The Practical Anarchist
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APPENDIXES
Charles Shiveley says that Josiah Warren was descended from Richard Warren, who came to America on the *Mayflower*.\(^1\) George Santayana in *Persons and Places* describes the “Brighton Warrens” as “a dissentient family.”\(^2\) An early American ancestor, John Warren, was arrested for nonattendance at church and for harboring Quakers.\(^3\) In *Josiah Warren*, Bailie says that “the Warrens of Pilgrim lineage from which he sprang have furnished Massachusetts with many distinguished citizens, of whom the most renowned was General Joseph Warren, the Revolutionary hero killed by the British at Bunker Hill” (1). He describes Joseph Warren as a “distant cousin.”\(^4\) Shiveley connects Josiah to a family of mechanics and printers. There is no evidence that Warren had any formal education.

In the chronology below I give important events and publications in individualist, radical reform, and anarchist publications in brackets.
Sources for Warren’s life as captured in this chronology include his own writings, in particular narratives of practical experiments; Baille’s biography; Shiveley’s honors thesis at Harvard; Ann Caldwell Butler’s master’s and doctoral theses at Ball State; Wunderlich’s *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times;* Martin’s *Men Against the State;* and Agnes Inglis’s archive and rough life sketch at the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan (see bibliography).

1771  [Birth of Robert Owen]
1793  [William Godwin, *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice.*]
1795  [Birth of Frances Wright]
1798  Born, Boston, Massachusetts.
1803  [Birth of Emerson.]
1805  [Birth of Garrison.]
1809  [Birth of Proudhon.]
1812  [Birth of Stephen Pearl Andrews]
1816–17  Musical engagements in and around Boston; according to Josiah’s son George, Josiah and Josiah’s brother George played in the Boston Brigade Band, which John S. Dwight said was “a real band, it had clarinets and flutes and oboes, bugles and French horns . . . , and was not the band of brass now used to penetrate the Babel of street noises. Moreover it played good music.”
1818  Marries Caroline Cutter.
1819  Economic depression. Moves west with his wife and settles in Cincinnati, Ohio. Later she wrote to Josiah that “when I most willingly consented to be your wife, and came out West, I gave up relations, friends, acquaintances—all, for the (to me) ‘greater pearl,’ and never do I remember a lingering look behind.”
1820  Plays the clarinet in “the first chamber music given in the city” of Cincinnati. Daughter Caroline Maria born in September.
1821 or 1823  Patents a lard-burning lamp. According to his son, George Warren, “The patent documents for the lard lamp were signed by President John Quincy Adams. The patents on the printing presses invented by my father were issued under the signature of Andrew Jackson, and B. F. Butler, in 1835.” Fanny Wright describes the
key feature of the invention: “This lamp differs from the common one only by having a copper wire adjoining the tube which contains the wick, and connecting with the blaze of the lamp at one end, and with the lard at the other, which being a great conductor of heat, keeps the lard continually in a fluid state.”

1825–27  Robert Owen speaks in Cincinnati on June 10, 1825; Warren is among the listeners. Owen purchases the Rappite community of Harmonie and establishes the ideal community of New Harmony, Indiana. Warren moves his family there in September 1825 and establishes himself as the music director. He also teaches at the school and works at the printing facility. The settlement founded by Owen prescribed community of property, possibly under the influence of the Rappites and Shakers. New Harmony was probably the first secular ideal community in the United States. Warren lived there for nearly its entire run. Fanny Wright is also a resident at various points. Some have blamed the community’s failure on the fact that some residents were essentially spongers on Owen’s wealth, and that agreement on uses of community property could not be arrived at by the extremely various and eccentric inhabitants. These failures gave rise to Warren’s doctrines of individual sovereignty and defense of property. Warren builds his own home at New Harmony, selling it to Frances Wright in 1836. Robert Dale Owen (the founder’s son) in the Atlantic described his delight in the community’s musical performances, which featured “an excellent band leader, Josiah Warren. This was a performance of music, instrumental and vocal, much beyond what I expected in the backwoods.”

