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# **Utopia, Ohio, 1844–1847: Seedbed for Three Experiments in Communal Living**

**Cori L. Flatt and Peter A. Hoehnle**

The early American republic was a tumultuous, boiling cauldron of social and economic change and dislocation. Market forces and technology drove the industrialization that replaced the rural, craft-based life Americans had known, pushing many to move into growing cities, or to head west into a seemingly endless frontier of cheap land. The political climate shifted from the control of eastern elites and gave rise to a lively, free-wheeling democracy.

While, on the one hand, the American climate of the 1830s and 1840s showed growing tensions, inequalities, and injustices, it also gave rise to boundless hopes for the future. Americans believed that they were a chosen people, and that they had been given a chance to redeem the world from the darker aspects of European civilization. The new world represented a new hope and, for some reformers, a chance to create a new world utopia.

Although communal movements existed in the colonial era, the high tide of communitarian reform in the United States was in the 1840s, a decade that saw the convergence of Jacksonian democracy, economic hard times, industrialization, and religious revivalism, and this created an environment in which reform idealism flourished. While their ideologies, methods, and practices differed, the communitarians hoped to birth a golden age of harmony and cooperation as a haven from, and, possibly, an antidote to the young republic's slide into greed, dehumanized mechanization, social inequality, and human suffering.

Utopian movements were not all cut from the same cloth, and their diversity is evident when examining groups such as the Shakers, Harmonists, and Owenites. These utopian groups, however, shared a desire to separate from the world—to act differently in order to achieve new outcomes and possibilities from those offered by mainstream society.

The nearly forgotten town of Utopia, Ohio—now a tiny community located on the banks of the Ohio River, approximately thirty miles southeast of Cincinnati—provided a testing ground for three distinctive communal experiments during the period from 1844 to 1858. Although today described as “a ghost town on U.S. Route 52—a dozen houses, barns,



*Utopia, situated on the banks of the Ohio River in Clermont County, Ohio.*

John Hill, Map of Clermont County, Ohio,

[Place of publisher not identified]: Williams & Dorr, [1857].

Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

trailers and the Village Market,” this one geographic point witnessed the rise and fall of utopian dreams as well as great human tragedy.<sup>1</sup>

These dreams ranged from a socialist movement inspired by the teachings of Charles Fourier, to a spiritualistic/abolitionist undertaking led by John O. Wattles, and, finally, to a labor-capital approach by proto-anarchist Josiah Warren. Utopia is unique in the United States for having experienced these three very different experiments. Although their ideologies were substantially different, they shared the hope of creating a utopia where the tensions of nineteenth-century life would be replaced by human harmony and cooperation.

The rapid succession of communities based on differing ideologies was partly due to the fact that apparently members of each failed attempt were in contact with like-minded reformers, remained at Utopia after the failure of their previous efforts, maintained faith in a utopian ideal, and wanted to make another attempt at communal living under new leadership. Because of a scarcity of records, it is difficult to identify with certainty the members of each communal enterprise, or even their exact population; however, it is evident, that some individuals remained in this seedbed of utopian thought through two or even more of its communal incarnations.



*Charles Fourier*

The first communal settlement at the present site of Utopia was based on the teachings of Charles Fourier and created during a wave of enthusiasm for the French thinker's social and economic theories in the early 1840s.

François Marie Charles Fourier was born in 1772 in Besançon, France, the son of a successful cloth merchant.<sup>2</sup> During the siege of Lyon in 1793, however, Fourier lost his family property and was reduced to becoming a traveling salesman. Although he ultimately lived a humble life, Fourier never allowed his modest conditions to mark his destiny.<sup>3</sup> Fourier observed current events of his day, but showed greater passion for music, geography, and botany. Fourier spent his nights poring over atlases and maps, filled his bedroom with plants, played several instruments, composed music, and even developed a method of musical notation.<sup>4</sup>

Having experienced the tumultuous events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, Fourier was deeply troubled by the drive for wealth and self-aggrandizement and the human suffering and unhappiness that this created in its wake. A sensitive man with a love of order and strong desire for justice, Fourier was horrified by the prevailing economic system, based on the "anarchy" of competition.<sup>5</sup> Fourier was deeply concerned for the happiness of others and developed a solution based upon the scientific reorganization of society based on his theory of passions.<sup>6</sup>

Fourier concluded, with mathematical precision, that the world would be best divided into phalanxes, consisting of 1,620 individuals. In these communities, people would reside together in a large and spacious building, a phlanstery, surrounded by 6,000 acres of land, including a farm to provide self-sufficiency. Members of the phalanx would work at tasks for which they had a natural attraction. Once humans had restored harmony to their social relations, a 60,000-year-long golden age would follow. Fourier fantasized that nature would also return to equilibrium. Fourier postulated that diseases would vanish, humans would live to the age of 144, and would grow long and "infinitely useful tails." The earth's climate would also return to harmonious state, with Siberia, for example, having the climate of Italy and the salt water oceans would be filled with a delicious fruit drink.<sup>7</sup>

Fourier expounded his ideas in a series of books and pamphlets that achieved a wide readership. In 1832 Fourier's works came to the attention of Albert Brisbane, a wealthy young man then making a tour of Europe. Brisbane became obsessed with Fourier's concepts and determined

that his role would be to transmit these ideas to the American people. America, Brisbane and other reformers reasoned, was free of the political and economic encumbrances of Europe and, therefore, a likely place to attempt to model Fourier's utopian dreams.

After studying privately with Fourier, Brisbane returned to the United States and began a lifelong campaign to popularize the ideas of the eccentric French thinker. In this effort Brisbane found an enthusiastic ally in the young reform-minded publisher of the *New York Tribune*, Horace Greeley. Greeley provided Brisbane with a front-page column in which to share his interpretations of Fourier's writing. Through this column, his other publications, and his lectures, Brisbane ignited a fire. In 1840, during a severe economic downturn that fueled national anxiety about economic and social relations, Brisbane published *The Social Destiny of Man*, his interpretation of Fourier, adapted to an American audience. Brisbane succinctly defined the goal of the Fourierists in creating a new model of civilization: "If we can, with a knowledge of true social principles, organize one township rightly, we can, by organizing others like it, and by spreading them and rendering them universal, establish a true Social and Political order."<sup>8</sup> Thus, by following the principles of Fourier, his disciples would create a model that would sweep across the nation.

Enthusiastic readers of Brisbane and Fourier met to discuss their radical ideas of social reconstruction and many, swept away by their enthusiasm, decided to form their own phalanxes. In all, beginning in 1842 the Fourierists founded nearly thirty phalanxes from Massachusetts all the way west to Iowa.<sup>9</sup> Most of these communities, burdened by debt and internal dissension, disbanded after only a short time. Indeed, only one, the North American Phalanx, lasted more than three years. Supporters of the cause aired their hopes and plans in their own journal the *Phalanx*, founded by Brisbane in 1843, and later through the pages of the *Harbinger*, a paper originally started by the Brook Farm community in Massachusetts that became the official organ of Fourierism after that community committed itself to become a phalanx.

