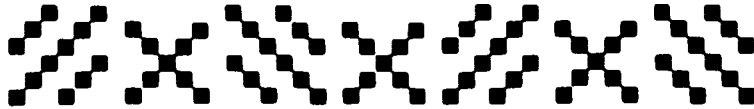


New Harmony, Indiana: Robert Owen's Seedbed for Utopia

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The Owenite community at New Harmony, Indiana, was conceived in the imaginative mind and generous heart of Robert Owen. Born in Newtown, Wales, in 1771, Owen was the son of an ironmonger (hardware merchant) and saddler. He obtained only a few years of schooling and early became an apprentice to a draper (dealer in cloth and drygoods). At the age of ten he left home and was employed in this business at London.¹

About 1788 Owen arrived at Manchester, England, in the heart of a growing manufacturing center. After a short time as an employee in the drygoods business, he and a partner, using borrowed capital, began the manufacture of cotton-spinning machinery and also engaged in the spinning of cotton. While a

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¹The basic facts and ideas concerning Robert Owen and his career before he bought New Harmony in 1825 are principally based on J. F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York, 1969), 1-16, 22-33, 51-58, 103-106, 139-63. Similar information about this formative period of Owen's life can be found in Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia, 1950), 60-84, 92-101; George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York, 1905), 43-68; William E. Wilson, *The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony* (Bloomington, Ind., 1964), 95-104. The detailed and standard biography of Robert Owen is Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography* (2 vols., London, 1907). Harrison's volume is especially helpful in explaining and interpreting Owen's career and views to 1825, but this scholarly study gives only modest attention to the Owenite community at New Harmony. Bestor, Lockwood, and Wilson present comprehensive views regarding both Owen's early career and the Owenite community on the Wabash River. Bestor also provides a scholarly overview of the development of communal societies in the United States. Lockwood is useful for his broad treatment and substantial use of quoted material from contemporary sources, but he is short on historical context and too laudatory concerning cultural contributions of the Owenites.

resident of Manchester, Owen participated in the cultural life of the community. By the 1790s he was a successful manufacturer.

In 1800 the rising young industrialist, not yet thirty years of age, moved to New Lanark, Scotland. During the preceding year Owen and various Manchester partners had purchased the New Lanark spinning mills of David Dale, and Owen had fallen in love with and married Dale's daughter, Anne Caroline. Owen remained at New Lanark until 1824 when he sailed for America to decide whether to purchase New Harmony. This quarter century was an important period for Owen, personally, intellectually, and economically. During these years eight children were born to Robert and Caroline Owen, five of whom—Robert Dale, David Dale, William, Richard, and Jane Dale—became residents of New Harmony.

Owen was the manager and principal partner in the New Lanark mills, which employed about 1,400 to 1,500 persons, more than any other cotton-spinning establishment in Great Britain. As was common in such mills, the workers were largely women and children. Although children as young as ten were employed, Owen preferred not to hire those under twelve. For most of the New Lanark period the work day included about thirteen hours at the mills, with a half hour off for breakfast and three-quarters of an hour for the noon meal. During the late 1810s and early 1820s, however, the time at the mills was reduced to approximately twelve hours.

Wages were low, even compared to other mills, but employees received benefits much above those normally available. New Lanark was a small company town located in a rural setting. Workers could buy food, clothing, and other articles at cost from the company store. Children were urged to attend the local schools, only a nominal charge being required therefor. Free medical services and space for gardens were provided as well as social and recreational facilities. Improved housing was available at a modest price. Because of these and related social welfare experiments, New Lanark attracted thousands of visitors who often commended Owen for his achievements in extending benefits to employees while operating the mills at a profit.

Owen's accomplishments at New Lanark were substantial. And while he implemented reforms in the mills, he also changed his ideas about man and society. He sought to improve the condition of laborers and their families by securing shorter hours and better working conditions through legislation by

Parliament. These efforts proved frustrating and largely fruitless. During the decade beginning about 1815 Owen became convinced that society itself was in need of drastic reformation. He concluded that marriage, the church, and the institution of private property were roadblocks to the establishment of a new society based on a new moral order. Owen also concluded that an individual's beliefs and character were determined *for* him through his environment and not *by* him through his personal endeavors alone. Man could thus be improved and elevated by combining a proper environment with a suitable educational program.

New Lanark's modest size, its sense of community, and its rural atmosphere appealed to Owen. In these respects the Scottish town served as a model of the kind of small communities that the industrialist wished to establish in his efforts to usher in a new and reformed society. Because of the Old World's long-established social customs and traditions, however, Owen decided that New Lanark was not an appropriate place to test his ideas. He was interested, then, when he learned that the Harmonist village at New Harmony, Indiana, with its buildings, manufacturing and commercial shops, general store, and farms, was for sale.

In the meantime, Father George Rapp and roughly one thousand Germans had established a close-knit religious community at New Harmony. The Harmony Society, as Rapp and his disciples called themselves, had moved to the lower Wabash in 1814. Previous thereto they had experienced about a decade in communal living at Harmony near Pittsburgh. Despite the severe and prolonged Depression of 1819, the Harmonists continued to prosper, but by 1824 they decided to return to Pennsylvania. The Harmonists commissioned Richard Flower, one of the leaders of an English settlement across the Wabash at Albion, Illinois, to sell their village, its manufactories, farms, and buildings.²

² For an illustrated and scholarly overview regarding the Harmonists at New Harmony see Donald E. Pitzer and Josephine M. Elliott, "New Harmony's First Utopians, 1814-1824," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXV (September, 1979), 255-300. A comprehensive and scholarly account of the Harmonists is found in Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia, 1965), 141-301. Concerning Richard Flower as an agent to sell New Harmony for the Harmonists see pages 201, 269, 290-98 in Arndt's volume. Pages 294-96 contain an advertisement describing in detail what the Harmonists had for sale. The Harmonists at times called their village Harmony, at other times New Harmony. Since it is usually known as New Harmony under the Owenites, in this article this name has been used for the village whether under Harmonist or Owenite control.

In August of 1824 Flower met Owen at New Lanark to discuss the industrialist's possible purchase of New Harmony.³ Flower was surprised at Owen's immediate interest, finding it difficult to believe that the Scotsman would abandon his comfortable status and profitable mills for an idealistic experiment on a distant continent which he had never visited. Owen was already acquainted with the Harmonist community, however, for in 1820 he had written Father Rapp seeking additional information about it.⁴ By early September Owen was making plans to visit New Harmony, and on October 2 he, son William, and Captain Donald Macdonald sailed from Liverpool. Robert Dale, the oldest son, was left in charge of the New Lanark mills.

During the approximately five weeks that the Owen party sailed the Atlantic, the senior Owen spent much time explaining his plans for the reformation of society, beginning with a model community such as might be established at New Harmony. At New York, Philadelphia, and Washington he had discussions with important leaders in business, culture, and politics, including President James Monroe. In passing through the mountains of Pennsylvania, Owen met General Andrew Jackson, then a rival of John Quincy Adams for the as yet unresolved presidential election of 1824. At Pittsburgh Owen met Father Rapp, who conducted the philanthropist and others of his party through nearby Economy, the village that the Harmonists were founding as their second community in Pennsylvania. From Pittsburgh the Owen party descended the Ohio by steamboat, then a recent innovation in water travel, to Mount Vernon, Indiana. Proceeding via wagon, Owen arrived at New Harmony on December 16.

Owen remained in New Harmony and the surrounding area until January 3, 1825. Frederick Rapp, the adopted son of Father Rapp and the person who played perhaps the largest role in the financial affairs of the Harmonists, showed the prospective purchaser the manufacturing establishments, community buildings, dwellings, and nearby countryside. Christ-

³ The ensuing discussion about Owen's trip to America to purchase New Harmony is based mainly on Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 101-14. For informative accounts by persons who accompanied Owen on his trip to America see Caroline Dale Snedeker, ed., *The Diaries Of Donald Macdonald, 1824-1826* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XIV; Indianapolis, 1942), 159-265; Joel W. Hiatt, ed., *Diary of William Owen from November 10, 1824, to April 20, 1825* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. IV; Indianapolis, 1906), 7-93.

⁴ Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society*, 226-27, has a copy of Owen's letter to Father Rapp.

mas was spent at Albion with Richard Flower. On January 1 Owen told William that he had decided to purchase New Harmony, but the terms were not mutually agreed to until two days later. Some details of the purchase are not altogether certain, but Owen apparently bought the town and approximately twenty thousand acres of land for about \$125,000. Historian Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., estimates that the town had approximately 180 log, frame, and brick structures, embracing public buildings, manufacturing establishments, shops, and housing for about seven hundred individuals. Apparently, however, only about two thousand acres of the vast amount of land purchased by Owen had been adapted to farms and pastures.⁵ For a better understanding of the subsequent history of the Owenite community, it is important to emphasize that Owen invested *his own money* in its purchase. This fact, plus his willingness to forego comfortable and prosperous circumstances in Scotland, is convincing evidence of the philanthropist's commitment to his efforts to usher in a new society.

Leaving William at New Harmony, Owen returned eastward for further, and triumphal, visits to Philadelphia and Washington. At the capital city during February and March he twice spoke in the hall of the House of Representatives. He had discussions with members of Congress and such prominent Americans as outgoing President Monroe and incoming President John Quincy Adams, plus an overnight visit with former President Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. To one and all Owen elaborated his radical views regarding the evils of society and his plan for its reformation. His views—critical of revealed religion, marriage and the traditional family, and private property—were explained and reexplained. His underlying conviction that man's character was made *for* and not *by* him was oft repeated. But Owen gave a redeeming and optimistic twist to this rather fatalistic view by insisting that man's life and character could be changed and elevated by improving the environment and through education.

Owen exhibited a model for his ideal village, of which New Harmony was to be the first of many. Among other things

⁵ For varying statements about the amount that Owen paid for New Harmony and the acreage included see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 102-103, 110, 180-81; Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 58; Wilson, *Angel and the Serpent*, 110-11. In advertising New Harmony for sale, Frederick Rapp indicated that in addition to the town, with its dwellings and various public and business buildings, there were also twenty thousand acres of first-rate land on the Indiana side of the Wabash, of which "about" two thousand acres were in a "high state" of cultivation. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society*, 294-96.

shown in the model was a large three-story quadrangular structure which, when built, would extend one thousand feet on all sides, with elevated portions at the corners and middle of the sides having rooms for lectures, concerts, balls, chapel, laboratories, and committee meetings. The remainder of the first and second stories was mainly for family dwellings, while the third floor was to include rooms for the unmarried residents and children above two years of age—reflecting Owen's desire to separate children from their parents so that they could be educated to live in the new society with as little contamination from the evils of the old as possible. The village was to be supplied with gas, water, and other conveniences, and supplementary buildings within the square were to provide cooking, dining, washing, and additional facilities. Once society had been reformed, taxes would be greatly reduced, and the new society would bring material gain as well as a higher morality. But, Owen explained, New Harmony's existing buildings, though not ideal, would be used until the model village could be erected nearby.

Why did Owen so quickly purchase New Harmony and launch his utopian village there? The underlying factor was his deep commitment to the belief that it would be the seed for other communities, all of which would eventually lead to the new society he envisioned. All else was secondary thereto. Other considerations are difficult to evaluate. By the mid-1820s New Lanark was not a promising place for the achievement of his goals. Owen's increasingly radical ideas had stirred resentment and criticism among his business associates and throughout the British Isles. Moreover, the departure of the Harmonists offered a rare opportunity to purchase a town, already adapted to community living, at a price far less than one could be built. And not to be overlooked is the appeal which America had for Owen (and many Europeans). Here, Owen believed, freedom and progress were thriving, and society was much less encrusted with custom and tradition than in Europe. In short, Owen believed that utopia could be more easily achieved in the New World than in the Old.⁶

While Robert Owen was absent from New Harmony in the early months of 1825, son William and Captain Donald Mac-

⁶ Discussion concerning why Owen left New Lanark for New Harmony is included in Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 101-102; Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World*, 53-57; Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 55-58.

donald remained on the Wabash.⁷ Unfortunately they little understood how the senior Owen planned to administer his community. Even more surprising, Robert Owen himself had not matured relevant principles and guidelines for New Harmony. This negligence is in contrast to the reputation that he had as an effective manager of the textile mills at New Lanark. Owen had also failed to make clear, or apparently even to formulate for himself, his policy regarding ownership of property and conditions for membership in the model community. This neglect added greatly to the problems involved in trying to create a sense of community. As Bestor suggests, some who came to New Harmony anticipated becoming employees; others hoped to live off Owen's bounty; still others expected him to pool his property with that of theirs; and a portion was prepared to join the community as renters.⁸

William urged his father to be cautious about admitting persons from the area of New Harmony, suggesting reliance on immigrants from Europe. Throwing caution to the winds, Robert Owen, while in the East, issued a manifesto inviting all who were in sympathy with his aims to proceed to New Harmony to join the new community. As hundreds arrived from a number of states and some other countries, they formed a heterogeneous group which was short of skilled tradesmen and enthusiastic laborers.

Amid these circumstances William and Macdonald improvised as best they could. What they declared or decided was at times modified by statements which Robert Owen made in the East. Approximately one month after the elder Owen had departed for the East Coast, William ruefully wrote his father: "I am quite tired of doing nothing here but talking. It is eternally the same thing over & over again. Always the same questions to be answered to every new face."⁹ A month and a half later young Owen recorded doubts about prospects for New Har-

⁷ Except when other references are cited, the author is chiefly indebted to Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 110-22, 160-71; and Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 82-104, for information on the immediate background for the Preliminary Society and its status until replaced by the Society of Equality in February of 1826. Lockwood, however, is used largely for his documentary material. For informative accounts by participants in the Preliminary Society see Snedeker, *Diaries of Donald Macdonald*, 265-95; Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 93-134; Harlow Lindley, ed., *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. III; Indianapolis, 1916)*, 360-417, for letters by William Pelham and related items; Thomas Clinton Pears, Jr., ed., *New Harmony, an Adventure in Happiness: Papers of Thomas and Sarah Pears (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XI; Indianapolis, 1933)*, 7-59.

⁸ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 117-18.

⁹ William Owen to Robert Owen, February 7, 1825, quoted in *ibid.*, 115.

mony. "The enjoyment of a reformer," he confided in his journal, "is much more in contemplation, than in reality" More revealing is his comment: "I doubt whether those who have been comfortable and contented in their old mode of life, will find an increase of enjoyment when they come here."¹⁰ It is regrettable that Robert Owen was not with William to encounter the practical problems emerging as chuckholes on the romantic highway to Utopia.

When Robert Owen reappeared on April 13, 1825, the situation was chaotic. Roughly seven hundred to eight hundred individuals were present. There was urgent need to get the manufacturing establishments going in an effective manner; the time for planting crops and vegetables had in part passed, threatening a shortage of food during the summer and fall. And there were the normal concerns about who lived where, how labor tasks were to be divided and rewarded, and how food and other necessities would be obtained and distributed.

Many expected that with Owen's return the great experiment would get under way on an even keel. As Owen faced the vexing problems awaiting him, he wisely decided that Utopia could better be achieved in two steps rather than in one giant leap forward. Speaking in the Hall of New Harmony, the former Harmonist brick church, he explained that the transition from the old society to his new moral order could not be immediately accomplished. An intermediate stage would thus be established, and, especially at its beginning, direction of the community would be largely in his hands. A constitution for a Preliminary Society, principally drafted by Owen, was adopted by the community on May 1.

The constitution included provisions regarding both membership and property. Except for "persons of color," membership was open to individuals "of all ages and descriptions" provided they signed the constitution.¹¹ Members were to furnish their own household and kitchen furniture as well as small tools such as axes and spades. Livestock owned by individuals would be taken over by the society, and the value of the animals would be placed to the credit of the previous owner if the society desired what was offered. Ownership of the town, buildings, and land remained with Robert Owen. Since common

¹⁰ Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, 129-30.

¹¹ The constitution is printed in Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 84-90. The quotation is from page 85. Persons "of color" might be "received as helpers" to the community, or aid might be given them "to become associates in communities in Africa," another country, or some other part of the United States.

ownership of property was not established, either for the Preliminary Society or the Society of Equality which succeeded it, New Harmony under Owen's auspices never became a true communal society. Rather, it was a cooperative effort which had only the potential of becoming such a society.

According to the constitution of the Preliminary Society, during the initial year its direction and control were vested in a committee named by Robert Owen. With the start of the second year, however, members of the society would elect three persons to represent them on this governing body. The constitution anticipated that between the end of the second and third year "a community of equality and independence" would be formed.¹² All members were to be of the "same rank" but with precedence given to age and experience as well as to persons "chosen to offices of trust and utility."¹³ Members would occupy housing as determined by the committee. The community was to provide education for children and afford care and medical aid to the aged, sick, and injured. Children could board and sleep in the homes of their parents, but parents who wished could arrange with the committee to place their children in the boarding school. Liberty of conscience and freedom of religion were affirmed.

Members were to contribute their best service for the good of the society, and each person was to receive credit at the community store as a basis for obtaining food and clothing. A member was to be credited for service to the community and debited for items received. The committee, assisted by heads of departments, would evaluate credits and debits at the end of each year. Credits at the store for families would be in proportion to the number of useful members. But complete equality was not required in financial matters. For instance, Robert Owen was authorized to engage needed individuals at fixed salaries, and they were to be eligible for credit at the store in proportion thereto.

Robert Owen remained at New Harmony only a little over a month after launching the Preliminary Society. On June 5, accompanied by Captain Macdonald, he left for Scotland to attend to business and family affairs. Son William, a member of the society's governing committee, remained in Indiana. Already Robert Owen had allowed members of the society to elect three persons to this committee in addition to the four he had appointed. At weekly meetings members discussed items per-

¹² *Ibid.*, 85, 86.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 85.

taining to the society; but the governing power rested with the committee, and for the most part such power was responsive to William's leadership until his father's return on January 12, 1826.

Though only twenty-three years of age, William was a capable individual who probably succeeded about as well as circumstances allowed. Production from the manufacturing establishments lagged as did that from the farms. The shortage of skilled tradesmen and willing laborers was compounded by the lack of adequate and experienced supervisory and management staff. The effort to keep proper records of credits earned versus items obtained from the store provided the governing committee with continuing headaches and caused murmuring of dissatisfaction on the part of some. Because consumption of goods greatly outran the production thereof, the Preliminary Society operated in the red. Though this society lasted only about nine months, Robert Owen apparently subsidized its financing by at least \$30,000.¹⁴ This was a substantial sum in the undeveloped and primitive economy of the day.