1827–29  Time Store, Cincinnati. In downtown Cincinnati, later at Utopia, at New Harmony (1840s), and at Modern Times (1850s), Warren establishes Time Stores, which employ labor notes as the circulating medium. Each Time Store would become the center of a cooperative, equitable economy. In every case, particularly the first, the experiment was a dramatic success. In fact, Kenneth Rexroth in Communalism asserts that the Time Store was “the most popular retail business in the city.” Son, George Warren, is born. According to Bailie in Josiah Warren, “At four years old the boy was taught to use
carpenter’s tools. At seven he learned type-setting and composed a tiny book with pages one inch square. . . . He was a musician, and at seventeen began to teach for a living. At eighteen he built an organ, fashioning it from the raw material. It was sold at the current price of such instruments. Being a practical wood-worker, he made the best paling fence in the town. He was also skilled in the use of pencil and brush, and, as one of his sources of income, painted some of the most artistic signs in that part of the country. . . . When he was twenty-one he was noted as a composer of band music, and was an expert performer on the Clarinet, French Horn, Cornet, Violin, and Cello” (31–32).

1828 Visited at home in Cincinnati by Frances Wright. [Alexander Bryant Johnson’s The Philosophy of Human Knowledge published; read by both Warren and Wright; later revised and republished as A Treatise on Language.] The village of Kendal, near the Tuscarawas River in Ohio, originally settled by the Quakers Thomas and Charity Rotch, is a small-scale Owenite community that makes the transition to Warren principles. The Producers’ Exchange of Labour for Labour Association formed in Philadelphia on Owen/Warren principles, and soon thereafter markets patent medicines at cost.

1830 Visited in Cincinnati by Frederick W. Evans, later a Shaker elder, who tells him about further Owenite experiments, including a project in New York. Visits Fanny Wright in New York. Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright propose an experimental community on Warren principles in New York. This plan comes to nothing as Owen travels to Europe and Wright the next year mourns the death of her sister. Conducts educational experiments at Massillon, Ohio, near Spring Hill and Kendal, with a group of twenty-five children, whom he resolves to treat as autonomous individuals. System of apprenticeships established on a labor-for-labor basis. Warren perfects the continuous-feed printing press (in a letter dated 1853, he says he “has had these experiments in hand for twenty-three years” See “My Dear Sir,” p. 244). He was already describing his innovations in printing to the Free Enquirer in a communication dated January 10, 1830, and must have been working on the technology through much of the 1820s. Josiah’s son George wrote, “Well I remember in 1830, when I was a little
I watched my father making type at the same fireplace at which
my mother cooked the meals.”

1831 Returns to Cincinnati in March.
   [Garrison publishes the first issue of The Liberator.]

1832 Cholera epidemic in Cincinnati. Warren is able to provide
   extremely cheap and fast printing of health information, at cost,
   through use of his typemaking techniques and continuous-feed press.

1833 Warren operates a steam-powered sawmill on a labor-for-
   labor basis on the Tuscarawas River in Ohio. This is the first venture
   in the community known as “Equity,” to which Warren eventually
   removes. In Men Against the State, Martin terms this “the first anar-
   chist community in America.” The Peaceful Revolutionist self-pub-
   lished; the plates are cast on the family stove at the Equity
   community. Warren writes the following poem about Frances
   Wright’s sister Camilla, who died in 1831:

   Written on Hearing Unwelcome News
   They say ’tis best to be deceived
   When sad realities would break the heart:
   O would I could be thus relieved
   When moral meteors like thee depart.

   Ah! vain the thought—We seldom find
   A friend like thee in all mankind.
   And when thou’rt gone can we caress thee
   And think thee here when most we miss thee?

   Ah no—Then let the poor, the weak,
   The injured, talented and meek
   Prepare to hear what I most dread
   To tell—their friend Camilla’s dead.

   O would that death could be controlled
   By tears, by reason, or by gold
   These in excess thy friends would give—
   E’en die for thee, couldst thou but live.

   Thy doting sister too, when oft reclined
   Fatigued and worn, will call to mind
Thy gentle, soothing, watchful care—
Will call “Camilla” but thou wilt not hear.

She has thee not; but now alone
Feels every moment, thou art gone!
Kind friends around us strive in vain
To place her as she was, again.

She lives now but to haste the day
(and knows her aid can speed its coming)
When, if sweet flowers too soon decay,
They’ll leave as sweet, around us blooming.13

1835 Warren community established in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. According to Warren in *Practical Applications*, “The first village was attempted in Tuscarawas Co., Ohio, in 1835. Six families were on the ground—24 persons in all. 23 of them had the ague or some other bileous complaint some portion of the first year! We became alarmed and dared not invite any friends to join us. We thought we would try one more year; but these complaints prevailed as before, and in addition to them, the influenza carried off twelve, mostly young, vigorous, healthy people within a circle of thirty families of the neighborhood, within two weeks. We now resolved to get away from the locality as soon as possible, and we did so, at the almost total sacrifice of buildings, furniture, and land, but with the view of concentrating again when our shattered finances had been recruited” (p. 202).