The western United States provided cheap available land for dreamers intent on founding Utopia, and most of the Fourier communities were located in western states such as Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa. Four Fourierist communities started in Ohio, including the Clermont Phalanx in Clermont County. It was the first community at what became the town of Utopia.<sup>10</sup>

The Clermont Phalanx was founded by Fourierists from the nearby city of Cincinnati who formed a group that they initially called the “Cincinnati Phalanx” but which later took the name “Clermont” for the county in which the group eventually located their community. The organizational meeting took place on “the birth-day of the immortal Washington in 1844,” with the actual founding of the phalanx, on approximately nine hundred acres, in May, little more than two months later.<sup>11</sup> This rush to form a society, often with little planning, was characteristic of the Fourierists and would prove a misstep in their formation. In later years, defenders of Fourierism would cite this lack of caution, as opposed to the validity of Fourier’s ideas, as a major reason for the failure of the phalanxes.<sup>12</sup>

On May 9, 1844, a party of approximately two hundred Fourierists boarded the steamboat *Yucatan* to inaugurate their community.<sup>13</sup> Among those on board was A. J. MacDonald, a Scottish immigrant book binder with an intense interest in communitarian movements. Although erroneously described in some sources as a member of the phalanx, MacDonald was merely an interested and astute observer of the enterprise.<sup>14</sup> MacDonald would spend years traveling the United States visiting dozens of these communities and chronicling their stories. He intended to publish a record of these communities, but died of cholera before he could complete his task. John Humphrey Noyes, the founder of the Oneida Community in New York State, acquired MacDonald’s manuscripts from his family and used them liberally in writing his own *History of American Socialisms* in 1872. Because of Noyes’s efforts, MacDonald’s stirring account of the founding of Clermont is preserved and conveys something of the enthusiasm, excitement, and idealism of the occasion: “There were about one hundred and thirty of us. The weather was beautiful, but cool, and the scenery on the river was splendid in its spring dress.” MacDonald noted that members of the excursion had brought provisions for a meal that waiters spread on tables on deck of the steamboat. A rush of people soon devoured the food before everyone, including MacDonald, had been fed. The chronicler ruefully noted, “I lost my dinner that day, but improved the opportunity to observe and criticize the ferocity of the Fourieristic appetite.” The excursion reached Clermont at 2 p.m., according to MacDonald, and “marched on shore in procession, with a band of music in front, leading the way up a road cut in the high clay bank; and then formed a mass meeting, as which we had praying, music and speech-making.”<sup>15</sup>





*Clermont Phalanx, as painted by A. J. MacDonald, July 1844.*

Courtesy of the Beinecke Library, Yale University, GEN MSS 1394.

Another witness of the occasion wrote an account for the official publication of the Fourierist movement, the *Phalanx*, overflowing with optimism and hyperbole:

The day was one of the finest of the season. The pure breath of spring, wafting gentle breezes, refreshed the senses, as with an exhilarating balm; while the ever-varying landscape, redolent with beauty, lay serenely reposing, beneath the fond caresses of the smiling sun. It was a glorious day! and an image of that yet more glorious day, which is now dawning upon the world of mind, exhibiting the rising Sun of Heaven, with His resplendent beams of Love and Truth, warming into renovated life and beauty those Divine plants of true science, which spring up from the seeds of the WORD, the immutable laws of Divine



order, surely no other than a branch from the One Great Vine; for it teaches us how we can conform, in all our daily and hourly ties and social relations, to the great fundamental law of Him who declares himself to be THE VINE.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike the Shakers, Harmonists, and other religious communal societies of the time, the Fourierists did not identify with a particular religious creed or doctrine, yet the preceding quotation and MacDonald's mention of prayer and of a speaker at the opening ceremonies speaking with a Bible open before him, suggest that religious fervor, or at least an attempt to follow the Golden Rule, was a motivation for at least some of the membership.<sup>17</sup>

MacDonald explored the new phalanx's "domain" during his visit on May 9 and on a return visit on Independence Day that same year:

I strolled out with a friend and examined the purchase, and we came to the conclusion that it was a splendid domain. A strip of rich bottom-land, about a quarter of a mile wide, was backed by gentling rolling hills, well timbered all over. Nine or ten acres were cleared, sufficient for present use. Here then was all that could be desired, hill and plain, rich soil, fine scenery, plenty of first-rate timber, a maple-sugar camp, a good commercial situation, convenient to the best market in the West, with a river running past that would float any kind of boat or raft; and with steamboats passing and repassing at all hours of the day and night, to convey passengers or goods to any point between New Orleans and Pittsburg. Here was wood for fuel, clay and stone to make habitations, and a rich soil to grow food. What more could be asked from nature?<sup>18</sup>

The excursionists left behind a dedicated group of approximately a dozen men, including carpenters and wood cutters, to begin building the new settlement.<sup>19</sup> MacDonald recorded that the men had materials for building temporary houses that they had brought from Cincinnati and had already erected a tent for temporary living quarters. The group was "in good spirits" and "cheered merrily" as the boat carrying MacDonald and

the rest of the excursion pulled away to return to Cincinnati.<sup>20</sup>

Two months later, on July 4, 1844, MacDonald returned with a second excursion to inspect progress at the phalanx. He found that the men were in the process of building a frame saw mill. After listening to a speech, the excursionists stood around “a lot rough tables” to eat a cold meal. Music and dancing followed, during which MacDonald once again walked around inspecting the new phalanx. He found the saw mill the only building under construction, although the men were preparing to build some houses and had completed a “temporary house” for accommodation. This common building, which MacDonald described as “in the manner of the cabin of a Western steamboat” featured a single long narrow central room, with small rooms on either side, each with a small window. He learned that each room was meant to shelter either a married couple or two single men. MacDonald noted that the housing was “inferior to what they had been used to,” but that “they were enduring it well.” By this time 120 people lived at the phalanx.<sup>21</sup>

Despite enduring less than ideal conditions, MacDonald learned that disagreements were already occurring among the idealistic members, most of whom had not known each other before and who came from different backgrounds and religious beliefs.<sup>22</sup> These disputes continued and, coupled with debt and arguments over the title to the land, led to the collapse of the phalanx in November 1846.