Although the economic life of the Preliminary Society was very disappointing, its cultural and social life had advantages and attractions. There were frequent dances and balls, musical concerts, lectures, and other cultural and social events. Schools were provided for boys and girls of the community without tuition payments by their parents. Freedom of religion and liberty of opinion were accorded. In terms of intellectual and social life, the Preliminary Society offered far more than was generally available in the West. To be sure, some, like Mrs. Sarah Pears, found the egalitarianism and group living disconcerting. But others, such as William Pelham, found it enjoyable and stimulating.¹⁵ A portion of the members left the community, but roughly an equal number arrived.

Although the Preliminary Society had only commenced when Robert Owen left for Scotland in June of 1825, six months passed before he returned.¹⁶ An effective administrator would have used the half-year interval to formulate careful plans for guidance of his pilot community. Moreover, in view of

¹⁴ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 167, 180-81.

¹⁵ Pears, *New Harmony, an Adventure in Happiness*, 16-19, 32-34, 41-43, 52-53, 59-61; Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 368-414, *passim*.

¹⁶ The discussion of the transition to the Society of Equality and its breakup in the spring of 1827, except as otherwise suggested, is based on Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 146-60, 170-201; Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 103-74. Except for documentary material the reliance is largely on Bestor.

Owen's having invested a considerable part of his fortune in the town and its countryside, prudence made such planning extremely desirable. Even before Owen's reappearance in Indiana, he decided in favor of an early transition to the Community of Equality envisioned in the constitution of the Preliminary Society. Though short of plans and prudence, Owen had a superabundance of optimism and faith in the triumph of his ideas and philosophy. His romantic views were buoyed up by the warm reception residents of New Harmony gave him upon his return. He was also encouraged and inspired because the famed educator and scientist, William Maclure of Philadelphia, had come with him as a partner and member of the community. Several educators and scientists of prominence accompanied Owen and Maclure to Indiana. The keelboat which conveyed the party down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh was called the *Philanthropist*, but Owen's assertion that no boat had ever transported so much knowledge caused it immediately to become known as the "Boatload of Knowledge."¹⁷

Soon after his arrival at New Harmony on January 12, 1826, Owen announced that the time had come to end the Preliminary Society. Already, he stated, the community had made more progress than he had expected for its first two or three years. Despite the lag in production and the lack of a true sense of community among the heterogeneous mass who had come to share Utopia with him, Owen oozed confidence in the success of his ideas at New Harmony and elsewhere.

Only thirteen days after Owen's return, a general meeting of members of the Preliminary Society voted to make the transition to the Community of Equality. Calling themselves a constitutional convention, the members elected a Committee of Seven to draft a constitution. Owen and Maclure were excused from service on this committee, but sons William and Robert Dale Owen were elected thereto. Robert Dale, full of faith and enthusiasm like his father, had also been on the Boatload of Knowledge. The committee had conflicting views—more about matters of organization than of economic principles—but it soon drafted a constitution which the convention adopted on February 5.

Accompanying the constitution was a declaration of principles.¹⁸ This declaration proclaimed freedom of speech and ac-

¹⁷ See letter of Mrs. Sarah Pears in Pears, *New Harmony, an Adventure in Happiness*, 71; and letter of William Pelham in Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 405.

¹⁸ Lockwood in his *New Harmony Movement* quotes at length from both this declaration and the new constitution. For quoted material from the declaration see pages 105-108 and from the constitution pages 108-11.

tion; community of property; equality of duties, modified by physical and mental differences; and "Equality of rights, uninfluenced by sex or condition, in all adults."¹⁹ Emphasis was placed upon the importance of sincerity, kindness, courtesy, order, health, and knowledge. Owen's basic view that man's character was made for him rather than by him was termed self-evident, as was his belief that artificial rewards or punishments were inappropriate.

The new constitution had provisions about admission of members, ownership of property, and government of the community. Those who belonged to the Preliminary Society were eligible to continue with the Community of Equality. Additional members had to be approved by a majority of the members of the community, subsequent to their admission having been discussed at two successive weekly meetings. In like manner an individual could not be dismissed from the community unless the question had been discussed at two successive weekly meetings and supported by two thirds of the membership. The "real estate of the community" was "to be held in perpetual trust forever for the use of the community and all its members," but the addition of the phrase "for the time being" adds vagueness and inconsistency to this item.²⁰ No credit was to be given or received by the community for property or money, except that advanced by Robert Owen, William Maclure, or any other member. This section indicates that the property owned by Owen and Maclure was not viewed as having been donated to the community.

Government was vested in an assembly consisting of "all the resident members of the community above the age of twenty-one years," one sixth of whom constituted a quorum. Since the declaration of principles emphasized equality of rights regardless of sex, presumably women were members of the assembly.²¹ In addition to having the power to make laws, the assembly elected a secretary, treasurer, and commissary. These three officials, plus four superintendents of departments or occupational divisions of the community, constituted an executive council to whom much power was delegated. The executive council was to make detailed weekly reports to the assembly, and it was subject to direction by a majority of the larger body. The constitution could be amended by a vote of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 110.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

three fourths of the members of the assembly, provided the change or changes had been discussed at four successive weekly meetings.

Equality among members was strongly emphasized. All were to be considered as one family with no one held in higher or lower esteem because of occupation. There was to be "similar food, clothing, and education" as nearly as possible. As soon as "practicable," all were to "live in similar houses" and be accommodated alike.²² Each member was to render his or her best service to the community and receive the best physical, moral, and intellectual education the community was able to provide. The provision for possible pecuniary inequality, found in the constitution of the Preliminary Society, had been abandoned. Equality, regardless of sex, occupation, or economic output, had become the avowed policy for the Community of Equality.

The constitution had lofty and worthy ideals, but it was especially vague concerning the way in which the economic efforts of the community would be organized, controlled, and implemented. A few days after the adoption of the constitution, a committee from the Preliminary Society gave a report evaluating the labor thus far contributed by members. The resulting inventory made it apparent that production had lagged far behind consumption. This report doubtless caused some to realize that both decreased consumption and increased production, with at least a postponement of the enlarged material benefits which Owen had predicted, had become necessary. Thomas Pears, initially an enthusiastic supporter of the experiment, commented that the labor credit for his family was inadequate to pay for its board. Mrs. Pears, already disillusioned and unhappy, after noting that "all are to be in a state of perfect equality," lamented to a relative: "Oh, if you could see some of the rough uncouth creatures here, I think you would find it rather hard to look upon them exactly in the light of brothers and sisters."²³ Failing to become a real community, the motley assemblage was a stewing kettle of diverse and splintering elements.

The government of the Community of Equality by its members was short-lived. In fact, it never became fully established. Only two weeks after the constitution was adopted, the

²²*Ibid.*

²³Pears, *New Harmony, an Adventure in Happiness*, 60.

members *asked* Robert Owen to take over and direct the affairs of the community for one year. On March 4, 1826, an agreement was effected whereby the members put themselves under his sole direction until January 1, 1827. Owen's already heavy expenditures on behalf of his experiment, however, compelled him to give serious thought to the financial arrangement between him and the community. Bestor estimates that the benefactor had already spent approximately three fifths of his fortune of about \$250,000 on the New Harmony venture. Yet he still owed \$40,000 to the Harmonists.²⁴ In March, 1826, Owen proposed to sell a considerable part of his property to fellow utopians, with payment to him to stretch over a period of twelve years with interest at 5 percent. The value of the property to be so transferred was to be established by a committee. The price eventually determined for this part of Owen's New Harmony property was \$126,520.²⁵ Dismay and despair greeted this information, and the sale to the parent community was not made; however, two splinter communities made modest purchases. The death rattle of the model community had already commenced.

It was during the early months of 1826 that the two splinter communities had emerged. One of them was called Macluria, though William Maclure was not associated with it. Comprised mainly of farmers, at least part of whom had already lived in Indiana before Owen began his society, they generally held conservative views about religion in contrast to the liberal sentiments of some of the parent community. They obtained roughly twelve hundred acres of land from Owen and achieved a peak membership of about 150. Seemingly, however, they disbanded during the latter part of 1826. A second group, dominated by English farmers, bought fourteen hundred acres of good farmland and named their community Feiba Peveli. With perhaps half the number associated with Macluria, they achieved considerable prosperity and continued after the breakup of the parent community. As time passed, their land was divided into individual holdings. Owen regarded them as prunings from the original vine and as evidence of the tendency

²⁴ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 180-81.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 181-82. According to Bestor, Macluria—known as Community No. II—and Feiba Peveli—known as Community No. III—paid Owen \$5,000 and \$7,000 respectively for the land they purchased. See the ensuing paragraph for a discussion of these offshoots from the parent community, which was known as Community No. I.

for new communities to emerge as his ideas and principles became rooted.²⁶

Still another group attempted to form Community No. IV. Chiefly young intellectuals, various of whom had arrived with the Boatload of Knowledge, these individuals were much better educated than the rank and file and were principally theorists who generally shared Owen's basic ideas and aims. They were an intellectual elite more interested in mental than physical labor. Those members of the parent group whose contribution was largely physical often viewed them as an economic burden upon the community. Although sons Robert Dale and William were part of this elite, Robert Owen concluded that the proposed Community No. IV would split New Harmony asunder. He offered this group a piece of virgin land so that the young intellectuals could cut down trees and build log cabins as rapidly as they wished! This attempt to gain a separate community failed, but the schisms between those who worked mainly with their heads and those who worked principally with their hands remained a divisive force. The uncertain and shaky economic base of the Owenite society as of the spring and summer of 1826 made it essential that production be well managed and significantly increased. The young intellectuals gave inadequate attention to the urgent need to improve the economic base as a means of furthering their social and intellectual aims.

Despite sluggish production from farming and manufacturing and some splintering from the parent vine, however, education and scientific research began to advance during the spring of 1826. Under the general direction of Maclure about three or four hundred children were soon receiving an education of a much better quality than normally available. The children combined fieldwork and games with their studies. Since vocational as well as intellectual education was stressed, their practical labor was also useful to the community. Public lectures, balls, and musical programs afforded educational opportunities for adults. Various of the scientists who had come to New Harmony with Maclure were engaged in research concerning minerals and natural history.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 176-78. The name Feiba Peveli was obtained by following the suggestion of Stedman Whitwell, an English architect who belonged to the Owenite community, that longitude and latitude be translated into letters so that the name of a place would describe its geographical location. According to Whitwell's scheme, for example, had the location been Port Jackson the name of the new group would have been Filts Bubep!

This educational and scientific progress was threatened, however, by a developing cleavage between Robert Owen and Maclure. Although Maclure was Owen's prized acquisition to New Harmony, he was a distinguished scholar and reformer who did not automatically follow Owen's lead. And inasmuch as Maclure had also invested considerable money in the New Harmony experiment, he too had a significant financial stake in its outcome. Maclure quickly became convinced that Owen was a poor administrator, at least in regard to New Harmony. He also was troubled by the division within the community about the importance of mental versus physical labor. Maclure viewed physical labor as no less important than mental effort. Though interested in social reform, Maclure believed that education, including scholarly research and publication, was an important end in and of itself. On the other hand, Robert Owen principally viewed education as a means of achieving the reformation of society.

While a break between Owen and Maclure was developing, in May of 1826 Maclure proposed a reorganization of New Harmony. Although affirming his support for the principle of equality concerning rights and property, Maclure recommended that New Harmony be divided into communities representing different occupations. The members of each community would have equality concerning rights and property and would exchange goods and services with one another. Each would pay only for the property it actually used, reducing the financial obligation upon members. Owen concurred, and the plan was quickly approved by members of the parent community. In a short time three such divisions emerged: an Agricultural and Pastoral Society, a Mechanic and Manufacturing Society, and a School and Education Society. A Board of Union was created to deal with relations among the societies, and labor notes were to be used in making exchanges from one society to another. Through this reorganization Maclure and his associates gained control of their own community, and having gained such control, they guarded it with care. Formation of the School and Education Society greatly strengthened the trend toward decentralization and splintering; and attachment to the entire community was further weakened, making it even more difficult for Owen to exercise overall influence and direction.

Throughout the last half of 1826 and the first half of 1827, conditions in New Harmony drifted from bad to worse. The economic output from both farming and manufacturing remained inadequate, partly because of lack of effective manage-

ment and partly because of lack of a sufficient and balanced supply of able and willing individuals to perform essential labor. Since the drones fared about the same as those who labored hard, the incentive for increased output was weak. Moreover, some who worked with their hands thought it unfair that others who worked with their heads should share equally with them.

Paul Brown, an exponent of full common ownership of property, assailed Owen as a greedy landlord. He charged that Owen's refusal to merge his property with that of others doomed the social and economic experiment to anarchy and failure. Brown, who had no property of significance to contribute, argued that Owen had promised to merge his property, but some early residents of the community disputed this claim. Brown, whose following was apparently limited, also objected to cardplaying among the utopians and insisted that the book-keeping concerning credits for labor and debits for items received was oppressive and offensive.²⁷

During what became the concluding year of the New Harmony experiment Owen attempted further reorganizations of the society. Maclure's School and Education Society, however, maintained its separate status as Owen tried both centralizing and decentralizing plans to keep his model community alive. Now and then, such as on July 4, 1826, when Owen presented his famous Declaration of Mental Independence, he expressed continued optimism about the progress and future of New Harmony. In this declaration Owen condemned anew as a trinity of evils revealed religion, marriage based more on consideration of property than of happiness, and the institution of private property.²⁸ Even as his model community drifted toward failure, Owen hailed the splinter communities at New Harmony and new ones elsewhere as convincing evidence of the success and progress of his ideas for the reformation of society.

As the months passed, the schism between Owen and Maclure deepened. During the summer of 1826 the Agricultural and Pastoral and the Mechanic and Manufacturing societies became strong critics of the School and Education Society. Members of the former groups objected to paying for the education of their children by counting intellectual labor as equal

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 187-89. For Brown's account of his views and disagreements with Owen see his *Twelve Months in New-Harmony* . . . (Cincinnati, 1827). Since Brown was one of the leading thorns in Robert Owen's flesh, it seems especially appropriate that his *Twelve Months in New-Harmony* . . . (Philadelphia, 1972), is a republication by the Porcupine Press, Inc.!

²⁸ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 222.

in value to physical labor. Owen widened the breach between the two societies and the educational society by trying to provide education separate from that available from the group to which Maclure belonged. Owen's rival program was partially successful for a brief period, but before long the School and Education Society regained some of the students it had lost. At the session of the Indiana General Assembly in 1826-1827 Maclure made an unsuccessful effort to secure a charter for the School and Education Society to increase his independence of Owen.²⁹

In part because Maclure was absent from New Harmony during most of the winter months of 1826-1827, the showdown between him and Owen was delayed until May of 1827. Their financial arrangement regarding New Harmony had been vague enough to allow honest differences of opinion about its content and intent. While they were trying to agree on a settlement thereof, Frederick Rapp arrived from Pennsylvania to collect \$20,000 which Owen owed the Harmonists as of May 1, and he offered a discount if the like sum due a year hence was paid in advance. Owen was short of funds, but Maclure completed the payments owed the Harmonists and made Owen his creditor. Maclure asked Owen for a deed—rather than a lease—for the property used by the School and Education Society. When they failed to agree on terms, Maclure filed suit against Owen in the Posey County Circuit Court for \$40,000 on the basis of the Harmonist bonds that he had obtained. Owen responded with a suit against Maclure for \$90,000, claiming such was due from their having become partners. In accordance with the custom of the day, legal notices concerning this dispute were posted at New Harmony, and persons hostile to various aspects of the situation made sport of the quarrel. The suits were soon dismissed, and the dispute was arbitrated. Maclure paid Owen half of the \$90,000 Owen sought, but he got an unrestricted deed for 490 acres.³⁰

Even before this break, however, sons Robert Dale and William admitted that they viewed the New Harmony venture as a failure. This admission was made in the *New Harmony Gazette*, the organ of the community, in its issue for March 28,

²⁹ See Indiana, *Senate Journal* (1826-1827), 182-83, for a copy of a bill to incorporate the New Harmony Education Society on behalf of William Maclure. The Senate indefinitely postponed this bill by a vote of 17 to 4.

³⁰ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 197-98.

1827.³¹ During the last week in May, Robert Owen made at least two "farewell" addresses, and on June 1 he departed for Scotland. Although Owen apparently did not then make public admission that his model community had failed, he was well aware that it had not been successful.

A proper understanding of the Owenite legacy at New Harmony requires that the model community be viewed in its long-range and larger context as well as in its immediate and narrow setting. Anticipated by Owen as the seed from which numerous communities would develop and in turn transform society into a new moral and economic order, the Owenite experiment on the lower Wabash existed for only about two years. It would doubtlessly have terminated sooner had Owen not invested the bulk of his fortune in its support. A dozen or so other communities were quickly established in the United States with varying degrees of connection with the parent unit. Some of them disbanded ahead of the original community, and they all died in their infancy.³² Thus, in terms of its immediate and narrow setting, the Owenite community at New Harmony was an early failure.

Viewed in its long-range and larger context, however, the New Harmony experiment achieved much, though for the most part not in ways its founder had expected. The society's contributions were substantial. They include: (1) the varied and significant accomplishments of members of the Owen family who made New Harmony their home or at least principal place of residence, (2) the scholarly research and publications of MacLure and other scientists associated with New Harmony, (3) the influence of the educational ideas emphasized by the Owenite community and the subsequent support of such ideas by Robert Dale Owen, (4) the impact of the libraries that resulted from an

³¹ Robert Dale Owen in *Threading My Way: An Autobiography* (New York, 1967), 288-89, comments regarding this admission: "Finally, a little more than a year after the Community [of Equality] experiment commenced, came official acknowledgment of its failure. The editorial containing it, though without signature, was written by my brother William and myself, as editors, on our own responsibility, but it was submitted by us, for revision as to facts, to my father." As Robert Dale Owen indicates, the editorial included the statement that "New Harmony, therefore, is not now a community."

