The following list is compiled from Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*; Holloway, *Utopian Communities in America*; and Hinds, *American Communities*. The division into religious and secular communities is to some extent arbitrary, though convenient as an ordering principle. Noyes’s argument throughout *American Socialisms*—which seems to be supported by the historical record—is that communities are more successful when based on common religious commitments. Obviously, this enumeration is far from complete.

**Religious**

Rhode Island: Founded by dissenters Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson in 1635 as outpost of female preaching, free speech, and Protestant dissent.

The Woman in the Wilderness: Christian communist community founded near Philadelphia in 1692 by German Pietists.
Ephrata: Founded in 1735 in what is now Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, by Johann Beissel and fellow German Pietists. This community was characterized by extreme austerity and local educational work.

Shakers: Mother Ann Lee, an English woman of peasant stock from Manchester, took a group of schismatic Quakers to New York in 1776 and established a compound at Watervliet. The most successful of the religious utopians other than the Mormons, the Shakers spread widely throughout the United States. Ecstatic dancing, celibacy, and economical design were hallmarks of their organization. Labor for the Shakers was a form of prayer. By mid-nineteenth century they had as many as five thousand followers, and were led for much of that time by Frederick Evans, who had been at New Harmony and knew Warren. It has been asserted that the Shakers’ communism influenced Robert Owen.

Rappites (Harmonists): George Rapp, a German prophet, came to Baltimore in 1803 with three hundred families and settled in western Pennsylvania, calling the community “Harmonie.” Rapp was more sophisticated than most such religious idealists; in fact, Herder and Schleiermacher greatly influenced his ideas. The community adopted communism for practical rather than idealistic reasons, and it eventually inculcated celibacy, though the doctrine was not strictly enforced. Very prosperous, they sold their land at a profit and removed to Indiana, where they also called their community Harmonie. Eventually, they sold to Robert Owen, who established New Harmony on the site. The Rappites then returned to western Pennsylvania and founded “Economy.”

Zoar: A German Protestant sect similar to the Rappites settled this community in the wilderness of Tuscarawas, Ohio (the same county where Warren’s village Equity was located) in 1819 with 225 people. The group comprised followers of the German theologian Jacob Böhme.

Mormons: Radical Christian sect founded with a new scripture by Joseph Smith in 1830. Established in upstate New York, the Latter Day Saints eventually moved to Kirtland, Ohio, then to New Jerusalem in Missouri, as they were harassed and expelled from one community after another. Numbered at least fifteen thousand when they settled the town of Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1837. Like many of these groups, the Latter Day Saints experimented with plural marriage and various communistic schemes. Smith was killed in 1844 after a series of problems and persecutions, and Brigham Young led much of the group to Utah, where you can find them still.
Oneida: Founded by John Humphrey Noyes in upstate New York in 1848 on a doctrine of “Christian perfectionism.” The group practiced a form of communism and “plural marriage” that eventually mutated into a eugenics experiment by Noyes, who assigned breeding partners. President Garfield’s assassin, Charles Guiteau, stayed there a period of time and could achieve no romantic success, even under the auspices of plural marriage (Guiteau was referred to by the women of Oneida as “Charles Gitout”).

Hopedale: Founded in 1841 by Adin Ballou, formerly a Universalist minister; like Noyes, he was a charismatic and schismatic Christian. Ballou preached absolute nonresistance consistently throughout the Civil War. The settlement’s economy was described as “socialistic,” but the polity was based on devotion to the charismatic cult of Ballou. Hopedale had a few hundred members at its height, but it fell to land speculation in 1856.

Amana: “Inspirationist” community near Buffalo settled in 1855 largely by Germans. This was a large, prosperous community that eventually removed to Iowa and began manufacturing appliances.