From his experience in observing the failures of other Fourierist efforts, and from his personal observations of the Clermont Phalanx in progress, A.J. MacDonald was unusually qualified to speculate as to the reasons for its failure. MacDonald reported that while supporters had subscribed or pledged \$17,000 towards the community, barely \$6,000 of the money was actually paid, leaving the group unable to pay its debts. Although the group had been able to make a \$3,000 payment towards purchase of their land, they were unable to pay more, and had to sell part of the property to raise the balance. In the rush to create phalanxes, nearly all Fourierist communities incurred massive debt, and these debts were a key reason for many of the failures. Encumbered by these debts, communities were unable to raise the necessary capital or to survive “even moderate natural or human mishaps,” such as the flood that plagued Clermont.<sup>23</sup> MacDonald was told that “jealousy” among some women in the community resulted in a lawsuit. Additionally, there were difficulties (MacDonald does not elaborate) between Wade Loofbourrow, the president of the phalanx, and

its members over the deed for the property. MacDonald noted that other “friends” of the experiment concurred that “it failed from two causes, viz, the want of means and the want of men” with the lawsuit, internal dissention, and losses arising from a flood being contributing factors.<sup>24</sup>

Farming the nearby acreage, the members of this community appeared to prosper. Members came not only from the core group of Fourierists in Cincinnati but also from as far away as Cleveland.<sup>25</sup>

The phalanx was under the direction of a council, which assigned jobs to the members. Judge Wade Loofbourrow served as president, with George Sampson as secretary and Joseph Kirkup as treasurer. Other members of the council included Henry Jernegan, Uriah Hemphill, Daniel Prescott, E. G. Cubberley, George Rogers, John Patton, John Holbrook, Martin Poor, Samuel Shuard, a Mr. Case, and a Mr. Hill. Several of these men and their families would remain at the site and participate in Josiah Warren’s later settlement as well.<sup>26</sup>

George Sampson, the phalanx’s secretary, submitted an optimistic appeal to the *Harbinger* on May 12, 1845, in which he described the progress made by the Clermont community and its hopes for the future. Sampson began by reporting that the phalanx had paid its yearly installment on its land debt and “[w]ith increased zeal and confidence we now look forward to certain success.” This success would be achieved with the help of outside support. Sanders appealed to supporters to buy shares in the phalanx at \$25 or to consider joining the community as resident members, particularly if they had farming or mechanical skills. Sanders helpfully outlined the process for prospective members. Applicants needed to write the secretary stating the number of shares they wanted to purchase—paid for in either cash or property—their age, health, and occupation; the ages and number of any family members; and the date on which they would arrive. If the council approved, they would admit the individual for a four- to six-month probationary period. At the conclusion of the probation, the individual would either be asked to sign the constitution and become a full member or would be asked to become a “non-resident member,” continuing to hold stock but not actually living at the phalanx.<sup>27</sup>

Sampson included a description of the phalanx as it was, one year after its founding:

Our Domain is situated in Clermont county, on the Ohio River, about forty miles above Cincinnati. The situation is

beautiful and healthy, entirely free from fever and ague, or any endemic diseases. The soil is rich, a part of it bottom land, cleared and sowed with crops of wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, hemp, vegetable gardens, & c. We have also a fine orchard coming on, comprising 1,000 fruit trees... There is also on the Domain a moderate stock of cattle, hogs, sheep and teams, with agricultural implements; a steam saw, and grist mill, is in operation; also, shoe, brush, tin, and tailor's shops.<sup>28</sup>

Sampson stated the community wished to add to their manufacturing capability by starting cooper, blacksmith, and wagon shops, and generally to “diversify labor as much as possible.” Among the individuals who lent financial support to Clermont after appeals such as this was the editor Horace Greeley, who had helped popularize Fourierism through the pages of his influential *New York Tribune*.<sup>29</sup>

A second report from Clermont, published in the *Harbinger* of October 4, 1845, suggested that the community was receiving new members and was hard at work on a large brick building with a dining hall, kitchen, bakery, and wash house which they anticipated completing within a matter of weeks. The author spoke glowingly that now all members “sit down to the phalanx table [for meals]... and all goes on harmoniously.” “The Phalanstery,” the author noted, “is man's true home; and the only one in which he can enjoy all the blessings of earthly existence, without those evils which flesh is heir to, in false civilization.”<sup>30</sup> In spite of the rosy statements of its supporters, the phalanx system at Clermont continued for only two years. Founded in May 1844, the phalanx, one member recalled in sailing terms, “went down about the first of November [1846]” two and a half years after its founding.<sup>31</sup>

Eventually debt became a fatal issue for the phalanx. As Carl Guarneri notes, most organizers of phalanxes rushed into forming communities with very little planning and very little capital on hand. In their enthusiasm they, as did the founders of Clermont, purchased far too much land on credit, often without even securing full title to the property—another issue at Clermont—and this led to their quick demise.<sup>32</sup> The phalanx council eventually decided it was best to dissolve the community altogether. By 1846, just two years following the initial purchase of land, “the property was sold [and there was a] division made among the members, most of

whom removed.”<sup>33</sup>

The short life of the Clermont Phalanx, like the problems that led to its demise, was very typical of the movement as a whole. Of the twenty-eight phalanxes started in the United States, twelve lasted a year or less, eight survived more than three years and only one, the North American Phalanx, survived over a decade.<sup>34</sup>

While the membership was certainly disillusioned by the failure of Clermont, some continued to remain ardent supporters of “association.” Several members remained at the Clermont location in the hope of reorganization, while others returned to Cincinnati. In the immediate aftermath one member admitted that the associationists of Cincinnati were “losing ground, [and] cannot even get up meetings of a dozen persons.” The anonymous writer commented that “the breaking down of the Clermont Phalanx has so dispirited most of those who call themselves Associationists, that they have no heart to make sacrifices of time and money in behalf of the cause.”<sup>35</sup>

Despite the dispirited atmosphere, the idealists of Clermont had not totally surrendered their faith in communal living. At least one member was identified as living at the North American Phalanx in later years.<sup>36</sup> As late as 1848, meetings and lectures in support of Fourierist ideals were reported in the *Harbinger*. Speakers typically dismissed the Clermont Phalanx as a premature effort, and so badly organized and managed that they did not reflect the true elements of a phalanx and were, therefore, doomed to failure from the start—an explanation used again and again by defenders of Fourier to explain the failure of the phalanxes.<sup>37</sup> An individual, identified only as J.W., writing to the *Harbinger* noted that “we are now recovering from the despondency into which we were sunk by the premature establishment and disastrous failure of what was improperly called a phalanx, in Clermont county.”<sup>38</sup> Despite this returning enthusiasm, however, no new phalanx resulted from the Cincinnati gatherings. Other former members wrote of the work of other reformers, John O. Wattles and Josiah Warren, who would shortly make their own communal efforts amid the ruins of Clermont.<sup>39</sup>

A second community took shape amid the ruins of the Clermont Phalanx when, in 1847, John O. Wattles purchased the central plot of land of the former phalanx in order to found a community known as “Excelsior.” This community was different from the previous one, largely because it is believed to have more influenced by the spiritualist movement.