³² For a concise discussion of these communities see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 202-29, 237-38; Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World*, 163-68, 173, 175-76. Most of them were located in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. The principal community in Indiana was the Blue Spring Community, near Bloomington.

endowment bequeathed by Maclure, and (5) the pioneering concern and role regarding rights for women.³³

The contributions of the four Owen sons and a daughter to the cultural and political life of Indiana and the United States were considerable. Robert Dale served four terms in the lower house of the Indiana General Assembly, two terms in the lower house of Congress, twice as a presidential elector, as a delegate to the convention that framed the Indiana Constitution of 1851, and in the 1850s as minister from the United States to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. A Democrat, during the Civil War he aided the Indiana war effort by going to Europe to help secure sorely needed military supplies. He was a generous supporter of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation at a time when many Republicans considered this measure premature. As a member of Congress he had a large role in establishing the Smithsonian Institution, and as a delegate to the state's constitutional convention he became the penman for the final draft of the Constitution of 1851. (His role concerning education and rights for women is noted in the ensuing pages.)³⁴

David Dale and Richard achieved much in the field of science. Foregoing a medical career to follow in the footsteps of Maclure as a geologist, David Dale made Indiana's initial geological survey in 1837 and 1838. His readable and informative report is still respected for its excellence. During the two ensuing decades he made surveys for various other states and the United States, making New Harmony a focal point for geological study in America. David also helped Robert Dale in his efforts and plans for the Smithsonian. In the late 1850s Richard also did geological surveying for Indiana, but he is best known for his military service in the Civil War, his kindness to Confederate prisoners during this conflict, and his long and outstanding career from 1864 to 1879 as a professor of natural science at Indiana University. While at Indiana University he

³³ The author has not found any concise summary of the Owenite legacy as viewed in its long-range and larger context; however, the following are useful regarding this topic: Helen Elliott, "Development of the New Harmony Community with Special Reference to Education" (A.M. thesis, School of Education, Indiana University, 1933), 46-87, 107-21; Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 1-6, 174-377; Donald E. Pitzer, "Education in Utopia: The New Harmony Experience," *Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1976-1977: The History of Education in the Middle West* (Indianapolis, 1978), 75-101; Wilson, *Angel and the Serpent*, 183-213. As the ensuing citations indicate, the author relied mainly on scattered sources in discussing the Owenite legacy.

³⁴ Richard William Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen: A Biography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), *passim*, especially chapters IX-X, XIII-XIX; John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth* (4 vols., New York, 1954), II, 99, 101, 165; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 1378.

was named the first president of Purdue University, but his role as such was brief and mainly advisory to its trustees.³⁵

William and Jane added to the varied and significant contributions of the Owen family members. While the Owenite community was in progress, William spent some time editing the *New Harmony Gazette*, but he mainly devoted himself to business concerns. He was a leader in founding the Thespian Society and acted in some of the plays it performed. In the 1830s he was elected a director of the Evansville branch of the Second State Bank of Indiana. William also helped establish the Posey County Agricultural Society. His early death in 1842 ended his more than a decade and a half of participation in local and area affairs. Jane Dale, the only daughter who came to New Harmony, married a Virginia scientist and engineer, Robert Henry Fauntleroy. It was in their home in 1859 that daughter Constance and others founded the Minerva Society, often incorrectly considered the first literary society for women in the United States. Although it was among the earliest of such societies, as the historian of the Indiana Federation of Clubs had forthrightly recognized, the Minerva Society was not the first.³⁶

The scholarly research and publications by Maclure and other scientists associated with the model community doubtless exceeded that from all Indiana colleges and universities prior to the Civil War.³⁷ A native of Scotland, Maclure, frequently called the Father of American Geology, was widely considered the foremost geologist of the United States when Robert Owen persuaded him to become a partner in the New Harmony experiment. Maclure had already visited most of the states and territories of the United States, observing geological formations and gathering much information concerning them. Making

³⁵ Walter Brookfield Hendrickson, *David Dale Owen: Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West* (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XXVII; Indianapolis, 1943), *passim*; Victor Lincoln Albjerg, *Richard Owen: Scotland 1810, Indiana 1890* (Lafayette, Ind., 1946), *passim*, especially pages 20-21, 24-91. For a summary view of New Harmony as a focal point for geological study see Barnhart and Carmony, *Indiana*, II, 269-76.

³⁶ Hiatt, *Diary of William Owen*, iii-vi; Grace Gates Courtney, comp., and Arcada Stark Balz, ed., *History Indiana Federation of Clubs* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1939), xi, 11-16.

³⁷ In 1966 the Indiana Academy of Science sponsored a symposium regarding the natural history and features of Indiana. The academy dedicated a volume resulting from this symposium to ten of Indiana's pioneer scientists. Among the ten so named were four scientists with close associations with New Harmony: Charles Alexandre Lesueur, ichthyologist; William Maclure, geologist; David Dale Owen, geologist; and Thomas Say, entomologist. Alton A. Lindsey, ed., *Natural Features of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1966), vii. Also see comment of Barnhart and Carmony, *Indiana*, II, 534.

Philadelphia his headquarters, in 1817 he had become president of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, a position he held until his death in 1840. Maclure's *Essay on the Formation of Rocks, or an Inquiry into the Probable Origin of Their Present Form and Structure* and his *Observations on the Geology of the West India Islands; from Barbadoes to Santa Cruz, Inclusive* were both published at New Harmony in 1832.³⁸

Thomas Say and Charles Alexandre Lesueur, who had descended the Ohio River on the Boatland of Knowledge, also produced scholarly writings which came from the press at New Harmony. Often called the Father of American Zoology, during the late 1820s and early 1830s Say published his *Description of New Species of North American Insects, and Observations on Some of the Species Already Described*; his *Descriptions of Some New Terrestrial and Fluvial Shells of North America*; and his *American Conchology, or Descriptions of the Shells of North America*. The latter work, however, was published in installments over a period of several years. Though never finished and actually only barely begun, Lesueur's *American Ichthyology or, Natural History of the Fishes of North America with Coloured Figures from Drawings Executed from Nature* was launched from the press of New Harmony.³⁹

Other scientists also had close associations with New Harmony. Although not among the scientists who resided there, François André Michaux's three volumes concerning the forests of North America, including over 150 colored engravings which Maclure bought in Paris, were republished on the New Harmony press in 1841.⁴⁰ Gerard Troost, an eminent Dutch geologist, as well as David Dale and Richard Owen, did research at New Harmony. During the last half of the nineteenth century, Ed-

³⁸ Concerning Maclure's career and contributions to New Harmony see Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World*, 36-41, 87, 140, 144-45, 164-65; Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 146-59, 182-85, 193, 200. The books indicated and other publications at New Harmony by Maclure are listed in Cecil K. Byrd and Howard H. Peckham, *A Bibliography of Indiana Imprints, 1804-1853* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXV; Indianapolis, 1955), 104-105, 113-14, 162, 172.

³⁹ Concerning the publications of Say and Lesueur and their association with New Harmony see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 100, 108, 110, 147, 155-59, 197, 200; Byrd and Peckham, *Indiana Imprints*, 76, 90-91, 96-98, 106-107, 115, 130, 174, 200.

⁴⁰ Byrd and Peckham, *Indiana Imprints*, 213-14. The title of Michaux's monumental study, as given in Byrd and Peckham, is: *The North American Sylva; or, a Description of the Forest Trees of the United States, Canada, Nova Scotia, Considered Particularly with Respect to Their Use in the Arts, and Their Introduction into Commerce; to Which Is Added a Description of the Most Useful of the European Forest Trees*.

ward T. Cox, son of a member of the Owenite community, served as state geologist of Indiana for more than a decade (1868-1880).⁴¹

Although modified and adapted by Robert Owen, William Maclure, and Joseph Neef, education during the Owenite community was much influenced by Pestalozzian views and practices. Since these men and others had varying views about education and at times engaged in personal controversies as well, it was not possible to establish a consistent educational program. After Neef's arrival at New Harmony early in 1826, Maclure persuaded him to take charge of the schools. Neef had taught under Pestalozzi in Europe; and he had operated schools on Pestalozzian concepts at Paris, near Philadelphia, and at Louisville. After imbibing liberal and republican principles in the French Revolution, Neef had fought under Napoleon and had been wounded by a metal ball which he carried in his head for the remainder of his long life. By the time he was called to New Harmony, however, he had abandoned teaching to become a farmer in Kentucky. Had the erstwhile soldier and farmer been aware of the difficulties and controversies soon to beset him, it is possible that he would have continued his farming—to which he eventually returned.⁴²

Despite the differing views and personal controversies there was much consensus regarding the educational program at New Harmony. Generally speaking the traditional emphasis on textbook instruction and individual recitation therefrom was rejected. An effort was made to establish a friendly and relaxed atmosphere between teachers and students, with coercion and punishment strongly frowned upon. Students were encouraged to understand ideas and concepts, beginning at a simple or easily understood level and then advancing step by step toward understanding at a more complex and higher level. In a relaxed and permissive setup, students might learn spelling and reading by using moveable letters, counting by using beans or small rocks, and division by cutting apples or cakes. The study of nature and

⁴¹ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 100, 110, 147, 155, 200; Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 319-20.

⁴² Concerning the educational views of Owen and Maclure, their debt to Pestalozzi, and their inability to cooperate regarding an educational program at New Harmony see Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World*, 37-40, 139-47, 159-62, 256; Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 133-59, 182-85, 191-93, 199-201. Regarding the educational views of Neef and his debt to Pestalozzi see Gerald Lee Gutek, *Joseph Neef: The Americanism of Pestalozzianism* (University, Ala., 1978), especially chapters 1-5. Gutek also notes varying views of Owen and Maclure, and he stresses personal controversies between them and others.

science was supplemented by field trips with comments and observations about items found along the way. Physical education was stressed, at times combined with physical labor or military drill. In part because Maclure placed a high priority on vocational education, training for a variety of crafts and trades was emphasized. Mingled with the educational program were varying efforts toward indoctrination on behalf of community living.⁴³

Education was viewed as a lifelong process. Schools existed for infants between two and five, followed by a higher school for children from five to twelve and the adult school for persons over twelve. The infant school mixed play and preparation for community life with the beginning of learning. The higher school sought to combine vocational preparation with substantial progress in learning and understanding. After age twelve individuals were encouraged to continue their general and vocational education while serving as productive members of the community. Education was available for women and girls as well as for men and boys. While attending the infant and the higher school, students often, and possibly generally, lived apart from their parents; but the extent to which this was the case and the frequency with which students visited parents are uncertain. Enrollment in the infant school apparently reached a peak of about one hundred students; that in the higher school approximately two hundred; and that in the adult school perhaps a total of eighty. But informal adult education included lectures, musical programs, and discussions which were apparently not counted.⁴⁴

Robert Dale Owen made large contributions to education in Indiana. He was a leader in the movement for public support of common or elementary schools as early as the 1830s. As one of the framers of the Constitution of 1851 and a member of the ensuing legislative session, he was among the key architects of Indiana's statewide system of public schools, free of tuition. In an age when many citizens and legislators had meager or no interest in state support of higher education, he was a stalwart defender of Indiana University. He played a leading role in protecting its endowment, derived from federal land grants, from being shared with various church and private colleges as

⁴³ Elliott, "Development of the New Harmony Community with Special Reference to Education," 46-87; Gutek, *Joseph Neef*, 43-65; Pitzer, "Education in Utopia," 75-101. Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 209-93, has useful information but should be read with care because Lockwood makes exaggerated claims about New Harmony's contributions to education.

⁴⁴ Gutek, *Joseph Neef*, 45-49.

was vigorously recommended by Caleb Mills.⁴⁵ Robert Dale Owen's already noted role in establishing the Smithsonian Institution illustrates his interest in the continuing education of adults.

Maclure was also interested in the education of adults, as was indicated by his will for the establishment of libraries by and for men who worked with their hands. In the United States during the 1820s and 1830s workingmen, especially craftsmen and mechanics, at times organized and sponsored meetings which combined efforts toward adult education with discussions of social and political topics. Some of these groups made newspapers and books available to their members. When a group of workingmen was formed at New Harmony, Maclure gave them a place in the Hall of New Harmony, the former Harmonist church, and ordered books for their library. Upon Maclure's death in 1840, his will provided for the donation of \$500 to add to the support of the library of any organized group of workingmen who already had at least one hundred volumes in their possession. After much litigation, which Alvin P. Hovey, later governor of Indiana, fought to the Indiana Supreme Court, \$80,000 from Maclure's estate was distributed to 144 libraries in Indiana and sixteen libraries in Illinois. All but three of Indiana's ninety-two counties obtained a Maclure library. The libraries were generally short-lived, however, and most of them had died or been absorbed by other libraries by the end of the nineteenth century. The Workingmen's Institute at New Harmony became one of the Maclure libraries, but in terms of financial support it later became far more indebted to Dr. Edward Murphy who as a boy had been educated and aided by the Owenite community. Thus, this library, with its extremely valuable collections about New Harmony and the utopian experiments associated therewith, is a joint legacy from Maclure and Murphy.⁴⁶

New Harmony's pioneering efforts regarding the status of women, though important, require additional scholarly study before they can be properly evaluated. Robert Owen had advanced the argument that communal living would decrease the heavy burdens and much of the drudgery which long had been the common lot of women. He also pictured communal living as a means of giving women new opportunities for social and

⁴⁵ Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen, passim*, especially pages 148-49, 156, 256-58, 270-71, 285-88, 292; Barnhart and Carmony, *Indiana*, II, 114-15, 117.

⁴⁶ Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 256, 322-35.

cultural development. But since the New Harmony experiment was of short duration and never became a true communal society, Owen's views were not adequately tested. It seems, however, that during the experimental community women generally had approximately their traditional duties and roles. If members of the community *elected* women to key committee or similar positions, evidence for such has not been found.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Madame Marie D. Fretageot gained prominence as a teacher in the schools; Lucy Sistare, wife of Thomas Say, contributed beautiful and exquisite drawings to the scientific publications of her husband; and Eloisa Buss Neef aided the educational efforts of her husband, Joseph Neef. Moreover, the emphasis on educational opportunities for girls and women and the stirring of ideas contributed toward a new role for women. Frances Wright's sojourn in the Owenite community and her later association with Robert Dale Owen in reform efforts in Tennessee and New York enhanced this movement. The extent to which women at New Harmony themselves sought to modify their traditional role is inadequately understood, but the existence of a Female Social Society in 1825 suggests the possibility that some conscious effort was made in this direction.⁴⁸

Much of New Harmony's prominence regarding the changing role of women is derived from the subsequent efforts of Robert Dale Owen on their behalf. While a legislator in the 1830s he tried to secure important property rights for women. He continued his efforts as a delegate to the constitutional convention and then as a member of the General Assembly at its session in 1851-1852. By the early 1850s he had helped to achieve a significant gain in the property rights enjoyed by women. At mid-century when Owen urged establishment of a Normal School at Indiana University to educate teachers for the common schools, he favored the admission of women and advocated their employment as teachers. Owen's efforts on behalf of women, especially regarding augmented property rights, resulted in the gift of a silver pitcher to him in 1851 on behalf of the women of Indiana. Less well known than Robert Dale

⁴⁷ Owen's view that community living should reduce labor for women is indicated in Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 192.

⁴⁸ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 219-27; Elliott, "The Development of the New Harmony Community with Special Reference to Education," 56-57, 66-69, 74, 77-79, 107-108; Gutek, *Joseph Neef*, 41, 42, 45, 49, 52-55; Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 76, 79-81, 196-99, 236, 241; Pitzer, "Education in Utopia," 91-92. Courtney and Balz, *History Indiana Federation of Clubs*, 1, considers the Female Social Society as the first "woman's club" in Indiana and perhaps also the first such club in the United States. This volume also pays generous tribute to Frances Wright. *Ibid.*, 1-4.

Owen's success in helping gain increased property rights for women is his authorship of a pioneering volume which advocated birth control to improve the status of women as well as to slow the growth in population.⁴⁹

In short, despite Robert Owen's failure to obtain the immediate aims for his community at New Harmony, important and lasting achievements developed therefrom. In terms of these achievements the model community was anything but a failure. Although these contributions are far different from what Owen had anticipated, they are a part of the rich legacy which has made individuals in various countries his debtors. Moreover, New Harmony was not the end of Robert Owen's efforts for reform, especially on behalf of the poor and underprivileged. As he maintained his vision of a utopian society in the ensuing decades before his death in 1858, he gave much attention to fostering the cooperative movement. His worldwide influence seems based even more on this and related efforts than on his New Harmony experiment. Nonetheless, New Harmony was a focal point in Robert Owen's generous and sacrificial efforts to create a new society and a new moral order.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen*, *passim*, especially pages 59-60, 76-84, 110-11, 117-18, 154-55, 256, 272-83, 289-92, 382-84. Owen's volume or pamphlet concerning birth control, published in 1830, was entitled *Moral Physiology; or, a Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question*.

⁵⁰ Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 86-93; Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World*, 5-8, 195-260.



BRAXFIELD, HOME OF THE ROBERT OWEN FAMILY AT NEW LANARK

Photograph of a watercolor attributed to either Robert Dale Owen or David Dale Owen.

Courtesy Kenneth Dale Owen.



BRAXFIELD, HOME OF THE ROBERT OWEN FAMILY AT NEW LANARK

Photograph printed from a block used to illustrate Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography* (London, 1907).

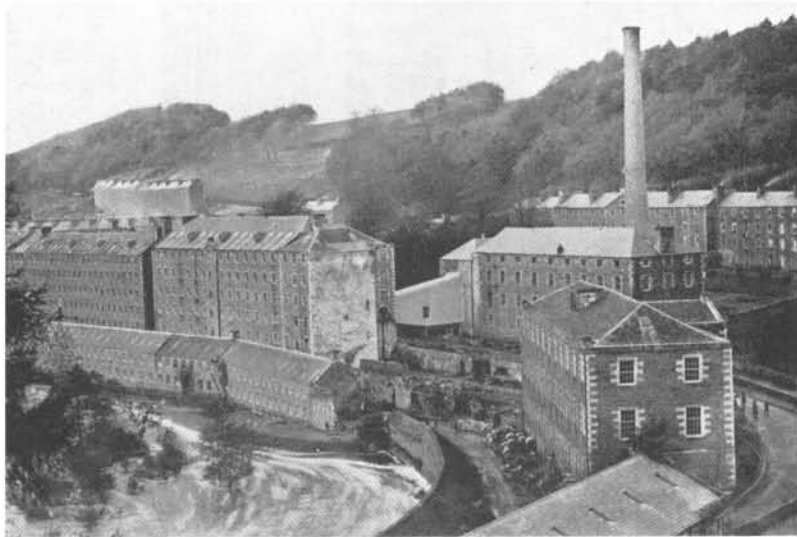
Courtesy Robert Owen Museum, Newtown, Wales.



