Chapter 1


2. Adin Ballou, Autobiography, 1803–1890, vii. Ballou's autobiography, based on an extensive and now apparently lost diary, is notable both for its objectivity and for the absence of any profound introspection.


8. Ibid., 45–46.

9. Ibid., 55–69.


16. Ibid., 154, 164.

17. Ibid., 159.


22. Ibid., 231–35.
26. Ballou, *Autobiography*, 306–7, 316; Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 131–33. Ballou's speech was published by the *Non-Resistant*, 16 Nov. 1839. Edmund Quincy called it “the best explanation of the true principles and most effecting reply to the most common objections that we have seen” and noted that it was being printed in pamphlet form. Ibid., 7 Dec. 1839.
32. Ibid., 296. A study of temperance in the town of Worcester indicates that its advocates were disproportionately drawn from the more ambitious and talented in the manufacturing, artisan, and farming population. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 96–104.
40. William Goodell, *Come-Outerism*, 1–6, 14–31; *Practical Christian*, 1 Aug., 1 Sept. 1840.
Notes to Chapters 1–2 • 183

42. Non-Resistant, 16 Nov. 1837; Ballou, Autobiography, 321–23.
43. Practical Christian, 15 Sept. 1840.

Chapter 2

2. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks 7:114; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Letters 2:257; William Henry Fish, Memoir of Butler Wilmarth, M. D., 89. Later, in the fall of 1842, Ballou rejected an invitation by George Ripley for the Practical Christians to join Brook Farm, because it was not founded on the Standard. Ballou, Autobiography, 326–27; John T. Codman, Brook Farm, 143.
5. Ibid., 1 Oct. 1842, 3 Feb. 1844. Also two articles by William Henry Fish, ibid., 28 June 1845, 24 June 1846.
11. Fish, Butler Wilmarth, 88.
15. Ibid., 27 Nov. 1841, 27 May 1843.


**Chapter 3**


2. Ibid., 7, 21 Feb. 1846.

3. Ibid., 12 May 1849.

4. Ibid., 15 June 1843 and 29 Nov. 1845; Ballou, *Hopedale*, 116-17 and


8. The *Practical Christian* published the new regulations and Ballou's exposition of them, "The True Social State," in its 18 Jan. 1845 issue. The regulations can also be found in Ballou, *Hopedale*, 134–37.


10 Ibid.


15. Ibid., 24 Jan. 1846.


23. Ibid., 5, 19 Sept. 1846.


27. Ibid.


29. *Hopedale Community, "Proceedings,"* 17 May 1847; *Practical Chris-
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dan, 12 June, 22 July, 6, 20 Aug. 1847; Liberator 17 (1847): 136; Ballou, Hopedale, 169.

30. Practical Christian, 12 June 1847.
32. The new constitution can be found in ibid., in the Practical Christian, 7 Aug. 1847; and in Ballou, Hopedale, 165–68.
34. Ballou, Hopedale, 167, 183; Hopedale Community, “Records,” 29 Oct. 1849. In other ways, too, the community continued to take an interest in its industries. At varying times it had charge of the machine, box, transportation, boot and shoe, and other businesses; in 1850 it also provided small loans to its machine, carpentry, box, and transportation businesses. Ibid., 17, 20 Oct., 20 Dec. 1849; Apr. 1850; 25 Jan. 1851.
37. Practical Christian, 12 May 1849.

Chapter 4

4. Ibid., 22 Nov. 1851.
5. Ibid., 8 June 1850, 21 May 1853; Diamond 2 (1851–52): 66; Ballou, Hopedale, 19.
7. Practical Christian, 13 June 1846, also 1 July 1840.
Notes to Chapters 4–5 · 187

16. Practical Christian, 18 June 1853, 2 June 1855; Ballou, Hopedale, 192.
18. Practical Christian, 6 July 1850; Hopedale Community, "Industrial Army Record," 27.
19. Ibid., 9, 11–13, 23, 25, 60.
22. Hopedale Community, "Records," 25 Jan., 8 Feb. 1848; the nature of this health "insurance" was not indicated.
23. Fish, Butler Wilmarth, 252–54; Adin Ballou, Memoir of Adin Augustus Ballou, 61.
27. Ibid., 110–21; Practical Christian, 15 May, 26 June 1847.
28. Fish, Butler Wilmarth, 38–42, 160; Practical Christian, 4 Sept. 1847.
29. Fish, Butler Wilmarth, 135–36; Hopedale Community, "Records," Apr. 1850; Practical Christian, 11 May 1850.
31. Fish, Butler Wilmarth, 141–73; Practical Christian, 21 May 1853.
33. Practical Christian, 22 Nov. 1851; Ballou, Concise Exposition of Hopedale, 2.
36. Ibid., 22 Nov. 1851.