*John Otis Wattles*

Like Fourierism, spiritualism was a popular movement that appealed to reform-minded individuals of the 1840s, particularly those with a religious frame of mind. The official start of spiritualism in the United States was through the claims of the three Fox sisters of Hydesville, New York, who claimed that they had been able to communicate with the spirits of the dead. Soon other individuals emerged as “mediums”—individuals who communicated with spirits through rapping or other phenomena while participating in a séance. The movement spread in the 1850s through the United States and Europe, and even assumed the qualities of a religion.<sup>40</sup>

Although the Fox sisters, the most notable “spirit guides,” are seen as the start of the movement, their emergence represented the popularization of a phenomena that had been present in American culture for decades prior. Among the notable practitioners of spirit communication were the Shakers, who, beginning in 1837, experienced a revival during which specially gifted members of the sect spoke on behalf of, and communicated with, the dead. Among the early practitioners of spiritualism was John O. Wattles, the founder of the second community at Utopia.

John Otis Wattles was born on July 22, 1809, in Goshen, Connecticut. He studied at the Oneida Institute of Whitestown, New York, with his older brother, Augustus. In 1833, both Wattles brothers traveled to Cincinnati, Ohio, where John studied under the Reverend Lyman Beecher at Lane Seminary. While in Cincinnati and influenced by Beecher (father of the



abolitionist writer Harriet Beecher Stowe) Wattles became immersed in a panoply of reform movements, including women's suffrage, diet reform, abolition, and, later, communitarianism. In 1838, John began working as a tutor for the family of James C. Ludlow, past president of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society and financial backer of the *Philanthropist*, a prominent abolitionist journal. In 1841, Augustus Wattles established a manual-labor school for black boys in Mercer County, Ohio, and developed a community that included twenty-one emancipated slaves.

John Wattles married Esther Whinery, a radical Hicksite Quaker, in 1844. After their marriage, John and Esther Wattles worked to establish many reform communities in Ohio, including the Prairie Home Community, which was located in Logan County and which, while attracting 130 members in total, both began and ended in the year 1844. After this failure, the couple moved to Cincinnati, before they purchased the property in Clermont County for their next attempt at a community.

In Cincinnati, Wattles and his supporters met regularly on Sunday afternoons in the Kemble Street Chapel. These meetings, at which Wattles shared the platform with Hiram S. Gilmore, John P. Cornell, and Lucius A. Hine, eventually attracted "hundreds" of participants. During the meetings, Wattles and his lecturers condemned the current state of religious and social life in the United States. The group also began publication of its own newspaper, the *Herald of Truth*, edited by Hine.<sup>41</sup>

Wattles and his associates, while advocating for reforms in line with those supported by the Fourierists, also claimed that they received their instruction "directly from the spiritual world, by means of clairvoyants." According to one regular attendee at these meetings, Wattles taught that these powers of "spiritual communication" were open to all people who observed "certain mental and physiological laws." With the proper development, spiritual visions were attainable by all. Members consecrated their possessions to this cause, but initially did not propose creating a separate communal society. Instead, they continued to follow their usual occupations, but pledged themselves to mutual support of each other and of their cause of reform. The meetings became so large that the group relocated to Melodeon Hall, described as the largest in the city, where they continued to meet on Sundays at 3 p.m.<sup>42</sup>

John Wattles met former members of Clermont. John White, the author of a letter to the *Harbinger* noted, "[a] goodly number of Associationists are in the habit of attending" the meetings lead by Wattles at the Melodeon

Hall.<sup>43</sup> These citizens included Daniel Prescott, Henry Jernegan, and E. G. Cubberley. One former Clermont member suggested that the Clermont property had “been disposed of ... in such a way as to let it fall into the hands of our friends of the Community school, of which John O. Wattles, John P. Connell, [and] Hiram S. Gilmore are conspicuous members.” The tract that Wattles and company acquired was the middle section of the original Clermont Phalanx and the tract that contained the phalanx’s buildings.<sup>44</sup>

Within months of Clermont’s end, the Wattles group was busily working to build a community structure for six families on the site, with the intent of not repeating the fate of the earlier community.<sup>45</sup> Spiritualists and, apparently, abolitionists joined the community. Among the new converts was Luther Ransom, a former land speculator, boarding-house keeper, and active agent on the Underground Railroad from Springfield, Illinois. Ransom, who was well acquainted with a rising young lawyer in Springfield, Abraham Lincoln, arrived with his second wife and three children.<sup>46</sup>

Wattles and his followers decided to move the large brick community building of the former phalanx from the center of the small village to the banks of the Ohio River near the original frame community building of the phalanx. The rationale for this great task is unknown; however, moving this large building was discouraged by local townsmen, who warned of the Ohio River’s periodic flooding. Ignoring this advice, Wattles oversaw the move, which was completed by early December 1847.

An early account of the community noted that the members rebuilt the structure in haste before the coming winter and this fact, coupled with the large number of windows in the structure, made it particularly unstable. With the water levels rising, the structure gave way, causing the walls to cave and the building to collapse. Esther Wattles provided a vivid description of the tragedy, which resulted in the death of seventeen of the thirty-two residents of the community.<sup>47</sup> Local lore, often repeated in accounts of Utopia, claimed that the spiritualists were gathered at a dance inside the community building as the flood waters raged around them. Around 8 p.m. on December 13, 1847, the building collapsed, Seventeen people died as a result of being crushed by debris or drowned in the flooding river.

Among the dead were John Cornell and his family of five. Cornell had been a leader in the community and his loss only compounded the impact

of the tragedy. A newspaper account of the disaster noted that five of those killed—John Woodson, Hannah Lee and her child, Charles Lee, and Ann Madison were African American. Whether they were members of the community or not is unknown. Given the strong abolitionist sympathies of Wattles, it is entirely possible that his colony may have admitted African American members.<sup>48</sup>

The survivors included John and Esther Wattles, who regrouped and attempted to rebuild. Unfortunately, the river continued to plague the community. A “whirlwind” destroyed trees and buildings and, in May 1848, the group’s common building burned.<sup>49</sup>

**THE WESTERN FRESHET**—Our telegraphic report a few days since announced the undermining by the flood and falling of a large brick building at the late Fourrier settlement on the banks of the Ohio, in Clement county, forty miles above Cincinnati, and a loss of seventeen lives thereby. It was a beautiful building, and thirty-two persons had sought in it a refuge from the flood. When the alarm was given that the walls were falling, some jumped out into the waters, whilst seventeen were buried in the ruins. In about ten minutes after the crash, two skiffs, one from Utopia, a town a short distance above, arrived and rescued the almost frozen survivors, who, in their escape from the building, had taken refuge upon drift logs, &c, and carried them safely to land.