A VIEW OF NEW LANARK, SCOTLAND.
FROM A CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING

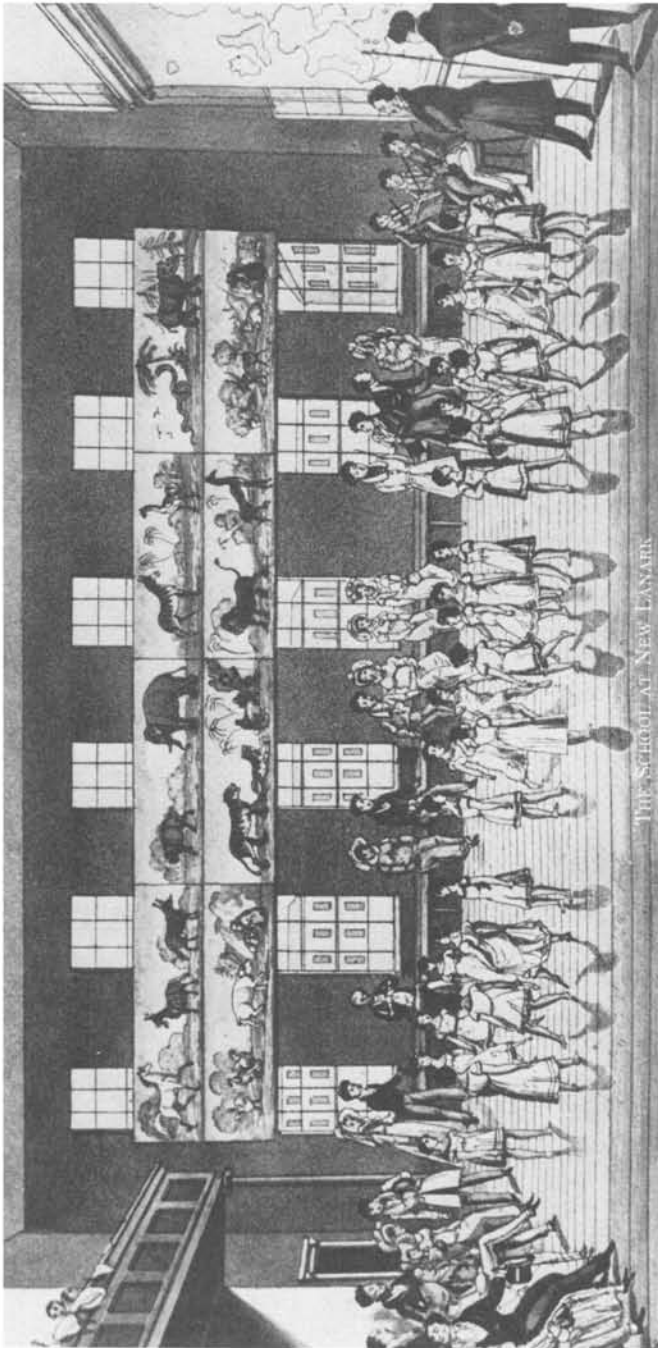
No. 1, top part of a school for the children, the under part a public kitchen; No. 2, a school for the formation of character; Nos. 3-7, cotton factories. The figures represented are the village band. [See Podmore, *Robert Owen*, 48.]

Courtesy Robert Owen Museum.



THE MILLS AT NEW LANARK, C. 1906

Courtesy Robert Owen Museum.



In addition to illustrating Robert Owen's ideas on dancing and music, the picture illustrates another example of the advanced educational principles followed at New Lanark: the use of visual materials for instruction. Owen believed in teaching the older children geography by means of maps and charts; history with Miss C. Whitwell's "Stream of Time" charts, which were painted on canvas so they could be unrolled as needed; and natural history with pictures and models of plants and animals. [Photocopy of Miss C. Whitwell manuscript, G. D. H. Cole Collection (Nuffield College, Oxford University, England). See also Margaret Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (reprint, New York, 1970), 81-82, 172-73.]

Reproduced from J. F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York, 1969), 180.

ROBERT OWEN AND WILLIAM MACLURE ON EDUCATION

"the right education of the rising generation is, under Divine Providence, the base upon which the future prosperity and happiness of the community must be founded"¹

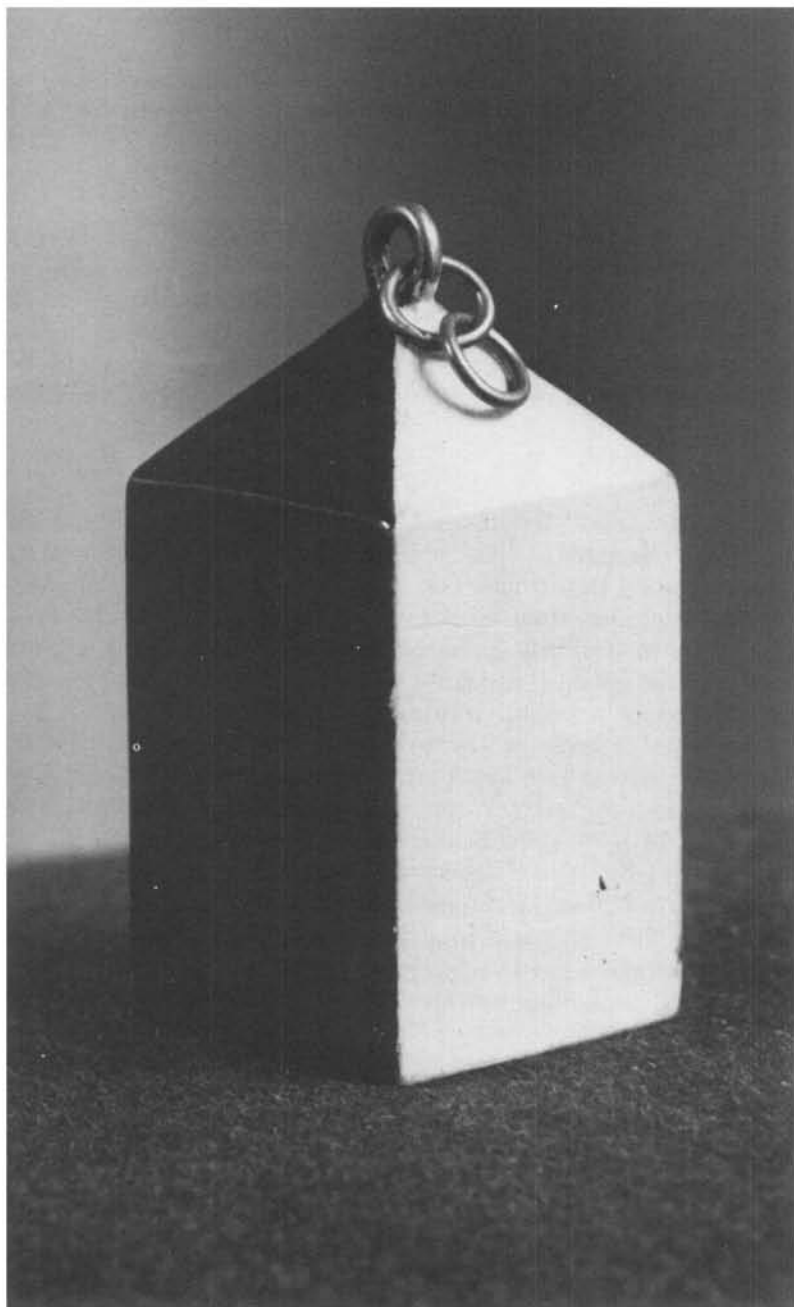
"I have so managed the art of instruction that individuals seek it as an amusement. Two of the most powerful agents I use, are musick and dancing. Relaxation after labour, and amusement are both physically and morally necessary. Dancing combines both exercise and amusement, and of all pleasures musick is the most innocent and exhilarates the spirits, while it soothes the passions."²

"Visited Mr. Robert Owen's establishment at New Lanark on the road from Glasgow. . . . The children are taught at a very early age Geography in a simple easy way by a large map all answering at a time free from all constraint cheerfull and healthy his [Robert Owen's] success gives me much pleasure on two accounts first for the good it certainly will produce and 2dly for the encouragement it infuses into my long projected plan of forming experimental schools which in so superior a state as the U. States can scarce fail while such an extensively profound and beneficial system seems to flourish in spite of the opposition of despotism both in Church and State Mr. O.'s opinions go far before any I have ever expected to hear touches upon the favorite fancys I have indulged opportunity [?] in looking thro a telescope at the probable progress of civilization it is delightful to contemplate the effects already produced and positively [?] exhilarating the looking forward to future amelioration . . . [.]"³

¹ Robert Owen, "A Discourse on a New System of Society; as Delivered in the Hall of Representatives of the United States . . . 7th of March, 1825," in Oakley C. Johnson, *Robert Owen in the United States* (New York, 1970), 61.

² Quoted in Margaret Bayard Smith, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society* . . . , ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1906), 196.

³ William Maclure Diary, Vol. XXV, William Maclure Papers (New Harmony Workingmen's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana).



THE SILENT MONITOR

Courtesy Robert Owen Museum

ROBERT OWEN'S MECHANICAL CHARACTER-REGISTER:
THE SILENT MONITOR

"But that which I found to be the most efficient check upon inferior conduct, was the contrivance of a silent monitor for each one employed in the establishment. This consisted of a four-sided piece of wood, about two inches long and one broad, each side coloured—one side black, another blue, the third yellow, and the fourth white, tapered at the top, and finished with wire eyes, to hang upon a hook with either side to the front. One of these was suspended in a conspicuous place near to each of the persons employed, and the colour at the front told the conduct of the individual during the preceding day, to four degrees of comparison. Bad, denoted by black and No. 4,—indifferent by blue, and No. 3,—good by yellow, and No. 2,—and excellent by white and No. 1. Then books of character were provided for each department, in which the name of each one employed in it was inserted in the front of succeeding columns, which sufficed to mark by the number the daily conduct The superintendent of each department had the placing daily of these silent monitors, and the master of the mill regulated those of the superintendents in each mill. If any one thought that the superintendent did not do justice, he or she had a right to complain to me, or, in my absence, to the master of the mill, before the number denoting the character was entered in the register

"Each silent monitor was, as stated, so placed as to be conspicuous, and to be seen to belong to its own individual. I could thus see at a glance, as I passed through each room of every factory or mill, how each one had behaved during the preceding day.

"At the commencement of this new method of recording character, the great majority were black, many blue, and a few yellow; gradually the black diminished and were succeeded by the yellow, and some, but at first very few, were white."⁴

⁴ Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself* . . . (reprint, 2 vols., New Jersey, 1967), I, 80.



ROBERT OWEN, 1823

Courtesy Robert Owen Museum.

Portrait by Matilda Heming.

"Saturday evening [February 11, 1825] Mr. Owen of Lanark, passed several hours with us. He is ugly, awkward, and unprepossessing, in manners, appearance and voice, but very interesting in conversation."⁵

"Mr. O. is seventy-five years of age, but does not look so old He is a stout man, at least six feet in height, with a good figure and proud athletic limbs. His forehead is remarkably high, deep, wide and retreating. His eyes are pale blue, calm and inspiring. He comes nearest to what we may fancy to have been the appearance of a Roman senator."⁶

⁵ Smith, *First Forty Years*, 179.

⁶ Bessie Rowland James, *Anne Royall's America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1972), 365.

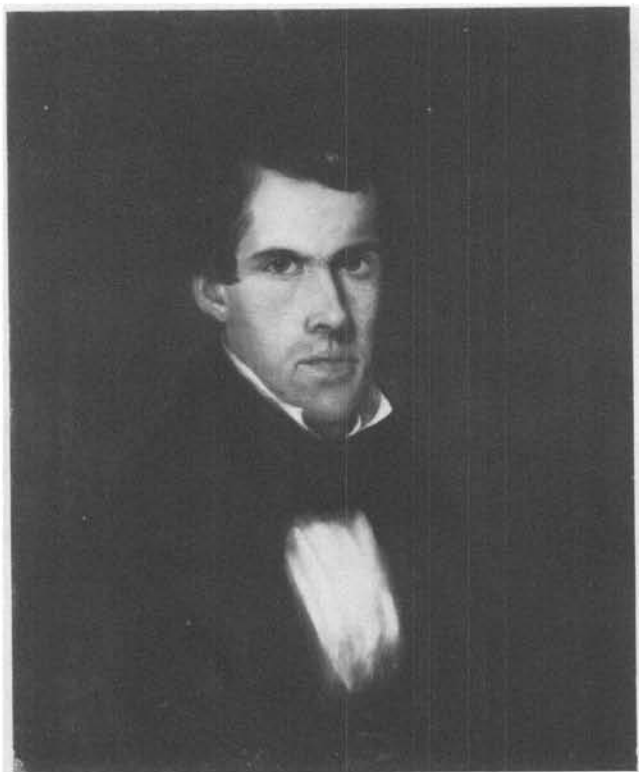


ROBERT DALE OWEN
WILLIAM OWEN



Portraits drawn by Franz Joseph Leopold at Hofwyl, Switzerland, 1821, when the Owen boys were students at the school of Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg.

Courtesy Burgerbibliothek, Bern, Switzerland.



ROBERT DALE OWEN

Portrait attributed to David Dale Owen.

Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

"I may confidently assert that three fourths of those who left New Harmony, left it with regret for the social kindness and the quiet and perfect toleration it afforded, *and with a strengthened conviction of the practicality and advantages of cooperation.*"⁷

"New Harmony, then, has been useful both as an example and a beacon; an example to prove how much happiness social equality and tolerant principles can produce, and a beacon to warn us against the shoals of imprudence and the breakers of precipitancy."⁸

⁷ New York *Free Enquirer*, June 10, 1829.

⁸ *Ibid.*



DAVID DALE OWEN

"A mind alive to natural science finds even in the sands of the sea shore a lesson, and in the pebble by the brook a subject for contemplation."⁹

WILLIAM OWEN

Attributed to David Dale Owen.

"William . . . remarked he thought people would often do better to succumb to circumstances for a time, than resolve so and so must be done to endeavor to force circumstances to admit of it."¹⁰



Courtesy Indiana Department of Natural Resources,
Old Fauntleroy Home, New Harmony.

⁹ New Harmony Calendar, 1901.

¹⁰ Robert Dale Owen Daily Memorial or Journal, p. 23, in the possession of Mrs. Bewley Allen, New Harmony.

**RICHARD OWEN****JANE DALE OWEN FAUNTLEROY**

Courtesy Indiana Department of Natural
Resources, Old Fauntleroy Home.

Neither the artist nor the date of this portrait is known. However, Jane's daughter Constance, writing from New Harmony on November 28, 1850, to her uncle, Richard, at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, stated: "Mama took her first sitting today for her picture by Mr. [John] Chappellsmith." [Constance Fauntleroy to Richard Owen, November 28, 1850, Private Collection]

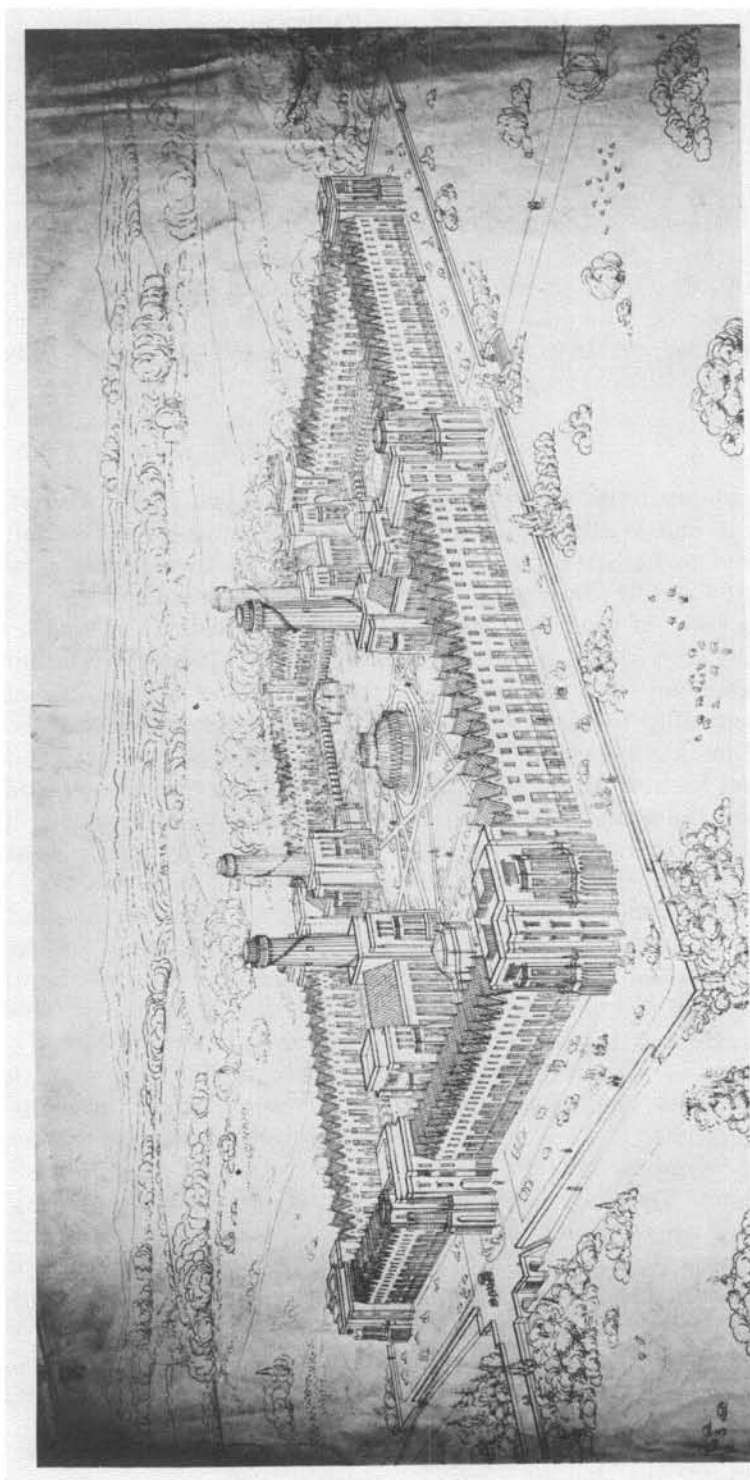
JANE DALE OWEN FAUNTLEROY

The only surviving daughter of Robert Owen, Jane Dale came to the United States after the deaths of her mother and two sisters, all within the space of two years. The intellectual equal of her better-known brothers, she assisted them in their work (David in particular), organized and conducted schools—sometimes in conjunction with her sister-in-law, Mary Jane Owen (Mrs. Robert Dale Owen); lectured, and helped with written reports. The loss of her beloved husband, Robert Henry Fauntleroy, in 1849 was a blow from which she never fully recovered.

