbury, on Wednesday, Oct. 18th, 1826. By Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Second Universalist Society in Boston." Boston: Bowen & Cushing. 1826.

gave of the end of sin, and the final harmony of the universe—the redemption of every soul. Universalism was to him a sweet and cheering theme. He never tired of it; he loved it above his chief joy. In a poetical address which he wrote in November of this year, he shows us his love for that doctrine. He personifies it; it is “a nymph of heavenly birth:” he early gave her his heart; he heard her slandered, and charged with being a fiend fled from hell. He pondered long; he hoped, he feared; the doctrine warmed his heart with grace; but still he was blind, and could not see her full beauty. He continues:

“A touch of thy celestial hand
Took from mine eyes that fatal band,
And then thy form I saw:
As is removed a funeral shroud,
Or as retires a stormy cloud,
Did all my fears withdraw.

“What light and love, what joy and peace,
I felt within my soul increase,
As waters gently rise!
Love was thy banner o'er my head,
Thy dazzling glory round me spread,
And blessed my strengthened eyes.

“My heart to thee I gave, and thine
Received in covenant divine,
As wedded hearts are one;
Against thy foes thou didst me arm;
And in thy strength, secure from harm,
To victory I run!

“ Not all thy foes on earth can say
Can turn my heart from thee away,
And yet my heart is free ;
These wounds and scars, which men despise,
Are jewels precious in thine eyes,
And this is all to me.

“ Had I ten thousand years to live,
Had I ten thousand lives to give,
All these should be thine own ;
And that foul scorn thy foes bestow
Still prove a laurel to my brow,
And their contempt a throne.

“ My soul, a flame of love, aspires,
As does my heart, with warm desires,
To live in thine embrace ;
Were this whole globe a diamond bright,
I'd give the whole for thy pure light,
For thy far richer grace.” *

Such was Hosea Ballou's estimate of the doctrine in 1826, after having preached it for thirty-five years. He had not become tired of the theme. No hope of worldly honor could draw him away from it. He truly, like Paul, “kept the faith.” No insidious philosophy could divert his heart from the truth ; for, although he was in love with all wisdom, and prized knowledge of every kind, yet the gospel was, in his sight, the highest of all science ; for it was this only which could make men “wise unto salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ.” And yet at this time his work was little more than half

* For the whole piece, see “Voice to Universalists,” by J. M. Usher, 1st edition. Boston : 1849. pp. 145—148.

done. To the age of eighty-two he continued to preach the same doctrine. Never even for once did he doubt, after he had received the truth; never did he give back or falter; but onward, onward was his course. How few men could have written in sincerity the poetry here given! How very few have lived lives that would correspond as well to the sentiments as Mr. Ballou's!

SECTION VII.—REV. AYLETT RAINS.

In February, 1827, Mr. Ballou received a letter from a young clergyman in Ohio, of the name here given. It contained very encouraging accounts of the springing up of Universalism in various parts of that state; and it attributed the spread of truth in that region, in no small degree, to the influence of the eastern periodicals.

“It is astonishing that the doctrine of divine love should have spread in this country as rapidly as it has. It seems by its native energies to have taken hold upon the minds of multitudes, and, unaided by ministerial instructions, to have led them by its own peculiar efficacy into the way of life. When a respectable man in this country becomes a Universalist, he is a centre of light, whence many rays diverge; and thus, in many cases, are his friends and relatives enlightened, and obtain a like precious faith. Eastern periodical publications are extensively useful among us in the diffusion of the truth. Hundreds in the West have been translated from darkness to light by the instrumentality of these publications; while others, like the noble Bereans of old, have resolved to search the Scriptures for themselves, and, by the unsophisticated truths of inspiration, have burst from the dark tombs of apostasy, and have come forth into the resurrection of life, ‘and tasted of the powers of the world to come.’”

At the time this epistle was written, there was scarcely

a Universalist publication in all the great West; but the publications from the older states flowed out there; and no one, we think, exercised a more decided influence than the *Universalist Magazine*, at the head of which stood Mr. Ballou. Now, the Western States are abundantly supplied with Universalist periodicals, published and edited by faithful brethren who dwell there.

SECTION VIII.—INCIDENT CONCERNING DR. L. BEECHER.

In the spring of 1827, Dr. Lyman Beecher, then in the meridian of his days, was busily engaged in "getting up" a revival in Cambridgeport, Mass. He had the use of the Baptist meeting-house for the purpose, as the present Orthodox society had not then come into being. All our readers will remember the words of Jesus, Matt. 16: 27, 28,—“For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.” On a certain occasion, when the doctor was preaching with great vehemence, he found himself in an unhappy predicament concerning these two verses. It is evident, beyond all contradiction, the Saviour was particular to inform the people, that the coming of the Son of man would take place before all those should taste death who stood near him at that time. Whenever any clergyman should read these verses *in connection*, every sensible person who heard him would immediately see this fact. But Dr. Beecher did not read them both.

He read the whole of the twenty-seventh verse with emphasis, and one or two words in the twenty-eighth; but, probably seeing that by reading the twenty-eighth it would be made evident that his application of the passage was incorrect, he stopped short, after he had begun it, and directed the minds of his hearers to something else. The following was the manner: [reading very rapidly] “ ‘ For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or, what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Verily I’—hem! and another evangelist says, ‘ Whosoever denies me, I will deny him.’ ”

This matter came to the knowledge of Mr. Ballou in the course of a few days; and it gave him great pain. He found it very difficult to reconcile it with honesty on the part of the preacher. He called to mind the words, “Thou, therefore, which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?” He then proceeded to say :

“Those preachers who testify that endless condemnation will be the just retribution of those who steal do, themselves, commit the worst of theft, when they craftily deprive the people of the divine testimony. When the preacher threatens his hearers with a day of judgment in eternity, and attempts to support his threat by citing the words of Jesus, Matt. 16 : 27, 28, — ‘ For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works.

Verily I say unto you' — but stops short here, knowing, if he adds the remainder of the sentence, he will defeat his object, and, in room of proving his notion of a judgment in the future world, will prove that this judgment took place in the generation in which Jesus lived in the flesh, is he not guilty of spiritual theft? Is he not guilty of handling the word of God deceitfully? Is he the faithful servant of the divine Master? I believe in a day of judgment: and I believe that such preachers will be compelled to give an account. I furthermore believe that this judgment is *now* going on; and I believe that the good sense of honest people will consign such persons to the condemnation which is appropriate to their acts."

SECTION IX. — ADVICE GIVEN IN HIS 56TH YEAR.

On completing his fifty-sixth year, Mr. Ballou felt that the down-hill of life was before him. The bright scenes of youth and middle age never would return. He had reflected very deeply on the relation existing between parents and children, and on the proper method of bringing up children. He seems, at this time, to have dwelt thoughtfully on the subject.

"Having lived in this world fifty-six years, I have passed through the several stages of infancy, childhood, youth and middle age, and I know that the down-hill of life lies directly in my future path. Infancy, childhood, youth and middle age, I shall never again experience; but, though I am sensible of this fact, I really feel more interested for the good of those who are to pass these seasons of life than at any former period. That I may, therefore, cast in a mite, which may, in some possible case, tend to the advantage of human nature while travelling the path I have trod, I here attempt to give some advice.

"For the good of infancy, I must advise parents to look on their little ones according to the testimony which Jesus bore of

them in the days of his flesh. He said, 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.' I advise parents to believe not one word of the doctrine which teaches that infants are born with a taint of hereditary guilt, infinitely criminal in the sight of our Maker, and which exposes them to his endless displeasure and wrath; because such doctrine is directly calculated to dry up the sweet stream of parental kindness on the one hand, and on the other to produce a revolt in the heart from that God whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whom his rational creatures ought both to love and adore. It is to this doctrine that we may reasonably trace that bitter, unreasonable severity which millions of little children have suffered from the very hands to which nature presented them for protection; and to the same origin we look for the cause of all that spurious religion, whose object has ever been, by all the means at the disposal of human wisdom, to reconcile an offended God, and to placate his wrath, which was supposed to burn against man for his native depravity. I therefore advise parents to habituate themselves to look on these little ones as Jesus hath taught them to do, and ever consider them and treat them as the heirs of God's infinite love. By so doing, all the native fondness of the parental heart and affections will be rendered lively and active; and, while it affords indescribable pleasure to the parent, it will at the same time be the medium of comfort and support to those tender ones whose cries are wounds and whose smiles are pleasure.

"I would furthermore advise parents to attend strictly to the injunctions of St. Paul, to bring up their children 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Teach them, while very young, to believe in God as their Creator and Preserver; as the Giver of all good things, who deserves our supreme love for his universal and efficient kindness to his creatures. Let them early be taught to exercise the same spirit to each other, and to all persons, which our heavenly Father exercises towards all his creatures. This being the very essence of the doctrine of the Saviour, they will be hereby nurtured up into the Christian spirit and faith. They will become Christians in disposition before they ever know the absurd sentiments which have darkened the understandings of

professed divines, and filled Christendom with contentions and persecutions, and stained her fairest possessions with blood. Let parents be cautious that their good and wholesome examples are duly connected with their precepts and instructions, that children may know their parents believe those sentiments and principles which they endeavor to persuade them to imbibe. It is of important service that children are taught to attend to the duties of devotion; that they are careful to attend public worship, paying attention to the loveliness of the divine character, which is held up in sermons and prayers, and which is celebrated in hymns of praise. If parents always discover to their children a fervent desire to attend public worship on the Sabbath, their children will naturally imbibe the same desire, and the habit will not only prove advantageous, but agreeable and pleasant. I am aware that some parents may feel a remissness with regard to attending public worship, on account of the dulness or want of talent in the preacher; and, as preaching is my profession, I am very sensible that these faults are in me, and I heartily pity my hearers on this account; but, at the same time that I realize my defects and feel the necessity of endeavoring to remove them, I will go on with my advice; and will advise parents to attend with their children to the devotions of the sanctuary, that the young may have the example of age and experience operating to their constant advantage. Let parents deliberately ask how much attention they would be glad to have their children pay to religion; and when they have brought out the answer to their entire satisfaction, then I advise them to pay as much attention to religion themselves; for they ought not to desire their children to do more than they are willing to do; and they ought to accommodate their offspring with the advantages of their example.

“ While on this subject (a subject of the greatest interest to the rising generation), I must be indulged to advise parents to be extremely cautious not to indulge in any habits in which they would not be glad to have their children follow them. You are a father; would you be glad to see your son in the habit of drinking ardent spirits? Would you like to have him punctual to his dram before breakfast, and to another before dinner, &c. &c.?

Then set him the example! But, if not, by the love you bear your rising son, let me warn you not to indulge in a practice which leads directly to ruin. You are a father; remember, then, that good example and good advice are far better for your children than riches.

“ You are a mother. Should you be pleased to see your daughter addicted to any bad habit? Look forward and anticipate the time when she may be a wife and a mother, like yourself, and say whether you feel willing she should wound the heart of her husband, and mortify his manly feelings, in any manner? If not, then let me beseech you, by the love you have for your angel daughter, not to poison her by bad example, nor wound her delicate spirit by bringing shame to her father. But shall I not give offence by even supposing that wives and mothers may be so lost to a proper sense of propriety? Dear sisters, forgive me if I offend, but hearken to my advice.

“ To your wholesome precepts and good examples, dear parents, you are advised to add prudence in your indulgence of the desires of your children, and wisdom where you feel compelled to deny. By no means deprive your children of pleasures which are innocent, and which lead to no inconvenience. When you deem it proper to deny their requests, be careful that they are made to perceive that their benefit is the object of the denial. In this way you will secure their love and their confidence, and by this possession you will find your task of government easy and pleasant. I most fervently beg of you not to punish your children cruelly for their faults, nor allow them to be unreasonably punished by their instructors. The practice is growing out of use; but there remains too much of it still. Rods will harden; kind words will soften.

“ But I must not forget to give some advice to children, as well as to their parents. Children, you are most precious in the sight of God; you are his heritage. You are most precious in the sight of your Saviour; you are most precious in the eyes of him who now advises you. Hearken to the injunction of that apostle who was specially commissioned to preach the gospel to the Gentile nations. ‘ Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for

this is right. Honor thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.' That you may duly honor your parents, you must obey them. Your parents have lived longer than you; they have had more experience; they are therefore capable of giving you good counsel and profitable advice; and, as they have no interest to serve but the promotion of your benefit, you may safely yield your judgments to theirs, and your inclinations to their directions and restraints."

CHAPTER XVI.

PROF. STUART'S ATTEMPT TO DEPRIVE UNIVERSALISTS
OF THE POWER TO MAKE OATH; HUDSON'S LETTERS;
BALFOUR'S ESSAYS; REV. M. RAYNER; REV. LYMAN
BEECHER.

FROM JUNE 1827 TO JUNE 1828.

SECTION I.—SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION AT SPRINGFIELD.