*A newspaper account of the flooding of Utopia, Ohio.*

*Boston Daily Times, December 29, 1847.*

After these additional tragedies, the Wattleses decided to leave Utopia and travel to Kansas with John's brother, Augustus. In Kansas, Wattles settled the town of Moneka, Kansas, in 1857, along with his brother, Augustus. Wattles built a large academy building at Moneka and lobbied heavily for a railroad connection. While in Kansas, the Wattles brothers were heavily involved in the abolitionist movement, and both were well acquainted with John Brown, whose goals they condoned but whose violent methods they disagreed with.

John Wattles died in Kansas in September 1859. After her husband's sudden death, Ether Wattles moved to Oberlin, Ohio, with the couple's three daughters. Here she ran a boarding house. All three Wattles daughters graduated from Oberlin College. One daughter, Harmonia, later served as dean of women at the college and her sister, Celestia, was employed as a professor of music. Esther Wattles died in Coconut Grove, Florida, in 1908, far from the scenes of her shared efforts to create utopian communities in Ohio and Kansas.



*Josiah Warren*

Like the members of the phalanx and the Wattles group, reformer Josiah Warren longed for peace and harmony in a tumultuous world. Warren's social intentions were to help each individual become happier, freer, and more independent. How, then, might one obtain this? Josiah Warren spent much of his life seeking and developing his ideas of social reform, building upon the work of earlier utopians, including one of his early mentors, the Scottish reformer Robert Owen.

Josiah Warren was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1798, the scion of a family with deep roots in Puritan New England.<sup>50</sup> Raised in Boston, and being around the new ideologies of the young republic, Josiah Warren grew up in an environment fresh with ideas which fostered his development as a free thinker, rebel, and reformer. Warren desired to evaluate what was considered the norm; he wanted to redefine what society could be like, rather than what was accepted. He was not a violent activist, nor was he one to provoke an opposing view and create any level of disruption; rather, he was, in his own words, a "peaceful revolutionist."

Warren cultivated a love for music and talent in Boston, where he was a member of the Boston Brigade Band. Warren moved to Cincinnati, a burgeoning city on the Ohio River, to become a performer and a teacher of music. Warren was also an entrepreneur and an inventor. Prior to leaving Boston, he developed and patented a lamp designed to burn lard, rather than the traditional tallow or oil, which was considerably more expensive, yet the lard lamps burned brighter.<sup>51</sup> Warren took this patented lamp from Boston to Cincinnati and began a manufacturing company, which he sold in 1825 before leaving to join the New Harmony community in Indiana. The sale of the lamp factory allowed Warren to focus on his social reform interests.

Josiah Warren always thought of things differently, and society was no exception. In 1824, Warren attended one of Owen's many lectures. Inspired by what he heard, he decided to relocate his family to Owen's community at New Harmony, Indiana. Warren spent two years there working as leader of the community orchestra and music teacher, observing and taking a mental account of how to make improvements for a future organization. In his view, Owen's autocratic system of government and imposition of communal living on individuals, stifled individual initiative and led to discontent. Instead, Warren began to formulate ideas for a community system based entirely on individual liberty and sovereignty.<sup>52</sup>

In 1827, Warren and his family returned to the Cincinnati area. One of Warren's innovations was to recreate a system in which societal members exchanged time rather than money. It became essentially a bartering system—a way to pay off a debt using labor, time, and services rather than currency, a program loosely based on the labor-note system used at New Harmony. Warren refined the concept and combined it with his principle of the sovereignty of the individual to create a system he called “equitable commerce.” Warren believed that New Harmony failed, in part, because it stifled individual liberty. Warren believed that each individual had a right to live according to their choosing, so long as they did not infringe on the right of other individuals to do the same. In Warren's ideal society, the goal was to have “no organization, no indefinite delegated powers, no Constitutions, no laws nor bye-laws [sic], ‘rules’ or ‘regulations’ but such as each individual makes for himself and his own business.”<sup>53</sup>

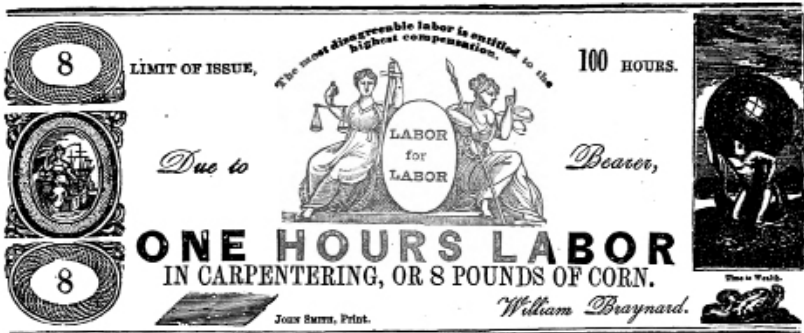
Because of his writings, Warren is frequently called the first anarchist. In addition to his support of anarchism, Warren also advocated for a system exchange known simply as “cost the limit of price.” In this system, individuals bartered goods and services at cost, without any capital gain.<sup>54</sup>

In 1827 Warren opened his first “time store” in Cincinnati, located on the corner of 5th and Elm Streets and illustrated his theory of equitable commerce. Warren's store used labor notes and a unique system of valuing goods and services.<sup>55</sup> Warren explained his labor-note system as follows:

A clock hangs in a conspicuous place in the store. In comes the customer to make his purchases. All goods are marked with the price in plain figures, which is their cost price, plus a nominal percentage to cover freight, shrinkage, rents, etc. Usually about four cents on the dollar. The purchaser selects what he needs, with not over-much assistance or prompting from the salesman, and pays for the same in lawful money. The time spent by the merchant in waiting upon him is now calculated by reference to the convenient clock, and in payment for this service the customer gives his labor note, something after this form: “Due to Josiah Warren, on demand, thirty minutes in carpenter work – John Smith.” Or “Due to Josiah Warren, on demand, ten minutes in needlework – Mary Brown.”<sup>56</sup>



SPECIMEN OF THE EQUITABLE MONEY.



LIMIT OF ISSUE. — A record is kept at the printing office of all Notes given out, and it is open to public inspection. Corn is used for two purposes, — to compare and measure prices, as we use dollars and cents, and as an alternative by which to redeem the Note when the issuer finds it not convenient to redeem it with his labor. Corn is exceedingly well adapted for the basis of a circulating medium. Everybody who has land can raise it. It will keep, of uniform quality, from year to year. It is too bulky to be stolen or secretly embezzled. It can be converted into Beef, Butter, Cheese, Hides, Tallow, Pork, Lard, Mutton, Wood, Poultry, Eggs, etc., and the demand for it is, therefore, not likely to be over-supplied.