RICHARD OWEN

"About my brothers and myself I will give you news in brief. Robert and William were already in Harmonie before we left Hofwyl to help my father in his attempt to develop the community system. Dale and I after we had remained in Glasgow for a year in order to further carry on chemistry and mathematics emigrated also to America [1827]. We found my father however not quite so hopeful as earlier because things did not go according to his wishes. Probably first because he believed that he knew people better than was the case in fact, and second because there were almost seven hundred different and among them evil people together and lastly [because] some of the expected improvements were unobtainable. My father went back to England and now occupies himself with the trade unions in London. In Harmonie he lost most of his fortune but he is nevertheless still very active and he is happy. In the meantime we remained in Harmonie Robert edited a liberal newspaper for a while and wrote some useful books in New York. He married there a girl with whom he lives very happily. William is a merchant, Dale who again during his year in London has studied chemistry now devotes himself totally to this science. He has a very beautiful laboratory and makes great progress. My Mother and two sisters died after we left England. The only remaining sister whom we all love very much lives with my brothers. For six years I also lived in Harmonie; I married and was farming. My wife however died and since I had lost my own health during the long care of my sick wife I came here in order to restore it. My health I have well regained through very hard work in a brewery where I still am."¹¹

¹¹ Richard Owen to Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg, January 18, 1835, Fellenberg Archiv (Burgerbibliothek, Bern, Switzerland).



THE PHALANSTERY

THE PHALANSTERY

Being a man much given to the use of the visual arts in his New Lanark schools, Robert Owen had had engraved a picture of a proposed village for mutual cooperation as early as 1817, 1818, or 1819 to present before the House of Commons. For his promotional talks and lectures in the United States he and the architect, Stedman Whitwell, were armed with both a drawing of "the New Communities at Harmony in the state of Indiana North America" by William Finley, and a large six-foot-square model of the ideal community that he proposed at New Harmony. In his speech of March 27, 1825, Owen had described his plan in considerable detail.

On his return trip to the United States the following November, Owen, Whitwell, and Captain Donald Macdonald displayed the drawings and model at public meetings in New York and Philadelphia. The model was on display for a short time at Rembrandt Peale's museum in New York, and in Washington, D.C., it was placed for a time in the White House.¹² The Washington *National Intelligencer* of December 6, 1825, gave a very favorable account of the model and Owen's plan for construction of the edifice. According to Owen's intention, it was to be erected about three miles south of the present town "on the high lands of Harmony from 2 to 4 miles from the [Wabash] river and its island of which the occupants will have a beautiful and interesting view"

The distance between model and drawings and the concrete village of cooperation was a long one. Words and pictures proved much easier to produce than the real phalanstery. There is, in fact, very little mention of it in the primary sources. On June 5, 1825, when Owen was terminating his first trip to America and returning to Scotland, Macdonald, who was accompanying him, wrote in his diary: "We rode by the proposed site of a New town which is to be commenced on Mr. Owen's return. It is near the Springfield road, 3 miles from Harmony. Choice has been made of this spot, because it is a flat space of from 400 to 500 yards square with the ground falling away on every side. It is a convenient distance from Harmony, and has excellent timber standing on it."¹³

¹² Johnson, *Robert Owen in the United States*, 47-51; Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography* (London, 1907), 217-19, 290; Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia, 1950), 128, 129.

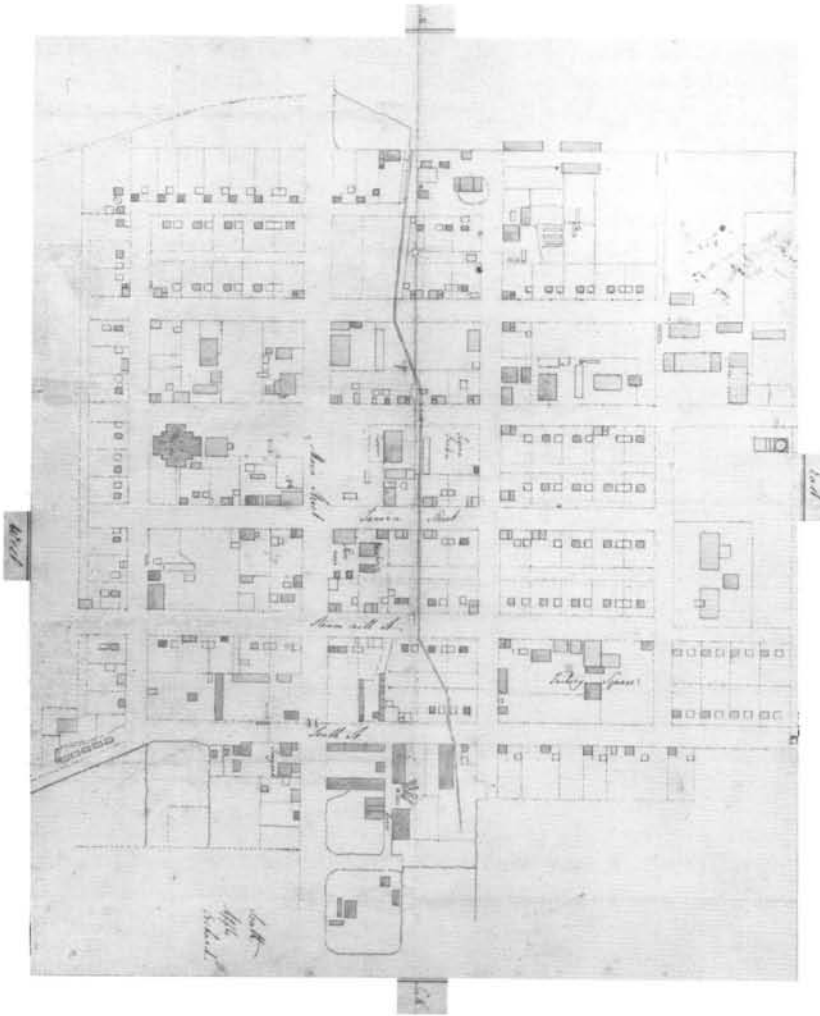
¹³ Caroline Dale Snedeker, ed., *The Diaries of Donald Macdonald, 1824-1826* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XIV; Indianapolis, 1942), 294-95.

Later that summer, August 10, 1825, William Pelham, writing to his son, reported: "in 2 years, the contemplated new village will be ready for the reception of members, as they are rapidly preparing materials." On September 9, 1825, he continued: "On my way from Mt. Vernon, within three miles of this place, I came to an extensive brick yard on the side of the road where a number of men were busily employed in making bricks for the new village, the location of which will be on the opposite side of the road." In response to an inquiry from his son, Pelham said on November 27, 1825: "'How does the new village come on?' Not so fast as we wish, but as well as can be expected. The brickmakers have been at work *on the spot* during the whole summer and have made 240,000."¹⁴

One is tempted to ask, along with Thomas Pears, "Where have the square palaces been built . . . ? Where are the gardens?"¹⁵ There is still no answer.

¹⁴ "Letters to William Creese Pelham, 1825 and 1826," in Harlow Lindley, ed., *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers* (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. III; Indianapolis, 1916), 365, 376, 394.

¹⁵ Thomas C. Pears, Jr., ed., *New Harmony, an Adventure in Happiness: Papers of Thomas and Sarah Pears* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XI; Indianapolis, 1933), 91-93.



MAP OF NEW HARMONY, INDIANA, C. 1826, DRAWN BY
ROBERT DALE OWEN

Courtesy: map, New Harmony Workingmen's Institute;
photograph, Historic New Harmony, Inc.

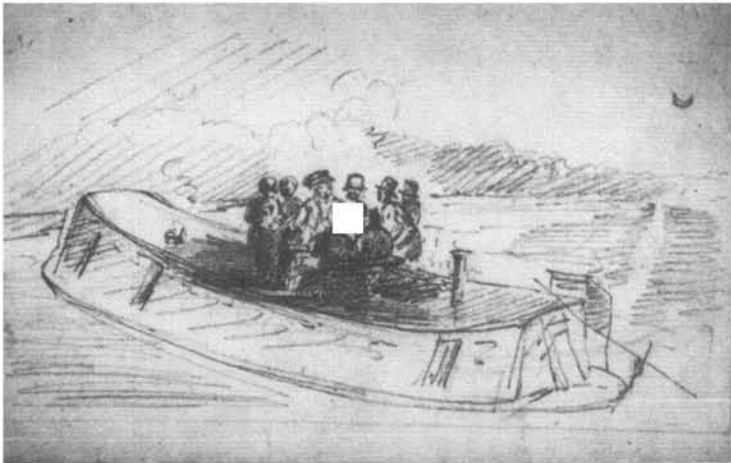


LAYOUT OF NEW HARMONY, INDIANA, 1834, SKETCH BY
CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

Reproduced from E. T. Hamy, "Les Voyage du Naturaliste Ch. Alex. Lesueur dans l'Amerique du Nord (1815-1837)," *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris*, V (1904), 54. Photograph, Historic New Harmony, Inc.

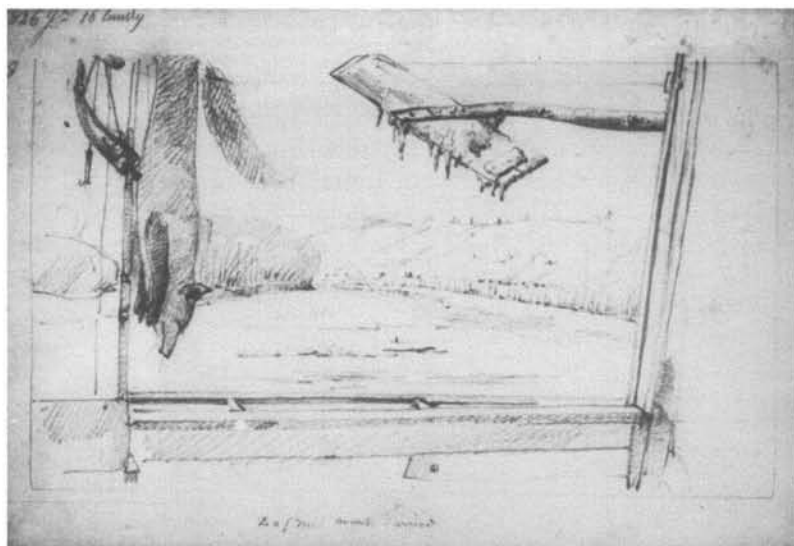
SKETCHES BY CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

Charles Alexandre Lesueur, scientist, artist, teacher, and one of the passengers on the keelboat *Philanthropist*, made over 1,200 sketches of his journey on the "Boatload of Knowledge" from Pittsburgh to Mt. Vernon, Indiana, December 8, 1825, to January 23, 1826. His pictures of towns, burgeoning cities, and rural scenes are priceless visual records of the developing young republic.



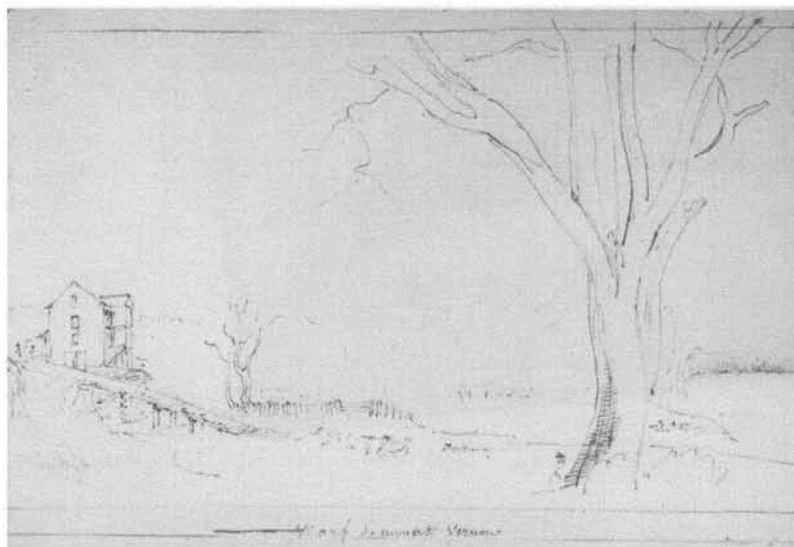
SKETCH OF A KEELBOAT WITH NINE MEN ON ITS ROOF, FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1826.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



VIEW OF FIVE MILE CREEK SEEN THROUGH THE FRONT WINDOW OF THE
PHILANTHROPIST, MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1826.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society.



WHARF AT MOUNT VERNON, INDIANA, JANUARY 23, 1826.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society.



THE *PHILANTHROPIST'S* DEPARTURE FROM CINCINNATI IS RECORDED BY LESUEUR IN TWO SIMILAR SKETCHES. THEY BOTH SHOW A GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN, DRAWN CAREFULLY AND DISTINCTLY, LOOKING OUT THE DOOR. REPRODUCED IS THE SMALLER SKETCH WHICH IS RELATIVELY UNKNOWN.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society.



NEW HARMONY AS GLIMPSED FROM THE WABASH RIVER, MAY 17, 1826.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society.

NEW HARMONY STREET SCENES



On the picture above, the date, "15th July, 1830," appears to be in David Dale Owen's handwriting. The remainder of the identification was written by Richard Owen: "Taken from S. on top of a hay stack." Richard then uses a series of marks representing birds to indicate the buildings: v Old Stable; vv No. 1 Boarding House, the first Harmonist community building erected in 1817; vvv No. 1 School House, built by the Owen Community; vvvv Brick Church; vvvvv Frame Church; vvvvvv Yellow Tavern (frame).
(Courtesy: Kenneth Dale Owen)

Nomenclature for the Harmonist community buildings has become confused over the years. The Harmonists themselves used just the numeral alone, as "No. 1," sometimes preceded or followed by "house," or the numeral and "Brüder Haus." The Owenite community called them by the numeral and/or the function they served at the time, as "No. 1 Boarding House," the "Tavern." Over the years the same buildings have been called variously: Rooming House No.____, Community Building No.____, Dormitory No.____, Dwelling House No.____.



VIEW OF NEW HARMONY FROM THE SOUTH

An original pencil sketch giving a view of Church Street looking northwest and showing Father George Rapp's house and the Granary. According to faint writing on the frame in which the drawing was mounted: "Drawn from old painting [?] of D. D. Owen [?] by H. B. [or P. ?] Rogers."

Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.



NEW HARMONY [PROBABLY MAY, 1826]

BY CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

In foreground the Harmonist frame church and behind it the Harmonist brick church, called the Hall by the Owen Community. At the left the Harmonist Tavern.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society



NEW HARMONY, NOVEMBER 15, 1831,

BY CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

Looking east on Church Street from West Street. On the left the Harmonist Granary, Lesueur's house; on the right the Hall.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society



Looking north from the doorway of the Hall, in Harmonist times the Door of Promise located at the north entrance of the brick church. At the left is a view of Lesueur's house. Sketch by Charles Alexandre Lesueur.

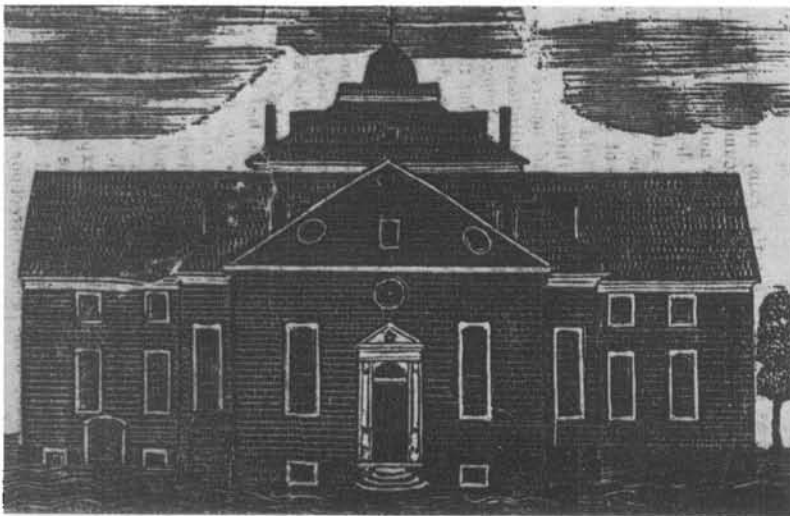
Courtesy William E. Wilson; original drawing Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France

HARMONIST BUILDINGS PUT TO NEW USES

When Robert Owen purchased Harmony, Indiana, from George Rapp and the Harmony Society on January 3, 1825, he acquired a completely established town that was to receive an influx of new population within the next few months. Though Owen's ultimate plan for implementing his new moral world involved the building of the "new town," he and the members of his community accommodated the existing Harmonist structures to their own uses.

After the dispute between Owen and William Maclure in May, 1827, the latter acquired many of the large public buildings in New Harmony. The *Disseminator*, which was published by Maclure's School of Industry press, devoted a number of its early issues to diagrammatic sketches of these important buildings along with the descriptions of their altered functions. The illustrations which follow are selected from this group.

Below is the Harmony Society brick church, built in 1822. Owen and his group renamed it the Hall, sometimes spoken of as "the town hall," and put it to various uses: concerts, dancing, lectures, theatrical performances, and other kinds of public entertainment.



The Disseminator
 OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE;
 CONTAINING HINTS TO THE YOUTH OF THE
 UNITED STATES—FROM THE
"SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY."

Vol. I.
 No. 3.