Chapter 5

2. Ballou, Hopedale, 228–32.
4. Practical Christian, 4 Mar. 1848; 22 June, 9 Nov. 1850.
5. Ibid., 9 Nov. 1850, 3 Jan. 1852.
7. Ibid., 8 June 1850, 9 Apr. 1853; Ballou, Christian Non-Resistance, 228.
8. Practical Christian, 8 May 1846.
15. Liberator, 23 Jan. 1842; Hopedale Community, “Records,” May 1842. Ellen Dubois notes this acceptance of a sexual division of labor among Garrisonian abolitionists in general and argues that it prevented a full understanding of the problem of sexual inequality. Feminism and Suffrage, 35–38. With respect to understanding and practice, Hopedale seems to have been more advanced than Garrisonians outside the community.
18. Ibid., 24 Apr. 1851, 2 Sept. 1852; Progressive Age 6 (1864–65): 5.
19. For annual lists of community offices, see Ballou, Hopedale.
24. From the Declaration, the epitomized version of the Standard of Practical Christianity published as part of every Hopedale constitution; see Ballou, Hopedale, 28, 166, 368.
Notes to Chapters 5–6 • 189

34. Hopedale Reminiscences, 26–28 (this volume, which records the memories chiefly of women who had grown up in the village in the 1850s, tends to exaggerate the degree of moral control in the community); Practical Christian, 11 Feb. 1854.
36. Hopedale Community, "Records," 22 Apr. 1853; Practical Christian, 11 Feb. 1854; U.S. Census 1850, Milford, house #647. Besides his own family, Sutcliffe’s house had three families of workers and a young Irish woman, probably a domestic.
39. Ibid., 2, 30 July 1853; Ballou, Hopedale, 246–48.
40. Practical Christian, 25 Oct. 1851; 9 Apr., 2, 30 July 1853; Ballou, Milford, 979–80. Only a few months before she left Hopedale, Price had praised the Raritan Bay Union for its “Unitary domestic operations” but also criticized its founders for failing to prevent “the Slaveholder, or the Warrior, or the user of Intoxicating Beverages, from taking stock and voting in their organization.” Practical Christian, 9 Apr. 1853.
41. The resolutions and regulations were published in Hopedale Community, Constitution, By-Laws, Rules, and Regulations (1853) 33–37; also, Practical Christian, 16 July 1853.
42. Practical Christian, 15 July 1854. The resolutions and regulations, in a somewhat modified form, were still in effect in 1861.
43. Ibid., 11 Feb., 15 July 1854.
44. Ibid., 27 Mar. 1852; Hopedale Reminiscences, 28–29.
45. Hopedale Community, Communal Songs and Hymns, 12; Ballou, Hopedale, 369, and Concise Exposition of Hopedale, 4.

Chapter 6

1. Practical Christian, 8 June, 6 July, 12 Oct. 1850.
2. Ibid., 20 July, 9 Nov. 1850; 22 Nov. 1851; Ballou, Autobiography, 350.
3. Practical Christian, 29 Apr. 1843; Ballou, Hopedale, 180, and esp. Practical Christian Socialism, 348–57; also Practical Christianity in Relation to Education and Amusements, which reprints the previously cited pages.

4. Ballou, Hopedale, 181–82; Mammoth, 14 Apr. 1847; Practical Christian, 6 July 1850.


7. Ibid., 11 July 1846; Adin Ballou, Practical Christianity in Relation to the Superiority of Moral Power over Political Power, 1, 7, and Primitive Christianity and Its Corruptions 2:275–76.

8. Ballou, Superiority of Moral Power, 7. For an example of the Hutchinson family’s connection with the world of reform, see Liberator 14 (1844): 120.


10. Both of the collections were published at Hopedale. The quotation is from the Practical Christian, 23 Dec. 1848.


13. Practical Christian, 16 May 1857; Ballou, Primitive Christianity, 250.


18. Practical Christian, 6 July 1850.


22. Practical Christian, 16 May 1846; Ballou, Practical Christian Socialism, 186, 279–337.

23. Ibid., 279–84; Practical Christian, 1 Apr. 1841.


1856; also, Hopedale Community, Constitution, By-Laws, Rules, and Regulations (1853), 22.

38. Ibid., 3 Jan., 27 Mar. 1852.
40. Ballou, Adin Augustus Ballou, 28-47, 64.
41. Ibid., 123, 126, 142, and passim. Writing to his own son, Dr. Butler Wilmarth said that Augustus had died from "an over-action of the brain" and speculated that the young man "probably was praised and put ahead—exerted himself to discharge his duties, and sunk a martyr to over-exertion of the young faculties of his mind." Fish, Butler Wilmarth, 221-22.
46. Practical Christian, 26 Mar., 16, 30 July 1853; 5 May 1855. William Henry Fish gave a similar qualified, rational acceptance of spiritualism. Ibid., 16, 30 July, 15 Aug. 1853; also, Fish, Orthodoxy versus Spiritualism and Liberalism.
Chapter 7

