

COMMUNITARIANISM



"So long as the past and present are outside one another, knowledge of the past is not of much use in the problems of the present. But suppose the past lives on in the present: suppose, though encapsulated in it, and at first sight hidden beneath the present's contradictory and more prominent features, it is still alive and active; then the historian may very well be related to the non-historian as the trained woodsman is to the ignorant traveller."



— R.G. Collingwood, *AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY*
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939, page 100

1535

The Order of the Ursulines was founded by Angela Merici in Brescia.

1747

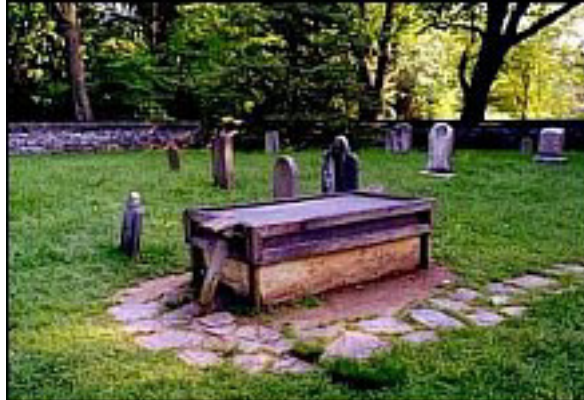
The society known as "Shakers" or "Shaking Quakers" was formed.

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1768

July 6, day: At the Ephrata Community in what is now Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Johann Conrad Beissel died. He had been born in Eberbach in Germany and had come to Pennsylvania in 1720, and in 1732 had established his semi-monastic community at Ephrata, known as “Camp of the Solitary,” a community which by the time of his death had come to include not only a monastery, “Brother House,” but also a convent, “Sister House.”



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In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Moses Brown](#) wrote to document to his brothers formally, that “my health is so impaired as to be much injured by a close attention to any kind of business, and I have concluded to leave the care and charge of my part of the business of the company this summer and fall, among you.”

THE BROWN BROTHERS



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1774

May 19-August 6: Mother Ann Lee –the female Christ– and a celibate group of eight of her United Society of Believers in Christ’s [Second Coming](#), aka “Shakers,” sailed from their old world to their new:

- Those departing Liverpool with Mother Ann Lee on May 19, 1774, in the ship *Mariah*, commanded by Captain Smith of New York, are:
1. Husband Abraham Stanley, a blacksmith, later to defect.
 2. Brother William Lee, a blacksmith, later to die of a cracked skull sustained at the hands of a mob at Harvard, Massachusetts.
 3. Niece Nancy Lee.
 4. James Whittaker, a weaver, who had fed Mother Ann through a pipe when she was in prison, and who led the Shakers after her death.
 5. John Hocknell, who supplied money for the group’s passage and eventually bought land in Niskeyuna, New York, seven miles from Albany, for the first Shaker settlement.
 6. Richard Hocknell, son of John.
 7. James Shepherd.
 8. Mary Parrington.

The *Mariah* was a Snow, an old type of sailing ship with a foremast, mainmast, and trisailmast, about the size of the *Mayflower*. After a terrible storm–the miraculous calming of which was credited to Mother Ann, the *Mariah* docked in New York harbor on August 6, 1774, some 78 days after it set out from Liverpool.*

*Robert Peters. THE GIFT TO BE SIMPLE: A GARLAND FOR ANN LEE.
New York: Liveright, 1975, page 91.



Along the way they seem to have come up from the hold and attempted to hold a worship service on deck, where normally females were not tolerated in view of the superstition of sailors that women aboard a sailing



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vessel would bring ill fortune:

The passengers on board the *Mariah*
will henceforth
confine
their religious observances
entirely
to the hold
and
under no circumstances shall they
worship
on deck and in the open air in view
of the ship's crew.

/S/ CAPTAIN SMITH*

*Robert Peters. THE GIFT TO BE SIMPLE: A GARLAND
FOR ANN LEE.



1780

On account of Mother Ann Lee's pacifism and her refusal to take an oath of allegiance, she was imprisoned for a few months by the American government on the charge of treason.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(This was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that an inability to assent to the value of war would be regarded as treasonous.)

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1784

September 8: Mother Ann Lee died at Niskeyuna.


1787

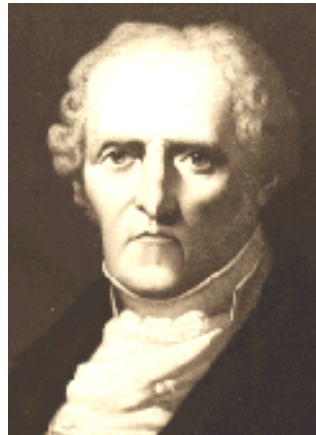
The 1st Shaker community was established, at New Lebanon, New York.

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1808

 Charles Fourier's first major work was released, *THÉORIE DES QUATRE MOUVEMENTS ET DES DESTINÉES GÉNÉRALES* (THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN; OR, THEORY OF THE FOUR MOVEMENTS, to be published in English as of 1857).¹



1. There is one master myth which drives all our ideology. It is that there is, and that it is necessary for us to discover, the one right way, The Solution, and that if we then hew to this one right way, everything will start to work, and the world will be all set to turn out all right:



It seems, however, that although we are prepared to defend to the death our right to trust in this master myth which drives all our ideology –that there is a right way and all that is necessary is for us to discover and hew to it– this really is not so. This is simply a false description of reality. Our world, actually, is not like this, not like this at all. We're not living on a Rubik's Cube and ultimately, things are not going to turn out to our liking. Meanwhile, we're going to just have to get used to our muddling along, and we're going to just have to continue, as long as it still seems feasible, to put up with each other as we do our muddle-along thingie.

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In this work, this theoretician Fourier opened himself to scornful abuse by mentioning that “*Ce fluide [referring to “un acide citrique boréal”] combiné avec le sel donnera à l’eau de mer le goût d’une sorte de limonade que nous nommes aigre ‘de cèdre’.*” Now this might translate into English as something like “This borealic citric acid combines with the salt in seawater to produce a taste similar to the drink [made with citron juice] we know as *aigre ‘de cèdre’.*” Some of this scornful abuse is to be found in [Nathaniel Hawthorne’s](#) 1852 *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE* with its description of the Fourierist thinking which was dominating the [Brook Farm](#) communitarian experiment just prior to the burning of its *Phalanstère* or central Phalanstery building and its financial collapse in 1846:



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[Next Two Screens]

Thus we have Roy R. Male commenting in his *HAWTHORNE’S TRAGIC VISION* of 1957² on “the mechanical method of conversion advocated by Fourier. Drain the salt from the sea, as he had proposed, transform the water to lemonade, and all the savor is gone. *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE* is thus a kind of *WALDEN* in reverse.... The story begins in the spring and ends with the fall; the whole progression is condensed in the exhilaration of the brisk September day that makes Coverdale buoyant at first but later only emphasized his “sickness of the spirits.” Clearly, this is a scholar speaking who not only has little grasp of *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE* but no grasp whatever of *WALDEN*, presumptuously simplifying the messages of *WALDEN* into one “rectify the inward” message and then equating this unary simplicity with Hawthorne’s shallow peiorism after merely having purchased a costly experience of the downside of communal life.



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of Charles Fourier, who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. Fourierism (Horace Greeley founded the New-York *Tribune* to promote Fourier’s ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the

2. Austin TX: U of Texas P, chapter “The Pastoral Wasteland: *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*,” pages 139-56.



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Being much alone, during my recovery, I read interminably [page 677] in Mr. Emerson's Essays, the Dial, Carlyle's works, George Sand's romances, (lent me by Zenobia,) and other books which one or another of the brethren or sisterhood had brought with them. Agreeing in little else, most of these utterances were like the cry of some solitary sentinel, whose station was on the outposts of the advance-guard of human progression; or, sometimes, the voice came sadly from among the shattered ruins of the past, but yet had a hopeful echo in the future. They were well adapted (better, at least, than any other intellectual products, the volatile essence of which had heretofore tintured a printed page) to pilgrims like ourselves, whose present bivouac was considerably farther into the waste of chaos than any mortal army of crusaders had ever marched before. Fourier's works, also, in a series of horribly tedious volumes, attracted a good deal of my attention, from the analogy which I could not but recognize between his system and our own. There was far less resemblance, it is true, than the world chose to imagine; inasmuch as the two theories differed, as widely as the zenith from the nadir, in their main principles.

I talked about Fourier to Hollingsworth, and translated, for his benefit, some of the passages that chiefly impressed me.

"When, as a consequence of human improvement," said I, "the globe shall arrive at its final perfection, the great ocean is to be converted into a particular kind of lemonade, such as was fashionable at Paris in Fourier's time. He calls it *limonade à cèdre*. It is positively a fact! Just imagine the city-docks filled, every day, with a flood-tide of this delectable beverage!"

"Why did not the Frenchman make punch of it, at once?" asked Hollingsworth. "The jack-tars would be delighted to go down in ships, and do business in such an element."

I further proceeded to explain, as well as I modestly could, several points of Fourier's system, illustrating them with here and there a page or two, and asking Hollingsworth's opinion as to the expediency of introducing these beautiful peculiarities into our own practice.



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"Let me hear no more of it!" cried he, in utter disgust. "I never will forgive this fellow! He has committed the Unpardonable [page 678] Sin! For what more monstrous iniquity could the Devil himself contrive, than to choose the selfish principle – the principle of all human wrong, the very blackness of man's heart, the portion of ourselves which we shudder at, and which it is the whole aim of spiritual discipline to eradicate – to choose it as the master-workman of his system? To seize upon and foster whatever vile, petty, sordid, filthy, bestial, and abominable corruptions have cankered into our nature, to be the efficient instruments of his infernal regeneration! And his consummated Paradise, as he pictures it, would be worthy of the agency which he counts upon for establishing it. The nauseous villain!"

"Nevertheless," remarked I, "in consideration of the promised delights of his system – so very proper, as they certainly are, to be appreciated by Fourier's countrymen – I cannot but wonder that universal France did not adopt his theory, at a moment's warning. But is there not something very characteristic of his nation in Fourier's manner of putting forth his views? He makes no claim to inspiration. He has not persuaded himself – as Swedenborg did, and as any other than a Frenchman would, with a mission of like importance to communicate – that he speaks with authority from above. He promulgates his system, so far as I can perceive, entirely on his own responsibility. He has searched out and discovered the whole counsel of the Almighty, in respect to mankind, past, present, and for exactly seventy thousand years to come, by the mere force and cunning of his individual intellect!"

"Take the book out of my sight!" said Hollingsworth, with great virulence of expression, "or, I tell you fairly, I shall fling it in the fire! And as for Fourier, let him make a Paradise, if he can, of Gehenna, where, as I conscientiously believe, he is floundering at this moment!"

"And bellowing, I suppose," said I – not that I felt any ill-will towards Fourier, but merely wanted to give the finishing touch to Hollingsworth's image – "bellowing for the least drop of his beloved *limonade à cèdre*!"

There is but little profit to be expected in attempting to argue with a man who allows himself to declaim in this manner; so I dropt the subject, and never took it up again.



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


1813

 Robert Dale Owen's THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

The 1st essay of the four essays in his A NEW VIEW OF SOCIETY, OR, ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORMATION OF THE HUMAN CHARACTER, AND THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE TO PRACTICE (the publication would not be complete until 1816).


[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

1814

 Continuation of the essays in Robert Dale Owen's A NEW VIEW OF SOCIETY, which would not be complete with all four essays until 1816.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

1820

 Four sisters of the [Catholic](#) Ursuline teaching order came to inhabit a convent set up near the [Boston](#) cathedral.



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1821



In and around the experimental colony of Harmonie, Indiana, conflicts, based apparently on the distrust by the Harmonists of “worldly” people, came to a head in a brawl between local farmers and members of the Harmony Society. The Harmonists began looking for a buyer for their property.

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1825



The Rappites/Harmonists of Harmonie, Indiana moved back east and founded Economy, Pennsylvania.

Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877) resolved to establish a community in America based on the socialist ideas he had developed over the years. He purchased the Harmonie colony’s land in southern Indiana for £30,000. He put one of his sons, also named Robert Owen, in charge of New Lanark and another one, William Owen (1802-1842), in charge of the New World experiment, which would become known as New Harmony.

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Here is New Harmony on the Wabash River as depicted by a follower of Karl Bodmer in 1841:



(This painting is at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska.)

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March: Fanny Wright visited New Harmony, Indiana. At this time most of the inhabitants were still Rappites but they were in the process of moving to a new commune, called Economy, north of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Fanny then visited Albion, where she met George Flower.



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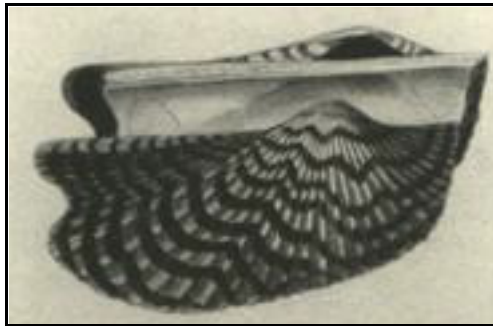
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1826

➡ Upon the “Ploughed Hill” of Revolutionary fame in Charlestown MA, there was installed the brick convent of the Ursuline Sisters, a [Catholic](#) teaching order. The place would be burned to the ground by a Catholic-hating mob in 1834, and would then become a popular pic-nic spot. This mound is now known as Mount Benedict in East Somerville, Massachusetts.

➡ January: [Thomas Say](#) traveled on the famous “Boatload of Knowledge” (the *Philanthropist*, a keelboat) to Mount Vernon, Indiana, and then continued overland to the utopian society experiment, the “New Harmony Settlement,” a venture of Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877). One of the passengers was Lucy Way Sistare, whom Say would marry secretly near New Harmony on January 4, 1827. She was an artist and illustrator of specimens (such as in Say’s *AMERICAN CONCHOLOGY*) and would become the first female member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. He was accompanied by William Maclure (1763-1840), the artist and naturalist Charles-Alexandre Lesueur (1778-1846), and the Pestalozzian educators Marie Duclos Fretageot (1783-1833) and Dr. William S. Phiquepal D’Arusmont. They would soon be joined in New Harmony by Gerard Troost (1776-1850) and Francis Joseph Nicholas Neef (1770-1854). There he would later meet another naturalist, Samuel Constantine Rafinesque.



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1827



Having disengaged himself from the textile business of New Lanark, Scotland that had been the source of his fortune, Robert Dale Owen had sold his interests in that business and he, his four sons, and one of his daughters, Jane, had moved to New Harmony, Indiana with the intention of making it their permanent home — but in this year he bethought himself, and determined that he would return to England to spend the remainder of his life assisting different reform groups there. This included supporting organizations attempting to obtain factory reform, adult suffrage, and the development of successful trade unions. He would express his views in his own journals, The Crisis and The New Moral World.



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➡ The Oneida Institution opened on the bank of the [Erie Canal](#) in Whitesboro near Utica, New York under the leadership of one George W. Gale who “having impaired his own health through hard study had regained it through farm work.” It may have been an informal sort of institution until the Oneida Presbytery took it over and appointed Gale its 1st president.³ At that time it was being intended as a school for the preparation of Presbyterian ministers. According to Benjamin Thomas’s *THEODORE WELD* (Rutgers UP, 1950, page 18), one of the students at this Whitesboro “manual labor institution” would be [Theodore Dwight Weld](#).



1828

➡ In this year and the next, the social movement “for the perfection of the social order” which had been started by Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon and continued by Barthelemy Prosper Enfantin was reorganized as a religious movement, complete with a hierarchy modeled upon the Catholic Church. Doing one better than the Church Universal, however, there were two popes, one a white man (*Le Père Enfantin*) to represent “reflection,” and one a white woman (form a line outside the door, please) to represent “sentiment.” In Paris alone there were perhaps 300 white women who were Saint-Simonians, and in Lyon another 100 white women. Sometimes a lecture on gender equality could summon an audience of over 1,000 white people. But then, on the other foot, this save-the-planet movement for the perfection of the social order was not so popular outside the European race:



To people the globe with the European race, which is superior to all other races, to open the whole world to travel and render it as habitable as Europe, that is the enterprise through which the European parliament could continue to engage the activity of Europe and always keep up the momentum.

However, it would be a grievous and malicious error for me to propose for you to suppose that this save-the-planet movement was racist, and that the intention of its white founders was to construct its “Golden Age of the human species which lies before us” out of the blood, sweat, and tears of the non-white peoples. I bite my

3. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, in his *LEWIS TAPPAN AND THE EVANGELICAL WAR AGAINST SLAVERY*, 1997 LSU paperback edition of 1969 Case Western Reserve U original, page 352 in “Bibliographic Essay,” has termed Thomas’s book “a short, lively life of the great antislavery orator, though it accepts uncritically the anti-Garrisonian interpretations popular at the time of its composition.”

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tongue! To the contrary, *à chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses oeuvres*, regardless of race and let the chips fall where they may, for the exploitation and warfare which was being proposed was merely one of pitting the human species against all those other species that were still cluttering up the planet in the 19th Century:



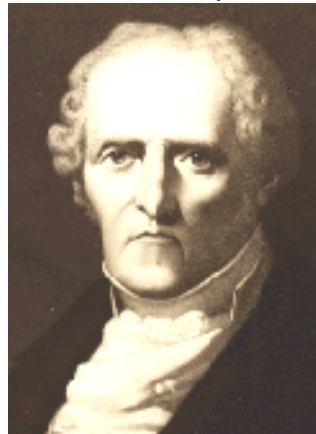
The only useful action that man can perform is the action of man on things. The action of man on man is always in itself harmful to the species because of the twofold waste of energy it entails.

Any white man, it seemed, could play this game, and impress other white people with the need to work together for the good of all. A businessman from Lyon, Charles Fourier, quite a bit younger and quite a bit more poetic, began in the 1830s to put forward some competing notions. People should join up together in groups he called *phalanges* (perhaps *phalanxes*?) and live conveniently close together in structures he called *phalanstères*, so that every woman would be able to take her choice of four lovers or husbands at a time.

These are approximate estimates.



It requires precisely 1,680 persons to associate, Fourier calculated, to create the desired mass effect of the phalanx. After 72,000 years (give or take a few decades, I suppose) of this robust [masturbation](#) fantasy, he estimated, we would enter an era of Perfect Harmony!



–Hey, stop sniggering, a lot of white people in the 19th Century, including some in the vicinity of [Concord](#), felt this was an idea worth going door-to-door on behalf of! The following is from [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 1852 THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE and describes the situation as of 1845 at the [Brook Farm](#) communitarian

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experiment just outside Boston:

The ["Blithedale"] Community were now beginning to form their permanent plans. One of our purposes was to erect a Phalanstery (as I think we called it, after Fourier; but the phraseology of those days is not very fresh in my remembrance) where the great and general family should have its abiding-place. Individual members, too, who made it a point of religion to preserve the sanctity of an exclusive home, were selecting sites for their cottages, by the wood-side, or on the breezy swells, or in the sheltered nook of some little valley, according as their taste might lean towards snugness or the picturesque. Altogether, by projecting our minds outward, we had imparted a show of novelty to existence, and contemplated it as hopefully as if the soil, beneath our feet, had not been fathom-deep with the dust of deluded generations, on every one of which, as on ourselves, the world had imposed itself as a hitherto unwedded bride.

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This was the year in which [Hawthorne](#) was anonymously publishing his FANSHAWE romantic novel of college life (later he would in embarrassment attempt to recover all copies; in 1876, long after his death, it would be republished).



1831



A person from Europe who styled himself "[Count de Leon](#)," a new member of the colony of Rappites/Harmonists in Economy, Pennsylvania, taking advantage of some rules of celibacy that were being found limiting by longer-term members of the community, led about 200 of them in a withdrawal. There would be a prolonged and bitter court struggle over the common fund of this commune.

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1832



Rebecca Theresa Reed, a charity pupil of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict, ran away and began to retail self-justifying stories to receptive Protestants of girls held there against their will. Soon the Reverend Lyman Beecher would be lecturing on the topic.



"To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning."

— Rebecca West



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Harriet Beecher, a daughter of the Reverend Lyman Beecher, pastor of the Church of St. John the Evangelist on Bowdoin Street in Boston, who had lived since 1826 at 42 Green Street and had there experienced her religious conversion, followed her reverend father to [Cincinnati](#) and began to teach at her sister's newly founded Western Female Institute. The Reverend Beecher, father also of Henry Ward Beecher, had been made the president of Lane Theological Seminary. In a nativist or Know-Nothing magazine, the Reverend would confess that he had relocated in order "to battle the Pope for the garden spot of the world." The need was to grow a crop of young Protestant ministers who would protect the western United States from becoming a colony of [Catholics](#).



[Nicholas Marcellus Hentz](#) and his wife the novelist Mrs. Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz relocated from Covington, Kentucky to [Cincinnati](#), where they would conduct a female academy. The wife would become friends with Harriet Beecher, although they would differ considerably in their politics (Caroline was decidedly pro-slavery).





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May: Isabella Van Wagenen (Sojourner Truth) met the [millennial](#) street preacher calling himself Matthias (the Reverend Robert Matthews, a converted Jew in his 40s). From this point until sometime in 1834, she would be a member of this Reverend's "The Kingdom" utopian community in New-York, going on to "Zion Hill" with him in Sing Sing NY.⁴

Isabella [Sojourner Truth] and the widower Elijah Pierson received a visit from a resplendently dressed figure: Robert Matthews, a Scots-American calling himself "the Prophet Matthias," whose singular manifestations of perfectionism had already created consternation upstate.... Matthias's road to Pierson's house in the spring of 1832 had been irregular and somewhat solitary. An orphan brought up by a poor family in rural Washington County NY, close to the Vermont border, Robert Matthews had made his living in the prophetic trade of carpentry. As an adult, he had moved his family back and forth between New York City, Washington County, and Albany, pushed and pulled by employment opportunities and the state of his belief. Matthews had become a fervent champion of total abstinence from alcohol and animal food, to the point of taking his two small children into the woods, feeding them on roots and berries for several days, and driving their mother to distraction. Taking heed in 1830 of what he heard as the voice of the Holy Spirit, Matthews began to regard himself as a Jew and renamed himself the Prophet Matthias. He let his beard grow and began to preach an urgent message. In the name of God, Matthias cried vengeance against the people and the land. Now was the end of the time of the "Gentiles," which meant everyone in America who did not heed his warning, for he, the Prophet Matthias, had been commanded to take possession of the world. Continuing to preach the end of the world and following the lead of the Spirit, he set off to the West. Such journeys were typical. The New Haven perfectionist John Humphrey Noyes some years later followed the Spirit's command to go south. As Sojourner Truth, Isabella would obey a divine command to go east. In the wilderness, Matthias wandered for some months, through New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Finally he came back around to New York City, where he converted Sylvester Mills, a member of Pierson's Israel at Mt. Carmel Church, who despite his wealth –or perhaps because of it– harbored a notion that his world was about to end. Matthias supplied the date: 9 July 1836. In the highly competitive world of prophecy in New York City, Matthias began to stand out visually and verbally. Preaching on the Battery that he was the Spirit of Truth, he wore a shiny black leather cap shaped like a cone, a green frock coat lined with white or pink satin, a crimson silk sash around his waist, and highly polished Wellington boots outside his trousers.⁵

4. The kingdom of Matthias, the Spirit of Truth, the Prophet of the God of the Jews, consisted of his three sons William, James, and John Matthews, Elijah Pierson and his daughter Elizabeth Pierson and possibly her half-sister for whom we do not have a name, Sylvester Mills, Isabella Van Wagenen, Catherine Galloway and her child or children for whom we do not have names, Benjamin and Ann Folger, with their children Catharine, Edward, and Mary Ann, Lewis Basel, Henry Plunkett, a Dutchman named Anthony for whom we do not have a last name, Mr. Thompson and his wife Elizabeth and their children for whom we do not have names, and Isabella Matthews Laisdell.

5. Painter, Nell Irvin. SOJOURNER TRUTH: A LIFE, A SYMBOL. NY: W.W. Norton, 1996, pages 50-51

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The General Union for the Promotion of the Christian Sabbath (the purposes of which had been to obtain for America's workers their God-given right to one day per week of respite from their commercial duties and for America's merchants, the essential property right to refuse government business they did not want) was forced to disband. The US mails were going to be delivered by stagecoach on a Sunday, and were going to be available for pickup at the post office for at least one hour on a Sunday. The cause had been lost.



