Notes

Introduction


2. Warren, Equitable Commerce. See, for example, the Burt Franklin edition of the 1852 text, n.d., p. 40. This is precisely the sort of passages edited out in this volume.

3. PDF files of original typesets of Equitable Commerce and True Civilization are available at the Anarchy Archives, http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bright/warren/warren.html.


5. The main biographical sources are Bailie, Josiah Warren; and Roger Wunderlich, Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times, New York (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992).

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10. Owen derived his determinism and many political and ethical conclusions from William Godwin. Owen expressed these views, for example, in *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Formation of Human Character* (London, 1813).


19. On Frances Wright, a good source is Morris, *Fanny Wright*, which portrays Wright as an astonishing synthesis of Jane Austen and Emma Goldman.

20. The publication history of this remarkable book, as set out in the introduction of *A Treatise on Language* (New York: Dover, 1968), is as follows. In 1828 G. and C. Carvill of New York published it under the title *The Philos-
On the Relation Which Words Bear to Things. The latter is the basis of the all later editions. In 1854 Appleton published Johnson’s restatement, _The Meaning of Words_.

22. Ibid., 115.
28. Agnes Inglis, miscellaneous papers on Warren at the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan.
30. Stern, _Pantarch_, 76.
31. Wunderlich, _Low Living and High Thinking_, 12.
32. Ibid., 10.
35. Quoted in ibid., 65.
37. From the self-printed leaflet “Positions Defined,” circulated at Modern Times in 1854.
38. Reichert, _Partisans of Freedom_, 74–75. The quotations from Warren are from _Practical Applications_.

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**EQUITABLE COMMERCE**

3. Reference is to Lamartine’s *History of the Girondists*, 2:337.
4. Ecclesiastes 3:1, King James version.
5. The reference would be to Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, part 1, section 2 (“Of the Nature of Law in General”), although it does not seem to be an exact quotation. Of course, any version of social contract theory would have done as well or better than Blackstone here, and one might infer that Warren was not thoroughly acquainted with Hobbes or Locke.

**THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTIONIST**

1. The two issues from 1833 were obtained from the Wisconsin Historical Society, to which I express my gratitude, as also to the Indiana Historical Society, which supplied the issue from 1848.
2. This is one of the fundamental propositions of Alexander Bryan Johnson’s philosophy of language. See, for example, *A Treatise on Language* (New York: Dover, 1968), 47.
3. The quotation is from Jefferson’s first inaugural address.
4. Warren heard Robert Owen speak many times and knew him and his sons personally. This quotation is an expression of a thought expressed in all Owens’ work, and probably reflects the influence of William Godwin on Owen.
5. Warren refers to Johnson’s twenty-eight-page pamphlet *A Discourse on Language* (Utica, N.Y.: William Williams, 1832).


7. One of the only other writers to take note of Johnson’s work on semantics was Frances Wright, in the *Free Enquirer*, March 18, 1829, quoted in David Rynin’s introduction to Alexander Bryan Johnson, *A Treatise on Language*, 7:

A work of the highest merit, under the above title, issued from the press of this city [New York] during the past year; and, while calculated to advance human intellect by a full century, in the path of true knowledge and sound thinking, we believe its appearance remains yet unnoticed, and all but unknown. This inattention, however, its enlightened author will know how to interpret.

The diamond of true water is distinguished only by the lapidary; and, unfortunately, in the present state of human knowledge, the brighter jewels of intellectual truth are appreciated only by the philosopher. It is only the reasoner who can appreciate reason, the profound thinker who can appreciate thought, and the scholar who can distinguish the originalities of genius, amid the stores of learning. Such characters may, therefore, be few, but they will not be lukewarm admirers.

8. Legislators have decided that “society has a right to take the life of criminals to preserve itself.” Society has left its interests to be preserved by forms of words like this, and gone to sleep, while the causes of crime have remained untouched, and continue to accumulate unseen. [Warren’s note]

9. On November 7, 1825, Jereboam Beauchamp killed the Kentucky legislator Solomon P. Sharp, who had fathered an illegitimate child with Anna Cooke and then denied paternity of the stillborn baby. Cooke agreed to marry Beauchamp on the condition that he kill Sharp. This case was quite sensational at the time.


11. *The Free Enquirer* was the successor of the *New Harmony Gazette*, under the editorship of Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen.


13. Such are some of the reasons for individuality of responsibilities and arranging our affairs within such limits that responsibility may rest unequivocally where it ought, so that every one would be governed by the only gov-
ernment that can safely be trusted, viz., the natural and unavoidable consequences of actions. [Warren’s note]

14. Warren is referring to passages such as this, from a letter from Jefferson to James Madison, dated December 20, 1787: “I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe.” Thomas Jefferson: Writings, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Library of America, 1984), 918.

15. References are to William Paley, Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, first published in 1785 and a standard text on the subject for a century thereafter.