*A facsimile of Josiah Warren's Labor Note, as published in his book True Civilization:*

An Immediate Necessity and the Last Ground of Hope for Mankind;  
Being the Results and Conclusions of Thirty-nine Years' Laborious Study  
and Experiments in Civilization As It Is, and In Different Enterprises for  
Reconstruction (*Boston, Mass.: Warren, 1863*), 185.

Warren placed a notice of particular goods or items that he was interested in that day. People could then present that particular item, or items, and Warren would then issue them a labor note with calculated labor hours in exchange for them. Establishing this type of barter system placed a value upon the actual time needed by a craftsman to complete his work as well as enhancing the value of the individual's contribution to the common good.

Warren promoted his ideas through his writings and the products of his own printing press, which he continually improved with his own inventions. Warren invented a new method of stereotyping printing plates and developed what may have been the first continuous-fed rotary press.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, he continued his interest in music, developing two shorthand systems of musical notation.<sup>58</sup>

Warren took his philosophy of individualism and in 1835 put it in practice in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. In 1835 Warren put his ideas into practice when he founded Equity his first "equitable village" located on a four-hundred-acre-tract approximately 180 miles northeast of Cincinnati's

“equitable village.”<sup>59</sup> Equity, Ohio, was populated by nearly two dozen people, but almost from the beginning the citizens struggled to live in peace and harmony. Little more than a year later, in 1837, Equity was abandoned, largely due to the disagreements and altercations between members, but also because of diseases and illnesses, particularly influenza. Warren dissolved the town and moved back to New Harmony, where he lived for nearly a decade, establishing another division of the time store there in 1842.<sup>60</sup> This attempt became more successful and appeared to reestablish commerce in the area.

In June 1847, Warren moved back to Ohio, settling thirty miles southeast of Cincinnati, at what became the village of Utopia.<sup>61</sup> Warren appealed directly to the Fourierists of Cincinnati, laying out a plan “for the use of property in the rudimental reorganization of society.” His background as a communitarian with Robert Owen, and his practical abilities as an inventor and artist, impressed his Cincinnati listeners. One of them, Henry Jernegan, a former member of the Clermont Phalanx, owned a tract of land within a mile of the Clermont site, and offered this as a location for Warren’s proposed community, which was variously known as Trialville and, finally, Utopia. Warren and his associates used his “cost principle” to set the price of the lots, which amounted to the value of the land with the cost of surveying and of laying out the streets added, for a price of \$15, and each person was limited to buying two lots.<sup>62</sup> The landowner, Henry Jernegan, described as “a believer in Equitable Commerce,” agreed, in writing, to maintain this price for a period of three years.<sup>63</sup>

At least five of the male members of the new colony had, in fact, been members of the phalanx. These were Jernegan, Uriah Hemphill, Daniel Prescott, E. G. Cubberley, and Martin Poor.<sup>64</sup>

By October 1847 a supporter was able to report to the *Harbinger* that the land had been divided into lots, sold to members who wished to join, and that a brick yard and quarry were in operation with lumber being hauled to the site and “buildings are about to go up with a perfect rush.” The writer enthused that Warren would soon have a printing press in operation on the site and, he rapturously stated, “So you see we have a home, —we have a place.”<sup>65</sup> Good communitarian that he evidently was, the anonymous author concluded his letter with an appeal for money to further the cause: “We call on philanthropists and all men who have means to invest for the cause of Association to come and see us.”<sup>66</sup>

Warren established his labor-note system in Utopia and directed his appeals for members directly at individuals who had little capital beyond their own labor, intending to show that individuals, when given the chance to exchange their labor through the use of labor notes, could build homes, sustain their needs, and achieve comfort and even prosperity, and do this without depending on outside capital or authority.<sup>67</sup> Residents built homes, businesses prospered, and, for a time, there was peace and harmony in Utopia. In fact, Warren appeared to be surprised by the instant popularity of his labor-note system and its effectiveness:

The owner of the mill issued his labor notes payable in lumber. H. B. Lyon paid for his lot with his labor notes. The mill needed his labor and the owner of the mill needed lumber. Mr. Lyon issued his notes promising his labor in the mill—the owner of the mill took them of the landowner for lumber, and Mr. Lyon redeemed them in tending the mill. With all my hopes I had not dared to expect to see land bought with labor notes so soon as this.<sup>68</sup>

E. G. Cubberley, a resident of Utopia, recalled of Warren's system:

The labor notes put us in a reciprocating society – the result was, in two years twelve families found themselves with homes who never owned them before.... Labor capital did it. I built a brick cottage one and a half stories high, and all the money I paid out was \$9.81 – all the rest was effected by exchanging labor for labor.<sup>69</sup>

Cubberley stated that he had been a member of the Clermont Phalanx for “nearly three years,” and had nothing to show for his time there, the money he had invested, or his hard work. “At the end of the time I found myself rather badly situated—No money, no good clothes, no tools to commence work with, no anything.”<sup>70</sup>

Josiah Warren's ideology encompassed the concept of individuality, of not owning property communally but rather developing a sense of pride in ownership. Warren later recounted that of the six families on the site when the community started in July 1847, whom, he claimed, had “ten dollars in money” among them, four had houses and lots nearly or completely paid

for by that December. He took obvious delight in recalling Mrs. Prescott standing in her new kitchen “and casting a look of surprise round the room, exclaim[ing], ‘Well! they say this is our house! But how in the world we came by it I cannot imagine!’”<sup>71</sup>

Warren’s system drew followers to Utopia, which came to include a dozen families. Eventually, the community consisted of twenty-six buildings, including a time store and sawmill.

The 1880 *History of Clermont County, Ohio* provides some additional insight into the community from a less self-interested source than Warren himself. The history noted that Thomas Vater, Martin Poor, and Daniel Prescott acted as the trustees of the village. Curiously, the account does not indicate that the community was based on Warren’s principles and only lists him as being the printer with “a good job office.” E. G. Cubberley was the community cobbler, C. W. Carlton and John Hardy were store keepers, and Daniel Prescott operated the mill. The *History* notes that “for a time, Utopia was a happy, beautiful place; the people had few wants, and these were supplied at home.” But, the author asserts, the original settlers became restless and moved on and were succeeded by individuals less in harmony with the purposes of the founders. In addition, there are other factors that are cited for Utopia’s decline. The three-year contract with Jernegan which maintained a low price for lots expired, and the owner raised the cost of the as yet unpurchased lots. Additionally, the speculators who owned land surrounding the village also raised their prices, making it virtually impossible for Warren’s followers to afford additional property. Warren would also blame the failure of his community on a lack of attention paid to the enterprise by newspapers of the day, preventing a wider public not already inclined to read his own publications from learning about it.<sup>72</sup> Citizens grew discouraged and began looking for alternative towns in which to reside. Some moved to Cincinnati; however, many, including Martin Poor, journeyed to rural Minnesota in the early 1850s.<sup>73</sup>