"Ignorance is the fruitful cause of Human Misery."

{ Price,
 \$1.
 in adv.

NEW-HARMONY—IND.—WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1828.

THE
NEW-HARMONY HALL.

[See plate—page 34.]

We give this day, a perspective view of one of the principal edifices belonging to the New-Harmony School of Industry.

The HALL is built of brick,—the body of the building is a parallelogram of 80 feet, with four wings, each 50 by 25 feet, which give it the form and appearance of a Cross;—28 Doric columns support the roof and ceiling, with arcades to each wing.

The West wing of this massy structure contains a valuable and increasing collection in Conchology, Ichthyology, Zoology, Ornithology, Geology, Mineralogy, and other branches of Natural History.

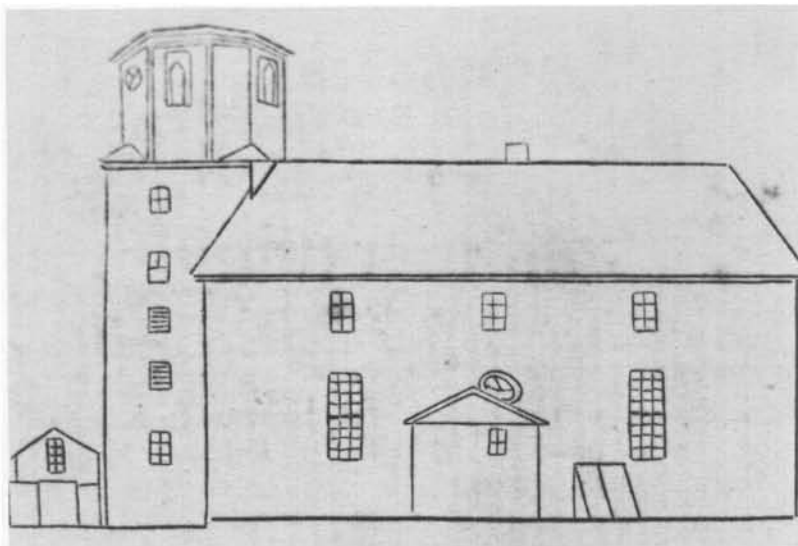
The South wing is now being fitted up with Stage Scenery machinery, and decorations for Theatrical Represen-

tations, as well as for a suitable place for the delivery of Lectures on the several Arts and Sciences.

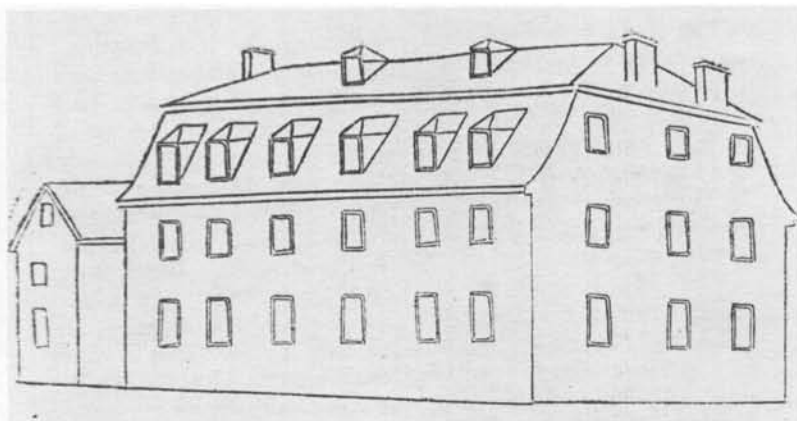
The upper story contains a large and very valuable Library, and Philosophical Apparatus.

The East wing is now appropriated as the Printing-Office of this publication; also Copper-plate printing and Stenography, or the art of producing diagrams of every description, by means of tin plate and wood,—specimens of which were given in our first number, in illustrating the Geometrical problems, and the present number, in the view of the HALL;—the whole executed by the pupils of this establishment.

We shall, in future numbers give representations and descriptions of all the other buildings belonging to this Institution.



The Harmonist frame church, built about 1816, was taken over by William Maclure's School of Industry during the Owen Community period and after. It was usually called the Mechanic's Atheneum, sometimes the Steeple House.



No. 2, completed in 1822 to serve the Harmony Society as a communal house (Bruder Haus), was put to manifold and diversified uses by the Owen Community. At various times it accommodated schools, stores, hotels, a rooming house, and meeting places for social and civic organizations. It was, in short, a real community center. [Local History File, New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.]

OWEN BUILDINGS

Information on buildings constructed during the Owen Community period and into the 1830s is sparse. Two structures built about 1826 were the Commissary and No. 1 School House, for which there are only sketches. The John Beal house, dating from about 1829, still exists, as do the two Johnson and Bondsley dwellings, which these contractors put up in 1830. They are the 1830 house at Brewery and Tavern streets and the Fretageot-Hodge home at Main and Steam Mill streets.

John Beal, a twenty-nine-year-old carpenter, came to New Harmony with his young family on the Boatload of Knowledge and erected his dwelling on the site of the Harmony Society horse barn. Employing the wattle and daub technique used in England as early as the sixteenth century, Beal built most of the house from materials previously used. Saplings were interwoven with small strips of wood set into a mortised and tenoned wood frame, and the interstices were filled with mud. Then the clay on the surface was tooled so that it could hold plaster. The ceiling was made in a fashion not dissimilar to that used in Harmonist buildings.

It was this same Beal, a teacher of carpentry in Maclure's School of Industry, along with some others, who made the repairs to several Harmonist buildings that by 1828 were already beginning to deteriorate. The Maclure-Fretageot correspondence of the years 1828-1832 has numerous complaints about the bad roofs, floors, and especially the foundations in the Granary, the Hall, No. 2, and No. 5 (the Rapp-Maclure house).¹⁶ One technique, the *pisé* type of building, was highly recommended by Maclure who said:

Do not use wood, whose perishable quality and liability to harbor noxious insects is to be avoided, but *pisé*, a mixture of gravel, sand and clay rammed solidly between a shifting frame, might, perhaps, fulfill all the requisites of durability, health and economy for buildings. With a coat of whitewash it has the solid, handsome appearance of a stone building and might be roofed with tiles or slates that should make it fire proof. It might be heated by hot air or steam by the latest improvement in the construction of kitchens.¹⁷

¹⁶ Maclure-Fretageot Correspondence (New Harmony Workingmen's Institute).

¹⁷ Mrs. Nora C. Fretageot Writings, *ibid.*

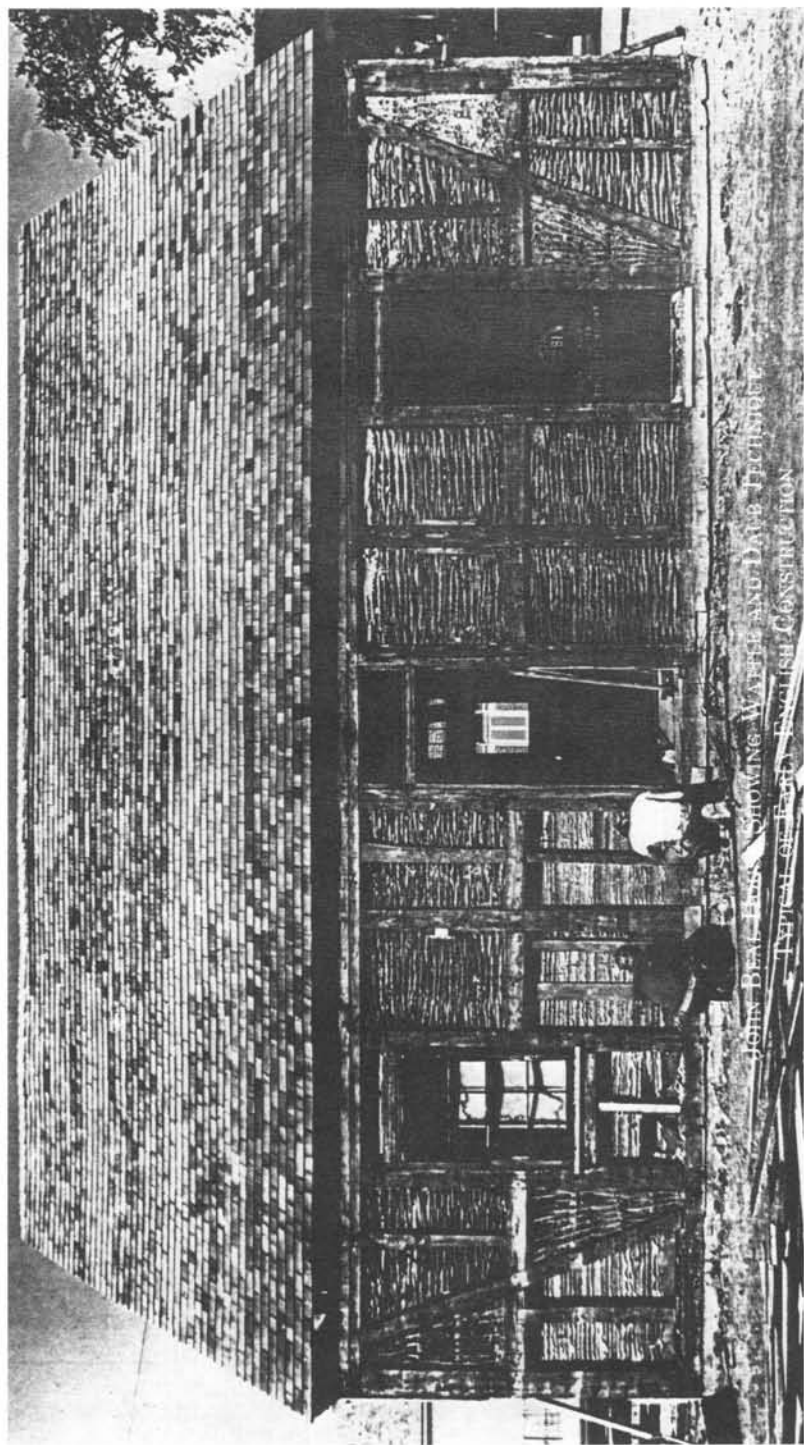
Maclure's advice was followed, and a number of these buildings were built. Some of them lasted for many years. In the instance of the Maclure sisters' cottage, however, the pisé kitchen fell in 1832 and destroyed much of their valuable glassware and china.¹⁸



Today called the 1830 House because of the date, May 15, 1830, incised on the keystone of the flat arch over the central door, this building was owned and probably built by the Owen brothers.

Courtesy Pauline Meyer.

¹⁸ Local History File, *ibid.*



Courtesy Historic New Harmony, Inc.

THE COMMISSARY

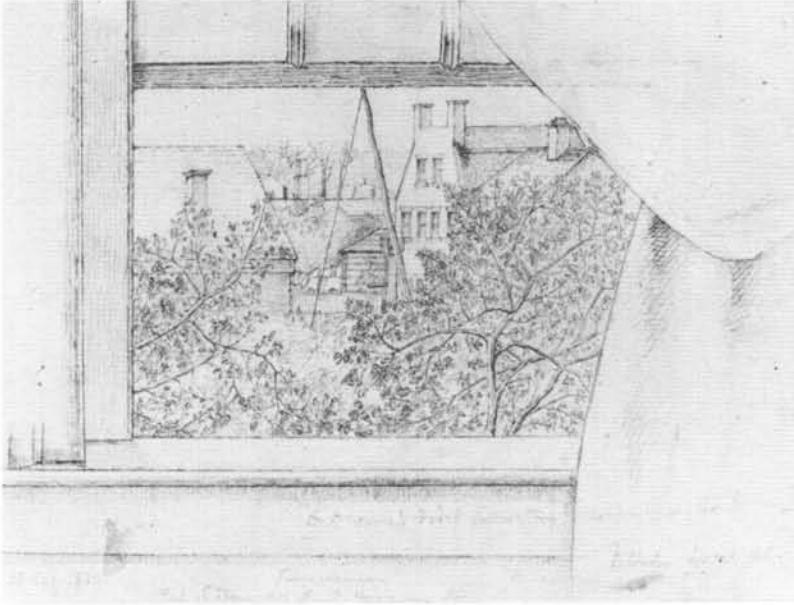
This building is one of a very few known Owen Community structures. At the time that it was razed in the early 1900s a story about it appeared in the *New Harmony Times*: the Commissary

was among the first houses build by the English colony after they bought the land from the Rappites. It was built in 1825 and 1826. Its peculiarity of structure always brought it under the notice of strangers who remarked that the windows were all on one side of the house.

This was explained to the writer by David Schnee who says that the building was only half completed. Mr. Schnee says it was the intention of the builders to add another side to the house leaving the hall directly in the center. For many years the holes were left in the south wall where it was expected that the unbuilt half would be joined.

It served several functions besides those implied by its name, including post office and housing accommodations.

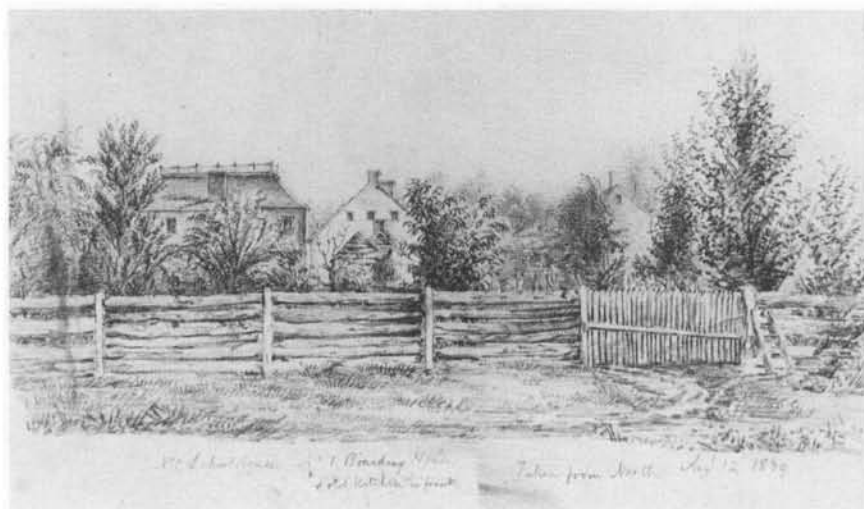




"22 AUG. 1829 NATURE—PART OF STEAM MILL ST. N. HARMONY, IA W. OWEN INV ET DEL."

Added later, apparently in Richard Owen's writing, is the statement: "(D. D. Owen's First Laboratory drawn by my bro. William)." Richard's statement is misleading. Since the sketch does *not* picture David's first laboratory, Richard perhaps meant to indicate that it was drawn *from* the laboratory. More likely, however, William was drawing from the second floor of the Harmonist House No. 1 and not from its adjoining kitchen, which was David's first laboratory and only one story high. The sketch does show the Owen Commissary at the right.

Courtesy Kenneth Dale Owen.



"No 1 SCHOOL HOUSE No 1 BOARDING HOUSE AND OLD KITCHEN IN FRONT TAKEN FROM NORTH AUG 12 1830," SKETCH BY DAVID DALE OWEN

No. 1 School House was built by Robert Owen in 1826 and was used as a school with board for the children; in 1828 it was used as a ballroom and for lectures. No. 1 Boarding House with its kitchen was built by the Harmonists in 1816 and was used by the Owen Community for boarding and lodging.

Owen Community Personages in New Harmony: When They Lived Here

	1824	1825	1826	1827
Robert Owen (1771-1858)	Dec	Jan Apr-Jun	Jan	Jun
William Owen (1802-1842)	Dec			
Donald Macdonald (1791-1872)	Dec	Jun	Jan-Mar	
Josiah Warren (1798-1874)				May
Frances Wright (1795-1852)		Mar	May-Aug	Feb
Thomas & Sarah Pears (both: 1785-1832)		Jun	May	
William Pelham (1759-1827)		Aug		Feb 3
Gerard Troost (1776-1850)				Aug
Stedman Whitwell			Jan-Aug	
William Maclure (1763-1840)			Jan-Jun Oct-Nov	Apr-Dec
Marie Duclos Fretageot (1783-1833)			Jan	
Thomas Say (1789-1834)			Jan	
Lucy Sistare Say (1801-1886)			Jan	
Charles Alexandre Lesueur (1778-1846)			Jan	
Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877)			Jan	May
Joseph Neef (1770-1854)			Mar	May
Paul Brown			Apr	Jun
Robert Henry Fauntleroy (1806-1849)				
David Dale Owen (1807-1860)				
Richard Owen (1810-1890)				
Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy (1806-1861)				

Legend

— Indicates resident in New Harmony.

- - - - Indicates out-of-town professional activities,
but official residence is in New Harmony.

Compiled by Josephine M. Elliott
New Harmony, Indiana
1980

[illegible]

[illegible]

1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1860's	1870's	1880's	1890's
Naples							Jun24,1877		
					Nov13				
ssce						IN.U. & Purdue U.			Mar24,1890
Europe					Jan10,1861				



Courtesy Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.

WILLIAM MACLURE

William Maclure, for several years Robert Owen's partner in the New Harmony experiment, had definite opinions regarding the education of women: "The improvement of mankind has lost the aid and assistance of half the population by the education of women being confined to their physical accomplishments and their mental faculties so much neglected . . . Full half of the necessary and useful occupations of life at present monopolized by men, could be better executed by the nimble fingers and active flexible hands of women and children."¹⁹ These stated principles were strong enough that in Maclure's will of November, 1827, he named Madame Marie Fretageot and Frances Wright as his trustees and spelled out in the will his reasons for choosing women. He stated that in his experience men, as trustees, had betrayed the poor by seizing and diverting to other purposes monies left in their care. "I, therefore, make females my trustees; as conceiving them more faithful." Maclure also considered women to be better fitted for the teaching of children. They were, he said, more patient, milder, not prone to use force immediately where they found opposition, and most fit to teach the Pestalozzian system.²⁰

His will is most advanced for its time in yet another way: Madame Fretageot and Frances Wright were to expend a large proportion of the revenues from his properties "for the purpose of establishing, maintaining, and supporting a colony of free coloured people on the lands in the vicinity of New Harmony" that Maclure had purchased from Frederick Rapp.²¹

¹⁹ William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers* (3 vols., New Harmony, 1831), I, 64.

²⁰ William Maclure's will, Fretageot Collection (New Harmony Workmen's Institute).