1836 [Emerson, *Nature.*]

1837 Equity disbands due to disease. Warren returns to New Harmony.

1840 [Proudhon, *What Is Property?]"

1841 One-off periodical *Herald of Equity* self-published at Cincinnati.

[Emerson, *Essays: First Series.*]

1842 New Harmony Time Store. According to Warren in *Practical Applications*, “In March 1842 another store (just like that in Cincinnati in 1827) was set in operation in New Harmony, the old seat of Mr. Owen’s communistic experiments. This store worked with an
immense power in revolutionizing the retail trade in that region. It consumed about three years” (p. 202). Publishes the one-off periodical *Gazette of Equitable Commerce* at New Harmony.

**1844** New, “mathematical” musical notation published. The *Peaceful Revolutionist* (vol. 2, no. 1) put out as pamphlet. Publicly exhibits a new printing press in New York, a prototype of his later high-speed presses. The principle was so simple that “there was no equitable ground for a patent, and it was given to the public” (Warren quoted by Bailie in *Josiah Warren*, 84). Invents “universal typography,” apparently a cheap way of producing type, later used by some commercial printers. Publishes *The Letter on Equitable Commerce* at New Harmony, perhaps the best example of the charms and drawbacks of Warrenian printing processes: it’s all in italics and resorts to multiple whole alphabet styles and families, many or all of them no doubt of Warren’s design.

**1846** First, tiny, self-printed edition of *Equitable Commerce* published at New Harmony. According to Wunderlich in *Low Living and High Thinking*, “On 25 April 1846 . . . the ‘first American patent on rubber stereotyping plates’ was granted to Warren. This stereotyping device, mixing shellac, tar, and sand, combined with gum arabic, beeswax, stearine, tallow, and oil as a substitute for type metal, was used by the Smithsonian Institution for its first book catalog in 1851” (20).

**1847** Third iteration of the Time Store, in New Harmony, is established in February. Establishment of Utopia, Ohio (Clermont County). With some resources derived from printing, Warren bought a village that had previously been a Fourierist phalanx on the Ohio River. Utopia was a small-scale success. In *Men Against the State*, Martin says that in 1852 the population was around one hundred persons. According to Warren in *Practical Applications*, “Mr. E. G. Cubberly, one of the first settlers, in October 1872, while still residing at Utopia, wrote: ‘The labor notes put us into 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
was $9.81—all the rest was effected by exchanging labor for labor’’ (p. 208). This village apparently persisted long after Warren had gone east, and the settlers eventually removed to Minnesota, displaced, like many an ideal community, by land speculation. A village called Utopia still exists at this location.

1848 Visits (moves to?) Boston. Meets William B. Greene and signs his petition to establish a mutual bank. Becomes acquainted with Stephen Pearl Andrews and several other prominent reformers, including George Henry Evans, Joshua K. Ingalls, and Lewis Masquerier.

1849 Second, even tinier, self-printed edition of *Equitable Commerce* published at Utopia, Ohio.

Lectures at Hancock Hall in Boston on Sundays throughout the winter. Pearl Andrews hears him and is converted to his principles, beginning an extended collaboration that is probably the only reason we know of Warren at all.

[Thoreau, “Civil Disobedience” and *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*.]

1850 Moves to New York City and conducts “parlor conversations” on his principles. Letters in the collection of the Indiana Historical Society indicate that Warren set up a press operation, including the manufacture of type, for the Boston publisher John P. Jewett. In 1852, Jewett issued the first edition of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, which of course raises the possibility that this epochal work was first printed using Warren’s apparatus.

1851 Foundation of Modern Times on Long Island, the equitable commerce/self-sovereign community established by Warren and Pearl Andrews (who owned a house there but never lived in it). Warren starts the project by moving alone to a shack in the pine barrens, manufacturing bricks to raise other structures. Lots at Modern Times are sold on the cost principle. As with prior Warren communities, destitute families find themselves able to build homes. Eventually the settlements start attracting anyone whose lifestyle is not conventional, including people living with partners other than their spouses, as well
as advocates of free love. Victoria Woodhull is a frequent visitor. A variety of fads are represented, such as spiritualism, nudism, the all-bean diet, the water cure, and the amazing philosophy of Pearl Andrews. In *Periodical Letter*, Warren writes, “Whoever tries what is vulgarly known as ‘free love’ . . . will find it more troublesome than a crown of thorns: and there is not much danger of its becoming contagious where the results of the experiment are made known” (p. 216).