E. G. Cubberley, a Warren disciple who remained at Utopia into the 1870s, still spoke in glowing terms of Warren’s system and how it had improved his life, stated: “Mr. Warren is right, and the way to get back as much labor as we give is by the labor-cost prices, — Money prices, with no principle to guide, have always deceived us.”<sup>74</sup>

As late as the 1870s, some business transactions in Utopia were still being conducted along the labor-exchange principles outlined by Warren.<sup>75</sup> By that time, however, the community was little more than a

small village, with a store operated by David Jernegan and the vineyard and fruit distillery of Henry Ehrenfels.<sup>76</sup>

Warren himself had departed from Utopia in 1850 when he judged it a success, and he ultimately took his ideology east to New York, leaving behind both the Midwest and his wife, Caroline, who chose to remain in New Harmony near their son. The couple separated but remained on friendly terms for the rest of Warren's life.<sup>77</sup> In partnership with Stephen Pearl Andrews, he founded Modern Times, a third community based upon his labor-capital approach.<sup>78</sup> Warren's new community was located on a ninety-acre tract on Long Island, forty-one miles from New York City. The new colony was a haven for non-conformists of every stripe, but never had more than 150 members during its thirteen years of existence.<sup>79</sup> Warren resided in Modern Times until 1861, when he returned to his birthplace, Boston. Josiah Warren died on April 14, 1874, at the home of his friend, Edward H. Linton, in Charlestown, Massachusetts.<sup>80</sup>

Utopia, Ohio, has arguably one of the most unique histories in terms of idealistic communities. Having experienced three separate visionary movements, Utopia has run the gamut, from socialist phalanx to a spiritualist and/or abolitionist settlement to a time-labor community. Although the reformers tried to create a society full of hope, peace, and safety, all three experiments were short-lived. Despite America's being a breeding ground for reformists in the mid-nineteenth century, Utopia could not withstand the turmoil. Charles Fourier's phalanx system terminated due to debt, and John O. Wattle's reform effort was tragically ended by the flood of 1847. Josiah Warren's labor-capital movement folded as a result of increased land prices. Although there were high hopes for Utopia, the small town eventually lived up to Josiah Warren's statement: "Society has thus far been on a 'series of failures,' and is at this day a mere assemblage of wrecks thrown against each other on a tempestuous sea without pilots, charts, rudders, or compass."<sup>81</sup>

## Notes

1. Randy McNutt, *Finding Utopia: Another Journey into Lost Ohio* (Kent, Ohio: Black Squirrel Books, 2012), 12.
2. David Zelden, *The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier (1772-1837)* (New York, N.Y.: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 5.
3. “[Fourier’s] parents were comparatively rich, yet a series of misfortunes was soon to cripple [Fourier] financially and he was to remain poor for the rest of his life. His father’s early death and the subsequent mismanagement of his mother’s affairs by a friend of the family at the time of the revolution account for the family’s decline in fortune.” Zelden, *Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier*, 5.
4. *Ibid.*, 7-8.
5. *Ibid.*, 8.
6. Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *The Teaching of Charles Fourier* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), 42.
7. Carl J. Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 18-19. Guarneri’s work is the standard source on the Fourierist movement in the United States.
8. Albert Brisbane, *Association or, A Concrete Exposition of the Doctrine of Association, or Plan for the Reorganization of Society* (New York: Greeley & McElrath, 1843) quoted in Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking* (Syracuse, N.Y. : Syracuse University Press, 1992), 2.
9. Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 2, 407-8.
10. The Ohio settlements as identified by Carl J. Guarneri were: Ohio Phalanx in Belmont County, 1844-1845; Trumbull Phalanx in Trumbull County, 1844-1848, 1849-1852; Clermont Phalanx in Clermont County, 1844-1846; Columbian Phalanx of Muskingum County, 1845. Guarneri also lists the Beverly Association of Beverly, Ohio, as a “phalanx project” which merged into the Columbian Phalanx, and Industrial Association of Cleveland whose plans for a phalanx never materialized (Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 407-9). Catherine M. Rokicky, *Creating a Perfect World* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002), 124, includes the Marlborough Association, the Social Reform Unity, Utopia, and the Memnonia institute as communities that “embraced some elements of Fourierism.” These communities, however, should not be included among the actual phalanxes themselves. Thus, this article assumes, along with Guarneri, that four phalanxes formed in Ohio.
11. “Clermont Phalanx,” *Phalanx* 1 (May 3, 1845): 331.
12. Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 155-56.
13. “Clermont Phalanx,” *Phalanx* 1 (June 1, 1844): 160. A. J. MacDonald suggested that the excursion party was closer to 130 people in size.
14. McNutt, *Finding Utopia*, 14. MacDonald’s papers are now housed at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, where John



Humphrey Noyes deposited them in the 1870s. Despite careful research, staff at the library has been unable to learn MacDonald's given names, his place and date of birth, and his exact place and date of death.

15. A. J. MacDonald as quoted in John Humphrey Noyes, *History of American Socialisms* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), 366-67.
16. "Clermont Phalanx," *Phalanx* 1 (June 1, 1844): 160.
17. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, 367, 368.
18. Quoted in Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, 367.
19. An early account of the phalanx suggests that the preliminary group was two dozen. "Clermont Phalanx," *Phalanx* 1 (June 1, 1844).
20. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, 368.
21. *Ibid.*, 369.
22. *Ibid.*, 369, 373.
23. Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 159-60.
24. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, 373.
25. "Correspondence," *Harbinger*, June 20, 1846. The anonymous author of a letter dated Cleveland, Ohio, June 1, 1846, noted, "Our little band of Associationists in this city are somewhat scattered; some have united with the Wisconsin Phalanx, some with the Clermont Phalanx in the south part of this State, others have gone to Cincinnati."
26. *History of Clermont County*, 343.
27. George Sampson, "To the Friends of Association," *Harbinger*, June 14, 1845.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 36.
30. E. W. V. "Clermont Phalanx, September 12, 1845," *Harbinger*, October 4, 1845.
31. "Clermont Phalanx," *Harbinger*, October 2, 1847.
32. Carl J. Guarneri, "Brook Farm and the Fourierist Phalanxes: Immediatism, Gradulism, and American Utopian Socialism," in Donald E. Pitzer, ed. *America's Communal Utopias* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 168-69.
33. *Ibid.* Among the individuals who remained in Clermont County were Henry Jernegan, Daniel Prescott, and E. G. Cubberly. These men became influential in future settlements in Utopia.
34. Guarneri, "Brook Farm and the Fourierist Phalanxes," 169.
35. "The Cause of Association in Cincinnati," *Harbinger*, January 23, 1847.
36. C. N., "A Fourth of July Visit to the North American Phalanx," *Harbinger*, August 28, 1847. The author of this account noted "some delightful hours which we spent in the parlor of Mrs. B. .... formerly a member of the Clermont Phalanx, Ohio. I was sorry there was not time enough to receive from her an account of the causes of the disbandment of this attempt. She must certainly have been satisfied of the superiority of Associated life, to