²¹ *Ibid.*



Courtesy Academy of Natural Sciences.

Original portrait by Charles Willson Peale.

THOMAS SAY

Thomas Say was one of the natural scientists from Philadelphia who was persuaded by William Maclure to come to New Harmony. Say had been one of the founders of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and the curator of the American Philosophical Society from 1821 to 1827. He had also taught natural history at the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Museum. His works on entomology and conchology gained him a national, and lasting, reputation. He married Lucy Way Sistare in 1827. Lucy worked closely with her husband and helped particularly in coloring the plates of the *Conchology*, published at New Harmony in 1830.²²

²² Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler, *Thomas Say: Early American Naturalist* (Springfield, Ill., 1931).



Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

MADAME MARIE DUCLOS FRETAGEOT

One historian of the New Harmony experiment wrote of Marie Duclos Fretageot: "New Harmony was Madame Fretageot's monument as truly as it was Rapp's or Owen's or Maclure's. The wise management she had given at the outset enabled Maclure's threefold enterprise to function effectively throughout the succeeding decade, and to spread its influence beyond."²³ Of her educational endeavors Madame Fretageot herself commented:

My school is going on pretty well. The twelve young men are now entirely in the House. They board and sleep here; their progress are very obvious as well in their study as in their manner. I get up regularly at four o'clock. The lessons for that class finishes at half after six, they go their different occupations till eight, they return for their breakfast; and at nine to eleven the class of the children under twelve; at two o'clock the same children till four; at six all the children above twelve, including the boarders, till eight. The other hours I am occupied cooking for the whole family. I may say that I have but very little the occasion of wearing out the chairs of the house, having not a single female to help me.²⁴

²³ Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., *Education and Reform at New Harmony: Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XV; Indianapolis, 1948), 406. Bestor considered "Maclure's threefold enterprise" to be the spreading of educational ideas, the thrust of scientific activities, and the unique achievements in the publishing field carried on by Maclure's School of Industry and the Workingmen's Institute.

²⁴ Marie Duclos Fretageot to William Maclure, March 2, 1827, in Bestor, *Education and Reform at New Harmony*, 390-91.

CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

Charles Alexandre Lesueur, one of the early naturalists who was interested in all branches of science, made significant contributions to the history of science in the United States. He collected specimens in many fields—geology, conchology, ichthyology, paleontology, archaeology—and frequently accompanied the descriptions of his findings with careful and often beautiful sketches. A number of the pictures used in this article illustrate various facets of Lesueur's career: the natural scientist, the teacher, the field naturalist, and the artist.

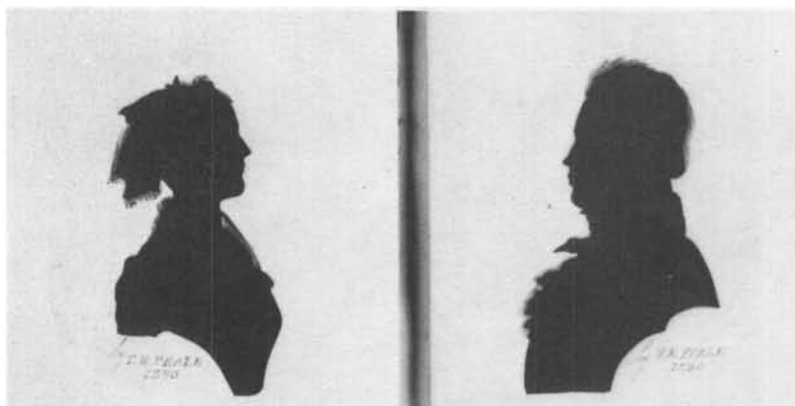


Courtesy Academy of Natural Sciences.

Original portrait by Charles Willson Peale.

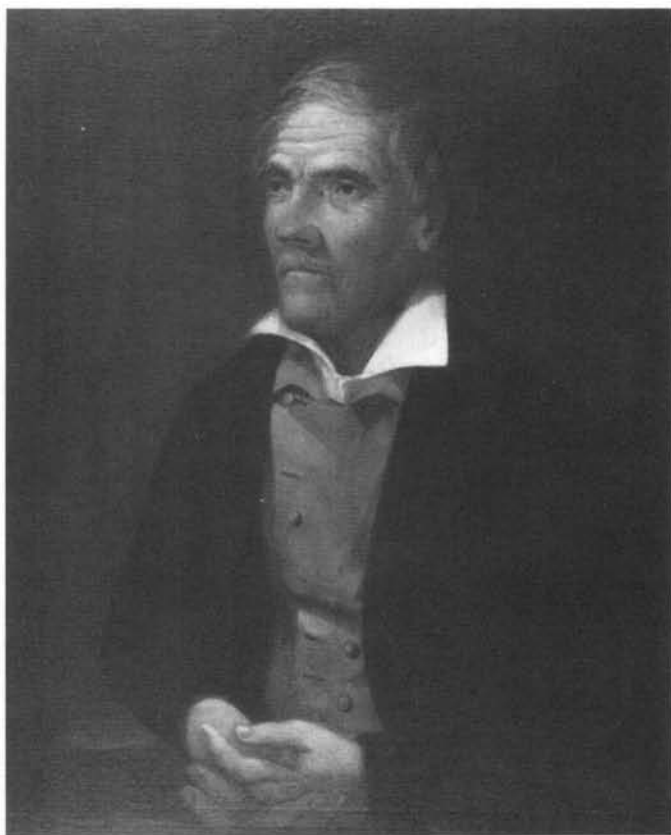


MADAME MARIE DUCLOS FRETAGEOT AND
CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR, BY JOHN CHAPPELSMITH, 1826



THOMAS AND LUCY WAY SISTARE SAY, BY
TITIAN RAMSAY PEALE, 1830

Courtesy Historic New Harmony, Inc.



In a letter to Madame Fretageot, Maclure commented on "the Pestalozzian system as taught by Mr. Neef, who I have reason to believe by experience has taught it in greater perfection than ever it was taught before. Neef, like all men, has his failings, but as a teacher he has made more clever men for the number he was allowed to educate than I believe ever came from any School on earth. . . . By following all his pupils into man's estate, and judging of their correct conduct, only two out of seventy have gone astray, and one of them only so upon the faith of a step mother, which I have found not exact."²⁵

²⁵ William Maclure to Marie Duclos Fretageot, September 19, 1826, *ibid.*, 367.



Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York City.

Portrait by Henry Inman.

FRANCES WRIGHT

As an old man, the famous poet Walt Whitman, remembering being taken as a child to the Hall of Science in New York to hear Frances Wright, said: "We all loved her; fell down before her; her very appearance seemed to enthrall us . . . she was more than beautiful; she was grand! It was not feature simply but soul-soul. There was a majesty about her."²⁶

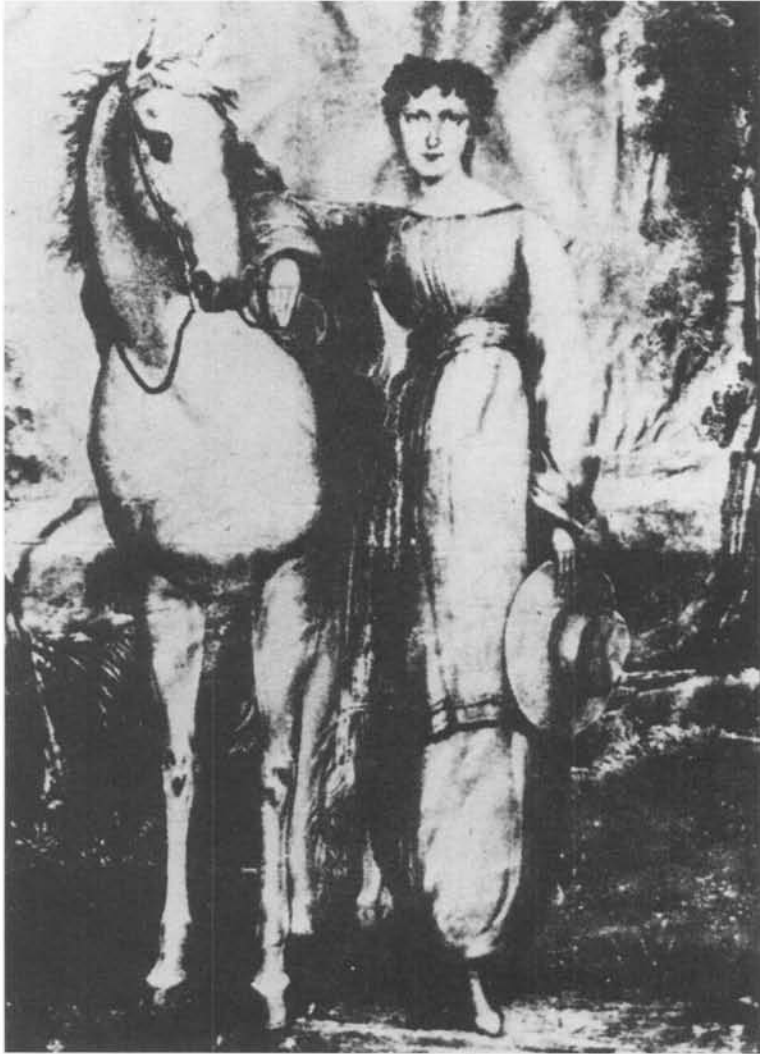
²⁶ Quoted in Richard Stiller, *Commune on the Frontier: The Story of Frances Wright* (New York, 1972), 245.



Courtesy Trustees of the Pierpont Morgan Library.
New York City



FRANCES WRIGHT AND HER HUSBAND,
GUILLAUME SYLVAN CASIMIR PHIQUEPAL D'ARUSMONT



FRANCES WRIGHT AT 32 IN THE COSTUME ADOPTED
BY THE NEW HARMONY COMMUNITY IN 1826

"In beauty there's something to hide and reveal
There's a thing which we decency call;
The old system ladies display a great deal,
But the new system ladies—*show all*."²⁷

²⁷ Shawnee-Town *Illinois Gazette*, July 12, 1826, quoted in Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 222.



Courtesy Academy of Natural Sciences.

Original portrait by Charles Willson Peale.

GERARD TROOST, c. 1823-1824

Dr. Gerard Troost was the first president of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and one of its founders. He was also a professor of geology, chemistry, and mineralogy. Troost came to New Harmony as one of Maclure's coterie of scientists and taught in the New Harmony schools until he left in the summer of 1827 to become professor of natural science at the University of Nashville in Tennessee. From 1831 to 1839 he was state geologist of Tennessee.²⁸

²⁸ Edward J. Nolan, *A Short History of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1909), 7.



Courtesy Purdue University Archives, West Lafayette, Indiana.
Pencil Sketch attributed to Virginia Dupalais.

WILLIAM PELHAM

William Pelham was a Revolutionary War surgeon, book-seller, and postmaster before coming to join Robert Owen's community in 1825 where he became one of the first editors of the *New Harmony Gazette*.



Courtesy Purdue University Archives.

JOSEPH FAUNTLEROY

Joseph Fauntleroy, a Virginia planter and cultivated man, was attracted by the social ideas of Robert Owen. He came to join the Owen Community in 1827. With him were his wife, Emily Carter Fauntleroy (a first cousin), and eight children and four of Emily's brothers. Fauntleroy engaged in business with William Taylor, forming a merchandising firm that prospered for two years but then was ruined by the fraudulence of his partner.



Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

VIRGINIA POUILLARD DUPALAIS

Virginia Poullard Dupalais was one of the passengers—along with her brother Victor—who came to New Harmony on the Boatload of Knowledge. The brother and sister were put in the care of Lesueur by their parents. Virginia was highly cultured and accomplished both in music and art. Samples of her art work appear elsewhere in this article. As a student of Lesueur she learned drawing technique and taught art in the schools during the days of the Owen Community and after. She married William A. Twigg in 1828. This portrait is found in her book of musical pieces.



Courtesy Thomas C. Pears, III

SARAH PALMER (MRS. THOMAS CLINTON) PEARS

With her husband and family of seven children, Sarah Pears came to New Harmony early in June, 1825, and left in April, or early May, 1826. During this year Sarah and Thomas wrote to their family in Pittsburgh, the Benjamin Bakewells, describing an important period of development in the history of the Owen experiment. It is in Mrs. Pears' letter of March 10, 1826, that one finds the expression "boatload of Knowledge," used thereafter to describe the group of scientists and social reformers who came from Philadelphia via Pittsburgh on the keelboat *Philanthropist* and arrived in New Harmony in January, 1826.²⁹ Family tradition among Pears descendants attributes this portrait to John James Audubon. Audubon's wife, Lucy Bakewell, and Sarah were related through the Bakewells. Audubon, Thomas Pears, and Thomas Bakewell were partners in a grist mill at Henderson, Kentucky (1815-1816), before the Pearses came to New Harmony.³⁰

²⁹ Pears, "New Harmony, an Adventure in Happiness," 71.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

Dr. Edward Murphy came to New Harmony as an orphan during the Owen Community days. Eventually he grew prosperous and developed a keen interest in the Workingmen's Institute. During his several trips to Europe he brought back gallery copies of famous masterpieces which he presented to the Institute. Since he and his wife, Celeste Sophia Johnson, were childless, they decided to use their considerable fortune to help build a fine new library and museum. In their wills they left an endowment to support the activities of the Workingmen's Institute, from which also developed Murphy Auditorium.³²



EDWARD MURPHY

Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

³² Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 329; William E. Wilson, *The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony* (Bloomington, Ind., 1964), 189-90.



Courtesy Cincinnati Art Museum.

MINER KILBOURNE KELLOGG

Miner Kilbourne Kellogg arrived in New Harmony on April 24, 1825, and departed with his family in the spring of 1827. He became a painter, traveler, author, and diarist. This bust was done in wax by Hiram Powers in 1828.



Courtesy Mrs. Hugh Lee.

JOHN COOPER

John Cooper was one of the group of English farmers who helped to form Community No. 3, Feiba Peveli, and who purchased a portion of the estate at its dissolution. Cooper and his family had their portraits painted by Jacob Maentel in partial payment of a debt. Maentel, whose primitive watercolors are much sought after, served under Napoleon. He later immigrated to the United States, settling first in Baltimore, then in several counties of Pennsylvania, and finally in New Harmony. He generally posed his subjects in their own home settings. Cooper is shown with his dog Snap and his home and fields in the background.



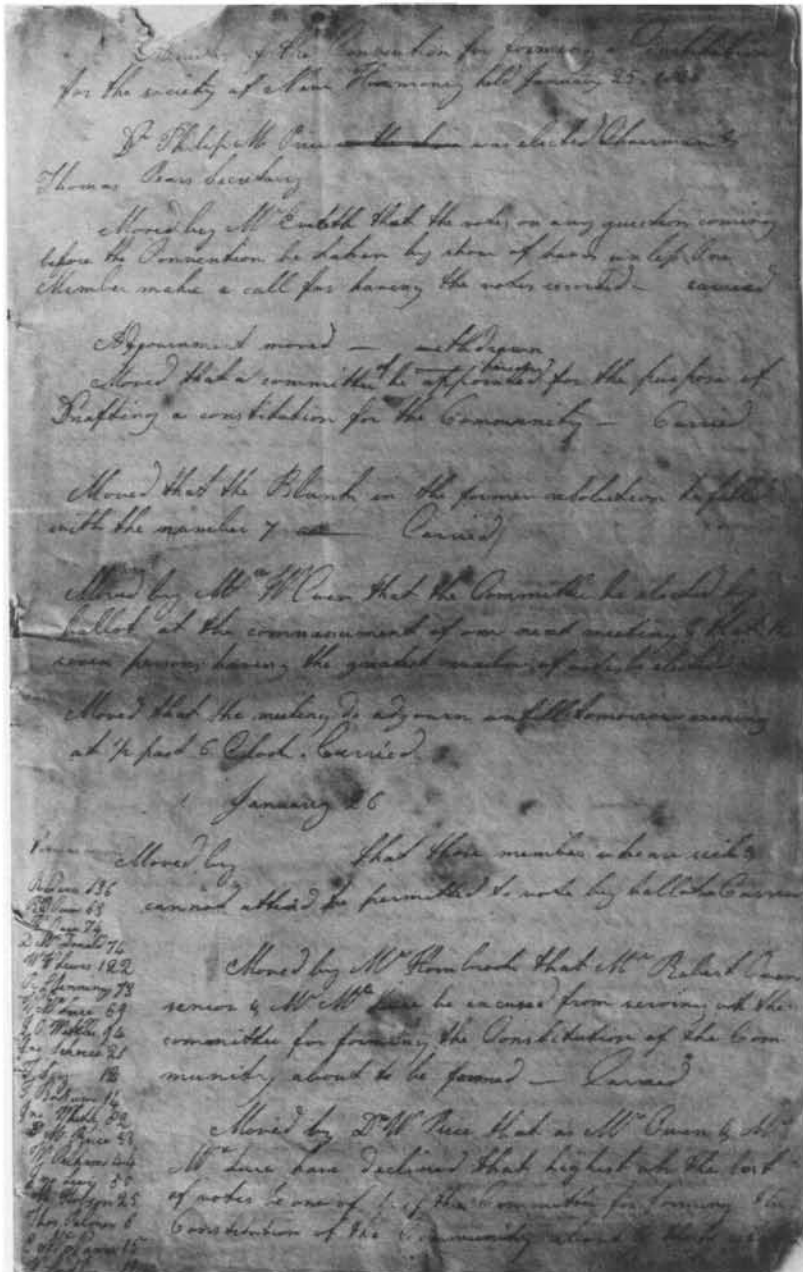
Courtesy Indiana State University, Evansville.

JAMES MAIDLOW

One of the English farmers who helped to establish Feiba Peveli, sometimes called Community No. 3, James Maidlow came to Indiana in 1818 and went first to what were known as the English Settlements north of Evansville. By 1825 he was in New Harmony where he married a second time, his first wife having died in 1822. He, along with James Elliott and John Cooper, helped to set up Community No. 3, for which he served as secretary during its short existence. He continued to live on the land which had been purchased from Robert Owen until old age forced him to enter the household of his son-in-law.³³ According to family tradition, the watercolor portrait from which this picture was taken was that of James Maidlow. The portrait is attributed to Jacob Maentel and was probably painted in the 1840s.