1851 Stephen Pearl Andrews publishes *The Science of Society*, expounding Warren’s ideas with eclectic bits of Comte and Fourier thrown in.

1852 Third (canonical) edition of *Equitable Commerce* published by Fowler and Wells and edited by Pearl Andrews. Also published is its “how-to companion,” *Practical Details in Equitable Commerce*, which describes equity experiments ranging from the Time Stores to the foundation of Modern Times. Debate commences in the *New York Tribune* among Horace Greeley, Henry James, Sr., and Pearl Andrews on marriage and free love, focusing prurient attention on Modern Times. This is exacerbated by Thomas and Mary Gove Nichols mailing sex education guides and advocating promiscuity. Within reason, Modern Times was a success, despite the occasional nudist or visitation by malevolent spirits, for some ten years for a hundred people or more. The community seamlessly became the town of Brentwood during the 1860s. Caroline Warren stays behind in New Harmony throughout Warren’s later life.

[Lysander Spooner, *An Essay on the Trial by Jury.*]  
[Death of Frances Wright]


1855 House of Equity established in Boston by Warren follower Keith (first name unknown), who conceived it as an urban community center with equitable stores, lectures, recreational areas, printing facilities, and so forth. Warren helped conceive and execute the plan, which eventually collapsed when Keith’s finances did.

1858 It seems likely that Warren was resident in the Boston area, or splitting time between it and Modern Times, by this date. The Dual Commerce Association formed in Boston on Warren principles.
(though the extent of Warren’s involvement is unclear; the proprietor is listed as T. J. Lewis). It was essentially an equitable food store. The wage of the “distributors or merchants” was set at two dollars a day, based on a labor calculation. The project, which was described in a proposal dated July 1, 1858, and then reported on in a tract dated January 1, 1859, is striking for its size and should make us rethink the scale of Warrenian equitable experiments. The January 1 tract is not Warren’s writing, but it quotes an earlier advertisement that certainly is. The central store was located in the basement of the Pelham Hotel, with other “stations” in different poor neighborhoods in the city, six in all, each staffed by a man and a woman, with twenty employees altogether. The basic system was consignment: farmers still owned their produce until sold, and price did not vary by quantity. The January 1 report says that “several thousands of individuals have already begun to experience the benefits growing out of the movement.” Milk was priced at “five cents per quart in winter, four in summer.” The distribution is described as five hundred quarts of milk per day, fifty barrels of flour per week (at fifty cents), six thousand pounds of soap per month, five thousand bushels of Nova Scotia potatoes per month (five cents a bushel “if taken from the boat, or ten cents when delivered at the homes of consumers”), and so on. According to the earlier advertisement by Warren, “‘Dual commerce’ expresses those commercial relations which result and develope between producer and consumer, instead of being the absorbent of both.”

It is not known how or when the DCA came to an end.

[Death of Robert Owen.]

1862  [Death of Thoreau.]

1863  Lives in Boston area and; associates with Ezra Heywood and the nascent labor movement. True Civilization published. An equitable commerce store established (contact “Nath’l G. Simonds, No. 189 Main St., Charlestown”), apparently on a pretty small scale. (This project identified by Shawn Wilbur in the form of an advertisement, in the Boston Investigator, vol. 32, no. 50, April 15, 1863, p. 393.)
1865  [Death of Proudhon.]

1866  Resident at Cliftondale, Massachusetts. According to Martin in *Men Against the State*, Warren “made preliminary preparations for the setting up of [communities] in Jamaica and Central America” (98).

1872  Resident at Princeton, Massachusetts, at the home of Ezra and Angela Heywood. At the spring meeting of the New England Labor Reform League, Warren, Ezra Heywood, William B. Greene, and a young and impressionable Benjamin Tucker are all present in what was possibly the greatest summit meeting of American individualist anarchists. Publication of *Practical Applications*.

1873  Refines *True Civilization*, conceived as a conclusion to *Equitable Commerce*.

1874  At Princeton, Massachusetts, death claims Josiah Warren, individually. Services are held at the Bulfinch Place Unitarian Church, and Warren is buried at the Mount Auburn Cemetery.