- encourage her to join immediately another.”
37. “Fifth Lecture in Cincinnati,” *Harbinger*, April 22, 1848; “Annual Meeting of the American Union of Associationists,” *Harbinger*, May 13, 1848; Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 179.
  38. J. W., “Cincinnati, April 27th, 1848,” *Harbinger*, May 13, 1848.
  39. “The Cause of Association in Cincinnati,” *Harbinger*, January 23, 1847, makes reference to Wattles .
  40. Charles L. Crow. “Spiritualism,” in Paul S. Boyer, ed., *The Oxford Companion to United States History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 738.
  41. “The Cause of Association in Cincinnati,” *Harbinger*, January 23, 1847.
  42. “Social Reformers in Cincinnati,” *Harbinger*, January 9, 1847.
  43. Ibid.
  44. *History of Clermont County, Ohio*, 343.
  45. “Clermont Phalanx,” *Harbinger*, October 2, 1847.
  46. Wattles’s strong support for abolition has led to speculation that his community was meant to act as a hub for the Underground Railroad. While Wattles and company may well have harbored slaves, some of the claims about his community are demonstrably untrue. One writer—for example, researcher Justin Brown—has suggested that Wattles had never been previously identified as a spiritualist. This is demonstrably untrue. Some of the speculation surrounds a strange subterranean structure. The still-extant structure measures 44 x 22 feet and only can be reached by ladder. Although there continues to be speculation concerning the structure, its exact purpose remains a mystery, while some argue that it was used as a wine cellar for the viniculture that was prominent in the area, a contention that is supported by an early land map marking the site as a vineyard.
  47. Wattles’s account is reprinted in McNutt, *Finding Utopia*, 17-18.
  48. “Distressing Casualty,” *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, December 22, 1847. The dead, according to the Enquirer were: Moses J. Cornell, Cornell’s wife and two children, Mrs. Ransom, Henry Ransom, Elizabeth Ransom, Alonzo Guernsey, John Hempel, Charlotte Hempel, John Schroder, James A. Mackison, Charles R. Kenan, John Woodson, Hannah Lee and child, Charles Lee, and Ann Madison.
  49. McNutt, *Finding Utopia*, 19.
  50. Josiah Warren, *The Practical Anarchist: Writings of Josiah Warren*, ed. Crispin Sartwell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 254.
  51. William Bailie, *Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist: A Sociological Study* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1906).
  52. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 18-19.
  53. Josiah Warren, *The Peaceful Revolutionist, Devoted to the Practical Details of Equitable Commerce* 2 (May 1848): 132, as quoted in Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 2.

54. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 2-3, provides a succinct, easily followed summary of Warren's principles.
55. Josiah Warren, *Practical Anarchist*, 5.
56. Bailie, *Josiah Warren, The First American Anarchist*, 9-10.
57. Reece, *Utopia Drive*, 148.
58. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 15.
59. Josiah Warren, *Practical Anarchist*, 258.
60. Ibid.
61. It should be noted that during this period, Josiah Warren also published a remarkable number of articles concerning his views for a utopian society. These articles included "Practical Applications," found in Josiah Warren, *Practical Applications of the Elementary Principles of "True Civilization," to the Minute Details of Everyday Life: Being Part III, the Last of the "True Civilization" Series, and the Facts and Conclusions of Forty Seven Years Study and Experiments in Reform Movements through Communism to and in Elementary Principles* (Princeton, Mass.: Josiah Warren, 1873), "The Peaceful Revolutionist," "Equitable Commerce," and later "True Civilization," found in Warren, *Practical Anarchist*.
62. James J. Martin, *Men Against the State: the Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America* (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute 2009), 58.
63. Bailie, *Josiah Warren*, 51; Henry Jernegan was born in Edgartown, Dukes County, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1798. After his communitarian experiences, he remained in Ohio, where he died on June 23, 1882. <https://www.findagrave.com>: accessed 25 October 2018, memorial page for Henry Jernegan, Find A Grave Memorial 127325762.
64. *History of Clermont County, Ohio*, 344.
65. "Clermont Phalanx," *Harbinger*, October 2, 1847.
66. Ibid.
67. Bailie, *Josiah Warren*, 52.
68. Quoted in Bailie, *Josiah Warren*, 53-54.
69. Ibid., 55. In his writings, Warren identified several of the male residents of Utopia. In addition to Cubberley, they were Daniel Prescott, George Prescott, William Long, Henry B. Lyon, Martin Poor, Thomas Vater [spelled Vator in the 1880 *History of Clermont County, Ohio*], a Mr. Hemphill, and a Mr. Francis (Martin, *Men Against the State*, 62-63).
70. Quoted in Warren, *Practical Applications*, 10.
71. Warren, *Practical Applications*, 9.
72. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 172.
73. Ibid. Curiously, the Ohio historical marker now in place at Utopia fails to mention Warren and his community at all. This is particularly interesting because Warren's group was the first to call the community by the name Utopia it having previously been the location of the Clermont Phalanx and

Excelsior. The marker's last statement—"thus the idea of the perfect society, or utopia died" with the deaths of the members of the Wattles community by flood in December 1847—completely ignores the Warren community which lasted through the early 1850s (Reece, *Utopia Drive*, 145). Martin Poor was born in Vermont in 1805 and died in Dakota County, Pennsylvania in 1877 (<http://www.findagrave.com>: accessed 25 October 2018), memorial page for Martin Poor (9 May 1805-20 November 1877), Find A Grave Memorial no. 61376263.

74. Quoted in Josiah Warren, *Practical Applications of the Elementary Principles*, 15.
75. *Men Against the State*, 64.
76. *History of Clermont County, Ohio*, 344.
77. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 23.
78. Modern Times is located on Long Island, New York. It was in existence until roughly 1873, when its name was changed to Brentwood. Modern Times was arguably Warren's most successful communal establishment. Verne Dyson, "A Fleeting Moment in History ... Modern Times," *A History of Modern Times*, accessed November 23, 2016, [http://brentwoodnylibrary.org/modern\\_times.htm](http://brentwoodnylibrary.org/modern_times.htm).
79. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 1.
80. William Bailie, *Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist*, op cit. Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking*, 24.
81. Josiah Warren, *True Civilization: An Immediate Necessity and the Last Ground of Hope for Mankind; Being the Results and Conclusions of Thirty-nine Years' Laborious Study and Experiments in Civilization As It Is, and In Different Enterprises for Reconstruction* (Boston, Mass.: Warren, 1863), 28.