IN June, Mr. Ballou journeyed to Springfield, Mass., for the purpose of attending the Southern Association of Universalists, which met in that place, the residence, at the time, of Rev. L. R. Paige. During the occasion Mr. P. was installed as pastor of the Universalist society in that town. The services of both days, excepting those of the evening, were held in the Unitarian church. Mr. Ballou preached at the installation, from 1 John 4: 14; and the theme of the sermon was salvation,—“The Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.” It was a highly doctrinal and creed-searching discourse. The main question was, From what evils did Jesus Christ come to save men? Here he passed in review the man-devised systems of salvation, such as deliverance from God's wrath, from the curse of the divine law, from a totally-depraved nature, from the just punishment of sin,

from a hell in the eternal world; and all these were shown to be contradictory, injurious and false. We remember well his arguments on this occasion, and how they stirred and enlightened those who were present. Their faces shone with interest and gladness. It was not so much his purpose to show that all men will be saved (though this he did not forget), as to make manifest the scriptural view of salvation. It is a salvation from *sin* (Matt. 1: 21). Men had forgotten this; they had been so desirous to be saved from God's wrath, and to keep their souls out of an endless hell, that they had forgotten altogether the duty of being saved from their *sins*; and yet this was the only salvation which Jesus came into the world to give them.

SECTION II.—PROF. STUART'S ELECTION-SERMON.

The sermon of Prof. Stuart before the Legislature of Massachusetts, in the spring of 1827, created no small excitement. He had been elected to preach the election-sermon for two reasons: First, because the honor (for so it was regarded) belonged that year, in the view of a majority, to the Orthodox party; and, second, because it was thought he was of a kind and charitable spirit, and would not be so likely as some others to take extreme ground. Least of all was it supposed that he would recommend that any class of the community should be deprived of their civil privileges. The reader may well judge, then, of the surprise that was occasioned by the following paragraph:

“ On similar grounds, men who avow principles which render null all obligation by an oath, either an oath of office or one for the purpose of legal testimony, ought to be subjected to the disability which this creates. All who deny the doctrine of future retribution for crimes committed in the present world do plainly, in the eye of reason, incur a disability of such a nature. Persons of this class fall below the very heathen in their religious sentiments; for most of the pagans have always admitted, in some form or other, the doctrine of punishment in the world to come for crimes committed in the present life. There can be no possible sanction to the oath of a man who rejects all future punishment; and it is palpably a mere mockery of all the forms of justice, and of all the rational principles of true liberty, to admit those to the privileges of an oath who deny that God will judge the earth, and reward men hereafter according to their works.”

It could not have been expected that Universalists would pass over such an assault upon their political liberties in silence. Had it been made even by some more humble opponent, it would have been regarded as deserving rebuke; but, coming from a man eminent, like Prof. Stuart, and in the election-sermon too, it was somewhat alarming. Mr. Ballou noticed it, at once, in the *Universalist Magazine*, and offered the following stringent remarks. After having quoted the paragraph, he said:

“ In this paragraph the preacher informs the public,

“ 1st. That, if he did not fear, as pagans do, punishment in the future state, he would perjure himself; and that it would be a mere mockery of all the forms of justice, and of all the rational principles of true liberty, to admit him to the privileges of an oath!

“ 2dly. That no god, except the one in which the heathen believe, who will torment his creatures in the future state, is worthy to be sworn by!

“ 3dly. That it is consistent with justice and the principles of

true liberty to hold out to men, who do not believe in this heathen doctrine of punishment in the future world, the privileges of oaths, if they will, before proper authorities, deny their honest belief!

“4thly. The reverend professor, in the above paragraph, informs the Christian public that the religion of Jesus Christ would be entirely inefficient to render his disciples honest people, if it did not embrace the old pagan doctrine of future retribution! and

“5thly. This Orthodox clergyman, in the foregoing extract, informs the public that there is not an individual saint of God in the world, who believes in orthodox sentiments, that ought to be allowed his oath, either for his induction into office, or for the purpose of legalizing his testimony, as all such saints do not believe that they shall be punished in the future state!

“The above extract involves many more absurdities; but those which are here noticed are abundantly sufficient to condemn its sentiments.”

This was a specimen of the *argumentum ad hominem* which Mr. Ballou sometimes used, and which he knew how to wield with great power. He was disposed to try the professor by his own rules; to place him in the situation in which *he* supposed the Universalists to stand, and then show what he would be, if his declarations were true. If it is a belief of the doctrine of future punishment which prevents men from committing perjury, how has it happened that perjury has been the most frequent in those ages of the world in which that doctrine has been the least denied? If the disbelief of future punishment disqualifies men for telling the truth, then, if Professor Stuart were brought to disbelieve it, even though he held in other respects precisely what he did hold, he would not be worthy of belief. Then it is not a belief

in God which qualifies a man to make oath,— it is not a belief in the Bible, it is not a belief in the divine Saviour, it is not a belief in the fact of the future state, it is not a love of truth, a hatred of a lie, a life of probity and honesty, which qualifies a man to be believed,— it is the *sole* fact of his belief in future punishment. The professor acknowledged that the pagans have always believed in that doctrine; and consequently they believed it before the Christian religion was promulgated in the world. The pagans, then, may be admitted to an oath; but Christians cannot, who believe only in life and immortality beyond the grave. Mr. Ballou said, therefore, strike from Prof. Stuart's creed the single article of future retribution, and he could be no longer depended on as a man of truth; nothing would then be left to sanctify him. And how, after all, could the professor be kept in check, even by that belief? He held, in the words of the creed of the institution with which he was connected, and which he was obliged to reëfirm once in five years, "that God, of his mere good pleasure, from all eternity elected *some* to everlasting life, and that he entered into a covenant of grace to deliver *them* out of this state of sin and misery, by a Redeemer." * They of course were in no danger of future retribution; for the same creed embraced the fact "that the souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do *immediately* pass into glory." * Hence Mr. Ballou said that, according to the position assumed by Prof. Stuart, not an individual saint in the

* These are veritable extracts from the creed of the institution.

world, who agreed with him in opinion, ought to be allowed his oath.

Mr. Ballou did not content himself merely with noticing the professor's election-sermon in the *Magazine*, but he reviewed it publicly in his pulpit, on Sabbath morning, June 24th, in a sermon from the words of Jeremiah: "*For the pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord. Therefore they shall not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scattered.*" *

SECTION III.—HUDSON'S LETTERS TO BALLOU.

About the time that Prof. Stuart preached the election-sermon, Rev. Charles Hudson (of whom we have previously spoken) brought out a volume entitled "A Series of Letters addressed to Rev. Hosea Ballou," &c.† In the first part of this work, Mr. Hudson seeks to state and examine Mr. Ballou's system and arguments. This occupies about one-third of the work. He then approaches the doctrine of a future retribution. He gives his supposed Scripture proofs of a future judgment, as Acts 24: 25; Acts 17: 30, 31; Heb. 9: 27, 28; Matt. 11: 23, 24; 2 Peter 2: 9; Jude, verse 6, and 2 Cor. 5:

* See "Orthodoxy Unmasked. A Sermon delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house in Boston, on Sabbath morning, June 24, 1827, in which some notice is taken of Prof. Stuart's Election-sermon. By Rev. H. Ballou."

† The whole title was "A Series of Letters addressed to Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston, being a Vindication of the Doctrine of a Future Retribution, against the principal Arguments used by him, Mr. Balfour and others. By Charles Hudson, pastor of a church in Westminster, Mass. Woodstock, Vt.: Printed by David Watson. 1827." 12 mo., pp. 307.

8—10; and of a future retribution, as John 5 : 28, 29; Matt. 10 : 28; Luke 16 : 19—31; 1 Peter 3 : 18—20, and several other texts. From these matters he proceeds to consider the supposed fact of future rewards. He shows that future misery was adopted by the general opinion of mankind; he considers the objections to the doctrines he defended, the moral influence of each system, and concludes. This was as shrewd an argument in favor of the doctrine of future retribution as had ever been published by the so-called Restorationists. We may, indeed, doubt whether Mr. H. took a correct view of Mr. Ballou's opinions. The excitement of the times was unfavorable to clear sight, and to calm reflection. The "Letters" did not have a wide circulation. The work was made more memorable by Mr. Balfour's reply to it, and the controversy that ensued, than it otherwise would have been. Mr. Ballou made no reply. He probably knew that Mr. Balfour intended to take some notice of it, and he judged that to be sufficient.*

SECTION IV.—ORDINATIONS AND INSTALLATIONS.

On June 11th, a singular genius, but a man of some

* Those who desire to see Mr. Balfour's notice of Hudson's Letters will find it at the end of his Essays. Mr. Hudson came out in 1829 with his Reply to the Essays; and Mr. Balfour followed, the same year, with his "Letters to Hudson," a large duodecimo of 360 pages, valuable for the history it contains of the doctrine of future punishment. The history is traced from the earliest times to the introduction of philosophy into Rome; and then from the latter period to modern times. This part of the work is principally an abridgment of Enfield's Philosophy; and this, it should be remembered, is an abridgment of the larger work of Brucker.

learning and talent,—Rev. John Samuel Thompson, — was installed as pastor of the Universalist society in Charlestown, Mass. He was an Irishman, and had come to this country some five or six years before. After his arrival, he professed to have become a Universalist; and, by his specious learning, he made himself somewhat famous in the denomination. But he was a man of strong passions, of great vanity, and of unconquerable will. The society at Charlestown were struck with his first labors, for he could certainly make himself appear to very great advantage; and they invited him to become their pastor, which gave prudent men in the vicinity great apprehension. On the occasion of his installation, father Ballou preached the sermon,* and father Jones, of Gloucester, gave the charge. Everything appertaining to these services was driven from our minds by the sermon in the evening, preached by the candidate himself. It utterly disgusted everybody who heard it. It was in praise of a *learned* ministry; and was so clearly the result of vanity and arrogance, and so disrespectful to the aged clergymen present, that every person went home chagrined and disappointed, except, perhaps, the preacher himself. After the shock occasioned by this discourse, it was apparent to all that his residence at Charlestown would not be of long duration. Father Jones lamented deeply the part he had taken in the services. "The Bible," said he, "commands us to lay hands sud-

* The sermon was published. See "A Sermon delivered at the Installation of Rev. John S. Thompson as Pastor of the First Universalist Society in Charlestown, Mass., on Wednesday, July 11th, 1827. By Rev. Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Second Society of Universalists in Boston."

denly on no man; and I am afraid we have violated that injunction." "I will never again," he added, "take part in the installation or ordination of any man, without knowing more about him than I knew of Mr. Thompson."

Mr. Ballou published, in the same paper in which an account of the installation appeared, the following paragraph, which we have no doubt had reference to the exhibition Mr. Thompson had made of himself in the sermon referred to :

"Such are the beauties of all the Christian graces, that when we contemplate them assembled together, we can hardly make a choice of one in preference to another; as, when we look into a casket of precious jewels, if we attempt to choose one, the beauties and charms of others bring the mind to a hesitancy. But, if we look at one of these jewels alone, its charms are so attracting that we seem to conclude at once that no other jewel can vie with it. So do the charms of meekness affect the heart; when seen alone, or contemplated by themselves, we become so absorbed with the mild radiance of this precious gem, that we feel inclined to exclaim, Its beauties are unrivalled.

"Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? Have you such an one? If you have, he will, out of a good conversation, show his works with meekness of wisdom.

"As I walked in a garden of flowers, I was pleased with many towering beauties, which seemed to glitter in the eye; but, turning to leave the scene, I was a while prevented by the charms of the humble violet, which made me almost forget those I had seen before."

He wrote again, under the head of "Pride Reproved," the following significant article :

"1 Cor. 4: 7,—*For who maketh thee to differ from another? And what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou*

didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?'

"The first question in this passage is evidently designed as an assertion that, whatever difference there may be between men in relation to the writer's subject, such difference must be owing to the all-wise direction of Him who dispenses every good and perfect gift.

"It seems that the subject to which the apostle here refers embraces whatever endowments are in such a manner estimable as to incline the incautious to 'be puffed up for one against another.'

"The second question asserts, that whatever any man possesses, as a qualification for usefulness, he has received as a kind bestowment, for which he is in duty bound to be thankful.

"The last question reprimands such as are vain of those gifts which make them differ from others, and cautions them not to glory, by way of boasting, as if they were not indebted to the Giver for such favors.

"Being taught the lesson of our text, and having our minds and hearts regulated by the sentiments it teaches, we shall watch over ourselves, and carefully guard against the folly which the text was designed to correct.

"If among professing Christians we meet with those who think so highly of their spiritual graces as to be constantly speaking of them, as one praises himself, our text should be their admonition. If a man endeavor to entertain us with a long and circumstantial account of his habits of piety, and seem inclined to reproach others for coming short of his standard, the instructions of our text might prove salutary to him. If a preacher appear to be vain of his public gifts, and seem inclined to vapor in his own praise, he should be called to consider the meekness of the divine Master, and the reproof of this portion of Scripture. If a minister render himself remarkable for boasting of his literary acquirements, does he not need to be reminded of the useful instructions found in the passage which heads this article? Such imprudence is also well corrected by the suggestion of Solomon, 'Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips.'"