10. Ballou, *Hopedale*, 307–8, and Adin Augustus Ballou, 55. At the end of 1852 Spaulding reported that his net earnings for the previous thirty-one months totaled $476.74 and asked the community to assume the newspaper's $115 debt. Hopedale Community, “Record Book No. 2,” 31 Dec. 1852.
16. Ibid., 29 Jan., 26 Feb., 29 Nov. 1853; 25 Mar. 1854; 13 Jan. 1855;
18. Ibid., 11 Mar., 6 May, 3 June, 1 July 1854.
Notes to Chapters 7–8 • 193

24. Ibid., vii; Practical Christian, 1 July 1854.
29. Ballou, Practical Christian Socialism, 244–45.
30. Ibid., 183–84, 246–51.
32. Ibid., 227.
33. Ibid., vii; Practical Christian, 18 Nov. 1854.
34. Universalist Quarterly 13 (1855): 210–13; Noyes, American Socialisms, 129.
35. Practical Christian, 10 Feb., 30 June 1855.
37. Ibid., 24 Apr. 1852; 1, 19 July 1854.
38. Ibid., 23 Sept., 4 Nov. 1854.
40. Practical Christian, 5 May 1855.
41. Ibid., 22 Sept., 6 Oct. 1855; Ballou, Hopedale, 276–77.

Chapter 8

1. Universalist Quarterly 8 (1851): 20; Practical Christian, 6 May 1854.
2. Francis DeWitt, Statistical Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts, 511–12, 570; U.S. Census 1860, Manufactures, 251. Southern Massachusetts in general experienced fundamental changes in the 1850s, especially in the form of the enlargement of industrial operations, commercialization, population movements, and the growth of large towns. Prude, Coming of Industrial Order, 191–204; Practical Christian, 22 Sept. 1855.
9. Liberator 26 (1856); 184.
10. Personal though not entirely accurate glimpses of community life can be found in Hopedale Reminiscences, memories of people who had been children at Hopedale in the 1850s compiled a half century later.
17. Practical Christian, 11 May 1850.
18. Ibid., 5 May, 14 July 1855.
20. Practical Christian, 3 June 1854; 17 May, 14 July 1855; 22 Mar. 1856.
26. U.S. Census 1850, Milford. There is little available evidence relating to stock ownership at Hopedale. Reportedly, in 1855 the stock was "now owned almost entirely by resident stockholders." Practical Christian, 22 Sept. 1855. In 1850 a committee appointed to devise a plan to "secure greater interest in Joint Stock" reported that because of "the many difficulties with which they met in the investigation," they had no plan except to urge everyone to take an interest in the stock. Hopedale Community, "Records," 6, 22 Nov. 1850.
Chapter 9

2. Ibid., 24 Mar. 1855, 4 Oct. 1856. On the ownership of the joint stock, see n. 26 of chap. 8.
4. Ibid., 9 Feb., 8 Mar. 1856; Hopedale Community, Compact of Commune No. 1, and “Record Book No. 2,” 4 Jan. 1856, and “Records Regarding the Organization of Commune No. 1, Jan. 2–April 6, 1856”.
8. Ibid., Ballou, Hopedale, 408. Ballou says nothing about the Judicatory of Commerce.
12. Ibid., 27 Jan., 22 Sept. 1855.
17. Ballou to Theodore Weld in Benjamin Thomas, Theodore Weld, 229; Ballou, Hopedale, 289; Practical Christian, 22 Sept. 1855.
18. Draper's son William recalled that his father had said that while he was ready to give his best for the public good, he was unwilling to “have business questions decided by a majority vote of people who had not the capacity to understand them.” Draper, Recollections, 22.

23. Hopedale Community, "Records Regarding the Organization of Commune No. 1.,” 10–11. Of the members of the commune, only Charles Price participated in the community vote on dissolution, and he voted in favor of the plan. Ballou's most notable action at the time of dissolution was to procure the continuation of the enactment establishing communes. Hopedale Community, “Record Book No. 2,” 8, 14 Mar. 1856.


29. Ibid., 15 Nov. 1856, 2 May 1857.


Chapter 10


Notes to Chapters 10–11

11. Ibid., 3 Apr. 1858, 11 June 1859.


Chapter 11


2. *Spiritual Reformer* 3 (1861–62): 75–79, 86–87; *Progressive Age* 4


6. *Modern Age* 7 (1865-66), prospectus, 7–8. The attack on the “State Street monopoly,” etc., was first made in a set of resolutions submitted to the Boston convention apparently by Butts and subsequently reprinted in the *Modern Age* 6 (1864-65): 104-5, 152; Butts uses it, without attribution, in his “On Earth, Peace,” 15-16.


15. Ibid., 350-52.


17. Ibid., 355-60.


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Chapter 12

15. Hopedale (town), First Annual Report, 17; Bancroft, Memory of Jo-
seph Bancroft, 18; Hopedale Community, "Industrial Army Record," 44, 46, 50; Garner, Model Company Town, 183–84, 189.


30. For the textile depression, see Navin, Whitin Machine Works, 336–54. According to Irwin Feller, Draper sales were relatively low between 1914 and 1924 but then increased during the rest of the 1920s. Draper Loom, 325.