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1833

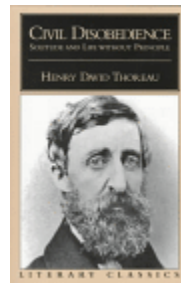
 A stone jail was erected in the rear of the courthouse of Auburn, New York. When a state investigative team toured the women's quarters of the prison, it was appalled at the conditions it discovered there.

Isabella Van Wagenen (Sojourner Truth) moved, with Elijah Pierson and the Reverend Robert Matthew (the Prophet Matthias), to a utopian commune called Zion Hill in Sing Sing, New York.



However, Pierson would soon be murdered, and in the resultant disruption of the commune she would lose all her personal belongings — at which point she would return to New-York and start over again as a servant, for the next eight or nine years — until her mystical experiences would again draw her into testimony.⁶

[Silvio Pellico](#)'s *LE ME PRIGIONI* was translated into English, leading us toward Thoreau's "This is the whole history of 'My Prisons'."



RESISTANCE TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT

6. The builders of the penitentiary that came to be known as Sing Sing after the town it was near had intended that it be referred to as the Mount Pleasant State Prison — but such an institution would not long support the irony of such a name.

READ “MY PRISONS”



➡ January: Rebecca Theresa Reed’s *SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT* sold 10,000 copies in its first week and, in all, would sell some 200,000 copies. The [Catholic](#) Mother Superior of the Ursuline Convent would issue her own book in rebuttal of the allegations made.

1834

➡ In Charleston, South Carolina, Bishop John England established the Ursulines.

CATHOLICS
URSULINES



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In this year in which any number of young Americans were coming into an attitude that they could, in adequate sincerity and innocence, live “secure from sin,”⁷ John Humphrey Noyes and James Boyle were putting out a magazine entitled Perfectionist which pandered to that attitude. (We can term this “Antinomianism,” since that is what it was termed in Europe while it was being put down as a heresy. Fucking was being held to be holy so long as the male partner refrained from orgasm.⁸ This attitude would be centered in places such as Brimfield MA and Putney VT, and Noyes would go on to imbed his sexual preferences in the Oneida Community.⁹)

ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY

7. We notice that this is the doctrine that had gotten local Messiah William Dorrell, at this point still alive in western Massachusetts although ancient and entirely “retired” from his Messiah role, into such bad trouble back in 1798.

8. Apparently it was holy for the female partner to orgasm — or perhaps that issue was unavailable because female orgasm was not at the time categorized as a sexual event, being categorized instead as a “hysterical paroxysm,” something medical which a physician making home calls might well for the patient’s relief induce with his finger?

9. The Oneida Community and The Oneida Institution were entirely separate entities.

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Summer: The Reverend Lyman Beecher returned from his presidency of Lane Theological Seminary near Cincinnati, Ohio to Boston to deliver three anti-Catholic sermons in various churches on a single day. He succeeded in rallying the Protestants together and the next day a mob gathered at the Ursuline Convent school in Charlestown, carrying banners which said, "Down with Popery" and "Down with the Cross."

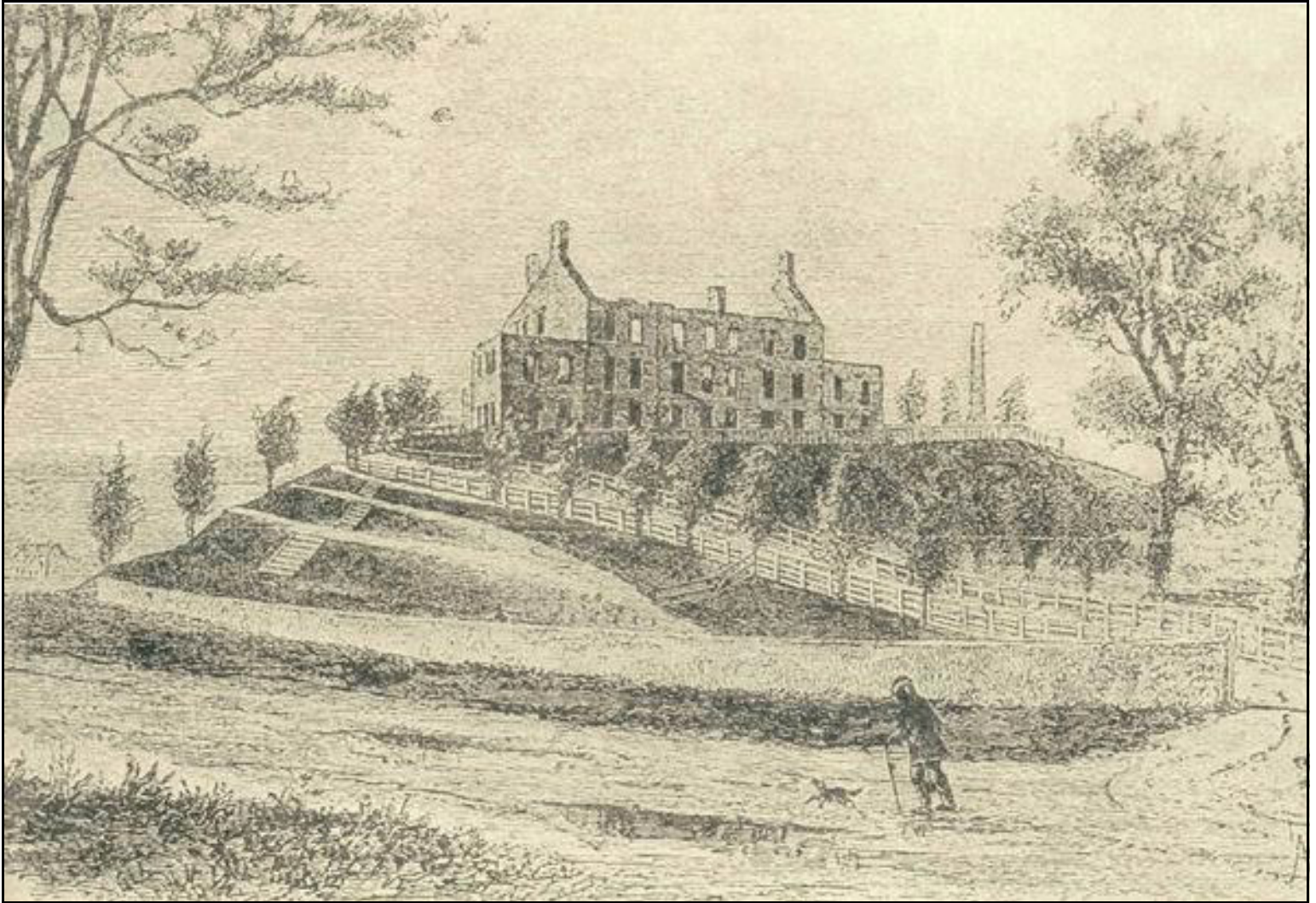


While the sisters and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, 50 men broke down the doors of the [Catholic](#) convent and set everything on fire. The mob was led by people such as a local brickmaker and teamster, but also present were at least two of the selectmen of Charlestown, and their complicity went at least to the extent of failing to call out the militia.

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Also present in the mob which watched the Ursuline Convent burn to the ground were members of Charlestown's volunteer fire department:



Although the arsonists made no secret of their identity, none would ever be found guilty. They would be tried in Concord in Middlesex County Court in 1836 but would declare that they were attempting to free young girls who were being held captive inside the convent by the Papist nuns and would all be acquitted.¹⁰ Mob attacks on Catholic churches in New England would soon become so frequent that insurance companies would refuse to insure Catholic buildings. The Reverend Beecher would return to Cincinnati and publish his rabble-rousing sermon as a pamphlet titled *PLEA FOR THE WEST*. He amplified the papal plot envisaged by Samuel F.B. Morse, maintaining that Catholic schools would win converts who would ally themselves with Catholic immigrants to control the west. Many would join the Reverend Beecher, allying themselves against immigrant Catholics.

10. There was one particular woman who was being given shelter in the convent, who was having some sort of mental difficulties, and this act of consideration by the sisters may have been just the thing that was needed to inflame the active imaginations of the righteously malicious Beast-of-Rome haters in the Protestant Boston area. In fact the mob made no particular effort to identify and retrieve this woman, who was fleeing with the sisters and taking refuge at a neighboring farm. Refer to:

Whitney, Louisa G. *THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT*. Boston, 1844.

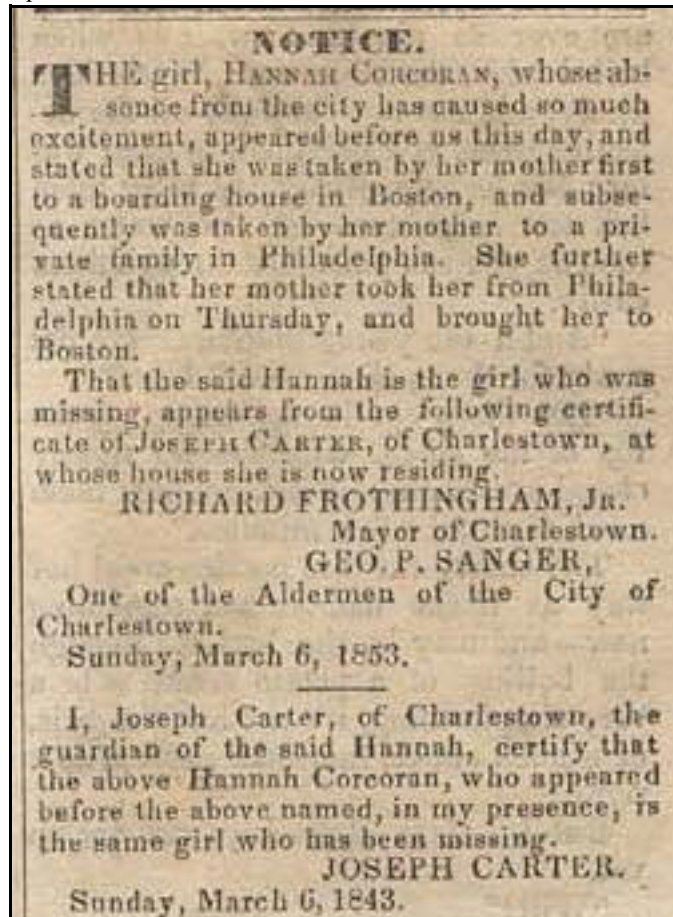
Lord, Robert H., John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington. *HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943*. New York, 1944.

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The nativist presence under the leadership of Beecher in Cincinnati would prompt the Catholic bishop of that city, in erecting a new cathedral which would become the tallest building west of the Allegheny River at the time, to design the structure without any windows at all in the lower walls. The circumference of the building is solid stone all the way up to 45 feet, in order to protect against anyone throwing incendiaries into the building as had been happening in New England church burnings.

The missing Protestant girl whose absence had triggered the mob turned up safe and sound. It had all been a mistake or a presumption:



Subsequently, there were rumors going around that enraged [Papists](#) were going to exact their revenge by attacking [Harvard College](#), and the selectmen of Cambridge responded by creating a "patrol watch" around

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Harvard Yard and stationing men at alarm bells.

There were “criars” (*sic*) sent into the streets of Cambridge to summon the populace to an indignation meeting, and this meeting created a committee which was charged with having at least two of its members “in session through the night,” so that it could promptly summon “military power” from Boston if this were needed to defend the edifices of their College. This committee, with its “patrol watch” and official bell-ringers, would evolve over the course of years into the first municipal police force and the first alarm system of the city of Cambridge.

Here is a portion of the report of the committee of investigation:



At the time of this attack upon the Convent there were within its wall about sixty female children and ten adults; one of whom was in the last stages of pulmonary consumption, another suffering under convulsion fits, and the unhappy female, who had been the immediate cause of the excitement, was by the agitation of the night in raving delirium.

No warning was given of the intended assault, nor could the miscreants, by whom it was made, have known whether their missiles might not kill or wound the helpless inmates of this devoted dwelling. Fortunately for them, cowardice prompted what mercy and manhood denied: after the first attack, the assailants paused awhile from the fear that some secret force was concealed in the Convent or in ambush to surprise them; and in this interval the Governess was enabled to secure the retreat of her little flock and terrified sisters into the garden. But before this was fully effected, the rioters, finding they had nothing but women and children to contend against, regained their courage, and ere all the inmates could escape, entered the building.



July 28, Monday: Elijah Pierson of The Kingdom was having spells which sometimes –when he became intensely lonely for his lost wife Ann, and disoriented– caused him to reach into his trousers in public to play with himself. He had asked Isabella Van Wagenen and the others to restrain him whenever these devils appeared. That evening, for supper, in a display of rage, the prophet Matthias spooned out plates of blackberries for Pierson but then himself ate only dry toast and coffee. It turned out that he had become enraged because when the dish of blackberries had been placed on the table, it had not been placed directly in front of him.

Sister Mary John sought shelter with Protestants.¹¹ While the [Catholic](#) sisters of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, a mob of Protestants from Boston and Charlestown destroyed the convent building. The mob was led by people such as a local brickmaker and teamster, but also present were at least two of the selectmen of Charlestown, and their complicity went at least to the extent of failing to call out the militia. Also present in the mob which watched the Ursuline Convent burn to the ground were members of Charlestown’s volunteer fire department. The mobs were prevented from marching to burn down Harvard Library on Tuesday night. The mobs were kept out of Boston on Wednesday night by raising the draw of the Charlestown bridge. Nothing would ever be done to

11. She would voluntarily return to her [Catholic](#) context after getting her wits about her.

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punish the members of this protesting mob, who were tried in Concord in Middlesex County Court in 1836 but were acquitted, which operated under the declaration that they were attempting to free young girls who were being held captive inside the convent by the Papist nuns.¹² Subsequently, there would be rumors going around that enraged Papists were going to exact their revenge by attacking Harvard College, and the selectmen of Cambridge would respond by creating a “patrol watch” and stationing men at alarm bells. There were “criars” (*sic*) sent into the streets of Cambridge to summon the populace to an indignation meeting, and this meeting created a committee which was charged with having at least two of its members “in session through the night,” so that it could promptly summon “military power” from Boston if this were needed to defend the edifices of their College. This committee, with its “patrol watch” and official bell-ringers, would evolve over the course of years into the first municipal police force and the first alarm system of the city of Cambridge MA.



Here is the after-mob Ursuline convent, and a portion of the report of the committee of investigation:

12. There was one particular woman who was being given shelter in the convent, who was having some sort of mental difficulties, and this act of consideration by the sisters may have been just the thing that was needed to inflame the active imaginations of the righteously malicious Beast-of-Rome haters in the Protestant Boston area. In fact the mob made no particular effort to identify and retrieve this woman, who was fleeing with the sisters and taking refuge at a neighboring farm. Refer to:

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
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1835

 Rebecca Reed, a nun who had escaped from the Ursuline Convent in 1832, left little to the imagination when she described her SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT.

What sort of person would be impressed by this sort of literature? Well, for one thing, a person who had helped burn down this convent in Charlestown would be impressed, very impressed. “Hey, we did the right thing!”

To Henry C. Wright, of course, Rebecca Read’s SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT bore “the impress of Truth.” Damn those Catholics anyway.

1836

 By this point the Reverend Hersey B. Goodwin had died and Dr. Edward Jarvis and Lemuel Shattuck had left Concord. The attempt made by these three educators to put the educational principles of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi into practice at the Town School was a thing of the past. The School Committee had fallen into the hands of conservatives who seemed much more interested in their own local internecine political struggles than in the welfare of the students. The cream of the college crop was being skimmed by the private Concord Academy, leaving in the public system the children of the poor, the dullards, and the discipline problems. Too bad. Phineas Allen, the Preceptor at the Concord Academy, who had alienated the Academy Committee through his anti-Masonic activities, ran for Town Clerk, and was elected. In order to understand how such a change of power in the little town of Concord could be related to the torching of the Ursuline Convent near Boston, and in order to understand how rioters who had committed an anti-religious arson could be acquitted in the Middlesex County courts, it is necessary to understand something of the anti-Masonic fervor which was sweeping the nation. Here is the story, in brief: William Morgan, a Mason, had become disaffected in a struggle internal to the fraternity and had published, in defiance of his oath of secrecy, the rites of the order. He had then, in Canandaigua NY, mysteriously disappeared, and it was rumored that the Masons had ordered that he be executed. John Quincy Adams, former president of the US, lost his head and published an attack on this fraternal organization. Then, while visiting Boston, Adams had happened to meet Squire Samuel Hoar of Concord, and had asked for his opinion. Old Sam had given it to him straight between the headlights:

It seems to me, Mr. Adams, there is but one thing in the world sillier than Masonry. That is Antimasonry.

But in Concord, a 3d-degree Mason and the owner of the Gazette, Hermon Atwill, resigned from the fraternity and **republished** the secrets published by the defector William Morgan. Concord became as bitterly divided as the nation. The sheriff of Middlesex County, Abel Moore, collected and consolidated all the outstanding bills that could be charged against the Gazette, and presented them for immediate payment in cash in an attempt to drive the paper out of existence. The Concord Bank, newly founded, called for payment of its note. John Keyes attempted to foreclose the mortgage. Atwill was no longer the owner of the Gazette, which became the Whig paper, and so he funded the Freeman in order to continue his Antimasonic crusade. With the harmlessness of the Masonic conspiracy and the ridiculousness of the Antimasonic evil-mongering becoming



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more and more obvious to everyone, Francis Richard Gourgas soon took over this undercapitalized gazette and turned it into a Democratic newspaper.

At the Concord Town Meeting, the citizens were so bitterly divided that it took them four ballots before they could even agree on a presiding officer. In the election of public officials, all the old Masonic affiliates were unseated and replaced with new Antimasonic officials. On the first ballot for the main position, Clerk of the Town of [Concord Phineas Allen](#), representing the Antimasons, tied with Dr. Abiel Heywood, who had been clerk for 38 years and was sympathetic with Masonry. On the second ballot, Allen was elected by a margin of seven votes. The electorate was then persuaded to give Dr. Heywood a vote of thanks for 38 years of uninterrupted service to the town.

EDUCATION.— Many of the original inhabitants of [Concord](#) were well educated in their native country; and, "to the end that learning be not buried in the graves of the forefathers," schools were provided at an early period for the instruction of their children. In 1647, towns of 50 families were required to have a common school, and of 100 families, a grammar school. Concord had the latter before 1680. An order was sent to this town, requiring "a list of the names of those young persons within the bounds of the town, and adjacent farms, who live from under family government, who do not serve their parents or masters, as children, apprentices, hired servants, or journeymen ought to do, and usually did in our native country"; agreeably to a law, that "all children and youth, under family government, be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge in the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism and that they be brought up to some honest employment." On the back of this order is this return: "I have made dillygent inquiry according to this warrant and find no defects to return. Simon Davis, Constable. March 31, 1680." During the 30 years subsequent to this period, which I [[Lemuel Shattuck](#)] have denominated the *dark age* in Massachusetts, few towns escaped a fine for neglecting the wholesome laws for the promotion of education. Though it does not appear that Concord was fined, a committee was appointed in 1692, to petition the General Court, "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master," or to procure one "with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine." From that time, however, this school was constantly maintained. For several years subsequent to 1700, no appropriations were made to any other school. In 1701, grammar scholars paid 4d. and reading scholars 2d. per week towards its support; and from that time to 1712, from £20 to £30 were annually raised. In 1715, it was kept one quarter, in different parts of the town, for £40. The next year £50 were raised for schools; £35 for the centre, and £5 for each of the other three divisions. In 1722, Timothy Minott agreed to keep the school, for ten years, at £45 per year. In 1732, £50 were raised for the centre and £30 for the "out-schools"; and each schoolmaster was obliged to teach the scholars to read, write, and cipher, — all to be free. In 1740, £40 for the centre, and £80 for the others. These grants were in the currency of the times. In 1754, £40 lawful money were granted, £25 of which were for the centre. Teachers in the out-schools usually received 1s. per day for their services. The grammar-school was substituted for all others in 1767, and kept 12 weeks in the centre, and 6 weeks each, in 6 other parts, or "school societies" of the town.



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There were then 6 schoolhouses, 2 of which were in the present [1835] limits of Carlisle, and the others near where Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6, now [1835] stand. This system of a *moving school*, as it was termed, was not, however, continued many years. In 1774 the school money was first divided in proportion to the polls and estates.

The districts were regulated, in 1781, nearly as they now [1835] are. The town raised £120, in 1784, for the support of schools, and voted, that "one sixteenth part of the money the several societies in the out-parts of the town pay towards this sum, should be taken and added to the pay of the middle society for the support of the grammar-school; and the out-parts to have the remainder to be spent in schools only." This method of dividing the school-money was continued till 1817, when the town voted, that it should be distributed to each district, including the centre, according to its proportion of the town taxes.

The appropriations for schools from 1781 to 1783, was £100; from 1784 to 1792, £125; 1793, £145; 1794 and 1795, £200; 1796 to 1801, £250; 1802 to 1806, \$1,000; 1807 to 1810, \$1,300; 1811, \$1,600; 1812 to 1816, \$1,300; 1817 and since, \$1,400. There are 7 districts, among which the money, including the Cuming's donation, has been divided, at different periods, as follows. The last column contains the new division as permanently fixed in 1831. The town then determined the amount that should be paid annually to each district, in the following proportions. The whole school-money being divided into 100 parts, district, No. 1, is to have $52\frac{1}{2}$ of those parts, or \$761.25 out of \$1,550; district, No. 2, $7\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 3, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 4, $8\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 5, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 6, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; district No. 7, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; and to individuals who pay their money in Lincoln and Acton, $\frac{1}{2}$ a part.

District. Old Names.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1830.	1832.
No. 1. Central	\$382.92	\$791.48	\$646.15	\$789.18	\$761.25
No. 2. East	95.28	155.45	160.26	109.69	110.56 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 3. Corner	68.49	135.48	142.48	117.00	119.62- $\frac{1}{2}$
No. 4. Darby	70.53	130.69	123.10	138.23	125.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 5. Barrett	107.29	163.51	145.89	125.11	119.62 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 6. Groton Road	64.63	105.41	93.55	79.16	103.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 7. Buttrick	67.64	126.68	114.16	84.77	103.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
Individuals	22.22	41.30	24.41	6.86	7.25
	<u>\$884.00</u>	<u>1,650.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>



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At the erection of new school-houses in 1799, the first school committee was chosen, consisting of the [Rev. Ezra Ripley](#), Abiel Heywood, Esq., Deacon John White, Dr. Joseph Hunt, and Deacon George Minott. On their recommendation, the town adopted a uniform system of school regulations, which are distinguished for enlightened views of education, and which, by being generally followed since, under some modification, have rendered our schools among our greatest blessings.

The amount paid for private schools, including the Academy, was estimated, in 1830, at \$600, making the annual expenditure for education \$2,050. Few towns provide more ample means for acquiring a cheap and competent education. I [[Lemuel Shattuck](#)] have subjoined the names of the teachers of the grammar-school since the Revolution, – the year usually beginning in September.