The dedication of the new Universalist church in Watertown, Mass., and the installation of Rev. R. Streeter as pastor of the society which had erected the same, took place on Wednesday, August 15. The sermon at the first service was preached by father Ballou, from the expressive words of the prophet, Isa. 56 : 6, 7, — and he took a part, also, in the exercises of the afternoon. This day was rendered doubly joyful by the beauty of the weather, and by the order of God's house. Every pew and avenue in the house was filled. The sermon of installation was preached by the brother of the candidate (the present venerable Sebastian Streeter), from Titus 3 : 8 ; and Mr. Ballou found himself associated on that day with the two Rev. Messrs. Streeter, Messrs. Thompson of Charlestown, Leonard of Gloucester, Ballou, 2nd, of Roxbury, Whittemore of Cambridgeport, and Adin Ballou, at this time, we think, of Milford.

SECTION V.—MEETINGS OF ASSOCIATIONS.

On Sunday, August 19, Father Ballou and the writer started in a chaise to attend the meeting of the Rockingham Association, held at Eaton, N. H., within some thirty miles of the White Mountains. He left Boston immediately after the afternoon service, passed out through Cambridgeport, where he was joined by the writer, and we passed on to North Andover that evening. On Monday morning we took breakfast at the house of Br. T. G. Farnsworth, of Haverhill, dined at Newmarket, and rode on to Milton, N. H., that night, where we obtained lodgings at the house of a good Baptist lady, as there was no tavern

in the town. On Tuesday morning we reached Wakefield, drove to Ossipee Corner by noon, and arrived at Eaton, the place of our destination, two or three hours before sunset. The latter part of the ride had been exceedingly exciting, in consequence of the mountain scenery. One grandeur after another broke upon our view; and when we came in full sight of Chocorua Peak, we were both lost in wonder and astonishment. We mention these incidents the more particularly, to show how people were obliged to make their journeys before the era of railroads. On arriving at Eaton, father Ballou received a most cordial greeting. There were present at this meeting, besides the two persons named, Rev. E. Case, jr., of Kingston, N. H.; Rev. T. G. Farnsworth, of Haverhill, Mass.; Rev. Josiah Gilman, of Meredith, N. H.; and Rev. Henry Hawkins, of the neighboring town of Fryeburg, in Maine. Sermons were preached by Messrs. Ballou, Farnsworth, and Whittemore. The first-named preached twice, namely, on Wednesday and Thursday. His sermons are well remembered, as of great clearness and power. The first was on our duty to declare God's love, in all its fullness and beauty, from the words of Isaiah, 63: 1,—*"I will mention the loving-kindness of the Lord;"* and the second was on the life-giving power of the ever-flowing river of the gospel, from Ezek. 47: 9,—*"And everything shall live whither the river cometh."* It is very difficult to describe such sermons. He had not a scrap nor memorandum before him, — nothing but the Bible. Language flowed from his lips like the running of a crystal stream. His illustrations electrified the audience; his arguments convinced them of the truth of

what he declared ; and they said, at the close, We never heard the gospel after this manner before. The principal men of the town, who had never had any connection with the Universalist society, came up and requested to be introduced to him, and expressed very heartily their satisfaction at his teachings. We left here at the close of service, rode to Wakefield that night, arriving about ten o'clock. On Friday the writer left father B. at Exeter, where he was to preach on the following Sabbath.

Early in September (4th day), Mr. Ballou went to South Scituate, Mass., for the purpose of holding conversation with his brethren in regard to forming a new association, to meet the wants of our common cause in the Old Colony, or that section of Massachusetts which was formerly the colony of Plymouth. The meeting for deliberation was holden at the house of Rev. Benjamin Whittemore ; and there were present father Ballou, C. Gardner, Paul Dean, T. J. Whitcomb, T. Whittemore, J. Flagg, and H. Ballou, 2nd. Public services were holden on Wednesday (5th), when sermons were preached by father Ballou and Rev. Paul Dean. At the close of the latter service, father Ballou extended the fellowship of the churches to the newly-formed church at West Scituate, where the meeting-house was located ; after which, the Lord's Supper was administered. It was voted to call the new association "The Old Colony Association of Universalists."

SECTION VI.—CONVENTION OF 1827.

The convention met, this year, at Saratoga Springs,

N. Y. Father Ballou was appointed moderator, and Brs. T. F. King and P. Dean clerks. Three brethren were ordained on the afternoon of the last day of the session, at which service father Ballou preached from 2 Cor. 4 : 5. The Lord's Supper was administered at the close of the morning service, Messrs. Ballou and Dean officiating at the table.

SECTION VII.—REV. MENZIES RAYNER.

Near the close of the year 1827, Rev. Menzies Rayner, of Connecticut, pastor of an Episcopal society at Monroe in that state, believed it his duty to leave the communion of the Episcopal church, and to unite with the Universalists. The Universalist society in Hartford, in that state, on hearing of his intention to that effect, invited him to become their pastor. After a very affectionate correspondence with his bishop, his connection with the Episcopalians ceased, and with the Universalists began. He was a little advanced in age of Mr. Ballou ; and the latter always respected him deeply, and enjoyed his society. On hearing of the change in his ecclesiastical relations, Mr. B. wrote him as follows :

“TO THE REV. MENZIES RAYNER, HARTFORD, CONN.

“REV. SIR : It seems a reasonable duty, and one, too, which accords with my feelings, that I should express to you the satisfaction which your sermon, delivered to your former congregation in Monroe, and also to your present one, in Hartford, has afforded me. The general theme of doctrine embraced in your text, and ably illustrated and defended in the discourse, must be considered

of the utmost concern and interest to man, as a rational, moral being.

“ It seems perfectly consistent with the records of the divine economy in former times, that those who maintain that the living God, in whom they trust, is the Saviour of all men, should suffer reproach. But, in regard to this, they enjoy what was allotted to Moses, who, ‘ when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh’s daughter ; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.’

“ Having spent many years in bearing this testimony, and being still engaged in the same cause, it gives me no small satisfaction to be informed that one whose experience in the Christian church, and whose talents and acquirements, together with an honorable repute, cannot fail to give weight and influence to his future labors, has devoted himself to the interest of the ‘ faith once delivered to the saints.’

“ That your future labors and the evening of your days may be extensively useful in the ministration of life, and receive a corresponding recompense of reward, is the sincere prayer of your fellow-servant and brother in the gospel of Christ,

“ HOSEA BALLOU.

“ *Boston, Jan. 23, 1828.*”

To this epistle Rev. Mr. Rayner returned the following affectionate answer. We take this occasion to say that the purest affection existed between Messrs. Rayner and Ballou until death separated them.

“ TO THE REV. HOSEA BALLOU, BOSTON.

“ REV. AND DEAR SIR : YOUR obliging letter of the 23d ult. claims my acknowledgment.

“ The terms of approbation in which you allude to the sermon of mine lately published could not fail to be gratifying to one always professing ‘ the faith of Abraham,’ but who only for a few

months has appeared the *public* and avowed advocate of the glorious doctrine of God's *universal grace and salvation*.

"Although I have been for some time persuaded of the truth of this doctrine, and for several years have taught nothing contrary thereto, yet having, until lately, heard or read but few arguments in support of it, except those which appeared in a careful examination of the sacred writings, I may with confidence say, 'I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.'

"To be subjected to *reproach* can give but little uneasiness to one who reflects that this has been the lot of better men, and, in succession, the common fate of all religious denominations, and of every section of the Christian church. How desirable is that period, so expressly promised, when we shall all 'see eye to eye, when all shall know the Lord, and when there shall be nothing to hurt nor destroy.'

"In whatever light my principles and proceedings may be viewed by my brethren of the Episcopal church, I shall still cherish for them sentiments of respect and Christian charity, and especially the uniform candor and kindness with which I have been treated by the excellent bishop of this diocese merit the acknowledgment of my gratitude and esteem.

"The good wishes which you are pleased to express for my future usefulness and prosperity are duly appreciated, and I beg you to be assured that on my part they are faithfully reciprocated.

"A visit from you again to this part of our Lord's heritage would gladden the hearts of many, and none more truly than, Rev. and dear sir, your friend and brother in the gospel,

"MENZIES RAYNER.

"*Hartford, Conn., Feb. 5, 1828.*"

SECTION VIII.—BALFOUR'S ESSAYS.

On the appearance of Balfour's *Essays*, early in 1828, Mr. Ballou gave the work a cordial welcome, notwith-

standing there were certain opinions stated therein which he himself did not hold. The leading facts in regard to Mr. Balfour's theory concerning the future state were, that men have no inherent immortality; that they can only be rendered immortal by the resurrection of the dead; that the resurrection of men will be simultaneous, in the distant future, and that between death and the resurrection men will lie in the unconscious sleep of death. Notwithstanding Mr. Ballou did not receive all these views, yet he regarded certain parts of the Essays as very worthy of public attention, especially those which established the fact of the resurrection of the dead, and gave support to Christian hope. He was pleased, too, with the cogent arguments advanced against the doctrine of endless misery. He addressed an article to "religious inquirers of all denominations," in which he said:

"TO RELIGIOUS INQUIRERS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.

"BRETHREN: Having perused Mr. Balfour's Essays, just published, I feel it my duty to recommend the work as worthy of the careful reading of all who feel an interest in obtaining a knowledge of the doctrines which are taught in the sacred Scriptures. The patient, critical and learned investigations which the author has bestowed on the common opinions entertained in the Christian church seem to give to those labors a fair claim to the serious and candid attention of all those by whom these opinions have been entertained.

"Should the sentiments which he has disproved, and whose origin he has shown to be of no higher authority than heathen superstition, become generally discarded in the religious world, and the gospel of Jesus Christ, in its purity and simplicity, be generally embraced, there would be at once an end of all priestcraft, unholy fanaticism, horrid fears of a merciless God, and the

terrors of hell in the future world; and in place thereof would spring up that blessed hope of eternal life, which is an anchor to the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which induces every man who possesses it to purify himself as Christ is pure."

SECTION IX. — LETTER TO REV. LYMAN BEECHER.

Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher removed to Boston, we think, about the year 1824 or 1825. He had a great popularity among his religious brethren. He was supposed to be the most capable of them all to put down the so-called heresy of Universalism. On the removal of this Goliath to Boston, Mr. B. went not out of his way, either to meet him or to shun him. He heard of many things the doctor had said and done to arrest the spread of Universalism; but he looked on such efforts as he did on those of the Jews, who were gathered together against the holy child Jesus, to do whatsoever the hand of God, and his counsel, determined before to be done. He was accustomed to say, "The wrath of man shall praise the Lord, and the remainder thereof he will restrain."

In December, 1827, he addressed a letter to the doctor on the existence of a personal devil, whom the latter had described as a mighty fallen spirit, who seduced mankind from their allegiance to God, and who has been constantly employed, ever since, to maintain his bad eminence over them. We here submit to the reader the letter referred to :

"A LETTER TO REV. LYMAN BEECHER, OF BOSTON.

"REV. SIR: In the commencement of your missionary sermon, delivered in New York, Oct. 12, 1827, before the American Board

of Missions, you say : 'The Scriptures teach that sin commenced its reign on earth under the auspices of a mighty fallen spirit; and that he, having seduced mankind from their allegiance to God, has been constantly employed to maintain his bad eminence over them.' This assertion, sir, appears to me not a little exceptionable, on account of the following facts :

" 1st. I have carefully read the Scriptures, particularly for the purpose to ascertain whether they anywhere assert what you here say they teach ; and I am happy to say that I find no such fact stated. '*A mighty fallen spirit.*' Sir, where in the Scriptures do you find this mentioned? You assert that a *mighty fallen spirit* 'seduced mankind from their allegiance to God;' but the Scriptures nowhere say this. The Scripture account of the seduction of our first parents attributes this seduction to the subtilty of a serpent that crawls on his belly and feeds on dust. If you say that this account is an allegory, and that by a *serpent* a mighty fallen spirit was meant, you not only assume the responsibility of so doing, but become obligated to give a fair account of your authority for the assertion ; and, moreover, to satisfy the inquiry how this *mighty fallen spirit* was to go on his belly and eat dust all the days of his life.

" 2d. You make no attempt to prove, by citing any Scripture passage, this assertion which I deem exceptionable. Does it, sir, well become the meekness and modesty of a Christian minister to rest such an assertion on his own authority, while he knows that the proposition he asserts is disbelieved by sober, sensible, pious and learned Christians? By such procedure you continue the pernicious practice of imposing on the public the opinions of weak and fallible men as of divine authority. This unwarranted practice has been the means of accumulating a mass of errors, to the immensity of which one deluded mortal has as good a right to contribute as another.

" 3d. Your assertion necessarily provokes, in the mind of the honest inquirer, the question, Under whose auspices did this mighty fallen spirit act when he seduced mankind from their allegiance to God, and ever since that time, while he has been constantly employed to maintain his bad eminence over them?

You surely do not believe in a *mighty fallen spirit* who is almighty and independent. This mighty fallen spirit, then, must be dependent on his Father in heaven, who upholds him as in the hollow of his hand, and guards him as the apple of his eye.