Secular or “Socialist”

New Harmony: The Scottish industrialist and idealist Robert Owen bought the Rappite village of Harmony in Indiana, and used it to test his theories of property, education, cooperative manufacture, and higher culture. The experiment persisted from 1825 to 1827, when it broke down in factional disputes. Josiah Warren, Frances Wright, and Frederick Evans, later the Shaker elder, were resident. There were other Owenite settlements, notably at Yellow Springs and Kendal, Ohio.

Nashoba: A community for freed slaves and white experimenters founded in 1826 by Frances (Fanny) Wright near Memphis, Tennessee. Wright, one might remark, was peerless in her courage: she seriously contemplated establishing an interracial feminist community in the South in the 1820s. Sensational accusations of miscegenation dogged the community; Wright was, in fact, preaching that the race problem could be overcome by inter-breeding. In 1828 Wright delivered a July 4 address in New Harmony and visited Josiah Warren in Cincinnati. In part because of this association with Wright, Warren remained a staunch feminist throughout his life, though he later rejecting the idea of “free love.”
Brook Farm: Transcendentalist community founded by George Ripley in 1841. Adorned by very smart people—including Nathaniel Hawthorne—doing physical labor and playing music and writing poetry. Its proponents included Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Bronson Alcott. Emerson on Brook Farm: “It was a perpetual picnic, a French revolution in small, an Age of Reason in a patty-pan.” Brook Farm made a transition to Fourierism in 1844, after which, like any decent Fourierist experiment, it disintegrated, albeit slowly. A group of “secessionists” from Brook Farm settled at Modern Times in 1857.

Fruitlands: Extremely small transcendentalist community (or house) established in Harvard, Massachusetts, by Bronson Alcott in 1843. It disintegrated after seven months, due in part to the struggles between the English reformer Charles Lane—a fanatic who was pushing a vegan (“Pythagorean”) diet, celibacy, and many other ascetic disciplines—and Alcott’s wife and daughters. Louisa May Alcott fictionalized the situation in her 1873 story “Transcendental Wild Oats.”

Walden Pond: Thoreau’s two years (1845–47) at Walden should be considered as continuous with the utopian experiments of the period. It might indeed be easier to form an individualist community when there is only one member.

Icaria: Community established in 1848 at Nauvoo, Illinois—originally settled by the Mormons—by the French utopian socialist Étienne Cabet. The community eventually removed to Iowa, where it persisted in some form until 1898.

Fourierist phalanxes: Fourier had a utopian plan to organize the whole world into “phalanxes” or “phalansteries,” grand hotels that looked something like a cross between a palace and a tenement, which would encourage interaction and community. He preached feminism and community of property. The American experiments included La Reunion near Dallas and the North American Phalanx—probably the largest and most successful Fourierist project—in Monmouth County, New Jersey (1841–56).

*Capitalist*

Early company towns and idealized industrial communities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g., deserve to be mentioned in particular with regard to Warren’s projects, since they have some features in common (though not the profit motive)).
Oneida, New York: Noyes’s industrious community merged after his death into a communally owned maker of flatware. John Humphrey Noyes’s son Pierrepont Burt Noyes merged capitalism (e.g., masterful advertising campaigns) with an idealist vision still connected to the original religious ideal. Oneida prospers yet.

Pullman, Illinois: “Model” town founded by the inventor of the sleeping car in 1880 near Chicago. Like a number of enlightened capitalists, Pullman believed that a healthy and educated workforce would be productive and loyal. He was hailed as a visionary. But Pullman ran the town along totalitarian lines, finally culminating in a brutal action to break a strike at Pullman in 1894.

Hershey, Pennsylvania: Milton Hershey’s “company town,” founded in 1903 and built around his confectionery amid Pennsylvania dairy country, can stand in for many “idealistic” capitalist projects, all of which recall Robert Owen’s ideas at New Lanark. Hershey created an architecturally disparate town with many public spaces, free transportation, education, arts programs, and other services. It is perhaps no coincidence that Hershey is located in a hot bed of ideal communities, such as Amish, Mennonite, and Ephrata. It thriveth still.