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year
1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	



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The *Concord Academy* was established, in 1822, by several gentlemen, who were desirous of providing means for educating their own children and others more thoroughly than they could be at the grammar-school (attended, as it usually is, by a large number of scholars) or by sending them abroad. A neat, commodious building was erected, in a pleasant part of the town, by the proprietors, consisting of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and Mr. Josiah Davis, who own a quarter each, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks and Colonel William Whiting, who own an eighth each. Their intention has always been to make the school equal to any other similar one. It was opened in September, 1823, under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, who kept it two years. He was succeeded by Mr. Josiah Barnes and Mr. [Richard Hildreth](#), each one year. Mr. Phineas Allen, son of Mr. Phineas Allen of Medfield, who was born October 15, 1801, and graduated at Harvard College in 1825, has been the preceptor since September 1827.¹³

I [the young [John Shepard Keyes](#)] had played truant every afternoon that previous winter spending the school hours at the foundry or the shops or the stables with no rebuke from the teacher, report to my parents or effect on my lessons. The nervous irritable Phineas had been worsted in a regular fight with Isaac Fiske a big boy from Weston whom he attempted to ferule, and who took away the ruler and broke it over the teachers head, ruining the gold spectacles, and the little discipline there had been in the school with a single blow.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

13. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)

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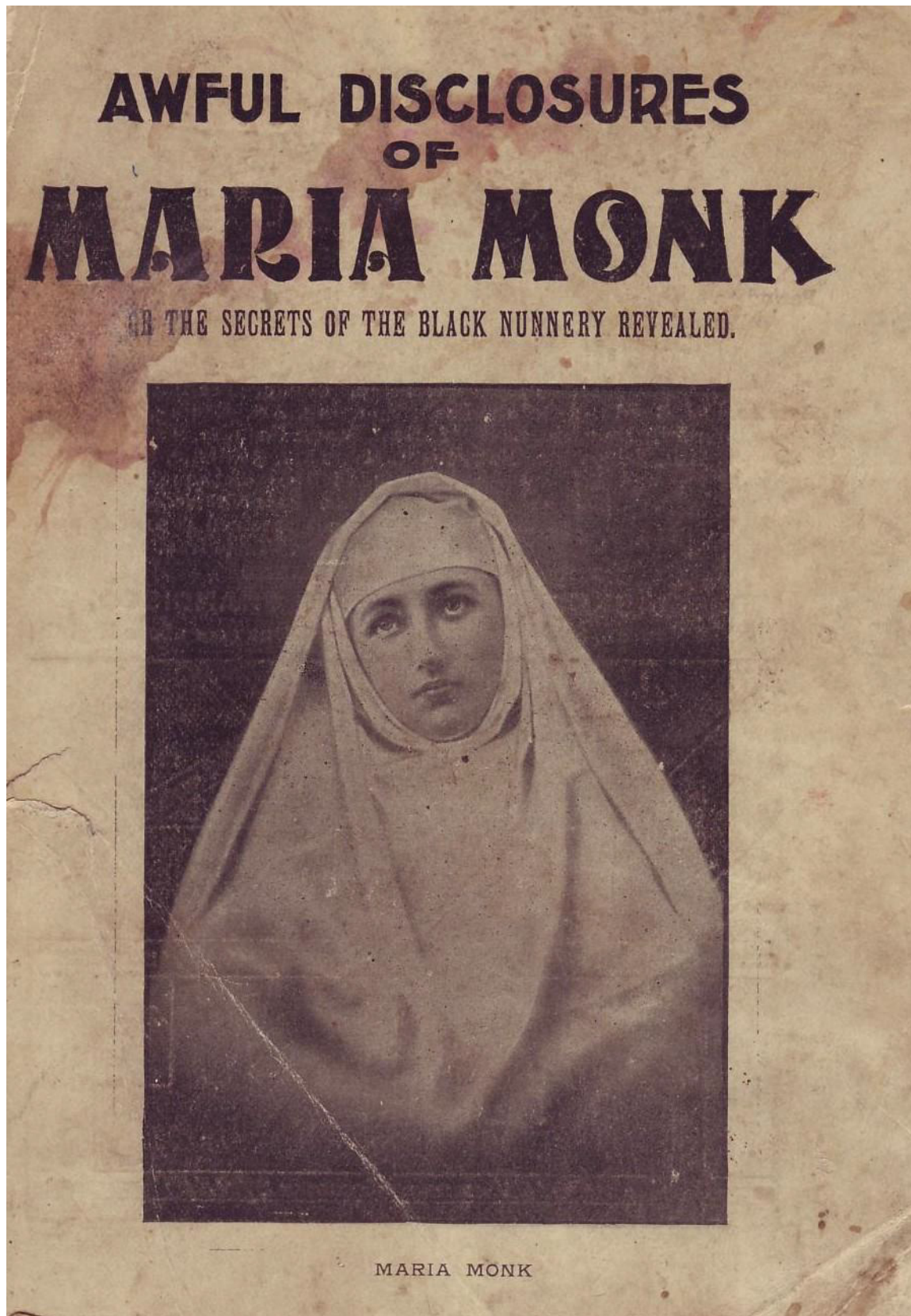
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➡ Politics were a little strange. Protestant rioters who had torched the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown in the summer of 1834 ➡ were tried in [Concord](#), and despite the most overwhelming evidence, were acquitted.¹⁴



➡ In this year the Reverend William Nevins was producing his THOUGHTS ON POPERY. The most infamous of the many Know-Nothing propaganda works created during this year, however, would be Maria Monk's AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF THE HÔTEL DIEU NUNNERY OF MONTRÉAL, which we suspect was ghostwritten by Theodore Dwight, Jr., a nephew of the Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, and a great-grandson of the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#). It seemed that [Catholic](#) nuns were under orders to "obey the priests in all things," and that their illegitimate babies were being baptized and then stifled in the cradle so that their souls would ascend innocent at once to Heaven. This book created a sensation despite the testimony of the Protestant mother of this girl, that her daughter, never having been in a convent, had not escaped from one, but had simply been paid by a Protestant minister to sign her name to an utterly fictitious story. According to Maria's mom, since she had rammed a pencil into her skull as a child, she should perhaps be excused for this fantasy. (This "pornography for the Puritan" would sell more than 300,000 copies. In 1849 Maria, having been detained on charges of having picked the johns' pockets in a brothel, would die in prison.)

14. In order to understand how rioters who had committed an anti-[Catholic](#) arson could be acquitted in the Middlesex County courts, it is necessary to understand a great deal about the political ferment and the group hatreds of the time, and I can't get into this here. For now just receive it as a surd — something to marvel at and wonder about.





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1840

In this decade the Shakers had reached the height of their influence. There were about 6,000 members:

THE SQUARE ORDER SHUFFLE, LEARNED BY
FATHER JOSEPH MEACHAM FROM A VISION OF
ANGELS DANCING BEFORE THE THRONE OF GOD

Three steps forward, turn, and three steps
back, setting the foot straight forward
at each end. Turn, and three steps forward
and a double step or "tip-tap." Repeat,
then shuffle the set apart once over.
Brethren form the square to the right,
sisters to the left:

*One, two, three steps,
Foot straight at the turn,
One, two, three steps,
Eauel length, solid pats.*

*Strike the shuffle, little back,
Make the solid sound,
Keep the body right erect,
With every joint unbound.**

*Robert Peters. SHAKER LIGHT: MOTHER ANN LEE
IN AMERICA.

Greensboro: Unicorn Press, 1987, page 120.



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

ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

ONEIDA COMMUNITY

MODERN TIMES

UNITARY HOME

BROOK FARM

HOPEDALE

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s "Practical Christians" began to publish a gazette, the *Practical Christian*, for the



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



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of Charles Fourier, who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. Fourierism (Horace Greeley founded the New-York [Tribune](#) to promote Fourier’s ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement’s history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had “a union” (a conversational party), Fourier’s Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers’ total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier’s total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.



COMMUNITARIANISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

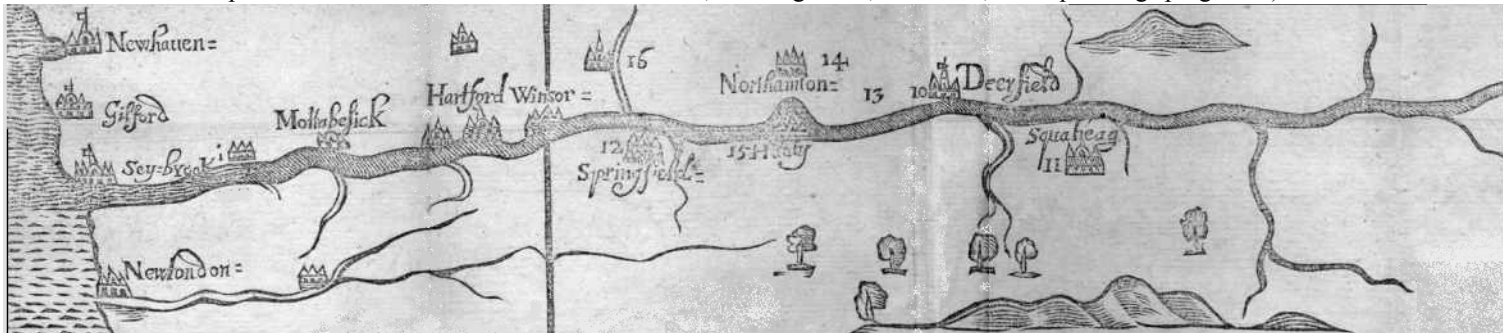
He compared our work with ... that of the crusaders.... He compared us too with the [Quakers](#), who see God only in the inner light,... with the Methodists, who seek to be in a state of rapture in their sacred meetings, whereas we should maintain in daily life, in every deed, on all occasions, a feeling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

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

COMMUNITARIANISM

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[Northampton](#)'s [Unitarian](#) minister would be, for a brief period, the Reverend John Sullivan Dwight,¹⁵ who was ordained in this year. (But he would soon discover the region to be uncongenial for religious reform, and follow the [Reverend George Ripley](#) to [Brook Farm](#). Of course, he would be wise to recognize when he had bitten off more than he could chew: Northampton had been the town of the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#), and one of its two Congregational churches was still named after him. The Tappan brothers—Arthur Tappan, Lewis Tappan, Benjamin, William, Charles, and John—had grown up in this vicinity. One of the oldest towns in the region, a bastion of New England Federalism priding itself on its conservatism, the town was dominated by the Whig party. When [Lydia Maria Child](#) lived here, while her husband [David Lee Child](#) was attempting to grow slavery-fighting [sugar beets](#), she called this region a “Desert where no water is” in the “iron-bound Valley of the Connecticut.” Referring to the self-righteous religious attitude which she encountered while there, she opined that “Calvinism sits here enthroned, with high ears, blue nose, thin lips and griping fist.”)

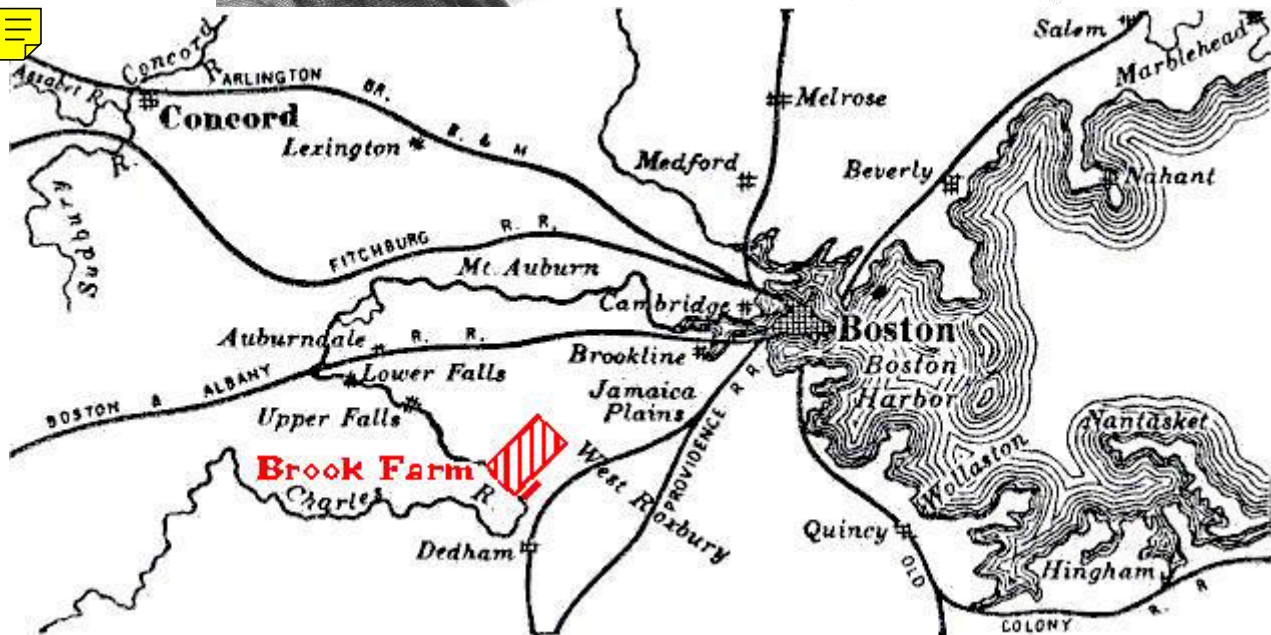
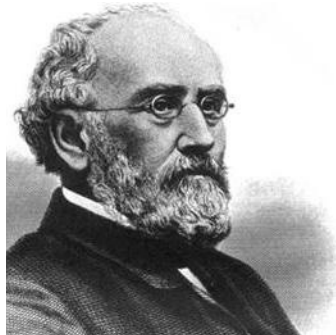


15. Bear tradition in mind here: the Reverend [Timothy Dwight](#), president of Yale College, had been the grandson of the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) of [Northampton](#).

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While vacationing at a “tranquil retreat” near Boston called “[Brook Farm](#)” [Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley](#) and the [Reverend George Ripley](#) concluded that the place had possibilities.¹⁶



In the winter of 1840, the Reverend Ripley would purchase [Brook Farm](#). A few months later the Articles of Association would be drawn up, the stock would have subscribers, and Institute officers would be elected.

16. The farm had 208 acres of land and was not greatly isolated as it was only three miles from the Dedham Branch Railroad.

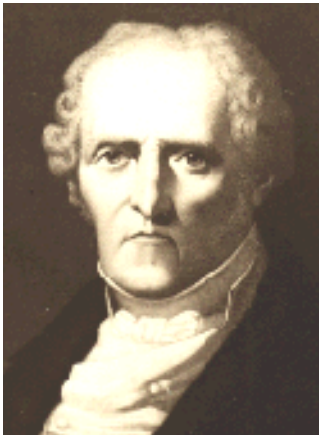
COMMUNITARIANISM

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1841

Clinton Roosevelt’s SCIENCE OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT envisioned a new basis for human society: a disciplined and tightly structured network of local communities. Charles Sears, a follower of Albert Brisbane, would be attempting to implement the economy-of-scale concepts of Charles Fourier.



With Nathan Starks, he founded a Fourierist group in Albany, New York. The North American Phalanx, a secular Utopian community, was initiated near Red Bank in Monmouth County, New Jersey (and would endure there until 1856) by Brisbane, with Horace Greeley and Park Goodwin. For \$14,000, they would purchase 673 acres in Monmouth from Hendrick Longstreet and Daniel Holmes on January 1, 1844. Settlement of the men would begin over 6 months, with women and children following during Spring 1845.

NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

ONEIDA COMMUNITY

MODERN TIMES

UNITARY HOME

FRUITLANDS

BROOK FARM

HOPEDALE

COMMUNITARIANISM

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January 7, Thursday: The startup of local supra-familial communes and social utopias was at this point all the rage. William Lloyd Garrison wrote to George W. Benson asking where he intended to settle his family: “What say you to a little social community among ourselves? Brother Chase is ready for it, and I think we must be pretty bad folks if we cannot live together amicably within gun-shot of each other.”¹⁷

Communal and Utopian Startups

Period	Startups
1841-1845	47
1846-1850	13
1851-1855	14

NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION
ONEIDA COMMUNITY
UNITARY HOME
MODERN TIMES
EAGLESWOOD
BROOK FARM
HOPEDALE



January 7: There is a total disinterestedness and self abandonment [sic] in fretfulness and despondency, which few attain to. If there is no personality or selfishness, you may be as fretful as you please. I congratulate myself on the richness of human nature, which a virtuous and even temper had not wholly exhibited. May it not whine like a kitten or squeak like a squirrel? Some times the weakness of my fellow discovers a new suppleness, which I had not anticipated.

CAT

17. Brother Chase presumably would have been Samuel Chase, the husband of Elizabeth Buffum Chase?

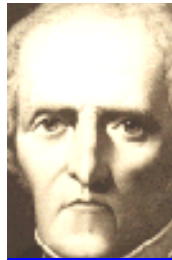


COMMUNITARIANISM

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1842

C.F. Stollmeyer prepared the way for [John Adolphus Etzler](#)'s arrival in England by publicizing his theories in various labor papers, with the result that a Chartist, James B. O'Brien, published Etzler's DIALOGUE ON ETZLER'S PARADISE: BETWEEN MESSRS. CLEAR, FLAT, DUNCE, AND GRUDGE. At this point THE PARADISE WITHIN THE REACH OF ALL MEN, WITHOUT LABOR, BY POWERS OF NATURE AND MACHINERY, originally published in the USA in 1833 and in England in 1836, was republished for its English audience — owing, [Henry Thoreau](#) speculated, "to the recent spread of Fourier's doctrines."



FOURIERISM

PARADISE WITHIN REACH

(A copy of this edition would be in the personal library of [Waldo Emerson](#). It had been sent by Bronson Alcott in England and would be loaned to Thoreau.)



It was the German philosopher Hegel from which Etzler received his impetus toward "the state [which would be] ... freedom organized." Originally, in fact, it was a new Germany which Etzler and his friend John Augustus Roebling had set out to establish. Very quickly, however, it had become not only this narrow ethnic group but Americans and, finally, all men everywhere whom Etzler meant to save. Freedom to Etzler meant more, though, than Hegel's political freedom; it meant freedom from the tyranny of nature and things as they were — or at least seemed to be. Imbued with German romanticism, Etzler saw naturally good men needlessly bound by fetters of ignorance to a life of drudgery. The world, he felt, was not set and immutable; America, especially, was plastic and new. "There," his friend Roebling had declared, "man [is] on his own; his success [is] limited only by his industry and his talents."

One thing man's industry might accomplish with the virginal American landscape was the complete transformation of what was largely a "hideous wilderness" into "a continual garden from the atlantic to the pacific ocean [*sic*]," as Etzler puts the matter in Paradise. The theme of the machine intruding — or being eagerly invited — into the garden is, of course, one that has been brilliantly explored by others, most notably Leo Marx. None, however, have significantly included Etzler in their tracing of the development of this theme; there is, in fact, no significant American thinker who better illustrates the basically American urge to blend the contradictory impulses of progressivism and pastoralism by manipulating the landscape in order to subdue the darkness and evilness associated with the wilderness in the Puritan mind — and to profit from the resultant



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abundance. Etzler would not only invite the machine into the garden, he would use the machine to create it. In the end, of course, the garden, the American extension of Eden, would become a garden-city, the American extension of the New Jerusalem – the image which predominates in so much of the American utopian fiction in the decade following the appearance of Edward Bellamy's *LOOKING BACKWARD* (1888).

Armed with his beliefs in America as Eden, in man as a rational creature, and in Hegel's "absolute rationality of history," Etzler came to the New World to found the State of Paradise. With him he carried other intellectual baggage as well, including the utopian theories of Charles Fourier, the self-proclaimed "Messiah of Reason"; these theories gave or reconfirmed a yearning for absolute organization and order, a desire to ensure a snaring of the blessings which life had to offer by freeing men from the false biblical curse of work, and tendencies toward both absolute materialism (which was also present in and bolstered by his Hegelian philosophy) and sensual (as opposed to sexual) pleasures. Fourier also reinforced Etzler's sense of brotherhood and humanitarianism – a communitarianism, in short, which seemed to Etzler to be a prerequisite for mankind enjoying the benefits which the world had to offer. Following Fourier's dictum, Etzler, in *PARADISE*, insists that the first responsibility of an individual aspiring to bring about "a superior life" on earth is to "constitute ... a society in his neighborhood." The second part of his major work is devoted entirely to detailing precisely how a series of Fourieristic communities will enable man to conquer and tame first the American West and then the whole world.

Etzler was a man full of contradictions. He was a visionary and a theorist who considered himself a realist and a practical man. He was a prophet who considered himself a scientist. He was a revolutionary thinker who desperately wished to avoid the violent revolution which might follow the new technology which he was preaching. He was a Jeffersonian agrarian –with little faith in the common man– who would transform America into Utopia by means of science and technology. And he dedicated himself to founding the perfectly free State while unconsciously succumbing to the same benevolent authoritarianism which we find in nearly all American utopian experiments (both real and fictional). Etzler's certitude that only he, Moses-like, had been chosen to lead mankind into the promised land of Utopia –related as it is to the Hegelian idea of the leader-hero as the great man, somehow above the rules and opinions of lesser individuals– made Etzler feel it necessary to lay down rather precisely the manner in which the State of the New Eden was to be organized and run. Etzler's authoritarian turn of mind is revealed not only by his attempts, along with Stollmeyer, to control entirely the operations of the Tropical Emigration Society, but also by his psychological need to impose a preconceived order on everything and his inability to leave anything to chance or human impulse. As John L. Thomas has pointed out, "[I]n one way or another almost all the communitarians succumbed to the myth of the mathematically precise arrangement, searching for the perfect number or exact size, plotting the precise disposition of working forces and living space, and combining these estimates in a formula which would ensure perfect concord." The formula



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concept, of course, had trapped Fourier, too. We can surmise that the positive philosophical thrust, the motivation and hope, which Fourierism gave Etzler also worked to his disadvantage: This Hegelian hero was, when it came right down to it, unable to escape the strictures which the French utopist's philosophy (and the natural tendencies of his own personality) foisted upon him. Etzler was given a false sense of security by the seeming certainty of the mathematically precise arrangement. When some of his followers finally accused him of being eminently impractical, he could not understand their objections and he could not change or bend. Did not his mathematical projections prove the truth of his assertions – no matter what happened when men tried to translate them into historical fact? Mathematical formula, in other words, became equivalent to objective experience. We have only to glance at the "estimations of expenses and profits" in *THE NEW WORLD*, or the computation of usable power in the wind in *PARADISE*, to see that same kind of preposterousness in his mathematical progressions as we see in Fourier's classifications of the passions or his "passionate series."

COMMUNITARIANISM
FUTURE-WORSHIP

February 15: The Reverend William Adam was elected Treasurer of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), and Joseph Conant was elected its President. During this month the Reverend Adam was helping issue a "Preliminary Circular" describing the plan for the Association, which evidently caused Lucy Maria Kollock Brastow Mack and David Mack to change their minds about papers they had just signed with [Brook Farm](#), and come to [Northampton](#) to reside instead. The focus of the Northampton association was going to be upon an early version of the Socialist dream of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need," in that each participant would contribute according to his or her ability, without recourse to any patriarchal hierarchy or racial division of labor, and would receive according to his or her individual need, in a spirit which was referred to as "equal brotherhood." (Although the ideology of this association has been portrayed by some as Fourierist, by others as "middle class," by others as "Transcendentalist," and by others as "extreme perfectionist" and as "nonresistant," their contemporary, the newspaper editor of Concord, New Hampshire, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, would categorize them merely as "a peculiar body, and of peculiar individual character." The Northampton Association of Education and Industry was so advanced in its racial thinking that it even accepted as a member the white widow of a black man.¹⁸)

COMMUNITARIANISM

Cass advised Webster that, since the Quintuple Treaty obligated its signers to board and search commercial vessels on the high seas in a manner objectionable to the USA, altering the hitherto recognized law of nations, he had on his own responsibility sent a warning to M. Guizot, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that this was something that we might be prepared to go to war over:

"SIR: The recent signature of a treaty, having for its object the suppression of the African slave trade, by five of the powers of Europe, and to which France is a party, is a fact of such general notoriety that it may be assumed as the basis of any

18. Otohiko Okugawa's "Annotated List of Communal and Utopian Societies, 1789-1919," published as part of the *DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN COMMUNAL AND UTOPIAN HISTORY* (editor Robert S. Fogarty, Westport CT, 1980, pages 173-233), listed some 119 communal societies established in the USA between 1800 and 1859, not counting those that existed only in "plan and prospectus." This list of 119 is known, however, to be incomplete; see Dare, Philip N., *AMERICAN COMMUNES TO 1860*, for a more recent take. Evidence of previously unknown communities continues to turn up from time to time. This decade of the 1840s would turn out to be the key decade for the trend, with at least 59 new communities being formed, most of which would last no longer than two years.



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diplomatic representations which the subject may fairly require."

The United States is no party to this treaty. She denies the Right of Visitation which England asserts. [quotation from the presidential message of December 7, 1841] This principle is asserted by the treaty.

"... The moral effect which such a union of five great powers, two of which are eminently maritime, but three of which have perhaps never had a vessel engaged in that traffic, is calculated to produce upon the United States, and upon other nations who, like them, may be indisposed to these combined movements, though it may be regretted, yet furnishes no just cause of complaint. But the subject assumes another aspect when they are told by one of the parties that their vessels are to be forcibly entered and examined, in order to carry into effect these stipulations. Certainly the American Government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel the United States, by force, to adopt their measures to its provisions, or to adopt its stipulations ...; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country, ... of any intentions of this nature. But were it otherwise, ... They would prepare themselves with apprehension, indeed, but without dismay—with regret, but with firmness—for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world."

If, as England says, these treaties cannot be executed without visiting United States ships, then France must pursue the same course. It is hoped, therefore, that his Majesty will, before signing this treaty, carefully examine the pretensions of England and their compatibility with the law of nations and the honor of the United States. SENATE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress, 3d session, II. No. 52, and IV. No. 223; 29th Congress, 1st session, VIII. No. 377, pages 192-5.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Spring: Frances Birge arrived at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) and described it as "in a wilderness." Her concept of wilderness was "A pine grove and ravine were west of it, and the land on the east was covered with mulberry bushes." Much later, [Frederick Douglass](#) would characterize the site selected by the Association as having been "decidedly unpromising." He had noted the pooriness of the soil, which had hardly been able to support "stubby oaks and stunted pines."