“A little below the assertion which has been noticed, on the same page, you say, ‘I am aware that with some the doctrine of fallen angels is but an Eastern allegory, and the idea of a conflict between the creature and the Creator ridiculous, and unworthy of the divine supremacy.’ Being aware of this fact, sir, why should you mention it, and neglect even an effort to reflect a single ray of light on the subject? If the opinion to which you referred were, in your judgment, too absurd to deserve a refutation, why did you mention it at all? If otherwise, and you deemed it anti-scriptural, why did you not proceed to show that it is reasonable that the all-wise and omnipotent Creator should furnish this mighty fallen spirit, and millions of others like him, with mysterious powers, and endue them with real devilish cunning, and carefully keep them in being and uphold them by his power, for the purpose of maintaining a conflict with himself, and to show, also, that the Scriptures teach such doctrine? In room of doing this, you say: ‘I can only say, that if there be not an order of sinful intelligences above men, the Bible is one of the most deceptive books ever written.’

“How long, sir, did you deliberate on this subject, before you came to the conclusion that you could say no more, and nothing more to the purpose? ‘An order of sinful intelligences above men.’ If they are above us, they are our rulers. If our Creator and their Creator has seen fit, in his infinite wisdom, to place over us an order of sinful intelligences, is it not our duty to obey them? Why were they placed above us, if not to rule us? ‘The powers that be are ordained of God.’ But in what does their sinfulness consist? Does it constitute them sinful to exercise the government over us which the Creator has assigned them? Sir, it appears to me that what you say on this subject involves absurdities of a monstrous character, to say the least.

“But, notwithstanding your statement that you ‘can only say that if there be not an order of sinful intelligences above men, the

Bible is one of the most deceptive books ever written,' you immediately proceed as follows: 'The entire history of the world shows that human depravity, though operating in accordance with the laws of mind, is yet methodized and wielded with a comprehension of plan wholly inexplicable upon the principle of accidental coincidence among men. That there should have been a system of well-constructed opposition to the gospel, varying with circumstances, and comprehending the great amount of bad moral influence which has existed, without some presiding intellect, is as improbable as that all the particles of matter which compose the universe should have fallen into their existing method and order by mere accident, and without the presiding intellect of the Deity.' Here, sir, it seems that you have said much more than you thought you could say. You have given to your *mighty fallen spirit* not only a supremacy over mankind, but also a power of intellect to methodize and wield human depravity, in a well-constructed system of opposition to the gospel, equal, at least, to the power of intellect exerted by Deity himself, in establishing the existing order of the material universe! It is very evident that, if the system of opposition to the gospel, of which you speak, could have been concerted by a less powerful intellect than that which constituted the order and system of the material universe, it would be more probable that all the opposition ever exerted against the gospel was planned by human wisdom, than that the material universe should have derived its system and order from 'mere accident.'

"Are you prepared, sir, to abide the consequences which necessarily follow from your statement? Do you not see that, if you are right in what you have ascribed to your *mighty fallen spirit* and his ghostly coadjutors, God will never be able to circumvent his 'well-constructed' system of opposition to the gospel? You will not allow that the Deity exercises a power of intellect superior to that exerted by this *mighty fallen spirit*. And what appears most surprising is, that, in your opinion, if all this be not as you represent it, the Bible is one of the most deceptive books ever written! The Bible, then, teaches that man is governed by a well-constructed system of opposition to the gospel, planned by a

mighty fallen spirit, whose power of intellect is equal to that which systematized the universe. And this is the Bible which you wish to send to the heathen. By it you think they will learn these great and essential truths which you have here asserted!

“Suppose, reverend sir, you should ever learn that all that you have been in the habit of calling a system of opposition to the gospel has, in all the events produced by it, tended to promote the wise and gracious purposes of our Father in heaven, ‘who will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth,’—who would you then suppose exerted that presiding intellect by which the great whole has been governed? With such a view of the subject do not the following inspired declarations fully accord? ‘I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil. I the Lord do all these things.’ ‘For of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.’ ‘In whom, also, we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will.’

“With due respect,

HOSEA BALLOU.”

SECTION X.—ANOTHER LETTER.

To the last-named epistle Dr. B. returned no answer; and probably it was not expected that he would at the time it was written. It was not designed so much to open a correspondence, as to call the attention of the public to the boldness of the doctor in making assertions which he could not in any manner prove. It was but a few months afterward that Mr. B. felt himself called on again to address the doctor. The latter had preached a sermon in March, 1828, designed to disprove the doc-

trine of Universalism. Mr. B. did not enter into a direct argument to refute the doctor's proofs, for he did not give any. The sermon was distinguished for mere empty assertions, misrepresentations and bold declamation. Its author was not to be reached by evidence; to that his creed made him invulnerable. Like the false teachers of old, he was "ever learning, but was not able to come to the knowledge of the truth." His position, his prejudices, his habits, were all hindrances to his beholding the "simplicity there is in Christ." Mr. B., therefore, did not expect to convince him; but the letter addressed to him would be read by many others. There is a strain of irony in it, the force of which would be felt by all who understood the subject on which it treated. Without further remark, we inscribe the epistle on these pages.

"A LETTER FROM REV. HOSEA BALLOU TO REV. DR. LYMAN BEECHER.

"Boston, March 29, 1828.

"SIR: I addressed you some time ago on the subject of 'a Mighty Fallen Spirit,' of which you said not a little, in one of your sermons. In that address I endeavored to point out some of your errors; and I had some hope, though I confess it was but small, that you would profit by my attempt, feeble as it was. In my humble opinion, it was your duty to defend the sentiments on which I then animadverted, if you were of opinion that they were either capable or worthy of defence; but what you think of them I know not, nor do I perceive any way by which I can ascertain.

"I have still a mind to do you good, without the smallest expectation of receiving any thanks from you. Being informed that you recently gave out public notice you were going to prove, in a lecture, the immoral tendency of Universalism, and having

also been informed that you made the attempt on the evening of the fourth Sabbath inst., but utterly failed in making out anything on the subject, more than your bare assertions, accompanied with numerous gross sophisms, I thought it my duty to suggest some method by which you may better succeed in such an undertaking. There is nothing which makes a public preacher appear to a greater disadvantage, than to promise a piece of work beforehand, and, when the time comes to fulfil the promise, then to go on without understanding his subject, and without any proper method of executing the undertaking.

“First, then, let us distinctly understand what is to be proved. It is this: Wickedness proceeds from a belief that all mankind will eventually be made holy, happy beings, through the mediation of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. Having this statement perfectly distinct in your own mind, make it equally plain to the understanding of your hearers. This faithfully done, you must next proceed to demonstrate that the germ of immorality is necessarily wrapped up in this faith, and naturally grows from this hope. To do this to the understanding of your hearers, you can take an individual for an example. And as it is to be expected that a man knows as much about himself as he does about any other person, you may speak in the first person singular; and if it sound a little like egotism, no matter; the subject is of importance, and the object of infinite concern. Stand up, then, boldly, and address your congregation thus: ‘My fellow-travellers to eternity, I assure you that I believe, without a doubt, that when my mortal pilgrimage on earth is ended, I shall be with Jesus, the Saviour of sinners, that I shall be holy as he is holy, and happy as he is happy; and I also know that this belief and this hope work in my very soul the work of sin, and bring forth in my actions the vilest abominations which ever violated the divine law, dishonored God, or degraded human nature.’

“You will easily perceive, sir, that less than this amounts to nothing. You certainly cannot *know* the fruits of a belief that you never possessed; and you can easily see, also, that, if a firm belief in your own salvation will not produce those evil effects,

the belief that others will be saved could have no such effect on you.

“ Having pointed out one method of substantiating the fact that Universalism tends to all manner of immorality, it may be proper to furnish you with another. It is said that, in your late discourse on this subject, you quoted no proof from Scripture. This, sir, is a great pity. How happened it that you did not quote the first transgression of man, as recorded in Genesis, and show your hearers that the sole reason why Adam transgressed was his faith in Jesus as his Saviour? And why did you neglect to demonstrate that the whole difficulty which incited Cain to murder his brother was his firm belief that both he and his brother were embraced in the ever-blessed covenant of salvation? Had you shown these things; you would not have been laughed at for your puny, puerile assertions, unaccompanied with the least shadow of proof. No, but your convinced auditors would have been weighed down with an awful solemnity, and a deep conviction of the danger of believing in the doctrine of salvation; and would have fled for safety to the doctrine, the purifying doctrine, of everlasting sin and eternal condemnation! And, by this time, my dear doctor, you might have elevated your voice, and even commanded fire from heaven to vindicate your reasoning, showing that the sin of Sodom and the cities of the plain was all owing to Universalism: and when you had set forth the fiery vengeance that fell on that abominable people for their faith in salvation from sin, you might have said that you had got before your story, and, by way of a parenthesis, given your hearers to understand that no other sin was the occasion of the drowning of the old world.

“ How can you account, sir, for your neglect, on this all-important occasion, to instance the horrid murder of the Lord of life and glory, by the high priest of the Jews and the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, with the whole estate of the elders of the nation? Do you not know that it was this immoral doctrine of universal salvation that so enraged that wicked people against the Son of God? If they had not been fully persuaded that he was the Saviour of all men, what in all the world could have so incensed them against him? Sir, it is astonishing that you should

neglect such palpable proofs, recorded in the Scriptures, and stand up in your desk, pronouncing empty assertions, until you and your hearers were weary; and, after all, they were not convinced.

“ Doctor, you must make another appointment for the purpose of convincing the good, but ignorant, people of this city, that immorality was never known in the world until the doctrine of universal salvation was set up and believed. And, before you again attempt this necessary work, a labor so much needed, make yourself perfectly acquainted with this method which I have here recommended. Begin your task at the right end, and go on regularly; be careful that you do not forget to add the weight of history to your conclusive arguments. Show your hearers that all the persecutions which have deluged the world in blood were set on foot and carried on by Universalists. Quote history, and prove that Nero was a believer in the final salvation of all mankind, by Jesus Christ; and that it was this belief which caused him to set fire to the city of Rome, and lay the crime to the Christians. Show, moreover, that the whole of the ten persecutions which preceded the reign of Constantine, in which many millions of professed Christians lost their lives, were all carried on by Universalists. But do not stop here; go on and demonstrate your subject, by showing that all the persecutions practised by Christians against Christians were entirely owing to a belief that finally all mankind will be made holy and happy. Give your hearers, sir, to know that the Papal Inquisition is, and always has been, an engine of Universalism; and, after you make them understand that more than fifty millions of Protestants have been put to death by those believers in universal salvation, go on and prove from history that all the persecutions which have been carried on by the Protestants were owing to their belief that God is good and gracious to all mankind, and will finally make all holy and happy. I beg you would not forget that those who hung the Quakers in Salem were Universalists. Make this truth known to your hearers, and assure them that the very spirit of universal grace is the spirit of persecution. Show them, also, that all the crimes which have been committed in our country, and for which

many have been executed, were committed by Universalists; and that there is not now a criminal in confinement, who is not a believer in this demoralizing doctrine.

“Sir, you must not think your work is done until you prove, on the other hand, that the spirit of everlasting condemnation and eternal punishment is the meek and humble spirit of Jesus; that it is the spirit of charity, which suffereth long and is kind; that such as believe in endless punishment are so tender hearted that they would rather suffer death, in the most cruel manner, than to persecute others. I beg you not to forget to state the fact that John Calvin would never have put Dr. Servetus to death, in so cruel a manner, had not Calvin been a Universalist.

“When you shall have made all these things evident, your undertaking will be accomplished; and you will hear the welcome sentence, Well done, good and faithful servant.

“Yours, &c.,

HOSRA BALLOU.”

SECTION XI.—DEATH AND GLORY.

What were Mr. Ballou's opinions on this topic? In the course of this year his attention was called to the subject, by a letter from Rev. A. Kneeland, who had been reading Hudson's Letters, and who had been led to think that Mr. H. had not, in all cases, described Mr. B.'s opinions correctly. Mr. Kneeland was a materialist, a follower of Dr. Priestley; and his system agreed much more nearly with that of Mr. Balfour than that of Mr. Ballou. He, however, at the time, supposed Mr. Ballou to agree with, and wrote as follows:

“I have never understood you to teach the doctrine, which, I am aware, is maintained by some, of *immediate* death and glory: that is, that man is *immediately* happy after death. To such an idea there are insuperable objections in my own mind; neither

am I able to reconcile it with the doctrine of the resurrection, as taught in the New Testament."

On the general subject of Mr. Kneeland's letter, Mr. B. replied as follows :

" If our brethren who maintain future punishment would consent to do what they have been so often called on to do, namely, prove from the testimony of Scripture that the next state of existence will be so far like the present that man will there be liable to temptation, and to be led into sin, there would be an end to the controversy ; for it is allowed, on all hands, that where sin is, it is punishable ; and it ought to be allowed, by all, that where sin does not and cannot exist, it cannot be punished. There is another consideration, which these brethren seem entirely to disregard ; which is, if the Scriptures prove that the next state is a state of imperfection, sin and suffering, they must also prove an end to that state, or be incapable of proving universal holiness in any state. But it has never appeared to me that they felt so much disposed to enlighten us respecting the nature and evidences of the subject for which they contend, as they are to lean on the prejudices of the public in favor of a future hell, in its popular sense, and to turn the bitterness of that prejudice towards those whose arguments they were conscious they could not answer."