16. “J.P.” here may refer to the radical dissenter (and contemporary of Paley’s) Joseph Priestley, a scientist and founding figure of utilitarianism. The material appears to be a somewhat Warrenized summary of parts of Priestley’s Essay on the First Principles of Government (1768). On the other hand, Warren did have an associate with the initials “J.P.” at this period (he gives the initials in his papers several times without a name), and perhaps the whole piece on Paley is that person’s contribution.

17. Warren alludes to the story of Diogenes of Sinope (as good a proto-anarchist as one could find in antiquity) and Alexander the Great: “Once, while he was sitting in the sun in the Craneum, Alexander was standing by, and said to him, ‘Ask any favour you choose of me.’ And he replied, ‘Cease to shade me from the sun.’” Diogenes Laërtius, The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, trans. C. D. Yonge (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), book 6.

18. The addressee has not been identified.

19. The source of these comments has not been traced.

"Notebook D"


2. That is, Warren commenced his experiment in education on the basis of exchange of labor between the teacher (himself) and the two students.

3. “G. W. W.” refers to Warren’s son, George; the identity of the other boy is not known.

4. The quotation is from Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke’s essay “On Reticence in Criticism.”
6. Ibid., 50.
7. About this entry, though it appears here in the notebook, Butler contends that “it is written in blue ink and seems, from the writing, punctuation, and spelling, to have been written in the New Harmony 1840 period.”
8. Warren is referring to the “July Revolution” of 1830, in which Charles X was replaced by Louis-Philippe.

**True Civilization**

1. Mark 2:27.
2. Refers to the British educational and postal reformer Sir Rowland Hill (1795–1879).
3. The parenthetical material was originally Warren’s footnote. It likely shows the influence of William Batchelder Greene, then writing a history of transcendentalism in America. At any rate, the thought of the divine as the not-human connects Warren to at least moments in Emerson and to Thoreau.

**Narrative of Practical Experiments**

1. William Maclure (1763–1840) was a Scottish philanthropist and geologist who attempted a geological survey of the United States and was resident at New Harmony for a time.
2. Kendal was an Owen-inspired community located near Canton, in Stark County, Ohio, near the Tuscarawas River.
3. Bridewell was the notorious British prison and poorhouse, originally a palace built for Henry VIII.
4. The Clermont Phalanx was the failed Fourierist community that was superseded by Warren’s Utopia in what is now Clermont County, Ohio.
5. That man was Warren, as a number of sources make clear.
6. A *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* editorial of July 24, 1873, denounced a museum that was “a type of its class,” Dr. Jourdain’s Gallery of
Anatomy: “It was a collection of anatomical models and dissections, with representations of skin and venereal diseases, most improper for public exhibition, and calculated to excite the morbid curiosity of the young together with it peculiar forms of hypochondria. Vile pamphlets were on hand to induce those having or fearing disease to consult the proprietor. The harm which this single establishment must have done cannot be calculated.” See http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol-04/no-02/sappol /index.html.

Ephemera and Miscellanea

1. “I knew a very wise man. . . . He believed, if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws.” Andrew Fletcher, Letter to the Marquis of Montrose, collected in The Political Works of Andrew Fletcher (London: Bettesworth and Hitch, 1782), 372.

2. Josiah Warren, Manifesto: A Rare and Interesting Document, introduction by Joseph Ishill (Berkeley Heights, N.J.: The Oriole Press, 1952), 1–2. Joseph Ishill (1888–1966) was an anarchist author and publisher, often considered one of the best printers and designers of his period. No doubt Ishill connected to Warren’s printing and typesetting experiments as well as his doctrines.

3. The great principle of human elevation was perceived to be the sovereignty of every individual over his or her person and time and property and responsibilities. That this was impracticable where these were connected. Disconnection, or individualisation of these, therefore, appeared to be the process required. A habitual respect to this individual sovereignty, it was perceived, would constitute equitable moral commerce. The question then arose, how could this complete sovereignty of the individual over its own time and property be preserved through the process of exchanging them in the pecuniary commerce of society? This great point was settled by the idea of time for time, or labor for labor—disconnecting all natural wealth from labor, each pricing his own by what it costs him; but not overstepping the natural bounds of his individuality by setting a price on the value of his article or labor to the receiver of it. The disconnection of cost from value laid the foundation of equitable pecuniary commerce. This new commerce required a circulating medium disconnected from money of all kinds, and representing labor only; and thus the laborer becomes emancipated from money and tyranny. The principles have been applied to the management and education of children, which go to show the radical mistake and the great cause of defeat on this important subject. [Warren’s note]
5. Lajos (Louis) Kossuth (1802–94), a Hungarian freedom fighter and later leader of the country, was a hero to many American reformers. Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–72) was an Italian republican statesman.

**APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY OF WARREN’S LIFE**


**APPENDIX C: AMERICAN UTOPIAS**