The most hopeful thing I saw there was a narrow stream meandering through an entangled valley of brush and brier, and a brick building which the communists had now converted into a dwelling and factory. The place and the people struck me as the most democratic I had ever met.

In this spring there would be a rise in the Mill River that must have caused this city girl Frances Birge to suspect that the end of the world was at hand, for it was so sudden that it sent the community's pigs swimming for their lives.

The Sunday worship meetings of the Association were held in a pine grove in a natural amphitheater, beneath a pine that seems to have towered to about 150 feet (if you are interested in looking at it, this spot is now directly to the rear of the [Florence](#) Congregational Church).

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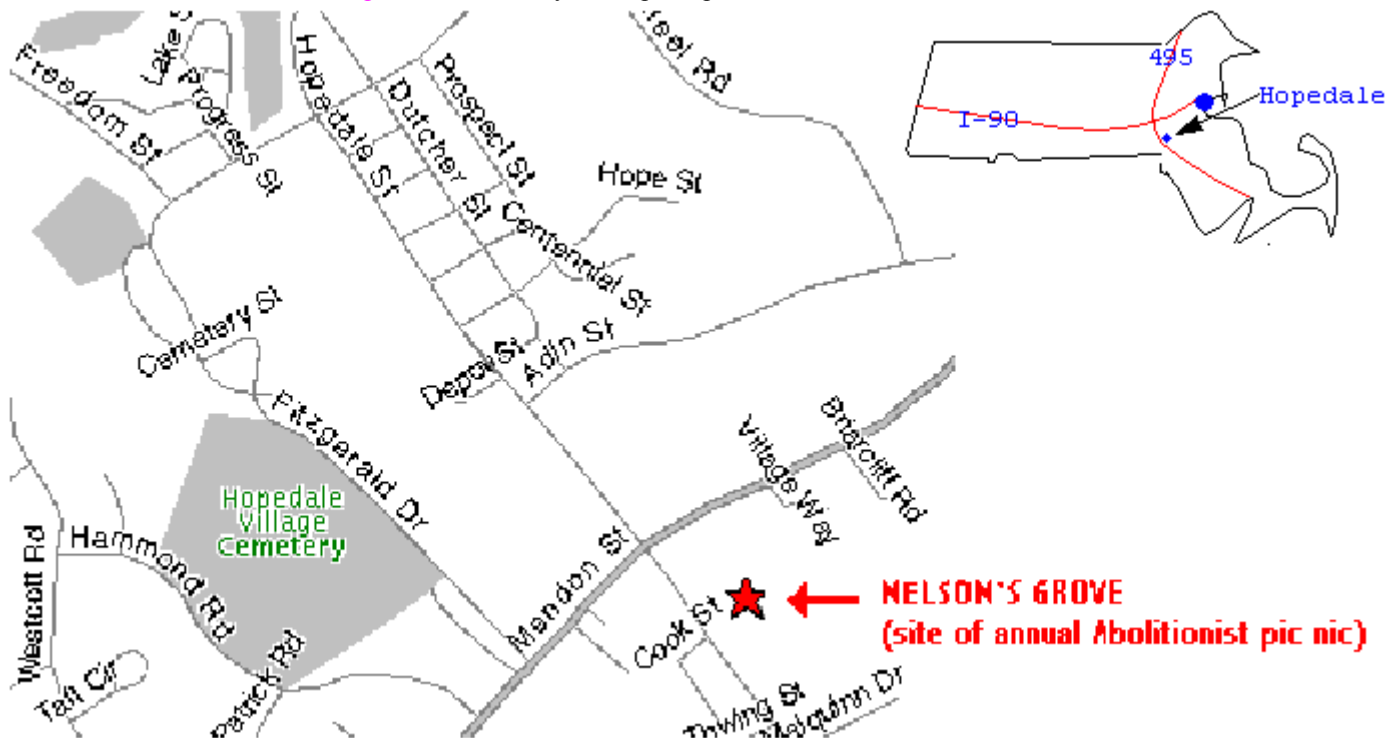
COMMUNITARIANISM

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



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

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



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



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

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



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

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

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

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

HELEN L. THOREAU will open a school for Young Ladies on MONDAY, May 2d. Terms—English Branches with Plain and Ornamental Needle-work.....\$4 00 French2 00 Drawing and Painting in Water Colors.....2 00 Oil Painting.....8 00 Music on the Pianoforte.....8 00 Scholars from a distance can be accommodated with board in the family with the Teacher at \$2,00 per week Apply at J. THOREAU'S Concord, April 8th, '42. 3w—14.

To explore Thoreau’s “Distant Drummer” metaphor in the greatest detail



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

Dr. Alfred I. Tauber has pointed out that:¹⁹

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

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



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April 8: [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke in Milford MA.



Some 41 persons, half of them children, registered as members of the new [Association of Industry and Education](#) at its first official meeting at Boughton's Meadows near [Northampton](#). The Reverend William Adam became Secretary instead of Treasurer as the institution shaped up according to the following schedule:

Northampton Association of Industry and Education

Name	Origin	Category	New Titles	Status
Reverend William Adam	India	abolitionist	Secretary	Present
George W. Benson	Brooklyn CT	abolitionist	Director of Stock Company	Present
Erasmus Darwin Hudson	Torrington CT	abolitionist	????	Present
Joseph Conant	Mansfield CT	silk manufacturer	President, Committee for Accommodations	Present
Earl Dwight Swift	Mansfield CT	silk manufacturer	Director of Stock Company	Present
Theodore Scarborough	Brooklyn CT	farmer	Director of Stock Company	Present
Hiram Wells	Mansfield CT	mechanic	Board for Admitting New Members, Committee for Accommodations	Present
Samuel L. Hill	Willimantic CT	abolitionist	Treasurer	Absent



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Northampton Association of Industry and Education

Name	Origin	Category	New Titles	Status
Hall Judd	Northampton	abolitionist	Board for Admitting New Members	Absent
David Mack	Cambridge MA	abolitionist	Board for Admitting New Members	Absent
Samuel Brooks	Northampton	farmer	Board for Admitting New Members	Absent



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Since it seemed that the new association was to be based upon no particular creedal declaration, no mandatory statement of “faith,” the members of this association would be denigrated and derided by the general public as “Nothingarians.”

COMMUNITARIANISM

Membership

April 1842	41
May 1842	65
End of 1842	83
June 1843	113
Winter 1844	120
Spring 1845	120

[Helen Louisa Thoreau](#)’s advertisement appeared in the local gazette:

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

H ELEN L. THOREAU will open a school for Young Ladies on MONDAY, May 2d. Terms —English Branches with Plain and Ornamental Needle-work.....\$4 00
French 2 00
Drawing and Painting in Water Colors.....2 00
Oil Painting.....8 00
Music on the Pianoforte.....8 00

Scholars from a distance can be accommodated with board in the family with the Teacher at \$2,00 per week

Apply at J. THOREAU’S

Concord, April 8th, ’42.

3w—14.

COMMUNITARIANISM

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May: The membership of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) was up from 41 to 65, which created a housing problem that would temporarily need to be handled by situating some of the new members in the 4-story brick structure which had been in use as a wool warehouse. Pine partitions were set up across the interiors, but there was still [silk](#) machinery on the 2d floor, the 3d floor was entirely taken up by such machinery and by the community store, and the basement was in use as the community's laundry.

COMMUNITARIANISM

Membership

April 1842	41
May 1842	65
End of 1842	83
June 1843	113
Winter 1844	120
Spring 1845	120

May 25: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) wrote David Mack a letter which indicated that he had seriously considered enlisting in the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) after his departure from [Brook Farm](#).

COMMUNITARIANISM

Late May: The women workers at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) met separately and entered into a pact to vote as a block to force the elimination of the differing payscales for male and female adult workers. The investors countered by making a wage offer of 5 cents per hour for anyone over age 17, which would in effect have equalized wages by paying the men at the women's rate so this proposal had to be voted down — voted down, indeed, by a wide margin. The question of wage rates was then postponed until the end of the accounting period, on the grounds that then all the persons concerned would know how much or how little community income there was to be argued over.

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Early summer: Early in the summer, Erasmus Darwin Hudson led a movement of equal treatment for all at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) which would eventually lead to disregarding the fact that different individuals had made differing levels of financial investment in the supporting assets of this community outside [Northampton](#). He was supported in this by Hall Judd and opposed by George W. Benson. The Reverend William Adam initially supported this but then joined with Benson. At some point during this debate the members voted by majority rule to reduce their working hours from 12 per day to 11.

COMMUNITARIANISM

August 24: In this period it was rather difficult to get employees in Massachusetts, as so many people were departing for prospects farther to the west in this developing nation of ours, and regarded as more attractive. After a protest against the 12-hour workday, the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) was formally transferred into the hands of George W. Benson and David Mack.

COMMUNITARIANISM

September: In Cambridge, Massachusetts, while printing the circular advertising the [Association of Industry and Education](#), the printer James D. Atkins became persuaded to bring himself and his family into that association. In a sense, the [Northampton](#) enterprise could be conceived to have originated in an attempt to reform capitalism from within, by using the model of the joint stock company to construct, within an economy based on wage labor and private profit, a new and real form of cooperative community of work.²⁰ By way of contrast, the Reverend [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), in his famous 1840 essay "The Laboring Classes," had opined that the inequity and instability produced by the American confrontation between labor and capital would have to be resolved in a class warfare, that is, by revolution.

COMMUNITARIANISM



"The commercial capitalism of the eighteenth century developed the wealth of Europe by means of slavery and monopoly. But in so doing it helped to create the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century, which turned round and destroyed the power of commercial capitalism, slavery, and all its works. Without a grasp of these economic changes the history of the period is meaningless."

— Eric Williams, *CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1944, page 210



20. While this James D. Atkins was the association's [silk](#) dyer, work in that department would sometimes be slack because of lack of supplies. On Mondays he would occasionally go down and help Sojourner Truth wring out the laundry. Doesn't this make an interesting picture for the period? —Where else would one have been able to witness an adult white male helping a black person accomplish a woman's chore? —And grok this, voluntarily!

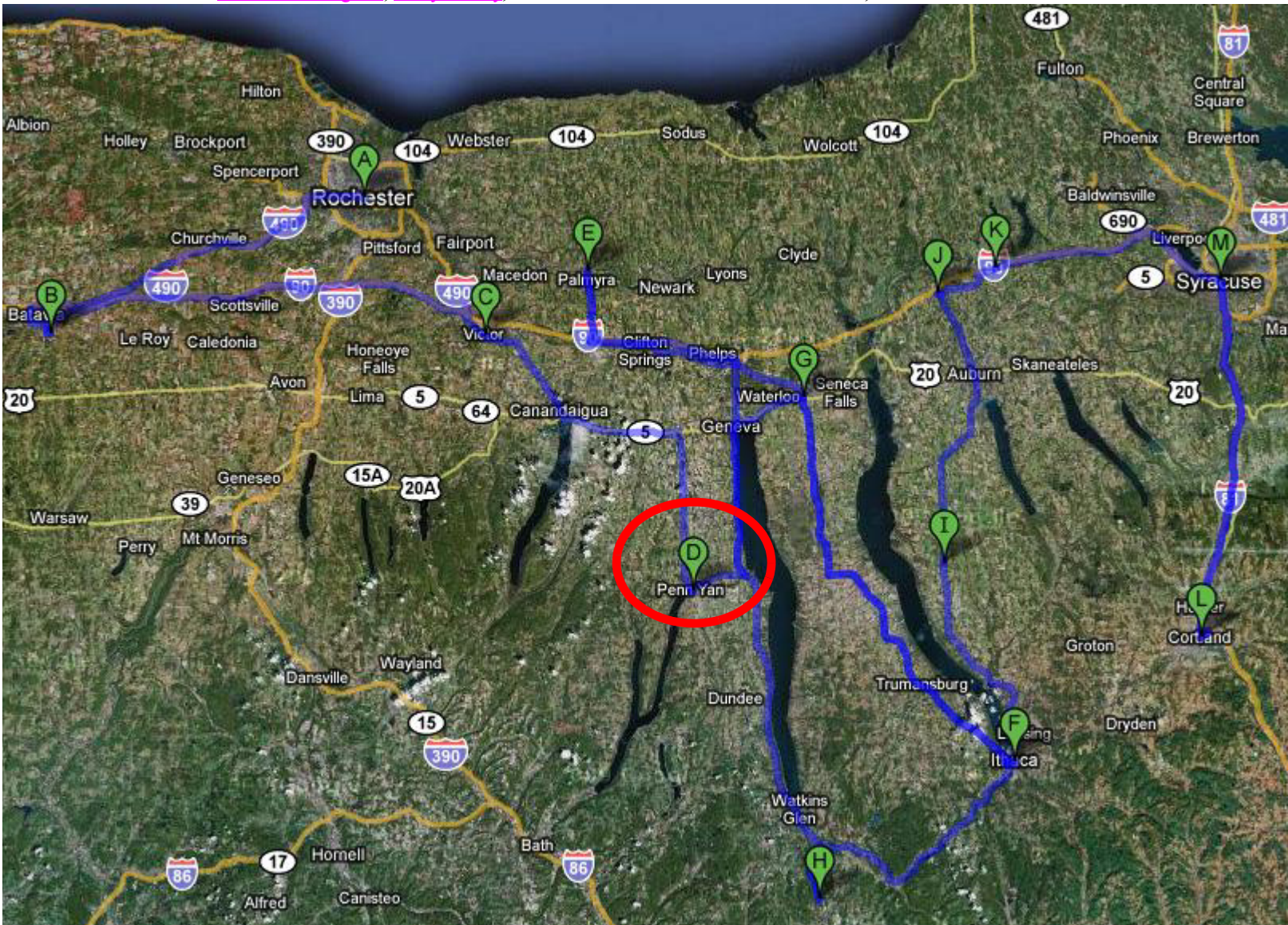
COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

September 6: The Hampshire Gazette copied a report from a Hartford newspaper about a sample of sewing silk produced at the Association of Industry and Education outside Northampton, which was being said to be “the most splendid specimen of American excellence in reeling, spinning and dying silk that we have ever seen.”

COMMUNITARIANISM

Frederick Douglass, Abby Kelley, and John A. Collins lectured in Penn Yan, New York.



October: Reducing work to 11 hours per day 6 days per week seems to have been the final straw persuading some invested members (Joseph Conant, Earl Dwight Swift, and someone named Chaffee) that the Association of Industry and Education could not be a going concern, and causing them (wisely, it would turn out) to separate their assets and their efforts while yet they could, into a discrete new nearby competing commercial entity in Northampton.

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COMMUNITARIANISM

November: William Lloyd Garrison and others had helped the blinded and ill David Ruggles to move to [Northampton](#) to recuperate, and in this month there was a specially convened meeting of the admissions board of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) that invited this black man to “come amongst us and remain with us as a member, without being admitted until better acquainted.” (This clause “without being admitted until better acquainted” would seem to have rapidly become a moot issue.)



COMMUNITARIANISM

End of the year: The [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) at this point had 83 members:

COMMUNITARIANISM

Membership

April 1842	41
May 1842	65
End of 1842	83
June 1843	113
Winter 1844	120
Spring 1845	120

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

1843

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



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

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

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In an attempt to implement the ideas of Charles Fourier, the North American Phalanx began its operations on nearly 700 acres of land on Raritan Bay near Red Bank, New Jersey. It would have its own “Eagleswood” school and would be credited by some with being “the first to grow okra or gumbo for the New-York market.”²¹



The association agreed upon a constitution which provided for administration through a council. Initially, only stockholders were able to vote in elections for the council, but in an 1848 amendment all members would be given a vote. The council was composed of a president, vice-president, a treasurer, and twelve directors. Its directors served for two years with staggered terms, so that half were elected each year. The president, vice-president, and treasurer served one-year terms.

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Former Quaker (disowned) [William Bassett](#) inquired about taking up a membership in the [Association of Industry and Education](#), where he had friends.

These [Northampton](#) communists received an award of a diploma, from the American Institute of New York, for a piece of raw [silk](#), and another award, 2d-best, for [sewing](#)-silk. In the course of one year the association would grow from 102 to 180 members. The old oil mill would be put back into production as a grist mill, which may or may not have been a good idea but may be utilized as something of an illustration of the impulsiveness and the diffuseness of effort which would come to characterize this group of people, who we will discover to be constantly abandoning their current tasks to rush off into any newer and disparate and more interesting and more hopeful projects and agendas that were coming over their thought-horizon.

COMMUNITARIANISM

In this year and the following one, Dr. Benjamin Barrett of [Northampton](#) would be serving in the Massachusetts senate.

21. During the 1840s Albert Brisbane and other followers of the theories of Charles Fourier would be establishing 28 working “phalanx” communities across the United States, and the longest lasting of these, this North American Phalanx in New Jersey, would keep going and going like the Energizer Bunny, until 1856.



COMMUNITARIANISM

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January 14, Saturday: The investors in the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) made their wage proposal, honoring the women's insistence upon equality of pay of course only by cutting the men's rate to the women's rate. (Yet even this would not enable the association to do more than pay the interest on its loans. There would never be any retirement of loan balances and there would never be any dividend for the shareholders.)

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Age and Gender	Prevailing Local Wages	Association Wages
6-11	2 cents/hour	1 cent/hour plus free room and board
12-15	3 cents/hour	3 cents/hour plus free room and board
16-17	5 cents/hour	4 1/2 cents/hour plus free room and board
women 18-19	6 cents/hour	4 1/2 cents/hour plus free room and board
men 18-19	10 cents/hour	4 1/2 cents/hour plus free room and board
women 20+	6 cents/hour	6 cents/hour plus free room and board
men 20+	10 cents/hour	6 cents/hour plus free room and board

January 20, Friday: At the first annual meeting of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), a very extended meeting which would continue until February 1st, the struggle which seemed to be going on endlessly in [Northampton](#) was in regard to the wage scale. What was happening was that, despite the clear stipulation in their foundational document that those who had invested more funds would own proportionally more votes, the voters were attempting to impose a restriction upon the investors to but one voice per person. Laboring members of the community who had brought no equivalent amounts of capital were beginning to insist upon actual equality not only in the deliberations but also in the decisions. The association they said ought to become a true community, taking from each according to his or her ability and rendering unto each according to his or her need.

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

February 1, Wednesday: [Frederick Douglass](#) was attending the annual meeting of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society in Princeton MA, which would be going on during this day and the following one.



Conclusion of the marathon first annual meeting of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), which had begun on January 20th and had continued indefinitely because of the controversy over the wage scale. Despite the clear stipulation in their foundational document that those who had invested more funds would own proportionally more votes, the investors had become restricted to but one voice per person. Laboring members of the Association who had brought no equivalent amounts of capital had succeeded in obtaining actual equality not only in the deliberations but also in the decisions, and this would definitely interfere with further needed capital investment. The idea of paying “wages” for work had been entirely superseded by a system of allowances for the expenses of subsistence. The Association had transformed itself into a true community, or extended family, taking from each according to his or her ability and rendering unto each according to his or her need — which in real-world terms meant of course that it was doomed to soon perish. The historian Arthur Bestor has referred to this as a “coup,” which it was in the sense that shooting yourself in your own foot is a “coup de pie.”

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In this period large areas of woodland were being logged in the vicinity of [Northampton](#) and in fact to this point lumber had remained despite all grand schemes the primary moneymaker for the Association. These local woodlands were, however, well on their way toward depletion.

Spring: An illiterate [Maryland](#) black man, Stephen C. Rush, no known relation to US Secretary of the Treasury Richard Rush, hearing by word of mouth of the George Latimer case of October 1842, fled to freedom in [Northampton](#). He would promptly learn to read and write courtesy of the [Association of Industry and Education](#).

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April: When the Reverend William Adam was challenged in his direction of the educational effort by those who experienced his teaching as dry, stilted, and boring (which, clearly, it was), he did the same thing he had done in 1828  when he had been in charge of Rajah Rammohan Roy's school in Calcutta: he withdrew totally, both as director of education and as secretary of the community. This man had a thin skin! David Mack and Lucy Maria Kollock Brastow Mack had suddenly to assume responsibility for the [Association of Industry and Education](#)'s educational arm, and implement a considerably altered curriculum. Corporal punishment was to be forbidden. In the future, instead of long hours of classroom study, during the summer the children were to be taken into the woods and meadows to learn their botany and zoology from 7AM until noon. Although this sounds a whole lot like playing in the water, they would be allowed to "build the different geographical formations, miniature islands, capes, promontories, peninsulas, and isthmuses" along the bank of the mill pond. And, they would expedition by carriage to Mount Holyoke to collect mineral specimens. Then, during the winter months, from 7AM until noon the students were to learn "sewing, braiding straw, knitting [silk](#) and beaded purses and other useful things" while being read to out of "[Shakespeare](#)'s plays, Scott's novels, Prescott's HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO, Undine and many other ... books." Each afternoon and evening, from 1PM until sunset, of course, occupied all children in useful factory labor at the Cocoonery — learning by doing. All this was so popular in the surrounding community of [Northampton](#) that a boarding school was begun, to accommodate children from outside the Association group at a tuition level of \$100 per annum (this didn't include the cost for the student of books, stationery, or clothing). Not only would this regimen prove popular among the parents, but also, a review of reports made by the students later in their lives indicates that the children also appreciated this regimen while it lasted.²²



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22. But by 1846 this more lenient schedule had, due to financial pressures, disappeared, and the children of the community were reduced to laboring all day six days a week in the Cocoonery and receiving instructions only after their supper until their bedtime.



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May: Sophia Foord arrived at the [Association of Industry and Education](#). We have a record by her that one ex-slave had been residing temporarily at the Association, and that another one (presumably Stephen C. Rush) was being expected to arrive shortly. The term used by Foord was “rail road under ground.” At about this time members of the Association were being overcome with horror as they observed men and boys bathing naked in the Mill River outside [Northampton](#), and laying plans to construct a decent bathhouse ASAP.

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UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

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~~ISABELLA~~ [^]~~VAN WAGENEN~~ → SOJOURNER TRUTH

June 1 (Pentecost Thursday): [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) “got married with” Elvira Anie Cowles.

Go East, 46-year-old black woman, go East: Isabella²³ experienced a command to “go east” and testify, adopted the monicker Sojourner Truth, and departed New-York with but an hour’s notice, with two York shillings in her pocket, carrying her worldly belongings in a pillowcase, to move on foot through Long Island and Connecticut, testifying to whatever audiences she was able to attract. –It is the life of a wandering evangelist, is mine. In the course of attending Millerite meetings to testify, she would accommodate to a number of the apocalyptic tenets of that group.



23. Isabella Bomefree van Wagenen, “Bomefree” being the name of her first husband which by virtue of enslavement she had been denied, and “van Wagenen” being the name of the white family which she assumed and used for a number of years. (“Wagener” was a consistent misspelling perpetrated by the printer of the first version of her NARRATIVE in 1850.)

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As [Louisa May Alcott](#) has reported in later life, on this same day quite another journey was taking place:

On the first day of June, 1843, a large wagon, drawn by a small horse and containing a motley load, went lumbering over certain New England hills, with the pleasing accompaniments of wind, rain and hail. A serene man with a serene child upon his knee was driving, or rather being driven, for the small horse had it all his own way. Behind a small boy, embracing a bust of Socrates, was an energetic looking woman, with a benevolent brow, satirical mouth and eyes full of hope and courage. A baby reposed upon her lap, a mirror leaned against her knee, a basket of provisions danced about her feet, and she struggled with a large, unruly umbrella, with which she tried to cover every one but herself. Twilight began to fall, and the rain came down in a despondent drizzle, but the calm man gazed as tranquilly into the fog as if he beheld a radiant bow of promise spanning the gray sky.

The Consociate Family of Bronson Alcott was on its way from Concord to “Fruitlands” on Prospect Hill in Harvard, Massachusetts, in the district then known politely as “Still River North” and impolitely as “Hog Street,” with its prospect of Wachusett and Mount Monadnock and its prospect of “ideals without feet or

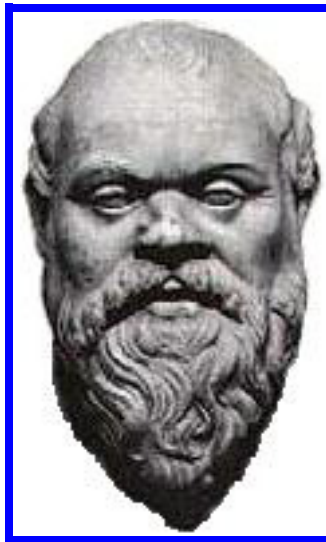


hands” (an apt phrase said to have been created by [Waldo Emerson](#),²⁴ who himself, if anyone ever metaphorically lacked them, metaphorically lacked feet and hands and other essential body parts), ideals such as “a family in harmony with the primitive instincts of man.” In her fictional account of the journey, Louisa May Alcott invented an additional child and placed it on her father’s knee, obviously where she would have wanted to be, and made it a “serene” child, what she never was but longed to be. The bust of [Socrates](#) actually rode between the father Bronson, who was holding the reins, and Charles Lane, on the wagon’s bench. There was no room in this wagon for William Lane or for Anna Alcott, who for all 14 miles of the journey had to

24. But we may note that in Bronson Alcott’s journal for Week 45 in November 1837, Alcott had himself termed himself “an Idea without hands.”