In regard to the question touching " death and glory," Mr. B. answered in these words :

" But I must hasten to notice your queries. 1st. In relation to what you term ' death and glory.'

" This subject has never been much agitated among brethren of our order, until quite lately. Dr. Priestley's views of an unconscious state after death were not known to me when I wrote my Treatise on Atonement, nor had that subject then ever been considered by me. This accounts for my silence on it. Of late I have endeavored to know what divine revelation has communicated on this subject ; but, owing to my want of discernment, I have

not been able to reconcile all the passages which seem to relate to the case to a fair support of either side of the question. My efforts, I acknowledge, have not been made with such intenseness of application, respecting this matter, as they would have been had I been persuaded that the question was of any great consequence. Being fully satisfied that the Scriptures teach us to believe no moral state between the death of the body and the resurrection state, in which that which was sown in dishonor will be raised in glory, and that which was sown in corruption shall be raised in incorruption, it seemed to me immaterial whether we enter, immediately after the dissolution of the body, on the resurrection state, or sleep in unconscious quietude any given time before that glorious event shall take place. In either case, it is what you call 'death and glory,' for it makes no difference as to the length of time during an unconscious state. In such a state there can be effected no moral preparations."

But Mr. Ballou had another occasion to write on this subject of immediate happiness at death, in the course of this year. There appeared in the *Olive Branch*, a publication issued in the city of New York, a remark like the following:

"We are sorry to be obliged to say that these remarks will apply to one class of Universalists just as well, for they believe that they shall go right straight to heaven, *immediately*, when they die. It may be well for such brethren that they are not very strong in the faith; not so strong but that they esteem a bird in the hand worth two in the bush.—*Ens.*"

Mr. B.'s eye saw this, and he sat down and addressed the writers calmly and wisely, stating such questions as had had much weight on his own mind. It will be seen there is a climax in the considerations; they increase in importance to the end.

“ The subject on which you were animadverting, which awakened such *sorrow* in regard to ‘one class of Universalists,’ is the Calvinistic belief, that when the elect die they ‘go right straight to heaven.’ In these animadversions you assert, in the strongest terms which our language furnishes, that there is nothing to prevent one who believes he shall (to use your terms) ‘go right straight to heaven when he dies,’ from committing forgery and suicide. It seems, brethren, that you have done what you evidently intended to do; you have given it as your opinion that there is nothing to prevent real Calvinists and one class of Universalists from committing the above-named crimes.

“ With your indulgence, and assured of your candor, I will proceed to suggest some considerations which may operate in the mind of such believers as you have pointed out, to prevent them from committing such crimes.

“ 1st. It appears to me that men of this belief may entertain so strong a desire to appear with a fair moral character in the eyes of mankind, and that their families should enjoy the benefits of their reputation, that this consideration should operate as a powerful dissuasion from the commission of such offences. I have no reason to offer why men of such belief should not love their family connections as well as those who embrace an opposing sentiment. And it appears very unreasonable to suppose that such love or regard for connections should have no influence on the actions of those who are possessed of such regard.

“ 2d. We may reasonably deem it possible that men of this faith may be so circumstanced, and their families so situated, that the sudden death of the husband and father might be no small damage to them, in respect to their temporal concerns; and the supposition that by living longer the father could greatly serve their interest, in many ways, besides granting them the sweets of his society, is a most reasonable one. Are you, brethren, prepared to say that such facts, and a due consideration of them, could have no influence dissuasive of suicide?

“ 3d. I see no reason why men of this faith may not love their fellow-men as well as those do who believe in a different creed. There appears nothing in the belief that, as soon as we depart out

of this mortal state, we are immediately with Christ, that necessarily prevents such a believer from loving his fellow-creatures. Now, if it be granted that such believers can love their fellow-men, then it must be granted that such love would naturally incline men to do good to others, and operate to prevent their committing any act of fraud.

“4th. Having duly examined this subject, I am satisfied that there is nothing in this belief that tends to prevent the believer from loving righteousness, as a principle. But, if a man in heart is a lover of the moral principle of righteousness, are you certain that this love would not operate to prevent his committing the crime of forgery, to wrong his neighbor out of his property, and orphans out of their patrimonies? Brethren, I believe you are men of sense and men of principle. Say, then, if you really did believe that in less than one week you should all ‘go right straight to heaven,’ would you commit forgery, if you could by it obtain more gold than you could weigh and count in this time?

“5th. To my apprehension, you have not only been guilty of stating a very great absurdity, but you have furnished a very good and efficient cause why a man of this belief should not commit even any sin. What is this belief? It is this: when I die I shall immediately go to heaven. Well, what is heaven? It is ‘not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.’ Now, if a man embraces righteousness as the ultimatum of his belief, as the heaven to which he is bound as soon as he dies, as the immortality which he hopes to inherit, is it not absurd to say that this assurance of a state of holiness will not prevent present acts of vice? No man can love heaven, or desire to be in it, any further than he loves righteousness. Therefore, to insinuate that a belief that we shall soon be in a state of righteousness tends to the commission of crimes, is what we see no reason to justify.

“You will further indulge me, brethren, in asking you to show the moral difference between the belief of the ‘one class of Universalists,’ of which you speak, and the belief which you yourselves profess. They, according to your statement, believe in immediate holiness and happiness after this mortal life ends.

You, if I understand rightly, believe that when men die they discontinue every sentient faculty, and silently, and in a senseless state, sleep until the resurrection; and at the resurrection you believe that all will be made immortal, holy and happy. Now, if you can see any moral difference in the two beliefs, or point out any difference in their moral influence, or show any considerable dissimilarity between the hope which accompanies this proscribed belief and that of which an apostle speaks, where he says, 'Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure,' you will assist my understanding.

"In your concluding remarks, respecting the particular cases on which you wrote, you assure your readers that the occasion was painful, but you justify yourselves on the ground that the Orthodox are continually harping on the dangerous tendency of Universalism. It is very true the opposers of Universalism have made use of this sort of reasoning against Universalism for a long time. They have contended that the doctrine is demoralizing, and that there is nothing to prevent the believers of it from the commission of all sorts of crimes, especially that of suicide. But this argument has been so often refuted that its currency has really become reduced. But, brethren, it appears to me that you have endorsed it! As worthless as the bill is, your names are on its back!

"Brethren, if it gave you as much pain to endorse this bill as it does me to see your names to it, I certainly pity you.

"We have often had occasion to notice deplorable instances of despair of the mercy of God, which have issued in suicide, which were evidently occasioned by a belief in the Calvinistic creed; but the supposition that a belief in the goodness of God will lead men to sin never entered our hearts, since we have enjoyed any realizing sense of such goodness.

"To conclude, brethren, if I did not believe that you were my real friends, I should not have called on you in this way. But, being confident of your brotherly feelings towards me, I have ventured to invite some explanation of the note to which I have here referred. I remain your fellow-laborer in the cause of truth."

SECTION XII. — QUESTIONS ON FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

It was a very common thing for Mr. Ballou to receive questions from opponents or inquirers, in respect to his religious views. They always thought him under obligation to answer such questions, and give them light. These would sometimes come to him by the mail, or at other times appear in some newspaper. An individual who had heard him preach addressed him through the *Christian Intelligencer*, in the following strain :

“REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: Having read most of your theological writings, and heard you preach frequently, I understand you to believe that the wicked shall not go unpunished, and yet that none of them shall be punished in the future world ; consequently every man must be punished for his sins in this world before his spirit leaves his body.

“In reading the account, in the public papers, of the piracy and murder committed by the notorious *Tardy*, on board the brig *Crawford*, I felt as if I wanted to propose one or two questions to yourself, in a respectful and friendly manner, hoping that you will do me the favor — for such I should really esteem it — to inform me *when* that man received the punishment due to his sins.”

We have given but a mere section of the epistle, but the reader will see clearly the drift of the article. Mr. B. said, in reply :

“DEAR SIR: I am of opinion that your queries are not so well adjusted, nor the principles which they embrace so clearly manifested, as they ought to be before definite answers are given. Two very important questions, as it appears to me, should first be duly considered and satisfactorily answered, before your main query

need be decided. 1st. In what does the punishment of sin consist? 2d. How much of such punishment does justice require to be suffered as the full penalty of such crimes as you have designated? And I think you will readily perceive that it is necessary also to determine the required duration of such penalty.

“There is another thing, sir, which your queries suggest, which, perhaps, you did not think of at the time you wrote; I mean why you should have had any occasion to question me on the subject. We will suppose that the Scriptures are clear and decided on the subject of your questions, and we will suppose, also, that they directly prove that a man who first kills his fellow-creature and then kills himself must suffer a punishment in a future state of existence for so doing; if such were facts you would have had no occasion to ask me the questions you have; you would only need to point me to the divine testimony which contradicts what you call my doctrine, and thereby refute such errors.

“As you pretend to predicate your queries on what you have read in my writings, and what you have heard me teach in public, you give me the right to ask in which of either you ever found any direct assertion that sin will not be punished in the future state? I have often said, and allowed in my writings, that, if sin exist in the future world, punishment must there be endured; but I have also expressed the opinion that the Scriptures nowhere prove that either sin or punishment will exist in any other world but this. Now, sir, if you are desirous of information on this subject, and feel satisfied with such as the Scriptures give, why do you bring a case of which no mention is made in the Bible, and ask me questions concerning it which the Scriptures do not answer? Or, if you believe that the Scriptures do answer your questions, why have you not directed me where to find the testimony? You will permit me to ask, whether it be reasonable to allow that modern crimes are so different in their moral character from all which the divine writings treat of, as to require a new system of punishment, not revealed in the Scriptures? And, furthermore, whether all the penalty of which the Bible speaks is in this world, but that it has been found to be necessary, in times

since the Scriptures were written, to institute punishments in a future state of existence? If you say that neither the moral nature of crime or of punishment has been changed, and that no new dispensation has been established since Moses wrote his code, then all controversy on the subject of your questions may discontinue; for it is very certain that it cannot be shown, from the writings of that great law-giver, that the crimes of men, committed in this world, are to be punished in a future state."

Mr. Ballou did not say that sin would not be punished in the future state. He believed that the New Testament furnished no proof of a state of sin and misery hereafter; but, if there shall be sin there, he had no doubt it will be a source of misery. The labor of proving the doctrine of future punishment to be true belonged to those who affirmed the truth of it. He had no desire to be "wise above what is written." He thought he saw nothing revealed as appertaining to the future state but "life and immortality." If, however, any person supposed the doctrine of future punishment for the sins of this life could be proved by the testimony of the Scriptures, Mr. B. would always lend a listening ear to what such an one had to say.

SECTION XIII.—FUTURE PUNISHMENT NOT ESSENTIAL.

Mr. B. did not believe that the doctrine of future punishment in any sense was essential to Christianity. He had no doubt that many very pious and sincere Christians believed it; but they were not Christians on that account. It was some other point in their faith which made them Christians. When any individual took the

ground that the doctrine of future punishment, either limited or endless, was essential to Christianity, Mr. Ballou would reason with him kindly, and address him in such arguments as we give in the subjoined paragraphs:

“1. The existence of one supreme Creator and Ruler of the universe is believed by all denominations of Christians. This doctrine of one God is taught by Moses, by all the prophets, by Jesus and all his apostles. But is the doctrine of a future state of punishment as clearly taught by Moses, by all the prophets, by Jesus and all his apostles? It is very certain that this is not the case; and one simple matter of well-known fact is sufficient to prove that it is not. There are many who were educated in the belief that the doctrine of a future state of punishment is taught in the Scriptures, who have been led to search the Scriptures with much care and patience, to ascertain whether this doctrine is, in fact, a Scripture doctrine, who have, after all their researches, been obliged, contrary to their educations and early prejudices, to come to the conclusion that no such doctrine is supported by the Bible; but never was there an individual who, by studying the Scriptures, came to the conclusion that they do not maintain the existence of Jehovah.

“2. All professed Christians agree that the Scriptures abundantly maintain the belief of a divine inspiration, according to the following passage. Heb. 1: 1, 2, — ‘God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son;’ and there is no contention respecting this matter of acknowledged fact. But we ask the believers in a future state of punishment whether the Scriptures are as clear in support of this tenet as they are in vindicating the doctrine of divine inspiration? It is not expected that any one will contend for the affirmative of this question.

“3. There is no dispute among professed Christians respecting the fact of the resurrection of Jesus. All denominations seem equally to embrace this as the foundation of the Christian faith,

hope and religion. But will any one contend that the doctrine of a future state of punishment is as forcibly and as clearly maintained in the Scriptures as is the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus? On this subject St. Paul speaks as follows: 'If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ; whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not.' But do we meet with any language designed to teach the doctrine of a future retribution, that corresponds with these words of the apostle? Has this, or any other inspired author, ever said, If the wicked are not punished in a future state, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain! Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified that God will punish the wicked in another world, whom he will not punish! It is very true that many, very many preachers of our times might, with much propriety, use this kind of language respecting their own preaching; but, then, they are not inspired, and are therefore not entitled to the confidence which we place in the testimony of the apostle.