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walk alongside it.



At this point the [Association of Industry and Education](#) had 113 members, a large proportion of whom were children:

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Membership

April 1842	41
May 1842	65
End of 1842	83
June 1843	113
Winter 1844	120
Spring 1845	120

Having had enough after less than two months of attempting to teach almost entirely without teaching supplies and without adequate classroom space, Sophia Foord threatened to resign as teacher at the Association. (Promises would be made that would keep her teaching while efforts were made to convert a barn into classrooms, but the problem eventually would be resolved by the need of the community to use its children as a cheap source of incessant factory labor. After Miss Foord left [Northampton](#), she became tutor to the children of the Chase family (Elizabeth Buffum Chase) of Valley Falls, [Rhode Island](#); “she taught botany; she walked with the children over the fields ... and made her pupils observe the geographical features of the pond and its banks, and carefully taught them to estimate distances by sight.”)

Railroad service to [Concord](#) began. Preliminary earthmoving crews, and then crossties and rails crews, had reached Concord at the rate of 33 feet per day, filling in Walden Pond’s south-west arm to give it its present

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shape. 1,000 Irishmen were earning \$0.⁵⁰ or \$0.⁶⁰ for bonebreaking 16-hour days of labor. [Waldo Emerson](#) was elated because he much preferred riding in the railroad coach to riding in the stage coach which offered a “ludicrous pathetic tragical picture” (his comment from April 15, 1834; I don’t know whether he meant that he felt that he presented a ludicrous pathetic tragical appearance while riding on the stage coach or that the view from the stage coach window presented him with a ludicrous pathetic tragical perspective). He found, however, that when a philosopher rides the railroad “Ideal Philosophy takes place at once” as “men & trees & barns whiz by you as fast as the leaves of a dictionary” and this helps in grasping the real impermanence of matter: “hitherto esteemed symbols of stability do absolutely dance by you” and we experience “the sensations of a swallow who skims by trees & bushes with about the same speed” (June 10, 1834). By this time, with the railroad actually in Concord, Emerson had decided that “Machinery & [Transcendentalism](#) agree well.”²⁵



“[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly.”

– [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#)



September: The North American Phalanx which was acquiring its 673 acres of farmland near Red Banks, New Jersey at this point in time, at a site about 30 miles out of New-York and reachable 1st by steamboat and then by coach along a sandy coastal road, would have become, at its demise after thirteen years, the longest-lived in the USA. At this time, according to one of the original 60 subscribers, Horace Greeley, the acreage was sporting only “two or three very dilapidated farm buildings.” Greeley would see erected “a capacious wooden dwelling, one or two barns, and a fruit house,” and would see “thousands of loads of marl dug and applied to the land, large orchards ... planted and reared to maturity, and a mile square of sterile, exhausted land converted into a thrifty and productive domain.” Farming would remain the primary occupation of the members of this Fourierist commune, but milling also would be attempted, and the residents would do carpentry, iron work, and tin work as well as the preserving of the fruit of the land. Their phalanstery eventually would offer central steam heating.²⁶

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25. EMERSON’S JOURNALS AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTEBOOKS 4: 277, 4:296, 8:397.



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October 15: [John Foster](#) died at the place that had for 22 years been his home, at Stapleton near Bristol, England.

Despite determined opposition, a new constitution was adopted by the Stock Company of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#), according to which contrary to the previous document all members were to have equal say in the decision-making process regardless of the fact that the members had different amounts of money invested. Despite inequality of investment, any net profits were to be distributed equally to all participants, and any dividends were to be proportional only to the number of hours a person had actually labored. This new constitution was to go into effect at the beginning of the next calendar year. The work week was set at 60 hours, with allowances for disability, but since “all were interested in all,” the enforcement of this work week would be social rather than by the cutting of allowances for failure to work. At the end of each accounting period any surplus would be reallocated without taking into account the differing levels of investment which had been created the community. There would be no more of this business of “votes to Dollars.” In a spirit of true Christianity, stockholders were in effect seeing their investments confiscated by majority rule. The rewards of association should go not to those who already had the most but, in the phrase of the disowned Quaker [William Bassett](#), to those “that **needed most**.” Bassett, who had once been the manager of a shoe factory employing 150 laborers, could not have sounded more like a communist had he been a devotee of Marx and Engels: “I could not reconcile with my ideas of justice the inequality that existed between the employer and the employee.... [I] became convinced that the evils which I saw and deplored were inherent in the system and that no remedy could be provided but in **its** subversion.”

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And in fair days as well as foul we walked up the country — until from Merrimack it became the Pemigewasset that leaped by our side — and when we had passed its fountain-head the wild Amonoosuck whose puny channel we crossed at a stride guiding us to its distant source among the mountains until without its guidance we reached the summit of agiocochook.

But why should we take the reader who may have been tenderly nurtured — through that rude country — where the crags are steep and the inns none of the best, and many a rude blast would have to be encountered on the mountain side.

October 28: The Industrial Community of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) also voted to accept the new constitution, thus effectively merging the two previous governing bodies (the Stock Company of members who were primarily investors and the Industrial Community of members who were primarily laborers) into one democratic assembly. This new constitution was to go into effect at the beginning of the next calendar year.

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26. For more data on this Eagleswood, consult:

Horace Greeley, *RECOLLECTIONS OF A BUSY LIFE*. NY: J.B. Ford, 1868, page 153.

Dolores Hayden, *SEVEN AMERICAN UTOPIAS: THE ARCHITECTURE OF COMMUNITARIAN SOCIALISM, 1790-1975*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1976, Chapter 6.

John Humphrey Noyes, *HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS*, Chapters 36, 37, and 38, pages 449-511.

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Late in the year: While traveling and testifying through southern New England, Sojourner Truth had met the



abolitionist George W. Benson of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), who had introduced her to William Lloyd Garrison of the antislavery movement. After a period of itinerant preaching she was near Springfield MA and, after considering spending the winter months at the intentional community of the Shakers at Enfield and the intentional community of Fruitlands at Harvard, Massachusetts, at the suggestion of some Second Adventists friends in Springfield she turned up one day at the Association.

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During this winter, not only in the fields of the Association at [Northampton](#) but across New England, many of the recently introduced and carefully nurtured mulberry trees were dying. During this winter, also, and into this fatal spring in which the mulberries were refusing to come into leaf, James Boyle of the Association was preparing his book SOCIAL REFORM, heavily informed not only by Fourierism but also by perfectionism and nonresistance. For this new “Divine Order of society” he was, guess what, using the name “Association.”



The Association consisted of “Friends of a Reorganization of Society that shall Substitute Fraternal Co-operation for Antagonistic Selfishness; a Religious Consecration of Life and Labor, Soul and Body, Time and Eternity, in Harmony with the Laws of God and of Life, instead of Fragmentary, Spasmodic Piety.”²⁷ It would probably be early in 1844 when Truth would reach there. Unfortunately, due to the excessive wage demands and the voting restrictions placed upon capitalists and the problems with the mulberry seedlings, the financial prospects of the association would already have collapsed well prior to her arrival, so the only phase in which she would be able to participate would be the mopping-up phase.

27. The FRSSFCASRCLLSBTEHLGLFSP (don’t try to pronounce this at home).

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December: At a Fourierist convention in Worcester held for the purpose of “reorganizing” humans into groupings “in which all may have a **common interest**,” George W. Benson of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) at [Northampton](#) and 14 others founded a new society to be designated “the Friends of Social Reform.” Then there was a week-long series of lectures on “associationism.”



COMMUNITARIANISM

1844

The Alphadelphian Phalanx, a Fourierist community in Michigan, claimed it had attained “upwards” of 1,300 members, although such an estimate would likely have been an exaggeration as they had not yet begun construction of their central building. At Eagleswood, the North American Phalanx of Red Bank, New Jersey, for instance, in its best years there were only a few more than 100 resident members.

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January 1: For \$14,000, the North American Phalanx purchased 673 acres in Monmouth, New Jersey from Hendrick Longstreet and Daniel Holmes. Settlement of its men would begin over 6 months, with women and children to follow during Spring 1845.

COMMUNITARIANISM

[Bronson Alcott](#) returned to Fruitlands from a convention in Boston. Abba Alcott confided to her journal that she had “Concluded to go to Mr. Lovejoy’s,” a neighboring farm, to get away from all this struggling for existence. Her journal does not indicate whether this included her husband, although clearly it did not include the formidable Charles Lane.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

January 2: The new constitution of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) having been allowed to come into effect, some investing members withdrew as they had warned, taking their capital with them. The Reverend William Adam was among those who withdrew at this point, wisely, as it would turn out. This [Northampton](#) community’s investment was down from \$20,000 to \$17,000 while the debt had risen to around \$30,000.

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

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

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



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



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



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



January 20: Attempts had been made by this point, by the [Association of Industry and Education](#), to entice Bronson Alcott to come to [Northampton](#) and assume the headmastership of its school: "If Mr. Alcott should come ... we have it in contemplation of hiring ... a large house adjoining our premises for the better accommodation of the Educational Department." (Nothing would come of this, so the position would be offered to the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, but nothing would come of that either.)

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April 28, Sunday: At an evening antislavery meeting in the [Northampton](#) town hall, the fugitive from justice [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke for all of three hours. (Presumably it was during one of the lectures on or about this date, that the stone was hurled at him which is now in the possession of the Stetson family of Northampton.) There were performances by the Hutchinson Family Singers. (Possibly also this was what caused the Boston [Atlas](#) to



report that during the visit by the Hutchinson family to this community made up of “all colors, from jet black

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to pure white,” the young singer Abby Hutchinson “was gallanted to her hotel by one of its members, and he



a huge **black man!**”) During this month, however, Samuel L. Hill, David Mack, Hall Judd, and Hiram Wells were coming dangerously close to declaring their [Association of Industry and Education](#) a hopeless failure, and perhaps were restrained only by an optimistic report from George W. Benson that not only was he attracting additional “pledges” of financing but also that in fact 17 new families were due to arrive within the next few months.

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June: In [Northampton](#), George W. Benson made a kind offer to buy out the [Association of Industry and Education](#) and convert its facilities into a private manufacturing corporation — but 26 members, a large majority, would decline this salvation.

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Summer: James Boyle's book SOCIAL REFORM, heavily informed not only by Fourierism but also by perfectionism and nonresistance, was published. For this new "Divine Order of society" he was using the name "Association," but the book was not an advocacy of the practical mix of sentiments which had created the [Association of Industry and Education](#) of which he was then a member as this association had never explicitly embraced any of the principles, or even the mindset, of Fourierism. His message was being well received at [Brook Farm](#) — but not at home. The Hutchinson Family Singers, returning to their family farm in Milford NH from their visit to [Northampton](#), decided that for a trial period of one year they would convert their farm into a collective similar to the NAIE (rather than one similar to the Divine order of Fourierist society championed by Boyle and being implemented at Brook Farm).

COMMUNITARIANISM

According to page 80 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s sick ambivalences and manly defenses are readily to be discerned:

In the summer of 1844, while the Hawthornes were still at the Old Manse, [Margaret Fuller](#), who was friends with them both, came to visit, and it was then that [Nathaniel](#) became most intimate with her. Throughout the month of July,  they went boating at dusk on the Concord, took moonlit walks through the woods, and conversed at length on a variety of subjects. ([Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) was occupied with the new baby, [Una Hawthorne](#).) And, surprisingly, given his reserve and shyness, it was Hawthorne who initiated many of their hours alone together. After Fuller moved to New York City that fall  and thence to Europe and Rome, she and Hawthorne never saw one another again; however, ten years after her death, Hawthorne in a long and famous passage in his Italian notebook ridiculed her husband and called her "a great humbug" with a "defective and evil nature."  This outburst seems inexplicable, given Hawthorne's previous friendliness, but it does make sense if one sees it as motivated by guilt and anger about his attraction to her. As Paula Blanshard has pointed out, "There is no possible way that anyone can accuse Margaret of being evil — if he is thinking of Margaret herself. But Hawthorne was not; he was thinking of what she represented to him." During the summer of 1849, when Fuller and her fellow republicans  fought their losing battle against the invading French,  capturing the attention and admiration of the American public, Hawthorne certainly noticed, and when he wrote THE SCARLET LETTER several months later,  he then too had in mind what Fuller represented: a female revolutionary trying to overthrow the world's most prominent politico-religious leader, a freethinking temptress who had almost subverted his right-minded thoughts and feelings.

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

July 27, Saturday: In the process of pestering some ants, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) commented in his journal on the Fourierism being preached in America by Charles Fourier, the ideology in the grips of which the community at [Brook Farm](#) was currently floundering:

... here is a whole colony of little ant-hills, a real village of them; they are small, round hillocks, formed of minute particles of gravel, with an entrance in the centre; and through some of them blades of grass or small shrubs have sprouted up, producing an effect not unlike that of trees overshadowing a homestead. Here is a type of domestic industry – perhaps, too, something of municipal institutions – perhaps, likewise (who knows) the very model of a community, which Fourierites and others are stumbling in pursuit of. Possibly, the student of such philosophies should go to the ant, and find that nature has given him his lesson there. Meanwhile, like a malevolent genius, I drop a few grains of sand into the entrance of one of these dwellings, and thus quite obliterate it. And, behold, here comes one of the inhabitants, who has been abroad upon some public or private business, or perhaps to enjoy a fantastic walk – and cannot any longer find his own door. What surprise, what hurry, what confusion of mind, are expressed in all his movements! How inexplicable to him must be the agency that has effected this mischief. The incident will probably be long remembered in the annals of the ant-colony, and be talked of in the winter months, when they are making merry over their hoarded provisions.



COMMUNITARIANISM

October: Despite all their boasting that they had realized “net profit on capital investment in [silk](#) growing 37½ percent,” there had been such other expenses and losses incident to their operation that the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) had to take out yet another mortgage, for \$8,000.⁰⁰.

COMMUNITARIANISM



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

Winter: The [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) at this point had 120 members:

COMMUNITARIANISM

Membership

April 1842	41
May 1842	65
End of 1842	83
June 1843	113
Winter 1844	120
Spring 1845	120

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

Winter: The experiment in [communitarianism](#) on the farm of the Hutchinson family in Milford, New Hampshire was brought to a premature end as the Hutchinson Family Singers departed for a singing tour of Britain.



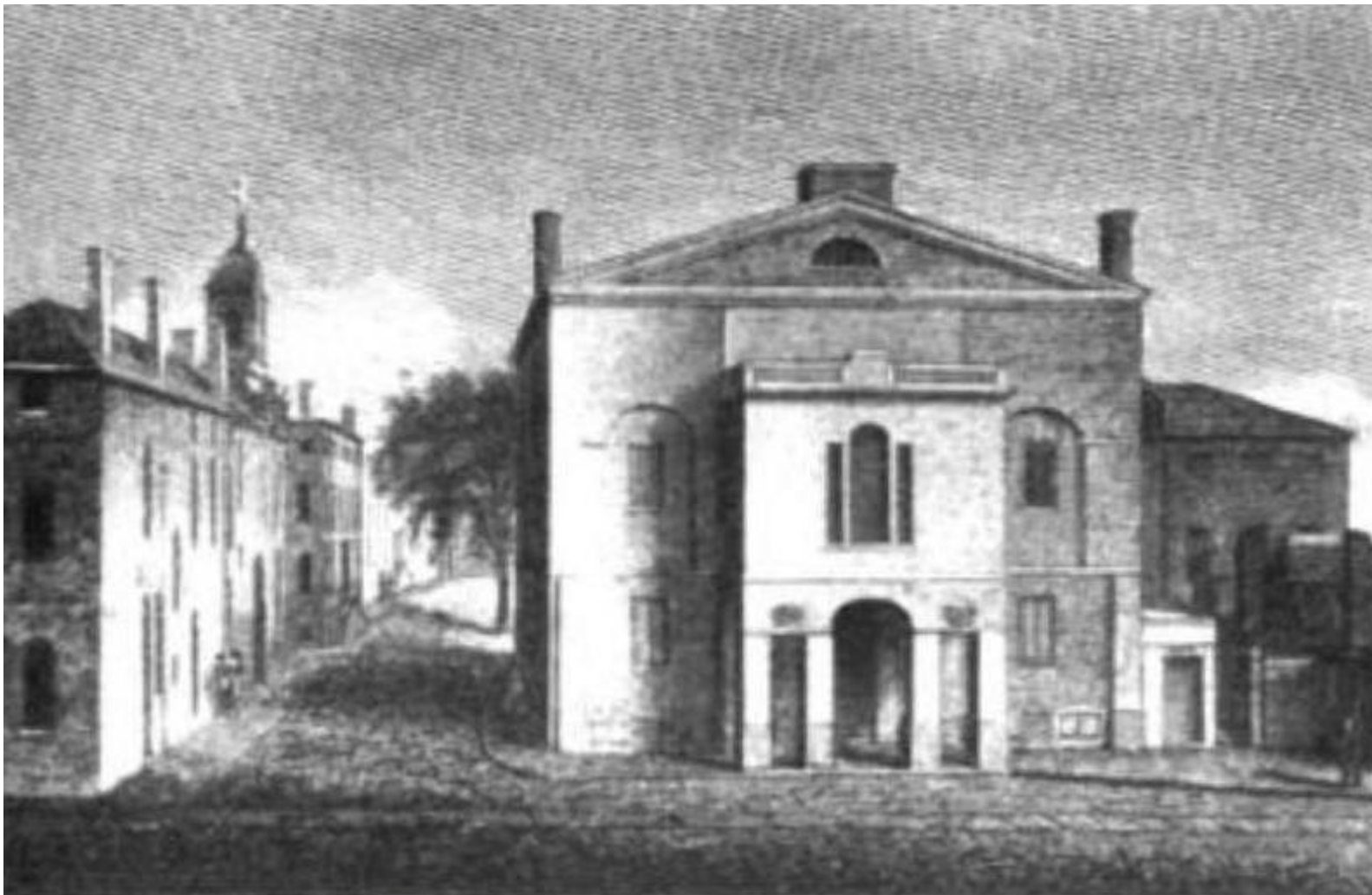
COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

Lecture Season of '44/45, at the Odeon in [Boston](#):

6th Season of The Lowell Institute

x
xx lectures
x
xx lectures
x
xx lectures
x





COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

December 23: Bronson Alcott having decided against the headmastership of the school at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#), an attempt was made to obtain the Reverend Samuel Joseph May “upon pleasant and agreeable terms.” This also would fail, presumably because of concern for the general financial situation of the Association, and the school would continue under the care of the Macks. By this point it had become clear that the failure to raise the additional \$25, 000 to complete the originary purchase transaction meant that none of the subscriptions to date obtained could be made to be binding. Upon this finding, many members would wisely cut their losses by withdrawing.

COMMUNITARIANISM

1845

It was during this year that Minot Pratt left [Brook Farm](#) in disagreement with these Fourierist doctrines then prevalent, and went to [George William Curtis](#)’s farm in [Concord](#). It was during this year that [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote in his journal that “[Henry Thoreau](#) said that the Fourierists had a sense of duty which led them to devote themselves to their second best.”



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of Charles Fourier, who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. Fourierism (Horace Greeley founded the New-York [Tribune](#) to promote Fourier’s ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement’s history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had “a union” (a conversational party), Fourier’s Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers’ total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier’s total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

WALDEN: In short, I am convinced, both by faith and experience that to maintain one's self on this earth is not a hardship but a pastime, if we will live simply and wisely; as the pursuits of the simpler nations are still the sports of the more artificial. It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, unless he sweats easier than I do.

Spring: The men of the North American Phalanx had been preparing their Fourierist colony's Eagleswood site at Red Bank, New Jersey, and at this point the women and children of the group were able to join them at the site. The wages which the group would provide to its members would be below minimum wage compared to American standards, but the cost of living there was also low, in the vicinity of \$2 per week.

COMMUNITARIANISM

March: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts would soon be beginning a 50-cents-per-pound bounty on raw **silk** produced in the state, but by this point the **Association of Industry and Education** had entirely ceased to strip silk from its own mulberry-worm cocoons in **Northampton** and had begun to purchase its raw silk overseas. The Association at this point despite considerable desertions was managing to hold steady at 120 members by constant recruitment of new gullible recruits:

Membership

April 1842	41
May 1842	65
End of 1842	83
June 1843	113
Winter 1844	120
Spring 1845	120

During this month, with roughly only half of the Association's members being adults, David Mack proposed that silk production be maintained by requiring every child over six years of age to labor for 50 hours every week at the factory. (*Ou sont l'idealismus d'antan?*) Education had fallen by the wayside, out of the sheerest necessity under their load of capital debt. The family of James Kerr withdrew from the association, complaining that at night their children were far too exhausted by the constant labor to be able to do any real studying.

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

Summer: Charles Lane visited Hillside for several weeks in an attempt to restore the influence he had had over the Alcott family at Fruitlands, but Abba Alcott had won and knew she had won and she was both intractable and



intransigent. If she had seen this first usage of the phrase “manifest destiny” in regard to our nation’s future, she might have applied it quite readily to that fact that the future was going to be a future of Abba and not Charles having influence over [Bronson Alcott](#). Lane went away to visit with the Shakers muttering about how it was Bronson’s job in the family to keep the garden “free of weeds” and Abba’s job in the family to keep the house “clear of all intruders.” He left his son William Lane with the Shakers and went down to the socialist community of the North American Phalanx near Raritan, New Jersey, and then on to New-York, floating “on the placid bosom of the Stream of Love.”

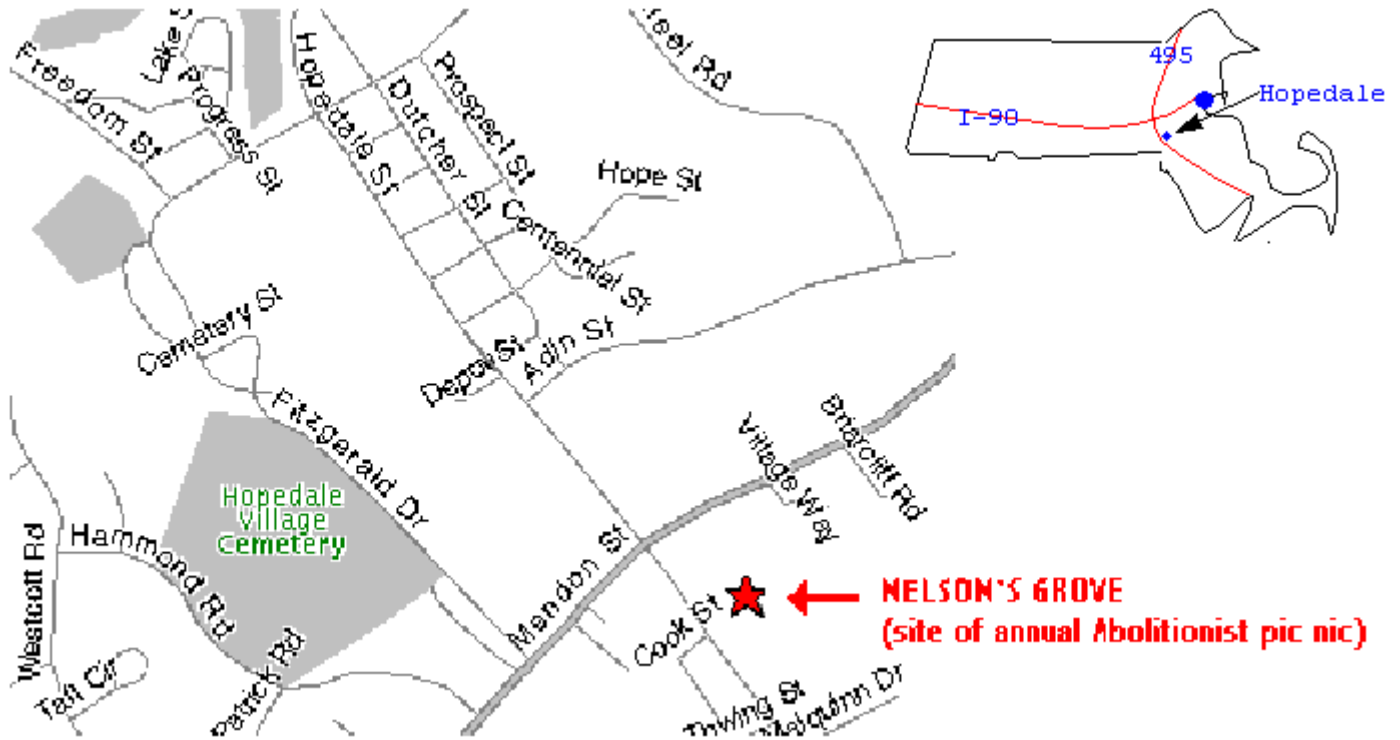
THE ALCOTT FAMILY

MOTHER ANN LEE AND THE “SHAKERS”

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

November: Erasmus Darwin Hudson, formerly of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#), while visiting the [Hopedale](#) community at Mendon near Worcester, met Robert Dale Owen. This idealistic reformer had at this point grown too old to sustain any optimism, and their topic of discussion would be not the idealistic community but the paternalistically operated factory village.



COMMUNITARIANISM

1846

With the completion of the new rail link between Springfield MA and Greenfield, the town of [Northampton](#), in between these two cities, began to experience a great surge of economic activity. There were more new house starts in this year in the town than in any three years together since 1830. Things were booming again. It would be a good year in which a commercial enterprise that had the advantage of being well managed might purchase cheap the lands and equipment and physical plant of a failed idealistic social experiment. However, the Valentine & Sowerby Company of the town received a “2d-best” silver medal from the American Institute of New York for its [sewing-silk](#). (This private commercial enterprise was a direct local competitor of the [Association of Industry and Education](#). Is this the Grim Reaper knocking at the door, or what?) For the children of the Association their previous more lenient schedule of morning education and afternoon and evening labor had, due to financial pressures, disappeared, and they were reduced to laboring all day six days a week in the Cocoonery and receiving their instructions only after supper until their bedtime.

Communal and Utopian Startups

Period	Startups
1841-1845	47
1846-1850	13
1851-1855	14

HOPEDALE

As this Association of Industry and Education broke up, Sojourner Truth would transit to being a housekeeper “in the role of guest” in the home of George Benson. Although Mau Mau chose not to dwell on this in her NARRATIVE, three of her offspring, Elizabeth Gedney, Sophia, and Jane, were with her in Northampton. David Ruggles made a present to Elizabeth, 21 years of age, of a shawl worth \$2.⁵⁰, a quite substantial amount of money, several days’ income, so he must have felt an attraction.



When Olive Gilbert began in this year to write down the illiterate Truth’s stories about herself, one editorial remark in her preparation of the narrative would be something to the effect that the young women were suffering themselves to be “drawn by temptation into the paths of the destroyer.”²⁸

28. David Ruggles would die, and Elizabeth Gedney would marry a man named Banks in Connecticut in 1850 and bear him a child.



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

September: Attempts to dispose of the remainder of the [Association of Industry and Education](#)'s stock having proven to be quite fruitless, such attempts were finally abandoned. After mortgaging the remaining western side of their properties to Amherst College for \$10,000, the holdout members of the association were effectively assetless yet faced a residual paper debt of some \$40,000. Would any of these idealists be faced with Debtors' Prison?

[NORTHAMPTON MA](#)
[COMMUNITARIANISM](#)

1847

A three-story connecting structure was added between the two farmhouses of the Raritan Bay Union. The farmhouses would constitute the kitchen and eating area while the addition would become new living quarters and social areas. This New Jersey community would also come to include "a stream mill, stables, cow and wagon sheds, forges, carpenter shops, a packing house, a school, a day nursery for working mothers, guest cottages, landscaped gardens and paths, and an artificial pond for bathing, boating and ice harvesting in the winter."

[COMMUNITARIANISM](#)



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

Fall: [Brook Farm](#) was officially disbanded:



When the Brook Farmers disbanded, in the autumn of 1847, a number of the brightest spirits settled in New York, where The Tribune, Horace Greeley's paper, welcomed their ideas and gladly made room on its staff for George Ripley, their founder. New York in the middle of the nineteenth century, almost as much perhaps as Boston, bubbled with movements of reform, with the notions of the spiritualists, the phrenologists, the mesmerists and what not, and the Fourierists especially had found a forum there for discussions of "attractional harmony" and "passional hygiene." It was the New Yorker Albert Brisbane who had met the master himself in Paris, where Fourier was working as a clerk with an American firm, and paid him for expounding his system in regular lessons. Then Brisbane in turn converted Greeley and the new ideas had reached Brook Farm, where the members transformed the society into a Fourierist phalanx. The Tribune had played a decisive part in this as in other intellectual matters, for Greeley was unique among editors in his literary flair. Some years before, Margaret Fuller had come to New York to write for him, and among the Brook Farmers on his staff, along with "Archon" Ripley, were George William Curtis and Dana, the founder of The Sun.... The socialistic [William Henry] Channing was a nephew of the great Boston divine who had also preached and lectured in New York, while Henry James [Senior], a Swedenborgian, agreed with the Fourierists too and regarded all passions and attractions as a species of duty. As for the still youthful Brisbane, who had toured Europe with his tutor, studying not only with Fourier but with Hegel in Berlin, he had mastered animal magnetism to the point where he could strike a light merely by rubbing his fingers over the gas-jet. The son of a magnate of upper New York, he had gone abroad at nineteen, with the sense of a certain injustice in his unearned wealth, and he had been everywhere received like a bright young travelling prince in Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Constantinople. He had studied philosophy, music and art and learned to speak in Turkish, —the language of Fourier's capital of the future world,— driving over Italy with S.F.B. Morse and Horatio Greenough and sitting at the feet of Victor Cousin also. He met and talked with Goethe, Heine, Balzac, Lamennais and Victor Hugo, reading Fourier for many weeks with Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, whom he had inspired with a passion for the "wonderful plan." He had a strong feeling for craftsmanship, for he had watched the village blacksmith along with the carpenter and the saddler when he was a boy, so that he was prepared for these notions of attractive labor, while he had been struck by the chief Red Jacket, who had visited the village, surrounded by white admirers and remnants of his tribe. In this so-called barbarian he had witnessed aptitudes that impressed him with the powers and capacities of the natural man, and he had long since set out to preach the gospel of social reorganization that Fourier had explained to him in Paris.



COMMUNITARIANISM

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At Robert Owen's "World Convention," held in New York in 1845, many of the reformers' programmes had found expression, and, since then, currents of affinity had spread from the Unitary Home to the Oneida Community and the Phalanx at Red Bank. The Unitary Home, a group of houses on East 14th Street, with communal parlours and kitchens, was an urban Brook Farm, where temperance reform and woman's rights were leading themes of conversation and John Humphrey Noyes of Oneida was a frequent guest.

CERESCO
FOURIERISM
G.W.F. HEGEL
GEORGE RIPLEY
MODERN TIMES
EAGLESWOOD
UNITARY HOME
VICTOR HUGO
HORACE GREELEY
VICTOR COUSIN
CHARLES A. DANA
ALBERT BRISBANE
ROBERT DALE OWEN
SAMUEL F.B. MORSE
HENRY JAMES, SR.
ONEIDA COMMUNITY
HORATIO GREENOUGH
GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS
JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES
WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING
SAGOYEWATHA "RED JACKET"
JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE
ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

1848

The last of the properties of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), namely the old oil mill, the 4-story brick factory structure, its associated machine shops, and the establishment store, were disposed of for the round sum of \$10,000 by Joseph C. Martin and Hall Judd to the last treasurer of the Association, Friend Samuel L. Hill. George W. Benson would be a particular friend to two of the forlorn black people who had been thus cut loose in a white-dominated rural society, Sojourner Truth and Basil Dorsey. He would help Truth obtain housing for herself, and would enable Dorsey to take over the “teaming,” which is to say, the driving of draft animals, for his surviving cotton factory.

Nell Painter’s photos of the [silk](#) mill in [Florence](#), and of the house on one of Sojourner Truth’s two lots there, do not have the appearance, to my eye, of period Daguerreotypes. Having been quite unable to find either in the local [Northampton](#) libraries or the college libraries **any** images contemporary with Truth’s sojourn in Florence during that very early period of Daguerreotypy (I did come across a very rough sketch of the original oil mill that stood at that dam on the Mill River), I had driven past these addresses but had refrained from snapping present photos — it appeared to me that the structure now on that south lot of hers must be of later construction or at the very least quite extensively renovated, and I don’t know that those outbuildings surrounding the core factory structure were in place before it was shifted from [silk](#) to [cotton](#) processing.

At the North American Phalanx intentional community in New Jersey, only stockholders had been able to vote in the annual elections for the governing council — but at this point, by amendment to the group’s constitution, all members became able to vote.

COMMUNITARIANISM

The Oneida Community was formed in upstate New York.
(At some point member Sewell Newhouse would donate to the collective his patent for a superior steel trap. This would be the organization’s cash cow for many decades. During the year 1860, for instance, the community would gross \$100,000 from nationwide sale of the Newhouse trap. In 1881 it would reorganize as a stock company for the manufacture primarily of quality silverware.)



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

1851

A visitor to the North American Phalanx of Red Bank, New Jersey was surprised to meet there not only an ex-resident of the [Hopedale](#) community but also an ex-Shaker.

Communal and Utopian Startups

Period	Startups
1841-1845	47
1846-1850	13
1851-1855	14

ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

ONEIDA COMMUNITY

MODERN TIMES

UNITARY HOME

FRUITLANDS

BROOK FARM

HOPEDALE

COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

August 8, day: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) visited the Shakers at Hancock near Lenox,²⁹ was politely shown around by an elder, and decided that his pleasant old host's society was



hateful and disgusting to think of; and the sooner the sect is extinct the better – a consummation which, I am happy to hear, is thought to be not a great many years distant.

MOTHER ANN LEE AND THE “SHAKERS”

To give you an idea of the sort of thing Hawthorne had encountered, and to which he had had such a strong reaction, here is a description of a Shaker group as of 1829 (you can be sure they didn't much vary from group

29. At the time, the Shakers or “The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing” of New Hampshire were involved in some sort of legal issue, and their attorney at court was Hawthorne's college sidekick [Franklin Pierce](#). The Shakers were followers of an exceptionally practical 18th-Century religious mystic they called Mother Ann Lee, whose motto for them was “Hands to Work and Hearts to God.” They were celibate and lived apart from the world. This Society of Believers had numbered some 300 in Hancock, in 1829, although there were only 3 left by 1960 when the village was put up for sale.



The Hancock Shaker Village, phone (413) 443-0188, is five miles out US 20 west of Pittsfield. From May until October 31, the village is open from 9:30AM to 5:00PM, and the cafe in the Visitor's Center is also open for lunch and snacks. Guided 90-minute tours are also available in April and November from 10:00AM to 3:00PM. Admission is \$9.⁰⁰, and family admission, for two adults and all children under 18, is \$25.⁰⁰. They charge \$4.⁵⁰ for children 6 to 12. Occasionally, for \$35.⁰⁰, they offer an evening tour with candlelight supper. Elizabeth Linzey, an interpreter at the white-framed meeting house with white and Prussian blue interior, tells modern tourists the Shakers believed that “perfect was simply the best you could do. So everyone could do something perfect. That's why they tried so hard and did so well.”



COMMUNITARIANISM

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to group, and that they hadn't much changed from 1829 to 1851):

The Elders wear long plain coats and wide brimmed hats, but the Sunday costume of the ordinary man consists of pantaloons of blue linen with a fine white stripe in it, vest of a much deeper blue linsey-woolsey, stout calfskin shoes and grey stockings. Their shirts are made of cotton, the collars fastened with three buttons and turned over. The women wear, on Sunday, some a pure white dress, and others a white dress with a delicate blue stripe in it. Over their necks and bosoms were pure white kerchiefs, and over the left arm of each was carried a large white pocket handkerchief. Their heads were covered with lawn caps, the form of all, for both old and young, being alike. They project so as to fully conceal the cheeks in profile. Their shoes, sharp-toed and high-heeled, according to the fashion of the day when the Society was formed [1747], were made of prunella of a brilliant ultramarine blue. And there were children too, with cheerful faces peering out from their broad hats and deep bonnets, for they were all dressed like old men and women. I marvelled at the sight of children in that isolated world of bachelors and maidens, forgetting that it was a refuge for orphans who are unsheltered in the stormy world without.

And here is a poet imagining the horrific reaction which non-Shakers had to what they witnessed on their tours

COMMUNITARIANISM

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of sites such as the Shaker community at Harvard, Massachusetts:

THE WORLD SEES

We have spied through the windows of The Square House at Harvard, where groans, shrieks, loud yellings, incredible laughters, singing and stamping feet – all have lately vibrated the timbers of that house, and of adjoining ones.

What we have seen! A bedlam of chanting, yelling, trembling! Some Shakers jerking their heads and limbs uncontrollably for upwards of twenty minutes, other threshing around wildly on the floor whilst others ramble around them, oblivious.

Some lie as dead (who knows for how long – it's rumored for hours). Some are beasts and go on all fours like maddened dogs, or whelps, barking, howling, and snapping at others in like dismal states of mind. We have noticed, strongly, that the men seldom mingle with the women, the latter engendering hysteria and beast-madness, in their own parts of the building. It is unlikely, therefore, that they are, as rumored, licentious and libidinous.

But, of this we are certain: we are dismayed, as God-fearing citizens, to have such madness in our midst. Certainly their rheums, catarrhs, and effluvia let loose upon Harvard will propel the rest of us to early graves. We shall deal with these folks as we must, to silence them.*

*Robert Peters. SHAKER LIGHT: MOTHER ANN LEE IN AMERICA. Greensboro: Unicorn Press, 1987, page 121.



August 8, Friday: 7¹/₂ PM To Conantum– The moon has not yet quite filled her horns–³⁰ I perceive why we so often remark a dark cloud in the west at and after sunset– It is because it is almost directly between us and the sun & hence we see the dark side and moreover it is much darker than it other-wise would be because of the little light reflected from the earth at that hour. The same cloud at mid day & over head might not attract attention. There is a pure amber sky beneath the present bank –thus framed off from the rest of the heavens – which with the outlines of small dead elms seen against it –I hardly know far or near –make picture enough. Men will travel far to see less interesting sights than this. Turning away from the sun we get this enchanting view as when a man looks at the landscape with inverted head. Under shadow of the dark cloud which I have described the cricket begins his strain –his ubiquitous strain. Is there a fall-cricket distinct from the species we hear in spring & summer?

I smell the cornfield over the brook a dozen rods off –& it reminds me of the green corn feasts of the Indians. The evening train comes rolling in –but none of the passengers jumping out in such haste attend to the beautiful fresh picture which nature has unrolled in the west –& surmounted with that dark frame. The circular platter of the carrots blossom is now perfect.

Might not this be called the invalide's moon on account of the warmth of the nights? The principal employments of the farmers now seems to be getting their meadow hay. & cradling some oats &c.

The light from the western sky is stronger still than that of the moon –and when I hold up my hand the west side is lighted while the side toward the moon is comparatively dark.– – But now that I have put this dark wood (Hubbards's) between me and the west –I see the moon light plainly on my paper– I am even startled by it– One star too, is it Venus?, I see in the west Starlight –! that would be a good way to mark the hour if we were precise. Hubbards brook– How much the beauty of the moon is enhanced by being seen shining between two trees –or even by the neighborhood of clouds! I hear the clock striking eight faintly. I smell the late shorn meadows

30. It was half full on the night of the 3rd and would be full on the night of the 10th.



COMMUNITARIANISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

One will lose no music by not attending the oratorios & operas. The really inspiring melodies are cheap & universal –& are as audible to the poor man's son as to the rich mans. Listening to the harmonies of the universe is not allied to dissipation. My neighbors have gone to the vestry to hear "Ned Kendal" the bugler tonight, but I am come forth to the hills to hear my bugler in the horizon– I can forego the seeming advantages of cities without misgiving. No heavenly strain is lost to the ear that is fitted to hear it for want of money – or opportunity. I am convinced that for instrumental music All Vienna cannot serve me more than the Italian boy who seeks my door with his organ.

And now I strike the road at the causeway– It is hard & I hear the sound of my steps a sound which should never be heard –for it draws down my thoughts. It is more like the treadmill exercise. The fireflies are not so numerous as they have been. There is no dew as yet. The planks & railing of Hubbards bridge are removed. I walk over on the string pieces resting in the middle until the moon comes out of a cloud that I may see my path –for between the next piers the string pieces also are removed & there is only a rather narrow plank – let down 3 or 4 feet.– I essay to cross it –but it springs a little & I mistrust myself –whether I shall not plunge into the river. Some demonic genius seems to be warning me. Attempt not the passage –you will surely be drowned– It is very real that I am thus affected– Yet I am fully aware of the absurdity of minding such suggestions– I put out my foot but I am checked as if that power had laid a hand on my breast & chilled me back –never the less I cross –stooping at first –& gain the other side.– (I make the most of it –on account of the admonition –but it was nothing to remark on– I returned the same way 2 hours later & made nothing of it) It is easy to see how by yielding to such feelings as this men would recreate all reestablish all the superstitions of antiquity. It is best that reason should govern us and not these blind intimations –in which we exalt our fears into a genius.


DIFFERENT DRUMMER

On Conantum I sit awhile in the shade of the woods & look out on the moonlit fields– White rocks are more remarkable than by day.

The air is warmer than the rocks now. It is perfectly warm & I am tempted to stay out all night & observe each phenomenon of the night until day dawns. But if I should do so, I should not wonder if the town were raised to hunt me up. Sitting on the door step of Conant-house –at 9 o'clock I hear a pear drop –how few of all the apples that fall do we hear fall.

I could lie out here on this pinnacle rock all night without cold– I hear a horse **sneeze**? from time to time in his pasture– He sees me & knows me to be a man –though I do not see him.

To lie here on your back with nothing between your eye & the stars –nothing but space –they your nearest neighbors on that side –be they strange or be they tame –be they other worlds or merely ornaments to this–

Who could ever go to sleep under these circumstances. I hear the 9 o'clock bell ringing in Bedford – an unexpectedly musical sound that of a bell in the horizon always is– Pleasantly sounds the voice of one village to another. It is sweet as it is rare. Since I sat here a bright star has gone behind the stem of a tree –proving that my machine is moving– I hear a solitary whippoorwill [Whip-Poor-Will  *Caprimulgus Vociferus*] –& a bull frog on the river fewer sounds than in spring. The grey cliffs across the river are plain to be seen– And now the star appears on the other side of the tree –& I must go– Still no dew up here I see 3 scythes hanging on an apple tree– There is the wild apple tree where hangs the forgotten scythe.– the rock where the shoe was left.

The woods & the separate trees cast longer shadows than by day –for the moon goes lower in her course at this season. Some dew at last in the meadow. As I recross the string pieces of the bridge –I see the water bugs swimming briskly in the moonlight. I scent the Roman Wormwood in the Potatoo fields.

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November 6, Thursday: The first issue of the journal of the Oneida Community, The Circular:



Captain Jonathan Walker rejected “bowie knives, dirks, revolvers” in favor of “all physical and moral means that can be sanctioned by sound morality and reasonable philosophy.”

Charles Henry Dow, who would found Dow Jones & Company, was born.

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On approximately this day [Isaac Hecker](#), CSSR wrote to [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), Esq.



November 6, Thursday: {⁴/₅ page missing} ... I had on my “bad-weather clothes” at Quebec like Olaf Tryggvesson the Northman when he went to Thing in England

1853

George Draper came to [Hopedale](#). There were at this period 229 residents in the community (76 members, 22 probationers, 79 family dependents, and 52 others).



Two members of the community were discovered to be committing adultery, and fled, finding their refuge at the free-loving Modern Times community on Long Island which at the time housed fifty to a hundred swingers. Another member of the [Hopedale](#) community, under attack for not having exposed this pair of adulterers, fled to the North American Phalanx, an intentional community on the shore of Raritan Bay in New Jersey across from New-York.

In a dispute over the women’s rights and abolitionist movements and in regard to a controversial plan to add a religious affiliation to the community, a portion of the membership of this North American Phalanx seceded to form the Raritan Bay Union. Friend Rebecca Buffum Spring and Friend Marcus Spring joined with this group on a large plot of land overlooking the ocean along the northern shore of Raritan Bay. Inspired by the French socialist Charles Fourier, this Union would seek to correct social inequalities and to conserve both labor and money through collective work. Members might choose to live communally or in private residences, but all would share as much in the work of the community as in its social events. The Union would establish a boarding school that would be a pioneer in co-education. Girl students would be encouraged to speak in public, engage in sports, and act in plays, all activities that were in other schools restricted to the boys. Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and her little sister [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) would teach in the school, which would be headmastered by [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Angelina’s husband. Several other noted reformers would teach and lecture at the school. The school would operate until about 1861, but we simply don’t know how long the Union itself endured. We do have an engraving dating to 1858 that shows the large stone phalanstery which

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by that time had come to house the school, and the living quarters for students and for community members, and feature a common dining room in the middle section of the building as well as work rooms, shops, a laundry, and of course the communal kitchen. (At the left of the picture is the private home of Rebecca and Marcus Spring, who chose not to reside in this phalanstery.)

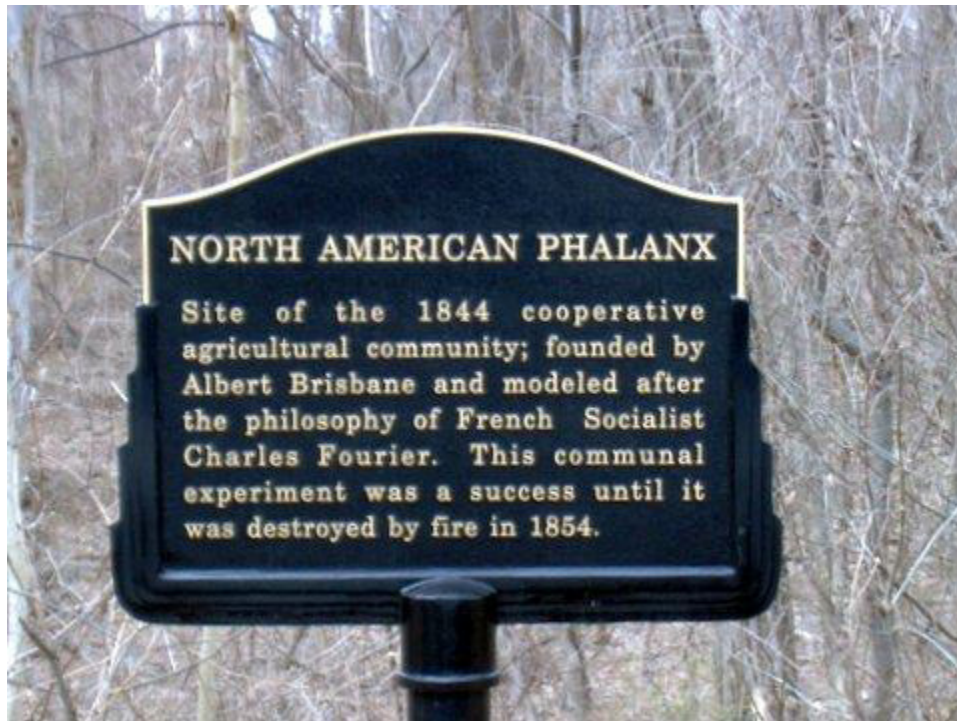


However, at this early point the site consisted of merely two existing farmhouses. Members of the community were referred to as associates, and all members were able to vote on the membership status of others. For most of the history of this social experiment it would amount to a population of 120-150. Prospective members resided in the community for 30 days before being offered a one-year provisional membership. At the completion of the year of provisional membership, upon the approval of the community, they would become full members.