"4. All denominations of Christians agree that the religion of Christ requires men to love one another, and even to love their enemies, that they may be the children of our Father who is in heaven; and St. Paul argues that, though he had all other gifts and had not charity, he was but as 'sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.' Let us here ask whether the doctrine of future punishment is as forcibly and as evidently vindicated in the Scriptures as is this doctrine concerning love and charity? Is there any passage of Scripture which, on a fair construction, amounts to as much as to say, though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and proclaim not the doctrine of a future state of punishment, I am as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal? And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and believe not in future punishment, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and believe not in future punishment, I am nothing. The belief in future punishment never faileth. And now abideth charity, hope, and a belief in future punishment; but the greatest of these is this faith in future

retribution! If this item, so much contended for, be in fact indispensable in the religion of Christ, why should it not be found expressed in the foregoing strong and impressive language? Why did not St. Paul state this doctrine so plainly that its present advocates might find Scripture language sufficient for its defence? And, after having thus stated it, proceed to give it as high an encomium as he bestowed on charity? Why did he not say, the doctrine and belief of a future state of sin and punishment for some of our fellow-creatures suffereth long and is kind; it envieth not; it vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, and never faileth? Among most of Christian denominations, in our day, this belief is as the new name in the white stone; — with it, anything will do; without it, nothing.

“ 5. All Christians are united in the belief that life and immortality are brought to light through the gospel; and no one, who pretends to believe the Christian religion, refuses his assent to this glorious and heart-cheering doctrine. But will any one pretend that a future state of punishment is brought to light through the gospel? Can we with safety contend that it is as necessary to believe in this tenet as in life and immortality, in order that we may enjoy peace and rest in believing?

“ To conclude. If we firmly believe in God, and believe that he is our Father and unchangeable friend; if we believe that he hath revealed the counsels of his divine wisdom and favor through his holy child Jesus, and his determination to reconcile all things to himself through his mediation; if we cordially embrace the precepts of the Saviour; and love God with all the heart and our neighbors as ourselves, and exercise love and good will even to our enemies; if we believe that ‘as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive,’ in glory and immortality, must we be denied Christian fellowship because we cannot find the doctrine of a future state of sin and punishment laid down in the written word, nor feel the evidences of this doctrine to grow out of the

spirit of Christ within us, or to be dictated by any of the virtues or duties commanded by our divine Master!

“A hope is entertained that those to whom this article is addressed will give it a serious attention, and allow the queries here suggested the weight and consideration which their importance demands. It must be granted, on all hands, that the interest of Christianity cannot be promoted by attaching a consequence to unessential opinions to the entire dissolution of fellowship and brotherly love.”

SECTION XIV.—NO BELIEF IN INTERMEDIATE STATE.

Many very sincere and honest Christians believe in an intermediate existence between death and the resurrection; but Mr. Ballou did not entertain such a belief. He saw only two states — the mortal and the immortal, the corruptible and the incorruptible. On one occasion he was musing on the passage, Eccle. 9: 5,—“*For the living know that they shall die, but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten.*” It was necessary, he thought, that the living should know that they must die. God would not have given this knowledge, had he not seen it would have been for their benefit. Mr. B could see various ways in which the knowledge of the fact that we must die is beneficial to men. It checks our desires for wealth; it represses our ambition; it softens our enmity and hatred of one another; it leads us to prepare for our departure from the world. His thoughts ran on still further, in regard to the passage we have quoted. He said:

“2. The opinion that the dead know infinitely more than the

living, that they are capable of far greater enjoyments and subject to greater sufferings, seems to be corrected by our text: 'The dead know not anything.' And this agrees with the following context: 'Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun: there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou goest.'

"Before we came into this world we were all in the same condition. Those who in this life differ the most were a short time ago on a level. And in a few moments more they will be so again.

"We are not to suppose that the author of our text was an unbeliever in the doctrine of the resurrection, or that this passage denies it. Life and immortality, which are brought to light through the gospel, and which were also taught by Moses, according to the words of the Saviour, may remain the Christian's hope and consolation, without contradicting our text. In fact, the text, in room of opposing the doctrine of the resurrection, proves its necessity; for if, as has been supposed, the dead are capable of knowing and enjoying, it seems there could be no necessity of a resurrection. On reviewing the common opinion on this subject, it seems a question how our doctors have satisfied themselves that the dead, before they are raised into that state which is promised in the resurrection, are capable of knowing far more than while living, and also of enjoying and suffering to degrees as increased as is their knowledge. If such were the state of the dead, what necessity could there be of a resurrection from this state? Surely not for the purpose of either happiness or misery. But what may justly increase our surprise on this subject is, that such a sentiment has been received and adhered to without the least support from the Scriptures. In them we have no account of the dead, that they know anything, or that they enjoy or suffer anything. We have accounts of several who were raised from the dead, but we have no account of a sentient state in which they have been either happy or miserable during the time they remained without life. Jesus raised Lazarus, who had been dead four days; but no account is given concerning what he experienced during

these four days. If he knew more than he ever did while living, why was not this fund of knowledge brought with him when he returned to life? and why was it not communicated for the information of the living, and especially for the support of this common opinion, that the dead know more than the living, that they are capable of enjoying and of suffering more than the living? Before the Saviour was crucified, he several times informed his disciples that the event was approaching; and he also informed them that he should arise from the dead the third day after his death; but he never told them what would be his employment during the time his body should remain in death. Nor did he, after his resurrection, ever inform them that during the sleep of death he had been in a sentient state, actively employed among spirits in the invisible world. It seems furthermore worthy of notice, that Jesus, who certainly was acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, should never have corrected the error in which he must have found Solomon, if he knew that the dead know, enjoy and suffer, according to the opinion which has been entertained in the church.

“ 3. ‘Neither have they any more a reward.’ This member of the text seems to correct the almost universal opinion, that while men live in the world they are not rewarded for their conduct, but that this reward comes after they die. The text supposes that men are rewarded while they live; for it asserts that after they die they have no *more* a reward, which implies that they have a reward while they live, but none afterwards.

“ That men are rewarded for their good and bad conduct while they live, is a truth which both experience and observation very clearly demonstrate. It is true that, by the force of error, so obvious a truth has been generally disbelieved; and a sentiment which violates reason, experience and observation, as well as the plainest declarations of Scripture, has been maintained.

“ Lost in the labyrinth of this error, many have looked at the wealthy wicked as a standing proof that the sinner lives happily in the world. Yet no mistake can be greater. Was the wealthy, wicked Haman happy? Glorious in riches, surrounded with a multitude of children, possessing the highest confidence of his sovereign,

and supposing himself in the best graces of her majesty the queen, was he happy? His own testimony was, 'Yet all this availeth me nothing.' Look at yonder splendid seat. There are riches to overflowing, there is splendor that dazzles the beholder. But this wealth was wrenched, by fraud, from him who now wanders a mendicant in the streets, whose scanty pittance is received from the almost weary hand of charity. Would you be that wealthy sinner? Would you be willing, for all he possesses, never to eat, never to drink the fruits of honest industry? For all his wealth, would you condemn yourself never to enjoy anything in an honest way? Have you lost all appetite for the sweets of an approving conscience? You are then fit for his society, and to be wretched with him.

"Where is the individual who is not as happy as he is virtuous, or who is not as miserable as he is vicious? Who will undertake to describe those virtues which are barren and unproductive of enjoyment in the present life, or that class of vices which do not, in this world, produce wretchedness and misery?

"It seems to have been believed by Solomon, that, if the dead could always be remembered by the living, they, in this respect, might be said to have some reward after the scenes of this life are closed; but, on general principles, the memory of the dead is forgotten, and therefore they have no more a reward.

"In view of this subject, let us all be admonished so to keep death in view as to moderate our desires for this world's good, and to chasten all our passions into subordination to a meek and quiet spirit, which, in the sight of God, is an ornament of great price."

SECTION XV.—HOW HE CONSOLÉD MOURNERS.

No man knew better how to console the afflicted than Mr. Ballou. For this reason, his services were frequently sought in behalf of the sick, and in the house of death. He not unfrequently received letters from persons in affliction who lived at a distance, stating their sorrows to him, and the cause of the same, and asking

the expression of such thoughts on his part as would meet their case. To these applications, we are confident, he gave attention, so far as we have had the means of judging. He aimed to act the part of the good Samaritan, and pour the oil and wine of consolation into the bleeding heart. A lady in the town of Union, Ct., had been called to surrender into the arms of death a dearly-beloved son. She said to Mr. B., "My soul is bowed down at the loss of my son. O, dear sir, if you have comfort for such as I am, I need it now. I feel scarcely able to bear up under my affliction. My son is dead; I shall see him no more in this world." He addressed her in these words:

"MADAM: The affliction with which you have been recently visited is of that kind which is calculated to prey on the natural affections of the heart, to bring a gloom over the disconsolate mother, and to produce even murmurings against that Providence which dooms our earthly hopes to disappointment, and our temporal joys to the blasts of sorrow. In this condition, it is needful that a source of consolation should be sought, that some healing balm should be applied, and that some celestial drops of comfort should be mingled in the cup of sorrow, that the mourner be sustained under affliction, and all murmurings repressed.

"Let me, madam, invite your attention to Him in whose hand is that rod by which you are afflicted. Is it the *pleasure* of the Almighty to afflict his creatures? Are the sorrows of all the mourners of the earth delightful to our heavenly Father? Hear what he says by his prophet, — 'For the Lord will not cast off forever: but, though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies. For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.' Will you ask, Why, then, does he afflict us? See the answer by an apostle:

Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth. We have had fathers of our flesh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; shall

we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits and live! For they verily for a few days chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our *profit*, that we might be partakers of his holiness.' Did not the Saviour admonish the people, with arguments drawn from parental love, against doubting the goodness of our heavenly Father? 'If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him!'

"Here, madam, Jesus certifies us that our heavenly Father is better to us than we are to our children. If this be true, there can be no more severity in his chastisements than his love and wisdom dictate and govern for our benefit.

"But what is the occasion of your grief? You have often seen your beloved son repose in sleep. Was he ever more lovely in your eyes than when thus at rest? Well, he never slept more quietly than he now does, where sickness and pain can never disturb, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.

"Have you never felt a concern for fear your dear son might possibly be drawn from the path of virtue, by the arts and allurements of vice? He is now out of danger. But you will say, He is hid from my sight and I shall see him no more, no more enjoy his company. But reflect, dear madam; ask yourself the question, How long will it be before you meet again? See 1 Thess. 4: 13, 14, — 'But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.' Now turn your thoughts to the expiring Saviour, and hear him say, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' To the same care, madam, you are invited to trust your beloved son, and in the same hope which sustained the blessed Jesus in death; and to take hold on the divine assurance, that 'as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' And may God, in his tender mercy, sanctify all your afflictions for your good, and grant you and your husband everlasting consolation and good hope through grace.

“There’s pity in a Saviour’s breast,
Compassion in his eye ;
To him, dear madam, fly for rest :
He marks the mourner’s sigh.

“O, fly to him ; he’s ever near ;
Thy grief he makes his own ;
With full assurance, then, draw near,
And bow before his throne.

“In him you’ll find a calm retreat,
And every blessing share,
While humbly bending at his feet—
Another Mary there.

“I am, dear madam,

“Affectionately yours,

“HOSEA BALLOU.”

SECTION XVI.—CONSOLATION FOR THE AGED.

He remembered not only the afflicted,—those who mourned the loss of friends,—but the aged and infirm, also. His heart was drawn out with tender regard for them. What should he say for their comfort? What was appropriate to their situation? He used to say “The hoary head is a crown of glory, if found in the way of righteousness.” To be permitted to live to old age was a blessing, a reward, often, of a prudent and obedient life. Parents were entitled to the respect of their children, which claim increased as the parents descended more and more nearly to the grave; and no daughter or son, of good sense or good principles, would permit himself, even for one moment, to show the slightest disrespect to his father or his mother. Mr. Ballou would speak to the aged and infirm in language like this :

“VENERABLE FATHERS AND MOTHERS: Your advanced years entitle you to the attention and respect of society generally, but more especially to the attention and respect of your connections, and the younger branches and members of your families. Your age is evidence that you discharged your duty to your parents in their day, by which you are entitled to the promise with which such duty is rewarded: ‘Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.’

“In all ages it has been esteemed a favor to live to be old, and therefore divine instruction is given on this ground. ‘Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings; and the years of thy life shall be many. My son, forget not my law; but let thine heart keep my commandments: for length of days, and long life, and peace, shall they add to thee. Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding: length of days is in her right hand; and in her left riches and honor.’ You see, then, that your advanced years are evidence of the divine approbation. This should be a source of comfort and satisfaction. It is a pleasant reflection to the servant to be satisfied that the master’s approbation is obtained. Thus circumstanced, you have reason to be glad that your journey is so near through. Could you be set back twenty or thirty years, would you view it an advantage? You might make mistakes, which by due caution you have avoided, and lose the crown you have now secured. Let it be a comfort, then, to your minds, that the dangers of life’s voyage are past, that its great object is obtained, and that a good name, which is better than precious ointment, is yours.