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1854

September 10, Sunday: Just after dawn at the North American Phalanx intentional community in New Jersey, a fire destroyed the mill and several workshops. The community's insurance company would declare bankruptcy and the association would not be able to deal with the \$10,000 in damages. In June 1855 the community would vote to put its assets on the open market. In early 1856 operations would cease. On January 1, 1857 the association would officially cease to exist. There is now a roadside sign on Phalanx Road in Colt's Neck, New Jersey to inform us:



**NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX
Site of the 1844 cooperative
agricultural community; founded by
Albert Brisbane and modeled after
the philosophy of French Socialist
Charles Fourier. This communal
experiment was a success until it was
destroyed by fire in 1854.**

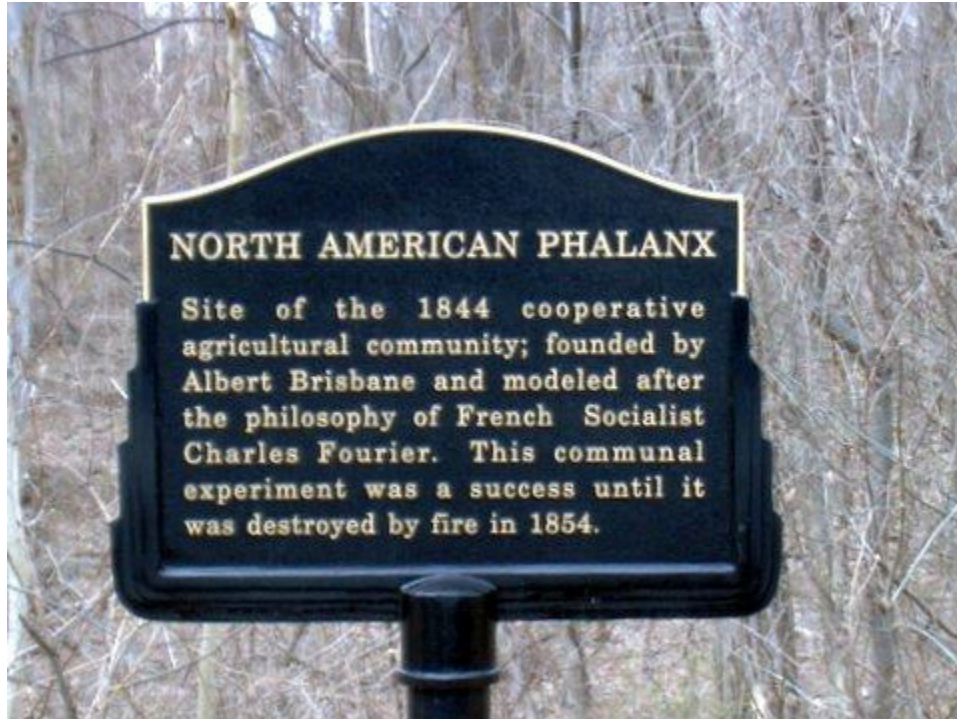
The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) delivered his first sermon at the Unitarian church of Washington DC. The church had had no permanent minister for the previous three years, while they had been looking to hire one who was adequately soft on the slavery issue. Conway to them looked right, because they were tired of searching, because he was obviously young and evidently malleable, because in this period he was not pressing his anti-slavery sentiments and appeared to be a gentleman of good sense, and because he was, after all, a Virginian to the manner born.

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1855

June: The North American Phalanx had not been able to deal with the \$10,000 in damages caused by its 1854 fire. At this point the community voted to put its assets on the open market. In early 1856 operations would cease. On January 1, 1857 the association would officially cease to exist. There is now a roadside sign on Phalanx Road in Colt's Neck, New Jersey to inform us:



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1856

After a fire in its mill the North American Phalanx of Red Bank, New Jersey was being cashed out. It is clear that although this fire set the timing of the departure of the residents from the Eagleswood experiment, it was not its cause — as when Horace Greeley would offer to loan money to build a new mill for this social experiment, that kind offer would be declined.

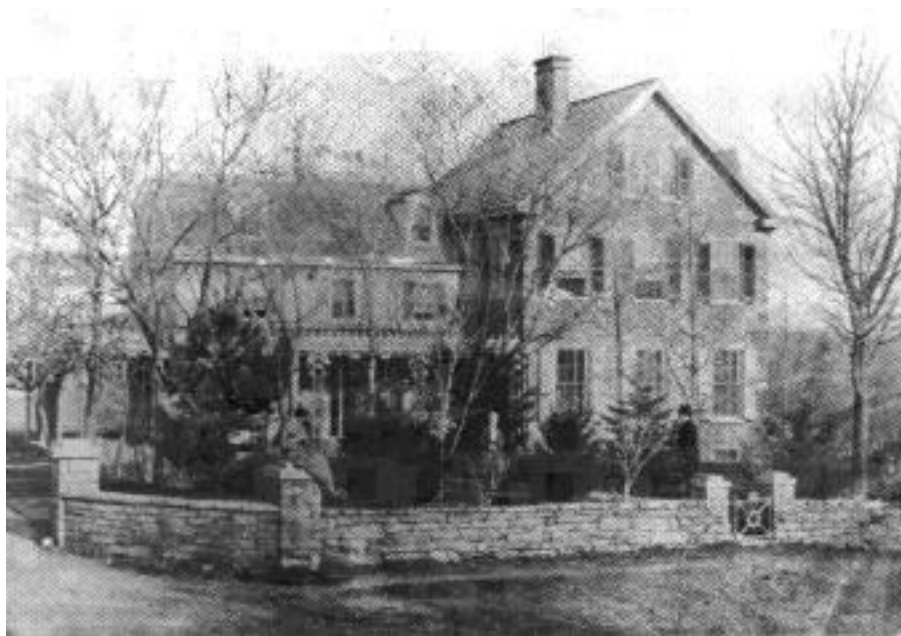
COMMUNITARIANISM

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[Abby Kelley Foster](#) had all her teeth pulled in Massachusetts, under [nitrous oxide](#), and replaced with full dentures, although in her case the sequence of operations took months. She then visited [Friends James](#) and



[Lucretia Mott](#) at their new home “Roadside” outside Philadelphia, and Friend Lucretia wrote



Her throat far from well & she is quite hoarse. All her teeth have been extracted & a temp set in – she is fine lookg yet. [sic]

Then, on her way back from Philadelphia to New-York, Abby Kelley Foster stopped by Eagleswood in New

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Jersey.



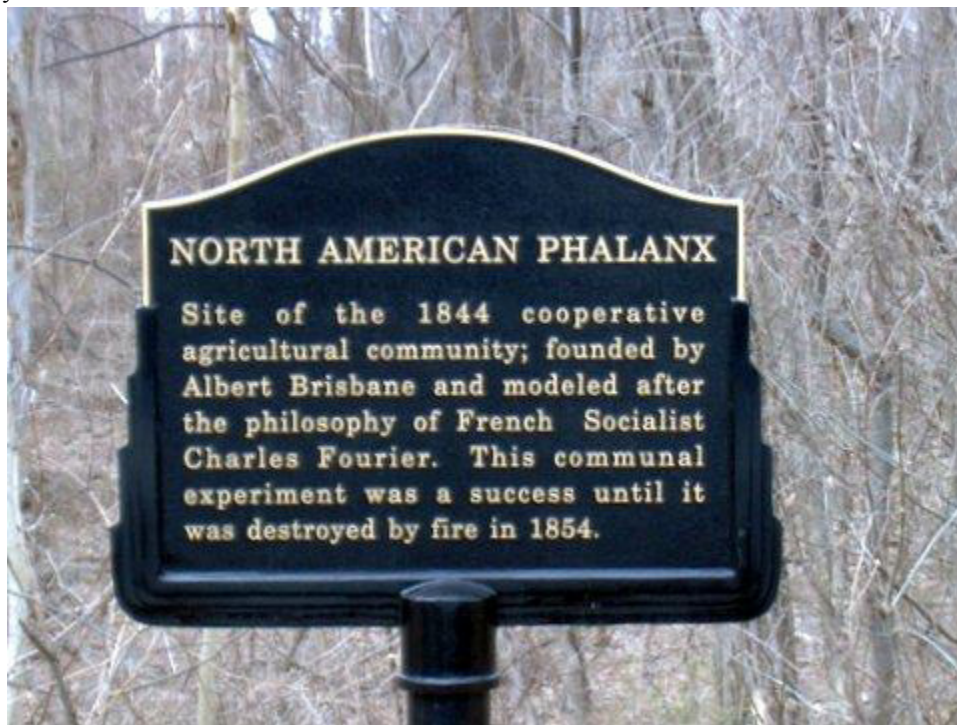
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January: Phineas Taylor Barnum got into serious financial trouble over some real estate deals in East Bridgeport, Connecticut near his home “Iranistan.” He was bankrupt. Waldo Emerson, rejoicing, termed this showman’s ruin “the gods visible again.” This showman would, however, be privately scoffing at the business colleagues to whom he had had an obligation: “I shall soon be relieved of all liabilities ... under the 2/3 Bankruptcy Act, leaving it to me to give them what I please.”

The Social Revolutionist reported that Eagleswood, the North American Phalanx, had voted to dissolve itself and was attempting to sell off its assets on the open market, and that its operations had ceased. During that severe winter season the commune would sell off assets such as its main building of brick in three stories, with a 150-foot front and one 150-foot wing, standing among shade trees near orchards with grapevines trained adjacent to its walls, and be able to realize 66 cents on the dollar of investment. On January 1, 1857 the association would officially cease to exist. There is now a roadside sign on Phalanx Road in Colt’s Neck, New Jersey to inform us:



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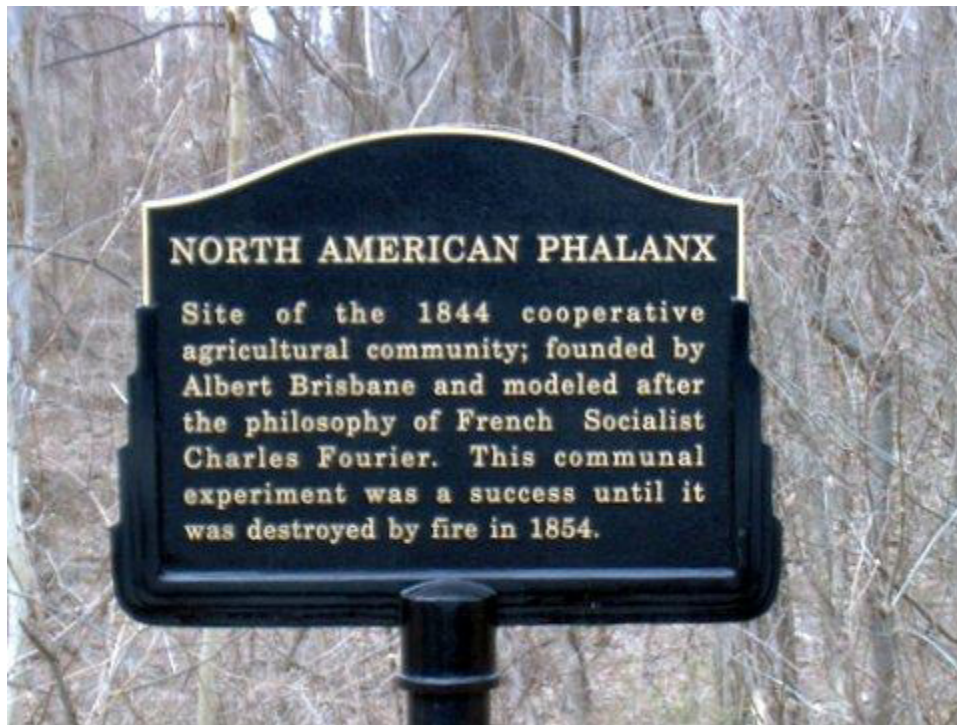
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1857

François-Marie-Charles Fourier's major work of 1818, THÉORIE DES QUATRE MOUVEMENTS ET DES DESTINÉES GÉNÉRALES was at this point published in English as THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN; OR, THEORY OF THE FOUR MOVEMENTS.

January 1: The operations of the North American Phalanx had been discontinued for almost a year. On this day the association officially ceased to exist. There is now a roadside sign on Phalanx Road in Colt's Neck, New Jersey to inform us:



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(The association's legal and financial documents, with miscellaneous manuscripts, genealogical material, bills of fare, printed material, photographs and illustrations, maps, drawings, and blueprints, are now in the "North American Phalanx Collection, 1841-1972" at the Monmouth County Historical Association, 70 Court Street, Freehold, New Jersey.)

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January 1. I observe a shelf of ice — what arctic voyagers call the ice-belt or ice-foot (which they see on a very great scale sledging upon it) — adhering to the walls and banks at various heights, the river having fallen nearly two feet since it first froze. It is often two or three feet wide and now six inches thick.

Am still surveying the W or Lee farm. W cleared out and left this faithful servant like a cat in some corner of this great house, but without enough to buy him a pair of boots, I hear.

Parker was once a Shaker at Canterbury. He is now Captain E—'s right-hand man. He found him in the house. P. does the chores.

Complains that, as they dine at fashionable hours, he does n't get enough to support him when he goes home at noon from helping me. When he sees how much dead wood there is on the farm, he says they ought to have a "gundalo," meaning a large, square kind of boat, to cart it off with.

E—, having lent W money, was xxxxxxxxxx to take the farm to save himself, but he is nearly blind, and is anxious to get rid of it. Says that the buildings are either new or in excellent repair. He understands that in W—'s day they mixed paint by the hogshead. Parker has told him of logs cut two years ago which lie rotting in the swamp, and he is having them hauled out and to mill.

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1858

The stone Eagleswood House, to the right, and to the left, the separate residence of M. Spring, Esqr., at the Raritan Bay Union, New Jersey, in a depiction prepared by Maud Honeyman Green.



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May: [Isaac Hecker](#) landed in America and rejoined his four co-workers. They were living in his brother [George Hecker](#)'s home in New-York. A deal would soon be cut with Archbishop John Joseph Hughes of New-York whereby they reconstituted themselves as the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, but this time for what it was worth with "promises" rather than "vows." Required as an order to establish a parish and create a residence or "convent" (contrary to common usage, this term does not imply the presence of nuns) they decided to situate themselves in "Shantyopolis," a poor Irish area on Manhattan's West Side.

July 10, Saturday: The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle placed itself under the leadership of Father Thomas ([Isaac Hecker](#)), and had his portrait done in oil by George Peter Alexander Healy:



In Tuckerman's Ravine:



July 10. Saturday. Wentworth says he once collected one hundred pounds of spruce gum and sold it at Biddeford for forty cents per pound. Says there are "sable lines" about here. They trap them, but rarely see them. His neighbor, who lives on the hill behind where we camped on the 6th, has four hours more sun than he. He can, accordingly, make hay better, but W. beats him in corn. The days are about forty minutes longer on top of Mt. Washington than at seashore, according to guide-book. The sun set to us here at least an hour earlier than usual.

This ravine at the bottom of which we were, looking westward up it, had a rim somewhat like that of the crater of a volcano. The head of it bore from camp about N. 65° W., looking nearer than it was; the highest rock, with the outline of a face on it on the south rim, S. 32° W.; a very steep cliff on the opposite side, N. 20° W.; and over the last we judged was the summit of Mt. Washington. As I understood Wentworth, this was in Pingree's Grant; the Glen House in Pinkham's Grant. To-day and yesterday clouds were continually drifting over the summit, commonly extending about down to the edge of the ravine. When we looked up that way, the black patch made by our fire looked like a shadow on the mountainside.

I Or Acadica Saw-whet? When I tasted the water under the snow arch the day before, I was disappointed at its warmth, though it was in fact melted snow; but half a mile lower it tasted colder. Probably, the ice being cooled by the neighborhood of the snow, it seemed thus warmer by contrast.

The only animals we saw about our camp were a few red squirrels. W. said there were striped ones about the mountains. The *Fringilla hyemalis* was most common in the upper part of the ravine, and I saw a large bird of prey, perhaps an eagle, sailing over the head of the ravine. The wood thrush and veery sang regularly, especially morning and evening. But, above all, the peculiar and memorable songster was that Monadnock-like one, keeping up an exceedingly brisk and lively strain. It was remarkable for its incessant twittering flow. Yet we never got within sight of the bird, at least while singing, so that I could not identify it, and my lameness prevented my pursuing it. I heard it afterward, even in the Franconia Notch. It was surprising for its steady and uninterrupted flow, for when one stopped, another appeared to take up the strain. It reminded me of a fine corkscrew stream issuing with incessant lisping tinkle from a cork, flowing rapidly, and I said that he had pulled out the spile and left it running. That was the rhythm, but with a sharper tinkle of course. It had no more variety than that, but it was more remarkable for its continuance and monotonousness than any bird's note I ever heard. It evidently belongs only to cool mountainsides, high up amid the fir and spruce. I saw once flitting through the fir-tops restlessly a small white and dark bird, sylvia-like, which may have been it. Sometimes they appeared to be attracted by our smoke. The note was so incessant that at length you only noticed when it ceased. [A Winter

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Wren]

The black lies were of various sizes here, much larger than I noticed in Maine. They compelled me most of the time to sit in the smoke, which I preferred to wearing a veil. They lie along your forehead in a line, where your hat touches it, or behind your ears, or about your throat (if not protected by a beard), or into the rims of the eyes, or between the knuckles, and there suck till they are crushed. But fortunately they do not last far into the evening, and a wind or a fog disperses them. I did not mind them much, but I noticed that men working on the highway made a fire to keep them off. I find many of them accidentally pressed in my botany and plant book. A botanist's books, if he has ever visited the primitive northern woods, will be pretty sure to contain these specimens of the black fly. Anything but mosquitoes by night. Plenty of fly-blowing flies, but I saw no ants in the dead wood; some spiders.

In the afternoon, Hoar, Blake, and Brown ascended the slide on the south to the highest rock. They were more than an hour getting up, but we heard them shout distinctly from the top. Hoar found near the edge of the ravine there, between the snow there and edge, *Rhododendron Lapponium*, some time out of bloom, ¹ growing in the midst of *empetrum* and moss; *Arctotaphylos alpina*, going to seed; *Polygonum viviparum*, in prime; ² According to Durand, at 8_ in Greenland.

³ According to Duand, at all Kane' stations. and *Salix heracea*, ⁴ a pretty, trailing, roundish-leaved willow, going to seed, but apparently not so early as the *S. Uva-ur*.



1859

Winter: Late in the year, Father [Isaac Hecker](#)'s Church of St. Paul the Apostle opened its doors in "Shantyopolis," a poor Irish area on Manhattan's West Side. Do not think of it, however, as the impressive "Saint Paul's" edifice of the Paulist Fathers which now exists there.



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1860

During this year the Oneida Community grossed \$100,000 from sales of the superior steel trap designed by member Sewell Newhouse.

1861

The Paulist Fathers led by Father [Isaac Hecker](#) began to publish selected homilies, in a popular series.

1863

In “The Saint of Our Day,” a homily on sanctification, Father [Isaac Hecker](#) attempted to suggest to the Congregation of St. Paul in New-York a redefinition of the meaning of Christian Perfection suitable to the needs of the 19th Century. His friend [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#) attacked him again, as he had attacked him upon the occasion of the publication of his book ASPIRATIONS OF NATURE in November 1857, for failing to grasp the delusive nature of original sin and how difficult it was for us to get past our own self-delusiveness without the help of the outside perspective on ourselves provided by revelations from God.

1865

The Oneida Community of perfectionists, in their The Circular, came out in favor of perfecting the human species through Eugenics:

[H]uman breeding should be one of the foremost questions of the age, transcending in its sublime interest all present political and scientific questions.

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1866

More than a decade after the failure of the North American Phalanx, N.C. Meeker visited the grounds near Red Bank, New Jersey to interview old members who had decided to reside upon part of the original property. He published in the New-York Tribune a brief history of the Eagleswood commune, and some of his conversations with its survivors.



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1867

Under the patronage of John Sholto Douglas, the eccentric eighth Marquis of Queensberry, new rules are developed for amateur boxing. These rules required fighters to wear gloves that were in good condition. They required a referee to move about inside the ring and all seconds to remain outside the ropes. They outlawed wrestling and hugging. They made rounds last three minutes each, with one minute between rounds. They gave fighters ten seconds to stand back up after having been knocked down. And they banned boots having either springs or spikes. Queensberry rules helped pugilism recover its lost popularity, as they reduced the visible injuries and subjected fighters to the whims of the clock, something important to people who needed to catch the last train home. Their actual author was probably an English amateur named John Graham Chambers.

Box scores appear in United States newspapers. Originally designed to facilitate illegal gambling operations, their popularity created most of the modern interest in essentially meaningless sport statistics.

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Some things were changing radically, but other things were remaining pretty much the same. For instance, the human interest in sex, and in good stories that led to good sex. On a following screen is the founding daddy, if not of good sex and lots of it, at least of plural marriage, John Humphrey Noyes of the Oneida Community, in this year, well exercised and with a number of notches on his belt:

1872

August: The *phalanstère* of the North American Phalanx, Country Route 537, Phalanx, Monmouth County, New Jersey, the original wooden one, was at this point still available to be photographed. This structure would continue to exist in disrepair until November 1972, when it would finally be destroyed by fire.



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1879

John Humphrey Noyes advised his followers at the Oneida Community to abandon the system of complex marriage which he had instituted. He was getting too old for all this constant swinging and swiving. Here is how he already had looked as of 1867, a dozen years earlier:



"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project

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1881

The Oneida Community reorganized as Oneida Community, Ltd., a joint stock company intending to specialize in the manufacture of silver plate.

1888

The popular magazine Youth's Companion, published in Boston by Daniel Ford and his nephew James Upham, had the largest national circulation of its day, around 500,000 copies of each issue, when it embarked on a truly patriotic sales campaign, to vend the American flag to public schools. We gotta sell you an American flag, at least for your Principal's office!

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

1889

The Spiritualist faction of the Oneida Community of upstate New York gained a majority on the Board of Directors.

SPIRITUALISM

1891

The well-received biography of Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker) of the Paulist Fathers, Walter Elliott's THE LIFE OF FATHER HECKER, which would go through a number of editions.

1899

January 22: Pope Leo XIII, in his apostolic letter *Testum Benevolentiae*, excoriated the attitude that had been taken by Father Thomas (Isaac Hecker) of the Paulist Fathers under the rubric "Americanism."³¹ The view which he was attributing to Father Thomas was the view espoused in that 1897 French translation of Walter Elliott's THE LIFE OF FATHER HECKER, that he had proposed that certain obstacles to conversion of people to the Catholic faith, such as a number of traditional doctrines, ought for tactical reasons to be de-emphasized if not dispensed with entirely.

31. The deployment of such an epithet as "Americanism" was probably a tactical blunder.

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1894

May Day: The last word on the “Consociate Family” of “Fruitlands” in Harvard, Massachusetts, as well as on the [Brook Farm](#) experiment led by the [Reverend George Ripley](#) in Roxbury, may have been had, or perhaps the last laugh, or perhaps the last sneer, by the Honorable George Frisbie Hoar, formerly of [Concord](#), serving in the United State Senate and residing in Washington DC. For his public attitude toward the “Coxey’s Army” people who marched on the District of Columbia during the Cleveland depression was that although he could not help but “sympathize with them a great deal more than some of those who always prate of sympathy for the downtrodden in order to advance their disgraceful political ambitions,” nevertheless in our nation such a “demonstration of masses of the people has no lawful place” because “the Government has no right to support the people; the people should support the Government” He remarked privately that Jacob and Lucille Coxey and their little son Legal Tender Coxey, and the other poor people who joined that misguided march,

seemed very harmless and had very much the same theories that Mr. Alcott and the Brook Farm people deluded themselves with in my boyhood.

No, the likes of Senator Hoar were not about to delude themselves.



JUST SAY NO TO IDEAS

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1972

November: The original wooden *phalanstère* of the North American Phalanx, Country Route 537, Phalanx, Monmouth County, New Jersey is here depicted as it had appeared a full century earlier. This structure had continued to stand in dereliction until during this month it was destroyed by fire.



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2006

February 13/20: In The New Yorker, Adam Gopnik reports on page 164 that “visitors from Thoreau to Charles Dickens” inspected Shaker communities. For the record, Abba Alcott visited the Shakers at Harvard, Massachusetts, Charles Lane went, Waldo Emerson went, Isaac Hecker went, Nathaniel Hawthorne went, Bronson Alcott went ... but so far as I know, not Henry, ever. Also, Charles Dickens did inspect a Shaker community, but it wasn’t one in Massachusetts. Having seen this commentator as unreliable in this article about the Shakers, I thought I would look around for other evidence of Mr. Gopnik’s general level of scholarship. Refer to a book review he had placed in the April 25, 2005 issue of this magazine. In this piece he had originated a farrago of errors:

[H]e [John Brown] was a ... farmer who had gentle and respectful relations with neighboring Native Americans, so that, even



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before he became famous as the fighting fury of abolition, they liked and respected him. ... He is ... the acknowledged spiritual patron of Timothy McVeigh. ...he wanted to be black—to look black and think black and act black. (He may even have had his skin darkened in photographs to try to pass, in the opposite direction.) ... Brown in Kansas at first might seem to be without this cue to action—he was neither implicated nor particularly humiliated by the vigilantes until one realizes that the real trigger was something that had happened two days before in Washington. There, as Reynolds reminds us, a South Carolina congressman had beaten Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, nearly to death with the gold head of his cane for daring to speak out against the pro-slavery forces in Kansas and, in a feudal manner, for criticizing a kinsman of his. ...Brown brought in the black abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass, who took a look at the plan and refused to have anything to do with it, since it was obviously a blueprint for failure and the mass executions of blacks. ... [Once John Brown and his men had arrived at Harpers Ferry,] The slaves were armed and then, for the most part, looked around wondering what to do.

That being the situation, I would urge caution in regard to Gopnik's allegations here, such as that Mother Ann Lee was sexually assaulted in America, until and until such data elements can be otherwise corroborated:

SHINING TREE OF LIFE

by ADAM GOPNIK

What the Shakers did.

Weary old faiths make art while hot young sects make only trouble. Insincerity, or at least familiarity, seems to be a precondition of a great religious art—the wheezing and worldly Renaissance Papacy produced the Sistine ceiling, while the young Apostolic Church left only a few scratched graffiti in the catacombs. In America, certainly, very little art has attached itself directly to our own dazzling variety of sects and cults, perhaps because true belief is too busy with eternity to worry about the décor. The great exception is the Shakers, who managed, throughout the hundred or so years of their flourishing, to make objects so magically austere that they continue to astonish our eyes and our sense of form long after the last Shakers stopped shaking. Everything that they touched is breathtaking in its beauty and simplicity. It is not a negative simplicity, either, a simplicity of gewgaws eliminated and ornament excised, which, like that of a distressed object found in a barn, appeals by accident to modern eyes trained already in the joys of minimalism. No, their objects show a knowing, creative, shaping simplicity, and to look at a single Shaker box is to see an attenuated asymmetry, a slender, bending eccentricity, which truly anticipates and rivals the bending organic sleekness of Brancusi's "Bird in Flight" or the algorithmic logic of Bauhaus spoons and forks. Shaker objects don't look simple; they look specifically Shaker.

Yet what the Shakers thought they were doing when they made their boxes and ladders and clocks, and why we think what they did was so lovely, remains something of a mystery, despite a booming market and the books to go with it. How did a sect so small make



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objects so sublime? Did they know what they were doing when they did what they did? Or were they doing something else, and doing this other, better thing on their way there?

The Shakers' early inheritance is English, and began with a strange visionary figure, Ann Lee, born on Leap Day in 1736. She was a woman who, in her lifetime, travelled, so to speak, from the world of E. P. Thompson to the world of William James—from a poverty-stricken and embattled sectarian North of England millennial religion to the new world of American self-made faith. At a time when Manchester was slowly becoming the industrial hell that, a hundred years later, Engels reported it to be, she was reared with seven siblings in a hovel, and her more luridly Freudian biographers suggest that hearing her father impregnate her mother again and again left her with the revulsion toward sex that distinguished her faith from competing millennial visions. Illiterate, visionary, charismatic, she took part in the swirl of "enthusiastick" sects that emerged at the time, dissenting from the Anglican Church and expecting the Apocalypse; in fact, the name Shakers was given originally to a subset of the people we know as Friends, the Quakers. The Friends and the Believers—those following Ann Lee—seem to have been mixed up by the authorities, if not by themselves, into a porridge of dissenters.

After a career as an amateur sermonizer, Mother Ann, as she was known, was thrown into prison, in 1772, for disrupting the Anglican Sabbath. There she had a vision that she was the second coming of Christ; she also began to believe that sex was the root of all evil. The idea had a genuine edge not so much of feminist rage as of women's pain: she had lost her four children to illness, and came of age in a working-class world in which constant pregnancy was a prime source of suffering. Her anti-sexual ethic was not so much anti-pleasure as anti-pregnancy.

In 1774, she and her husband and several followers emigrated to America and, after a brief stay in New York, formed a community just north of Albany. It was only then that the Believers began to emerge as a distinct cult with a distinct cult practice—a religious sect gathered around a single charismatic figure. People used to think that the Shakers recruited mostly from the poor and unhoused, eager for even a chaste roof to shelter under. It's now clear, though, that a cross-section of the American population, rich and poor and in-between, joined them, for the usual mixture of reasons. And a regular intake of orphans and abandoned children gave the Shaker colonies the slightly misleading appearance of family. (There was a regular intake, as well, of people who wandered in for food and shelter in inclement times—"winter Shakers," they were called.)

Mother Ann's early followers shared her belief that she was a reborn Christ. She represented the fulfilled and completed Christ—her presence made the Messiah now sexually complete, both man and woman. Her latter-day followers tried to tone down her messianic pretensions, but they were clear, and outlasted her life. In an 1827 letter (published in 1985 by Stephen J. Stein, a Shaker historian), a young Kentucky Shaker, William S. Byrd, of the famous Virginia Byrds, admits that many "scof at the idea of Christs making his second appearance in Ann Lee" but then adds defiantly, "The same Christ that dwelt in Jesus of Nazareth, appeared the second time in this female, the spiritual



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Mother of all the new creation of God." Much as St. Augustine lent some of his sense of guilt and morbidity to early Christianity, Ann gave her neurasthenic desire for order and hyper-organization to all the later Shakers. Crowded poor people learn to hate disorder with a passion that for the wealthy is only a pastime; Groucho Marx, to take another important American spiritual leader, was so appalled by the chaos of his tenement childhood that, it was said, for the rest of his life he hated to have one kind of food on his plate touch another. (Whenever we see a fanatic appetite for order, there were probably once six kids in one room.)

Ann Lee became wildly controversial, and was attacked several times—and once, it seems, sexually assaulted—by gangs of local men. One of these beatings may have been the cause of her sudden death, in 1784. It was left to her disciples, particularly Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, to organize the Believers into fully self-sustaining celibate but coed communities. They spread quickly, and through the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth the Shakers became American icons, establishing colonies in the Massachusetts towns of Pittsfield and Harvard, and then throughout New England and as far south as Kentucky. Still, even at their height, around 1840, the Shakers were never very many: perhaps five thousand true Believers altogether. During Ann's lifetime, the shaking of the Shakers was already legendary, not to say notorious: they would expunge the old Adam by evenings of violent dancing and rhapsodic writhing. After the establishment of the communities, the thing became more formalized: a regimented after-dinner trembling, like line dancing at a sock hop. But what the dancing represented—a sublimation of, rather than an invitation to, sex—was apparent, and undisguised, and attracted the attention of visitors from Thoreau to Charles Dickens.

So far, so weird. How did they begin to make beautiful things, and why did those things take the form they did? There is no straight line between belief and building. Both Quaker and Shaker styles came of age in the early nineteenth century, at the time of a general neoclassical revival throughout Europe and America, when linear, stripped-down, right-angle schematics were everywhere. If the Shakers were going to make objects at all, those were the kind of objects they would make; it's not as though they were imitating the Nymphenburg rococo in that other utopian colony down the road.

Yet the Shakers made specifically stylish things, where others didn't. As a fine recent anthology, "Quaker Aesthetics," has shown, the Friends, apart from a general tendency toward the plain and suspicion of the fancy, had no real style separate from that of their fellow-Americans. They wore more or less the same clothes and used the same furniture as everyone else. (They just disapproved of their own use of them more than other people did.) So why did the Shakers have a style of their own?

Most of the elements of Shakerism are common to orders and sects: the Dervishes whirled, Dominican monks renounced the flesh. What seems distinctive is, first, their feminism and its insistence on coed monasticism, which made much of the sexual while also denying it. Theirs was a genuinely radical feminism. Shaker communities, though not specifically matriarchal in rule—there were plenty of male elders, too—were among the few American



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communities of nearly perfect sexual equality. There is even a sense, perceptible in the letters and other writings, that this made a Shaker colony a welcome place for “effeminate” men – a surviving letter reveals a code of homoerotic innuendo that is as easy to decrypt as pig Latin.

What also distinguished the Shakers was their odd join between violent anti-worldliness and thoroughgoing commercial materialism. Monks and monkish communities have, of course, sold goods to the world for a long time, from medieval cheese to Moonie cappuccinos. But the Shakers, faced with the need to support large communities, worked particularly hard to manufacture things for money. Many of the objects that we think of as archetypally Shaker –the long oval boxes with their lovely triple folds, the clean brooms and chairs– were designed and made largely for outside sale. With most tribes and sects that we look to as artistic innovators, the line between cult object and commodity product–between the true African fetish and airport art–is, if often far from sharp, at least tenable. It wasn’t with the Shakers. Shaker style was a commodity almost as soon as Shakerism was a cult. Contrary to Thomas Merton’s romantic assertion that each Shaker chair was made as though no other chair had been made before, Shaker chairs and other wooden objects were made in semi-industrial conditions for a growing middle-class market.

It is here, ironically, in the need to make things to sell to other people, that the first stirrings of a distinct style begin. This is not to say that the objects were made insincerely, or that Shakerism in design was a scam. The built-in cupboards and chairs and ladders constructed only for other Shakers, in Shaker communities, are made in the same spirit as the things for sale. The point is that no line was drawn the other way around, either: what was made for sale looked like what was made for sacred. The urge to make consumer goods is, after all, one of the keenest spiritual disciplines that an ascetic can face: it forces spirit to take form. An ascetic drinking tea from a cup decides not to care what kind of cup he’s drinking from; an ascetic forced to make a cup has to ask what kind of cup he ought to drink from. By the mid-nineteenth century, “Shaker” had become a brand name.

Skeptics said that the work was a form of self-coerced indenture: the Shakers could make more objects more cheaply because, as one defense of the Shakers puts it, artisans “were free of distractions” and “freed from financial worries,” and, as a critic would say, were not free (or chose not to be free) to sell their skills at their true value on an open market. As Michael Downing documents in a richly human book about American spirituality, “Shoes Outside the Door: Desire, Devotion, and Excess at San Francisco Zen Center,” the Zen community in San Francisco in the nineteen-sixties and seventies similarly produced excellence and exhaustion in equal measure. The Zen community could draw on underpaid cooks to run the Greens restaurant as the Shakers could draw on unpaid artisans to make their clocks; the proportion between beatitude found and skill exploited was left to the maker to figure. The enterprise gave the Shakers a curious double existence as a scary sect and a solid brand. And the Shaker brand was gold. “When a man buys a kag of apple sass of you,” the humorist Artemus Ward wrote



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approvingly, around the time of the Civil War, "he don't find a grate many shavins under a few layers of sass."

But if that helps explain why they made so many boxes, it doesn't explain what made the boxes so fine. Some insight into what the Shakers were doing and thinking comes from the rare occasions when they were making art objects properly so called—visionary drawings. These were produced when, from the eighteen-twenties to the eighteen-fifties—around the time of the Second Great Awakening—the Shakers, within their already spiritualized environment, went through a kind of spiritual reawakening of their own.

A spiritual reawakening within a community already drawn taut by spiritual aspiration must have created a strenuous atmosphere. Visions and ghosts came down, and the Shakers, chiefly women and young girls, made "gift drawings": the drawings were gifts from above, not gifts to another. For the most part, they are conventional folk art—except for several by a Shaker woman named Hannah Cohoon, who lived in the Hancock community, and who was a kind of Emily Dickinson of drawing. Her four surviving signed drawings show a concentration on a single form rather than a chatty, anecdotal all-overness, quite outside the normal round of folk art. One of them, "A Little Basket Full of Beautiful Apples" (1856), is among the key drawings in American art, with a tonic sense of abundance—all the apples just alike, each with its rub-on of rouge, like blush applied by an adolescent girl—allied to obsessive order. Another, the famous "Tree of Light or Blazing Tree" (1845), shows us a vision seen in a dream: a tree with each leaf embroidered with fire, part of the normal Shaker iconography of the tree of life but also alarming in its overcharged richness. Cohoon's intensity was concentrated not on transcendental images of saints or God but on homely American objects, picnic tables and baskets of apples.

This way of imbuing the ordinary with a sense of the numinous is at the heart of the Shaker aesthetic, by far the best extended account of which can be found in "The Shaker World: Art, Life, Belief," by the art historian John T. Kirk. Kirk argues that there are Shaker specificities, and that they reside in a series of simple design moves that are independent of the neoclassical run of the time, making a unique combination of slenderness, tenderness, and boxiness. Shaker ladders and chairs and tables tend, first of all, to be improbably long, attenuated. There was a practical reason for this: communal living demands long tables in large buildings. Things grow long naturally in dormitories. But practical necessity is always the lever of creation; the line between practical necessity and aesthetic impulse is not merely fine but nonexistent. (The last thing in the world Michelangelo wanted to paint was a ceiling. Once up there, he saw the celestial possibilities.) This constant attenuation—a pulling out of chair legs and table lengths—is one of the things that make Shaker design so seductive, in the most direct way. For attenuation in art inherently has two meanings: long, slender things are chic, as with every fashion model, and they are spiritual, as with the figures in Chartres or Blake's flamelike personages.

Shaker objects are also unusually repetitive: Kirk calls these Shaker formats "tight grids," and they infect everything the



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Shakers made, a last long lingering echo of Mother Ann's hatred of the collapsed and squalid mess of the one-room home. Everything in the Shaker world, from brooms to villages, is laid out in rows, grids, tightly packaged and formatted. (The insistence on the villages' grid planning was even formalized in the Shakers' "Millennial Laws" of 1821.) The grid plan of a Shaker village is unlike the seemingly similar neoclassical grid plan of, say, Quaker Philadelphia, where the regular spacing allows a rational calm to fall over the streets and squares. The plans for Shaker villages are, instead, tight and surprisingly asymmetrical, with long straight main streets and side streets that jog off abruptly at odd intersections; like Shaker furniture, Shaker plans can accept asymmetry if it is dictated by practicality. Shaker plans look less like something drawn up in an Enlightenment encyclopedia than like something sketched by a seer with an Etch A Sketch, lines sprouting and kicking out at odd but angular angles.

One sees the same principle—apparent rationality inflected with an underlying obsessiveness—in the prime Shaker objects. In an amazing midcentury case with cupboard and drawers made by the carpenters in the community in Enfield, Connecticut, two doors, above and below, mismatch, while two central drawers are broken up arrhythmically into smaller parts. It is like a cupboard in Morse code, stuttering out one half and two shorts. That Shaker box, similarly, bends around, and each element has a logic to it—the copper tacks to prevent rust, the beautiful embracing swallowtail fingers to keep the box from cracking—but it has none of the "that's that" shortcut simplicity of folk objects; instead, a kind of underlying delirium infects it, an obsessive overcharge of finish, the sense of a will to perfection investing an otherwise humdrum object. "Trifles make perfection, but perfection is no trifle" was a Shaker motto. "God is in the details"—but the details have to provide evidence of God.

The Shakers were ascetics without being Puritans. They didn't object to color and comfort, even as they rejected ornament and luxury. (Many of the objects that look ascetic to us have simply lost their original paint.) A wonderful chair in the Hancock village is made to lean back: a rocking chair without rockers, at perpetual tilt. Yet all these elements—the flat grid patterning, the acceptance of asymmetry, the tolerance for the drumbeat repetition of similar elements without an evident hierarchy of form—add up to a simple idea: Shaker design, while reaching toward an ideal of beauty, unconsciously rejects the human body as a primary source of form. To a degree that we hardly credit, everything in our built environment traditionally echoes our own shape: we have pediments for heads and claw and ball feet, and our objects proceed from trunklike bases to fragile tops. Repetition and the grid are two alternatives to design that refers to classical perspective space and the roundly realized human body. They reappear in twentieth-century art through the Cubist desire to make playthings that snubbed their noses at perspective, and the Teutonic urge to make a new language of pure form. Once you have got rid of the body as a natural referent for design, and no longer think "pictorially" about objects, grids and repeats begin to appear as alternative systems, whether you are in Japan, Montmartre, or Hancock. The love of asymmetry, which seems to us so sophisticated, involves



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a violation of the same taboo, since symmetry is the essence of human beauty. All Shaker design implies a liberation from "humanism" of this kind. When we make objects that look like us, we unconsciously are flattering ourselves. The Shakers made objects that look like objects, and that follow a non-human law of design.

One sees the pattern clearly in the evolution of the casement clocks—what we call grandfather clocks—made by the Youngs family of New York over three generations, in and out of the community of Believers. The clocks of the elder Youngses, Seth and his son Benjamin, as described in Glendyne R. Wergland's "One Shaker Life," are in the manner of Greek columns, with strongly articulated bases, long shafts, and "heads" with clock faces. Over time, the clocks that Benjamin made became more narrowly "neoclassical": the bases simplified and their moldings reduced, the clock-head narrowed in size, the clock's lines made neater and more geometrical. But Isaac Newton Youngs, the grandson, was reared as a Shaker, and the clocks he made became as reductive as a refrigerator case, with the sides of the clock neither tapering nor swelling, and, telltale sign, with a knob on the clock face as well as on the clock body to allow the worker to adjust or repair the inside: the allergy to putting a functional element on an object's "face" was overruled, because the artisan was not thinking of it as a face. In each case, the clocks got not merely simpler—though they did that, too—but progressively less figural.

This doesn't mean that the Shaker objects are "inhuman" in the sense of being cold. They aren't cold. The brooms and clocks and boxes create an atmosphere of serenity, loveliness, calm certainty. But these are monastic virtues rather than liberal ones. We miss the radical edge of Shaker art if we don't see that it is not meant to be "humanistic." (As much as the Moonies ever have, Shaker communities worked hard to exterminate individuality: people dined together, slept together, and even, in Hancock, were buried together, in a single common grave marked "Shakers.") Most religious objects, from Baroque Catholic baldachins to Hindu temple ornaments, are worldly but immaterial, made with immense sophistication in order to make the ordinary physical world seem to vanish in a smoke cloud of spirals and twists and flames. Shaker objects are, like Zen Japanese ones, unworldly but material, far from sensuality but solid as a rock. They annihilate the body, and leave us timeless form to tell the time with.

The Shakers waned as swiftly as they rose, and by the early twentieth century they were as much a relic cult as a living force. They existed in order to be in decline: the Fall and the Paradise are about the same thing. (There is evidence that the Shakers themselves, even by the end of the nineteenth century, lived in conventional rooms with ordinary objects.) In this way, though, Shakerism—the enthusiasm of the Shaker design, and the accompanying cult of box and broom—is not merely a nostalgic invention. Rather, it has always been a nostalgic invention: the nostalgia was there almost before the experience happened. After their first blooming period, the Shakers existed to be remembered. But at the same time consumer-goods Shakerism, which led to catalogues of Shaker chairs, cloaks, and baskets, continued to accelerate, until Shaker shopping was a major



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occupation, and this is a phenomenon of the late nineteenth century, not the twentieth.

The Shakers, then, did not simply survive as a path to purity never pursued. Instead, they permanently defined a curiously American composition, played in the blue key of E: enlightenment, entrepreneurialism, and exploitation all in counterpoint, with a half-heard chord of illicit eroticism. The attempt to make monastic communities that will be simultaneously asexual, industrial, and fully integrated into the entrepreneurial society around them—that will do good and do well—is so deeply embedded in our history that it recurs again and again. As Downing documents, its latest incarnation has been the Zen experience—which is uncannily like the Shaker experience, and which also involved the implantation of a slightly misunderstood alien dogma, and an immense outpouring of American spiritual yearning, a taste for commercial prosperity on the part of its leaders, and an inability to figure out what the hell to do about sex. As the Shakers made a revolution in American objects, American Zen made a revolution in American cooking, giving vegetarian food dignity. And, when the communities went into crisis, first the plates, and then the food, were what was left.

We should, perhaps, feel disappointed by this descent from the spirit, but some of us may wonder if the spirit has greater gifts to give. Food and boxes are not ethically neutral; they radiate their own aura into the harried lives of people who own them, even if only as aspiration. They were elevated, not debased, to become bourgeois amenities; they passed from the realm of false belief to the realm of spiritualized form. A forthcoming book, "Selling Shaker: The Promotion of Shaker Design in the Twentieth Century," by Stephen Bowe and Peter Richmond, discusses, with a good deal of detailed analysis and some fine mordant humor, the slow process by which Shakerism continues to creep into the American marketplace, as Mother Ann's purities become the playthings of Oprah Winfrey. But a sneaking, not quite justifiable prejudice infects the study, in the authors' implicit belief that believing that Mother Ann was God and sex evil was intrinsically a higher-order activity than just liking to own Shaker boxes. This belief feels more Puritanical than Shakerian. Surely the aesthetic contemplation for other purposes of objects first made for cult use is more or less where the idea of art begins—the Shaker work counter in the hands of Oprah is, in this sense, not very different from the Renaissance altarpiece in the hands of Bernard Berenson—and, after all, Shakerism crept into the American marketplace by way of the American marketplace, where the Shakers placed it. In American art, the line between the goods and the good is a fine one, and doesn't benefit from being stared at too hard or cut too finely. In a commercial society, the membrane that separates spirit and store is always permeable.

Yet the blazing tree remains alight. Kirk ends his fine book with a slightly naïve inquiry into the relation between Shakerism and the objects of American minimalism, and shows that the formal elements of the two—the grid, the repeated element, the entire anti-humanism of the approach—rhyme if they do not repeat. Look-alikes aside, what most connects the minimal art of Judd and Serra and Stella with their very improbable



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predecessors is their fanaticism. The moderns are uncompromising, too: only this box now and now this box again. That same uncompromising fanaticism gives life to what might otherwise be mere Teutonic austerity and pedantic insistence. The violence done to natural form, and to the humanism it implies, creates a serene result with a perceptible violence just beneath.

American art benefits from the fanatic, as American writing does not: the visual arts threaten to disappear back into the big jumble of things we see and own unless they are marked by some kind of extremism. Writers may be Friends, but artists are Believers, or they are not much. The twin legacy of Shakerism is true to the twin roots of the Shakers' vision: they remain both as a model of wild-eyed and unreal renunciation and as makers of simple good things. The shining tree of life is a tree of light that illuminates the way for believers. It is also on fire, and can only be consumed.



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UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES ON MICROFILM

Hopedale Community Collection, 1821-1938

The Hopedale Community was organized in Mendon, Massachusetts, in 1841 with an ordained Universalist minister, Adin Ballou, as its most noted organizer. It thrived for a time, but due to moral and economic lapse it eventually merged with the Hopedale Parish.

This collection contains three groups of materials. The manuscripts (1821-1918) contain minutes of meetings, financial records, marriages and funerals, a map, and photographs. Nine serials (1831-1860) are represented, including complete copies of some. The printed matter (1823-1938) includes books, pamphlets, tracts, and broadsides by, about, and printed by Hopedale Community. There are over 40 titles by Adin Ballou including a 415-page history of Hopedale on reel 3 and a 1154-page history and biographical register of Milford, Massachusetts, on reel 5.

Oneida Community Books, Pamphlets and Serials 1834-1972

The Oneida Community was established by John Humphrey Noyes (1811-1886) as a communal organization in Oneida, N.Y. The manufacture of steel animal traps, sale of silk thread, fruit-preserving, and later the silverware business, provided income.

In this collection four reels contain books and pamphlets printed by or for the Oneida Community and eleven reels are the serials published by the Community. The printed guide gives a history of the Community and a detailed reel list.

Shaker Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society

Shakerism, which had its beginning in America with the arrival from England in 1774 of its leader, Mother Ann Lee, flowered in the nineteenth century. Wallace H. Cathcart, president of the Western Reserve Historical Society, collected books, broadsides, archives of the various communities, manuscripts of individual members, inspirational drawings, and photographs relating to this religious communal society to form a collection of national preeminence. In addition to the Shaker principles of communal property, celibacy, and separation from the world, the materials touch on all aspects of the Shaker way of life from poetry to recipes and technical skills. The manuscripts (including archives, inspirational drawings, and photographs) are reproduced on MFM 475; the monographs, periodicals ([The Manifesto](#) and [The Day-Star](#)), and broadsides are reproduced on MFE 1563.

Thomas Lake Harris and the Brotherhood of the New Life; Books, Pamphlets, Serials and Manuscripts 1854-1942

Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906) was a mystic, poet, and founder of several utopian communities including the Brotherhood of New Life in Brocton, N.Y. and Fountain Grove at Santa Rosa, California. The communities had large vineyards and helped support themselves by the sale of wine. In California Harris also had a printing press from which poured copies of his poetry and writings.

This collection contains printed books, pamphlets, and serials by and about Harris; manuscripts; correspondence; subject files; and photographs. The originals are at the Horrmann Library of Wagner College and the Rare Books and Manuscripts of Columbia University Libraries.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: May 31, 2013

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



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



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

First come first serve. There is no charge.
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