“As you have been faithful in the discharge of your duty, in bringing up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, so it is probable that you now enjoy the due recompense of so doing, in the prosperity of your offspring. What can more cheer the hearts of affectionate parents than to see their children and their children’s children virtuous and prosperous in the world? ‘The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion; and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life. Yea, thou shalt see thy children’s children, and peace on Israel.’

“The manifestation of the divine favor and the prospect of much good to our country and to the world, are wonderfully calculated to reconcile the aged to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better than to stay here. When aged Simeon held in his arms the Saviour of the world, he said, in a transport of joy, ‘Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel.’ You who have lived to be old, in this happy country of unexampled privileges, who have discernment to look forward and calculate on the promised prosperity which awaits an industrious, enterprising people, possessing our advantages; who have seen the march of mind which has distinguished the present age, and the advancements which have been made in liberal sentiments in religion, which give favorable assurance of a general diffusion of truth throughout the world, have no less occasion to raise your hearts to God, in resignation to depart in peace, than had Simeon, who stands on divine record as your example.

“But are any of you so circumstanced as to be induced to say, We are not only old and infirm, but we are helpless and a burden to our children? Let me ask, were your parents a burden to you when you so kindly waited on them in their helpless old age? Were your children a burden to you when they were helpless in your arms? Such a thought should never be indulged. Nothing could give your children more unpleasant sensations than to know that you thought yourselves a burthen to them. In such a case they would feel that they were accused before God, who has commanded thus, ‘Hearken unto thy father that begat thee, and despise not thy mother when she is old.’ It is not unfrequently the case that old and infirm people trouble themselves and their children by indulging the notion that everything should be done accordingly as they see fit to direct; not realizing that the concerns of business necessarily devolve on those who, being in the vigor of manhood, can exercise a better and sounder judgment than they whose powers both of body and mind have become feeble. In relation to this particular, you will allow me to give

some advice. Lay aside, then, the concern about business, which gives you this trouble, and trust the direction of temporal concerns to the judgment of those on whom the duty most properly falls. If they manage them prudently, they receive the benefit; if they manage foolishly, the damage is theirs. Why should you take this care and responsibility on yourselves? Have you not in your days had care enough? Let others now take their turn, and rid yourselves of a burden which no one can rationally wish you to bear. Should cases occur in which you are satisfied that your advice is needed, you can, without burdening yourselves with a concern for the event, suggest, by way of query, what you are satisfied would be for the best, without perplexing those whose proper concern it is, and without rendering yourselves responsible for consequences.

“ Now is the precious moment to attend to the divine direction : ‘ Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost.’ ” The gay scenes of youth, blossoming with hope and flushed with ambition, are long since past ; the multiplied cares and concerns of middle age are now no more ; all that the world calls pleasure has become insipid, — what now remains ? There remains your kind, your everlasting Father in heaven, whose eye is on you still, whose ear is still open to your devotions, and whose arms are about you for your protection. There remain your children, and your children’s children, all devoted to your service. Your neighbors and your friends are near, to lend you aid, if needed. Your Bibles you can read, or your children can read them in your hearing ; and many other wholesome writings, calculated to revive the drooping spirit and to gladden the sad heart, still remain. The truth of the Lord endureth forever. You can now meditate on the doctrine of the blessed Saviour, and by faith in him can apply his precious promises to yourselves. You can love your God, you can love his truth, you can love all who are about you ; and you can do them much favor by giving them to understand that you have confidence in them, love for them, and satisfaction in their duties to you performed with filial affection. Immortality and eternal life, which are brought to light through

the gospel, still remain an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and which fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you."

SECTION XVII.— ON FOREIGN MISSIONS.

There was much excitement, in these days, on the subject of foreign missions. Agents were out among the churches, calling upon the people to give their money to aid in the work of saving the heathen. Mr. Ballou felt a warm desire that the benighted heathen should come to the knowledge of Christ; and he offered fervent prayers to that end. But he did not desire to have them converted to Calvinism, or any other form of faith which was to be attributed to the wisdom of this world solely. When he was charged with being opposed to the conversion of the heathen, he said, "No, I am not opposed to their conversion to Christ; I am ardently desirous that they should all know Jesus in his true character; but I am fearful that the missionaries who are sent to Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea, will not teach Christ; I am fearful they will not speak as the oracles of God; I am fearful they will substitute their own inventions for the divine word." Nothing gave him greater pain, in reflecting on this subject, than the reasons which were assigned by the leading clergy why the gospel should be sent to the heathen. These divines averred that the "poor heathen" did not need to be saved so much from their blindness, from their idols, from their evil practices, from uncleanness, from the sacrifice of children, from cannibalism, as from the *wrath of God*, and from the *pains of hell forever*. If it were not for

God's wrath and endless burnings, the clergy thought there would not be the need of sending missionaries abroad. The great fact which was urged as the reason why the people should contribute *money* to support the missionaries was, not so much to improve the practices of the heathen in this life, as to *save their souls*. The most stirring appeals were made in their behalf, because they were dying at the rate of many thousands per day, and were thus dropping into an endless hell. It was something *in God* from which these worldly-wise divines wished to save them, and not from sin in itself. "How happened these missionaries," Mr. B. would ask, "to have so much less wrath and so much more kindness than the Father of mercies?" Again and again he put this question, in the course of his ministry. There was another matter on which he bestowed much thought, namely, the motive which moved these missionary proceedings. It will be remembered that the highest motive which our Lord attributed to the missionaries sent out by the Pharisees of his day, was *the desire to make proselytes*. "Ye compass sea and land to make proselytes." Jesus would not allow that they had any other purpose. Mr. Ballou supposed that the missionary operations in our times sprung, in some measure at least, from the same cause. He was fearful, too, that Christians would carry the sad example of their divisions into foreign lands; that, as the different sects were almost all about to engage in this work, all the different shades of faith which we saw among us would become visible wherever they were successful. There was but little hope of success to be entertained, considering the way in which the

churches had commenced. Mr. B. therefore had no great satisfaction in beholding what the churches were doing for the alleged purpose of converting the heathen. He looked at it as a vast operation of the earthly wisdom; and, for the ends for which it was avowedly carried on, it seemed to him to be almost a denial of the gospel itself. He reasoned on the matter in the following strain :

“ 1st. Is not this whole argument a denial of the religion of Jesus Christ? It is allowed that this religion is founded entirely on the divine benevolence towards mankind. This proposition is acknowledged by all Christian denominations. How, then, is it possible to reconcile this matter of fact with the idea that so far the greatest portion of the human family is in danger of endless sufferings, as a dispensation from this same Divine Being, whose benevolence to the whole human race has, in infinite mercy, revealed a dispensation of favor?

“ If God really meditated or designed the gospel for the benefit of all men, he must have loved all; and, if he is unchangeable, he loves them still, and will so love them forever. What danger, then, can any portion of the human family be in of receiving from God anything but good? If the friend of missions should be so lost and inconsistent as to say that God has limited man's opportunity to become interested in the gospel of his Son to this life, and that this day of probation may expire before we make sure of the prize, he may be told that this suggestion involves inconsistencies as repugnant to reason as the one it is designed to clear up; for, if the gospel is in fact founded on the benevolence of God towards all men, then the whole race of man was interested in this gospel even before it was revealed to any. And, furthermore; if the divine benevolence produced this dispensation of favor for the benefit of all men, how is it possible that God should ordain that the conditions by which we are to obtain this favor should be such

that but a comparative few should even have it within their power to avail themselves of their benefits?

“ 2d. Is there not a very great want of consistency in pretending that the people here, by being moved by the spirit of Christ, will, in very deed, by contributing money for that purpose, be the means of saving immortal souls from the endless wrath of this same Christ? Is not this absurdity equally as egregious as it would be to argue that by sending missionaries to the heathen, especially if it cost us everything we could possibly spare, we should be the means of saving them from our own wrath? People are made to believe that Almighty God has been at infinite expense to save those of his own creation from his own wrath, and that because he loves them with an infinite love! They are made to believe that the Son of God came into the world and gave himself a ransom to save men from his own vengeance in the future world! And, to complete the solemn farce, our clergy are now persuading the people that all that God has done, and all that Christ has done, to save people from their everlasting vengeance, will fail, unless they send, at an immense expense, these missionaries to complete the work!

“ 3d. When our missionaries, duly qualified for this great work of converting the heathen, arrive in the country where they are destined to labor, what have they for doctrine to teach the poor heathen? The fact is, they preach as great absurdities there as they do here. They there proclaim the infinite goodness of God in sending his holy child Jesus to die for all men; they there profess to be sent to the people with a message of grace from him who will have all men to be saved; and they there pray that the Redeemer's kingdom may fill the whole earth, and then require the people to believe that far the greatest part of mankind must be eternally miserable, for the glory of God!

“ 4th. As God promised the father of the faithful that he would bless all nations in him, do not the pretensions of those who patronize these missionary views manifest that they believe that God will fail of his promise in part, and almost wholly so unless they assist him? In this they manifest a similar wisdom to that by which Sarah disturbed her own peace and that of her family,

by contriving a way to help the God of Abraham to fulfil his promise respecting his seed. A bond-woman and her son became a burden and an offence. So will this wonderful wisdom, which has so artfully planned the missionary scheme, end in a very few converts, who will know as little of the nature of the gospel as do those who compass sea and land to convert them.

“5th. As this scheme of missions carries professed Christian ministers of different creeds into heathen countries, is it reasonable to suppose that they can any better agree there than here, where they are forever in contention? Each will there endeavor to produce his favorite belief in his proselyte; and when he perceives what he calls the work of regeneration commencing, he, like Jacob of old, will be careful to peel his rods and present them before the subject, and will never allow him to be born again, until the right rings and spots appear! And when these different creeds have engaged their respective votaries in their causes offensively and defensively, will there be anything wanting to complete a Babel confusion equal to the one which sends these missionaries abroad?

“Trusting in the increasing majesty of the Sun of righteousness, in due time, to enlighten all the ends of the earth, I have as little expectation that our missionary divines will effect this work, as I have that the polar ices can be all melted by carrying water in vases from the torrid zone.”

SECTION XVIII.—FALSE DOCTRINES OPPOSED.

We have shown, in former parts of this work, that Mr. Ballou had no faith in the common vagary concerning the existence of a *personal* devil. There was never a time, after he became a Universalist, that he did believe it; it was one of the points of Calvinism that he was earliest brought to reject. After his opinion was carefully formed it seldom changed, although he was always ready to change, when proper evidence was presented.

He believed all which the sacred writers had taught in regard to *the devil*; but he desired to receive their teachings in a proper manner, that is, he sought not to make a sense for their words, but to receive them in the precise signification which the writers intended. The common notions on this subject he utterly disregarded; and he sometimes addressed the reverend divines on this matter, somewhat in the style in which the prophet Elijah addressed the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings 18: 27. If those divines saw fit to defend absurd notions, he thought they ought to be willing to take the consequences. He proposed the following queries respecting the devil:

“The clergy who believe, and teach others to believe, that there is an immortal, spiritual being, who was once a holy angel in heaven, and who, by transgression and rebellion against God, fell from his moral rectitude, for which he was cast out of heaven down to a place which they call hell, there to be confined and tormented, in a lake of fire and brimstone, to all eternity; and who tempted Eve in the garden of Eden, in the form of a serpent, and who now tempts every man and woman in the world to all the sin which is committed, and who intends thereby to provoke God, who sent him to hell, to send us there too; which being the clergy call the Devil; they are humbly called upon to give us, in short, all the information on this subject in their possession, which they may think it will not endanger their craft to disclose. As a good reason for calling for this information, may be stated the fact that there are many people who not only disbelieve this doctrine, on which the clergy wholly depend for their standing in this world, but who go so far as to treat it with no small disrespect. Should this dangerous heresy, of denying this fundamental doctrine concerning the devil, generally prevail, even a novice, with half an eye, can see the whole foundation of the popular hierarchy at once swept away.

“As some, with vain curiosity, ask, how it happened that sin

should originate in heaven, and how it was possible for the devil, who was confined in hell, to have the opportunity of dressing himself up in the garb of a serpent and visiting Eve in Eden, and how it is that he, being in hell confined, can be present with every man, woman and child in the world, it might be well to stop the mouths of these querists by plain and direct answers to their questions."

No answers, of course, could be obtained. He continued to expose Calvinism with great force and clearness, in his sermons, in his written articles, and in his conversation. Every doctrine of partiality and cruelty looked to him as if it originated and had been nurtured in the benighted minds of priests in the dark ages, and was sustained in our day by the force of tradition, and priestcraft, and sectarian pride. On the contrary, love, in his sight, bore the stamp of heaven. "Love is of God." Love belongs to heaven. If the doctrine of an endless hell were true, there would be no love there. Love springs not up from hell. Anything bearing the stamp of love proves its divine origin; while that which bears the stamp of cruelty and partiality shows it had its origin in darkened and diseased minds.

SECTION XIX.—ON THE ANGER OF GOD.

Speaking so often as he did on the love of God, he sometimes drew out upon himself questions like this: Does not the Bible teach us anything concerning the *anger* and *fury* of God? He would answer, "Yes."—"Well," the inquirer would say, "what does it teach us?"—"It teaches us," said Mr. B., "that God is *slow*

to anger;’ that his anger may be ‘turned away;’ that it ‘endureth but a moment;’ that ‘weeping may endure for a night (it is transient), but joy cometh in the morning,’—Psa. 30 : 5; ‘that the Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy,’—Psa. 103 : 8; ‘will he reserve his anger forever? will he keep it to the end?’—Jer. 3 : 5; ‘I am merciful, saith the Lord; and I will not keep anger forever,’—verse 12; ‘He retaineth not his anger forever, because he delighteth in mercy,’—Micah 7 : 18. He never delighteth in wrath; *that* is his strange work. Now,” Mr. Ballou would say to the inquirer, “if people really desire to know what the sacred writers say in regard to the anger of the Lord, let them not forget the facts which I have here named.” But the inquirer perhaps would proceed to say, “If God is love, as you assure us he is, how can he ever be said to be angry?”—“Well,” said Mr. B., “you do not mean to deny that God is love, I trust?”—“No.”—“Then you merely wish to know how the fact of God’s anger can be made to appear consistent with his love? I will tell you, my friend. We must never suppose that God is angry in the sense in which wicked men are angry; for, in that sense, ‘anger resteth only in the bosom of fools.’ God is angry only in that sense in which a God of love and true holiness can be angry. But let us give his own language more directly. On the words “anger resteth in the bosom of fools” (Eccl. 7 : 9), he said :

“From these words learn, 1st, That a wise man’s bosom may be the receptacle of anger for a short time, but he will never consent to harbor it as an inhabitant at rest or at home. When a

wise man is angry, finding that something has entered his bosom which gives him unpleasant sensations, he sets himself immediately to work to examine and find out the exact and true character of this unwelcome intruder. He very soon discovers that he has got a troublesome guest, who will never allow him any peace so long as he is suffered to abide with him. He then very prudently takes means to dislodge so dangerous a foe, before he can fortify himself, and become formidable in his intrenchments.

“ But with a foolish man the case is widely different. When anger enters his bosom it finds a settled abode ; and the fool bids it a hearty welcome, and immediately devotes his whole attention to accommodate this inmate of his heart. Anger now becomes the absolute master of the man who is fool enough to become its slave, goaded and driven here and there as the tyrant dictates.

“ The folly of this man appears in his efforts to injure another, but all the time tormenting himself. His anger deceives him, and makes him believe that, if he can effect a certain matter of mischief, it will give him satisfaction. But, even in case he succeeds, he finds himself exposed to a reaction which he did not anticipate, and this provokes him to attempt a second injury. In this he, perhaps, fails, and brings on himself mortification as well as disappointment ; all which enrages his anger still more, which now prompts him on even to fury, giving him no rest day nor night.

“ From the words of our text learn, 2d, That those Scriptures which represent the Divine Being as exercised with anger should never be understood to represent him as harboring anger or enmity in his bosom, even towards the wicked. It is worthy of remark that the Scriptures speak of God's anger as something which he can turn from or put away ; see Micah 7 : 18. ‘ Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage ? he retaineth not his anger forever, because he delighteth in mercy.’— Psalm 30 : 5. ‘ For his anger endureth but a moment ; in his favor is life ; weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.’

“ Should the question arise in the reader's mind how it is that an unchangeable God can be angry at one time and not at another, we may have recourse to the divine testimony for light on this

subject. Learn, then, that anger is not in God, but in man, whom God uses to correct men's disobedience and folly. See Isa. 10 : 5,— ' O, Assyrian, the rod of mine anger and the staff in their hand is mine indignation.' 51 : 17,— ' O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cups of his fury ; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cups of trembling, and wrung them out.' 27 : 4,— ' Fury is not in me : who would set briers and thorns against me in battle ? I would go through them, and would burn them up together.' In the light which these passages reflect on our subject, we see that in the Divine Being there is nothing contrary to love. ' God is love,' and in him there is no enmity.

" What shall we think of that impious creed by which men are taught that anger will abide in the bosom of our heavenly Father forever, and be exerted, too, in the administration of endless torments on millions of his own offspring ? When Solomon said that anger resteth in the bosom of fools, did he dream that any man would ever be so foolish as to suppose that it would rest in the bosom of the Creator forever ? "

SECTION XX.—FAST-DAY SERMON.

On Fast Day, April 3d, Mr. Ballou preached a discourse of peculiar stringency, at the School-street church. In addition to the attempt made by Professor Stuart to deprive Universalists of the power to make oath, there were other facts, in regard to the dominant clergy, which seemed to show that they were aiming to gain great power, the exercise of which might be dangerous to the people. There were attempts to get certain societies, which were principally under the control of the clergy, consolidated and strengthened by acts of incorporation, with power to hold large amounts of property. There were efforts, too, to create a " Christian party in politics," so called, which was to control the state and

national elections, and bring the country under the influence of the Presbyterians, and other sects of kindred faith. It was this state of things which led Mr. B. to select as the subject of his discourse, on the occasion referred to, the words of the prophet (Jer. 5: 30, 31), "*A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?*" *

When Mr. Ballou came to apply the subject to his own times, he spoke the honest convictions of his understanding:

"That the clergy in our country are determined to gain an ascendancy over the people, even far beyond what they now exercise, is abundantly evident from the unwearied exertions which they are making to add to all their other means of influence that of moneyed institutions. No scheme which clerical ingenuity and deceit have been able to invent and cause to act has been omitted. At our doors stand their runners and beggars; in our parlors they solicit money of our wives and daughters; in our kitchens they wring from the female hand of labor its penny, its last farthing. With hearts harder than flint, and colder than marble, they will plead, in the most persuasive manner, with little children to relinquish the grateful sweets which the God of nature adapted to their taste, that the unnatural sacrifice may be turned into money to be used in saving souls. And such is the mania of deluded parents, that, in many instances, such degrading folly is indulged, while the clergy, in room of being ashamed of conduct so derogatory to humanity and good sense, boldly publish to the world their success in deception, and endeavor to excite others to become equally stupid.

* See "A Sermon delivered in the Second Universalist Meeting-house in Boston, on Fast-day morning, April 3d, by Rev. H. Ballou, pastor."

“ This order of men study human nature, with avidity of application, to find out every possible avenue to the weakness of mankind; and they have discovered that a blind enthusiasm, regarding religion, will drive people fastest and furthest of any spirit by which they can be moved. In order to elude detection, they place their objects all in a future world, to which region the eye cannot extend. On these subjects they dwell with boldness and pathos, describing the misery of the damned in the most lively and moving manner, insisting, at the same time, on the strict eternity of its duration; and, directing the attention of their hearers to the destitute condition of the heathen, who have not the *blessed* sound of their gospel of endless torments, they assure them that nothing can save those millions of rational beings from such torments in the future, eternal world, but the labors of missionaries. And now comes the cry for money. Money is wanted to carry salvation to heathen lands; money is wanted to present Bibles for heathen to read; and many are so stupid as to think, if the heathen had our Bible to read, it would be the means of saving them from divine wrath. But all this deception is carried on for the purpose of obtaining the people's money. Money they know is power. By it they are persuaded that they can control the concerns and affairs of state.”

It may seem to have been almost uncharitable to declare the fact, yet Mr. Ballou really believed that the popular clergy of our country were seeking to bring the whole land under the control of certain dominant sects.*

* That Mr. B. was fully borne out in such an opinion, will be evident to every one who will read the following extract from a sermon preached by Dr. Ezra Styles Ely, in 1827:

“ In other words, our presidents, secretaries of the government, senators, and other representatives in Congress, governors of states, judges, state legislators, justices of the peace and city magistrates, are just as much bound as any other persons in the United States to be *orthodox* in their faith.

“ Our rulers, like any other members of the community, who are under

If the following paragraph appears severe, let it be pardoned, on the ground that it was an honest expression of the preacher's opinion, which it gave him as much pain to avow, as it could possibly give others to hear it.

“What shall we think of these men, who thus endeavor to enslave their fellow-creatures? It is hard to judge them, and say they are dishonest,—that they are designing, crafty men; and yet we must say this, or, what they would as little like, that they are not possessed of common sense. Can they possibly believe that money is wanted to save the souls of men from the wrath of our Creator? This is what they pretend; and they cry money, money, as if they were in distress. Scarcely do we hear a word from their lips concerning the redeeming favor of our heavenly Father, which is so richly communicated in the gospel of his beloved Son, who gave himself a ransom for the whole world. Not to save us from the wrath of God, but from priestcraft and its degrading oppressions. The clergy would cause us to fear falling into the hands of God; but, my friends, I think the danger is of falling into the hands of the clergy.”

law to God as rational beings, and under law to Christ, since they have the light of divine revelation, ought to search the Scriptures, assent to the truth, profess faith in Christ, keep the Sabbath holy to God, pray in private and in the domestic circle, attend on the public ministry of the word, *be baptized and celebrate the Lord's Supper*. The electors of the five classes of true Christians, united in the sole requisition of *apparent* friendship to Christianity in every candidate for office whom they will support, *could govern every public election* in our country, without infringing in the least upon the charter of our civil liberties.

“The *Presbyterians* alone could bring *half a million of electors* into the field.

“I propose, fellow-citizens, a new sort of union, or, if you please, a *Christian party in politics*, which I am exceedingly desirous all good men in our country should join.

“I am free to avow that, other things being equal, I would prefer for my chief magistrate, and judge, and ruler, a sound Presbyterian. It will be objected that my plan of a truly Christian party in politics *will make hypocrites*. We are not answerable for their hypocrisy, if it does.”

SECTION XXI.—SECOND VISIT TO PHILADELPHIA.

In the month of May Mr. B. made his second visit to Philadelphia, the first (vol. II., pp. 173—85) having been made late in the year 1820. No particular account of the second journey has been preserved. Rev. S. R. Smith was the pastor at Callowhill-street, in that city, though we believe he was absent from home at this time. The society in Lombard-street was enjoying the labors of Rev. T. Fisk. The young man who has since been so eminent — we mean Rev. A. C. Thomas — had not then preached, although he had become a Universalist. He was residing at the time in Lancaster, Pa. He preached his first sermon at Lombard-street church, in the November following. At the time Mr. B. was in Philadelphia, the health of Rev. S. R. Smith was much broken, and he had formed the determination to leave that city, which he did in June, and went to make his second residence in Clinton, N. Y. What were the subjects discussed by Mr. B. during this visit, we are not able to state, with one exception. On Monday, June 2d, he preached from 1 Tim. 4 : 10, at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Fisk. The sermon was intended to show the benevolent design of the gospel, and the necessity of self-sacrifice, and willingness to bear reproach on the part of those who preach it.

SECTION XXII.—TRANSFER OF THE UNIV. MAGAZINE.

In the month of July of this year was issued the first

number of the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*. Mr. Whittemore, who had abandoned the design of removing either to Philadelphia or to Cincinnati, and had agreed to remain in Cambridgeport, found his time hanging heavily for the want of sufficient employment. This was in April. He suggested to Rev. Russell Streeter, then of Watertown, Mass., the design of commencing a new paper, to defend Universalism, much larger than the *Magazine*, and at no increase of price. The plan, we believe, struck Mr. S. quite favorably, and he entered with Mr. W. into the design. The prospectus was issued in April. It created no little excitement in Boston, for some thought it to be an infringement upon the privileges of the publisher of the *Magazine*, who was entitled by preëccupation to the field for this kind of a paper. It is well remembered, and duty requires us to state, that Mr. Ballou was not pleased with the idea of this new publication. He thought Mr. Bowen should not have been disturbed, or, at least, that he should have been consulted in the matter. The publishers of the *Magazine* said, at the foot of the prospectus for their tenth volume :

“ Since the above was in type, we have learned, with no small regret, that proposals have been issued, and extensively circulated, for publishing a paper in this city, at \$2, precisely on the plan on which we have proposed to publish the tenth volume of the *Magazine*; we are therefore induced humbly to solicit of the patrons of the *Magazine*, and of others, favorably inclined to the promotion of the cause to which our paper has been and will continue to be devoted, to regard with their favor the first publication of the kind ever established in the world, and thereby strengthen the hands which first made an exertion of this sort to enlighten the human mind.”

The threatened difficulty was settled with kindness on both sides, and the following announcement appeared in the *Magazine* for May 31 :

“TRANSFER OF THE UNIVERSALIST MAGAZINE.

“The patrons of the *Magazine* are hereby informed that, by mutual arrangement, the establishment will be transferred, at the end of the ninth volume, to the Rev. Russell Streeter, of Watertown, and Rev. Thomas Whittemore, of Cambridgeport. The tenth volume will be issued by them, as editors and proprietors, on a royal sheet, elegantly executed, for two dollars per annum. The present publisher cordially wishes success to the work, and recommends it to the patronage of his friends, and the friends of liberal sentiments generally.

HENRY BOWEN.”

On Mr. B.'s return to Boston, he was happy to learn that this arrangement had been made, especially as by the terms of the agreement his friend Mr. Bowen was indemnified. He hailed the new paper with satisfaction. But this is a subject not to be treated of in this place.

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