³³ Local History File (New Harmony Workingmen's Institute); Maidlow family records in the possession of family members.

OWEN COMMUNITY DOCUMENTS

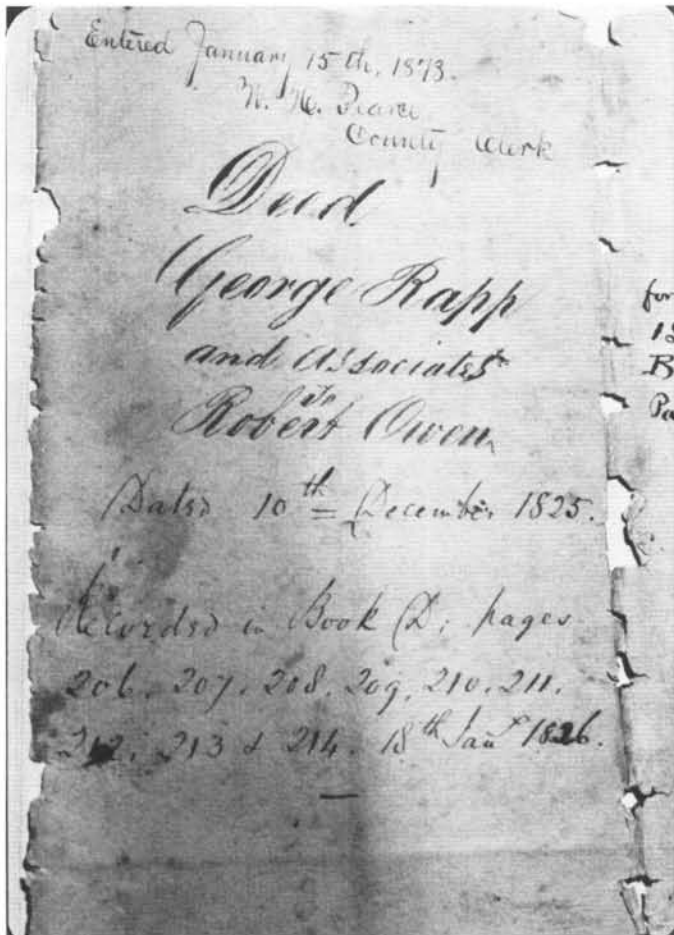


OWEN COMMUNITY MINUTES BOOK

Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute

OWEN COMMUNITY MINUTES BOOK
(OPPOSITE PAGE)

Two sets of minutes are included in one volume: the Proceedings of the Preliminary Society (November 2, 1825-February 28, 1826) and the Minutes of the Convention for Forming a Constitution for the Society at New Harmony (January 25, 1826-February 6, 1826). The latter contains several drafts and proposals, including the text of the constitution which was finally adopted. The illustration is page 1 of these minutes and shows the votes cast for the committee that was selected to write the constitution. Seven men, excluding Robert Owen and William Maclure who declared themselves ineligible, were elected. Thomas C. Pears was the secretary of the convention, and the writing is mainly his.



DEED TO NEW HARMONY

Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

Probationary

I do hereby engage to receive as a full compensation for my services to the Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality of New-Harmony, the usual board, lodging, and the usual accommodations of the Members of said Community, with similar necessary clothing after six months residence in New-Harmony, and that my children shall receive such an education, and also the full advantage of the system of Education now commenced and about to be established in New-Harmony by Robert Owen and William McClure. I do further agree to be dismissed from the said Community on receiving one week's notice, reserving to myself the right of voluntarily withdrawing on giving a similar notice.

Witness
 Wm. Pelham

Courtesy Mrs. Thomas Mumford.

Probationary.

I do hereby engage to receive, as a full compensation for my services in the Preliminary Society and the Community of Equality of New-Harmony, the usual board, lodging, and other customary accommodations of the Members of said Community, with similar necessary clothing after six months residence in New-Harmony, and do further agree to be dismissed therefrom on receiving one week's notice, reserving to myself the right of voluntarily withdrawing on giving a similar notice.

WITNESS

Wm. Pelham
 May 11. 1826

R. Jones

OWEN COMMUNITY PROBATIONARY CONTRACTS

Only a few probationary contracts signed by new members joining the Owen Community still exist. The wording differs slightly in each, but the contents are essentially the same.

SCHOOLS

Mrs. Sarah Cox Thrall described in her later years what it was like to be a pupil in the Owen Community schools. In the summer the girls wore coarse linen; in winter, heavy wool. On awakening, a group of girls did the milking, which milk was utilized in cooking the mush the children ate in a fifteen-minute breakfast period.

We had bread but once a week—on Saturdays. I thought if I ever got out, I would kill myself eating sugar and cakes. We marched in military order, after breakfast, to Community House No. 2. I remember that there were blackboards covering one side of the schoolroom, and that we had wires, with balls on them, by which we learned to count. We also had singing exercises by which we familiarized ourselves with lessons in various branches. . . . We went to bed at sundown in little bunks suspended in rows by cords from the ceiling. Sometimes one of the children at the end of the row would swing back her cradle, and, when it collided on the return bound with the next bunk, it set the whole row bumping together. This was a favorite diversion, and caused the teachers much distress.³⁴

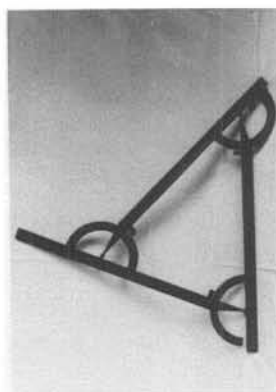
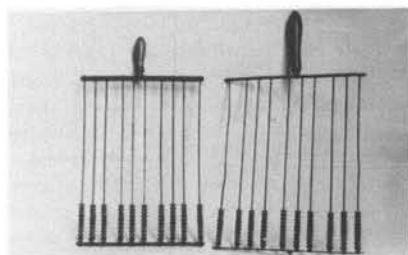
The illustration is a beaded bracelet made by Sarah Cox while a pupil in the Owen Community schools.



Courtesy Helen Elliott.

³⁴ Quoted in Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, 246-47.

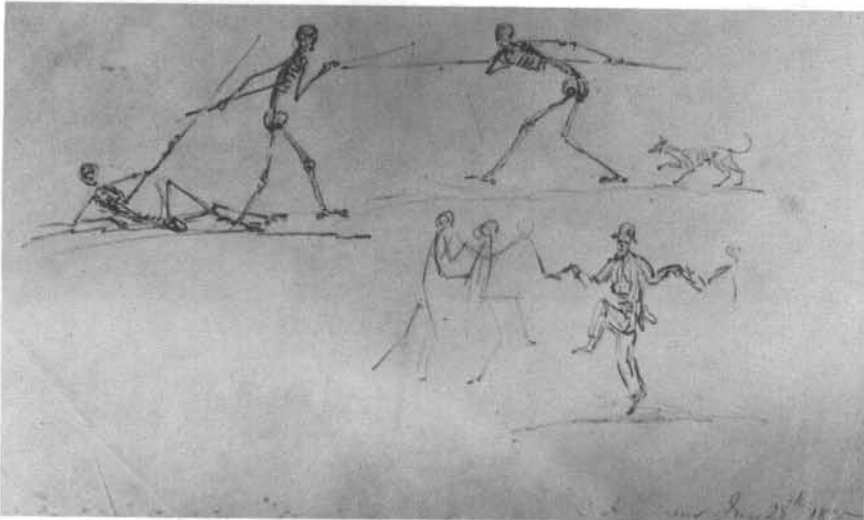
Instruments used by Phiquepal d'Arusmont in his teaching: sliding triangle used to measure all triangles (made in Paris especially for d'Arusmont); abaci invented by d'Arusmont and brought from Paris; keyboard for transposing keys; bells used in musical instruction.



Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

ART

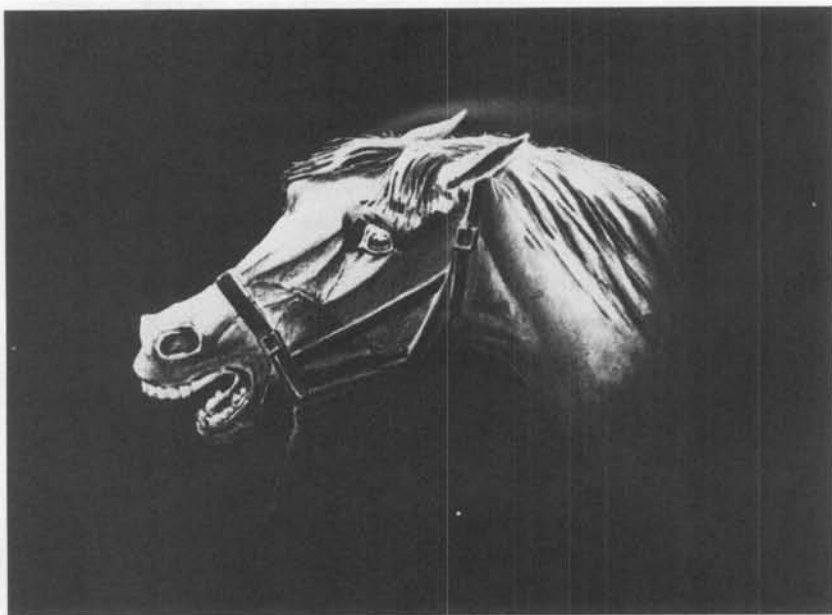
Art played an important role in the New Harmony schools. It was considered a highly significant subject in the curricula by both Robert Owen and William Maclure, who, though violently disagreeing on many aspects of the educational system, were united in their attitudes toward art. The faculty included: Charles Alexandre Lesueur, painting and drawing; Martha Chase, drawing and music; Virginia Poullard Dupalais, drawing and watercolor; Lucy Way Sistare, drawing and watercolor; Balthazar Obernesser, painting. These outstanding teachers taught very talented students, and members of both groups achieved considerable reputations in their own lifetimes and after. Mention is made of the art classes by those who participated, and the surviving pencil sketches and watercolors attest to the superior quality of the instruction.



Courtesy Kenneth Dale Owen.

Richard Owen, in a letter to David Starr Jordan, wrote of Charles Alexandre Lesueur: "He was a magnificent artist, good alike in drawing and coloring. I have some of his sketches yet, in which, when I was taking drawing lessons from him, he showed me how to outline, for instance, the skeleton of the human figure, then to add the muscular system, then the clothing, drapery, etc. We usually took views from nature."³⁵ The sketch is signed C. A. LeSueur. The date, June 28, 1830, is in handwriting attributed to David Dale Owen.

³⁵ Quoted in David Starr Jordan, "Charles Alexandre Lesueur," *Popular Science Monthly*, XLVI (February, 1895), 549-50.



HEAD OF A HORSE BY DAVID DALE OWEN

Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

DRAMA

The Thespian Society was first organized by William Owen, probably in the fall of 1827. Richard Owen describes it: "We had a good Thespian Society here, to which I belonged. I took a part in William Tell, was one of the number who would not take off his cap. My brother William's wife, then Mary Bolton, was Tell's son Albert; she was in boy's clothing, and she played it well."³⁶ The south wing of the Hall, or brick church, was used as a theater. The walls, frescoed and painted with Swiss scenes by Charles Alexandre Lesueur for "William Tell," were still there in 1874 when the church was torn down.

THEATRE,
NEW-HARMONY.

THE Managers have the pleasure to announce to the Public
and the Members of the New-Harmony Thespian Society, that
their fifth Performance will take place on

Friday, the 4th of July, 1828,

WHEN WILL BE REPRESENTED
Holcroft's COMEDY (in 5 acts)

**THE ROAD TO
RUIN.**

(Principal Characters.)

<p>MR. DORRINGTON, a Rich Merchant, GILBERT DORRINGTON, his Son, MR. GILLEY, Doctor's Preceptor, MR. GILLEY, a Man, WILLIAMSON, a Sporting Character,</p>	<p>MR. MELFORD, Friend to David Ramsey, MRS. WARRICK, a Quaker, in Love with young Ramsey, SOPHIA, her Daughter, JOHN, her Son,</p>
---	---

Together with Mrs. Inchbald's PETITE COMEDY

**THE
Midnight Hour.**

(Principal Characters.)

<p>MARGARET, Lover of John, GENERAL, Father of John, DELAFFRAYS, Friend to Thomas, HOBBSMAN, Servant to Thomas,</p>	<p>STELLA, Neighbor to Thomas, CHARLES, Neighbor to General's Son, FLORENCE, Indian Maid</p>
---	--

TICKETS, 50 cents each, may be had at the Bar of the Tavern.
Subscribers will please apply to the Secretary for their Tickets
on Thursday, 3d July.
Doors open at 7—Curtain will rise at half past 7, precisely.

Printed by the Office of the New-Harmony Press.

Courtesy Historic New Harmony, Inc.

³⁶ Jacob Schneck and Richard Owen, *The History of New Harmony* (Evansville, Ind., 1890), 11.

DANCING

"we collected together in the house No. 2, appointed for a school-house, where all the young ladies and gentlemen of quality assembled. In spite of the equality so much recommended, this class of persons will not mix with the common sort, and I believe that all the well brought up members are disgusted, and will soon abandon the society. We amused ourselves exceedingly during the whole remainder of the evening, dancing cotillions, reels and waltzes. . . . New figures have been introduced among the cotillions, among which is one called the *new social system*."³⁷

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a dance. It consists of several staves of music with notes and rests. Between the staves, there are handwritten lyrics in cursive script. The lyrics describe the steps of a dance, including "The Chain", "The Social System", and "March Cotillions". The lyrics are written in a cursive hand, and the music is written in a standard musical notation of the 19th century.

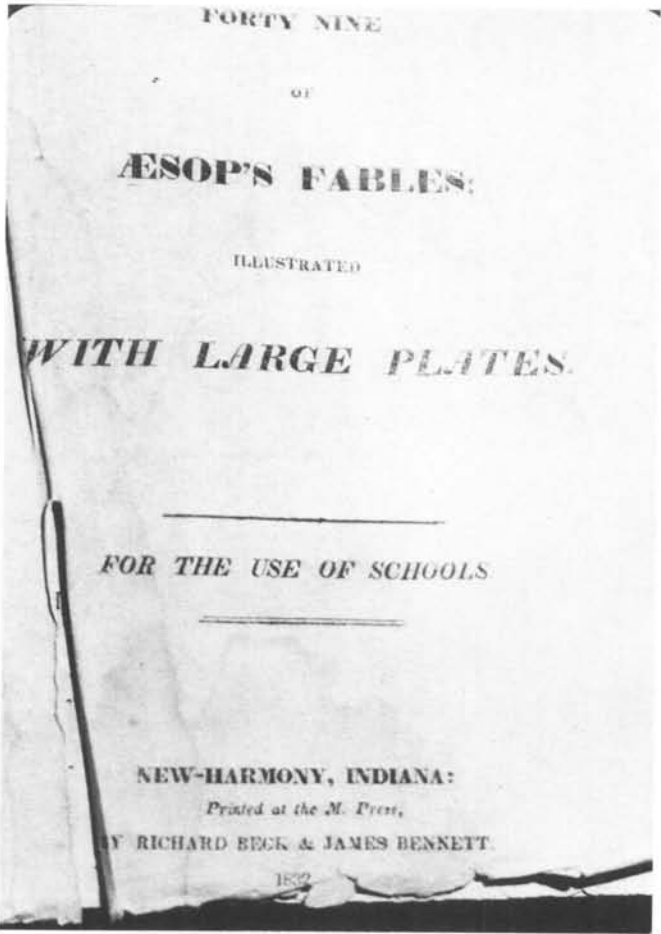
The Chain & 1st long round to close first - last round to the right - from across the
 Cotton with left hands, giving your partners your right - dance and give your
 partners. Then ladies step with left hands - turn opposite partners with right
 Ladies return to left hands and give their partners their right - turn partners
 and right & left all round

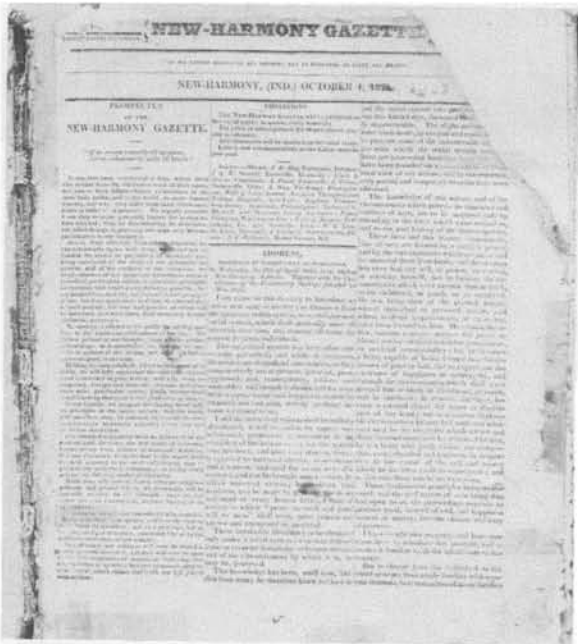
Social System & Ladies to partners - turn partners - ladies hands across
 after going mid round - Gent look arms with their partners and go
 hand over, after going through this twice then right and left all
 round - then Gent hands across in the middle - Ladies look arms & go

March Cotillions 1st Couple advance to the 2^d hands & round - then to the 3^d & 4th
 then back into middle from 3^d line, then 2^d Couple lead - then 3^d - then 4th

³⁷ Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, "Travels through North America, during the Years 1825 and 1826," in Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 431.

NEW HARMONY IMPRINTS





Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES

When William Maclure, who shared Robert Owen's enthusiasm in social reform through the application of education and science, decided to join Owen in his experiment at New Harmony, he brought with him some of the most eminent men of science then living. Frequently called the Father of American Geology, Maclure persuaded, among others, two great natural scientists to become members of the community: Thomas Say, who worked in the areas of zoology and conchology; and Charles Alexandre Lesueur, the artist-naturalist, whose inquiries in ichthyology and archaeology place him among the earliest pioneers in these fields.

Maclure attempted to integrate teaching, research, and publishing. He succeeded by means of his School of Industry where his teachers used Pestalozzian principles, the scientists investigated and wrote up their findings, and the students, under the guidance of skilled engravers, turned out on the School Press some of the most beautiful specimens of the book-maker's art surviving to this day.

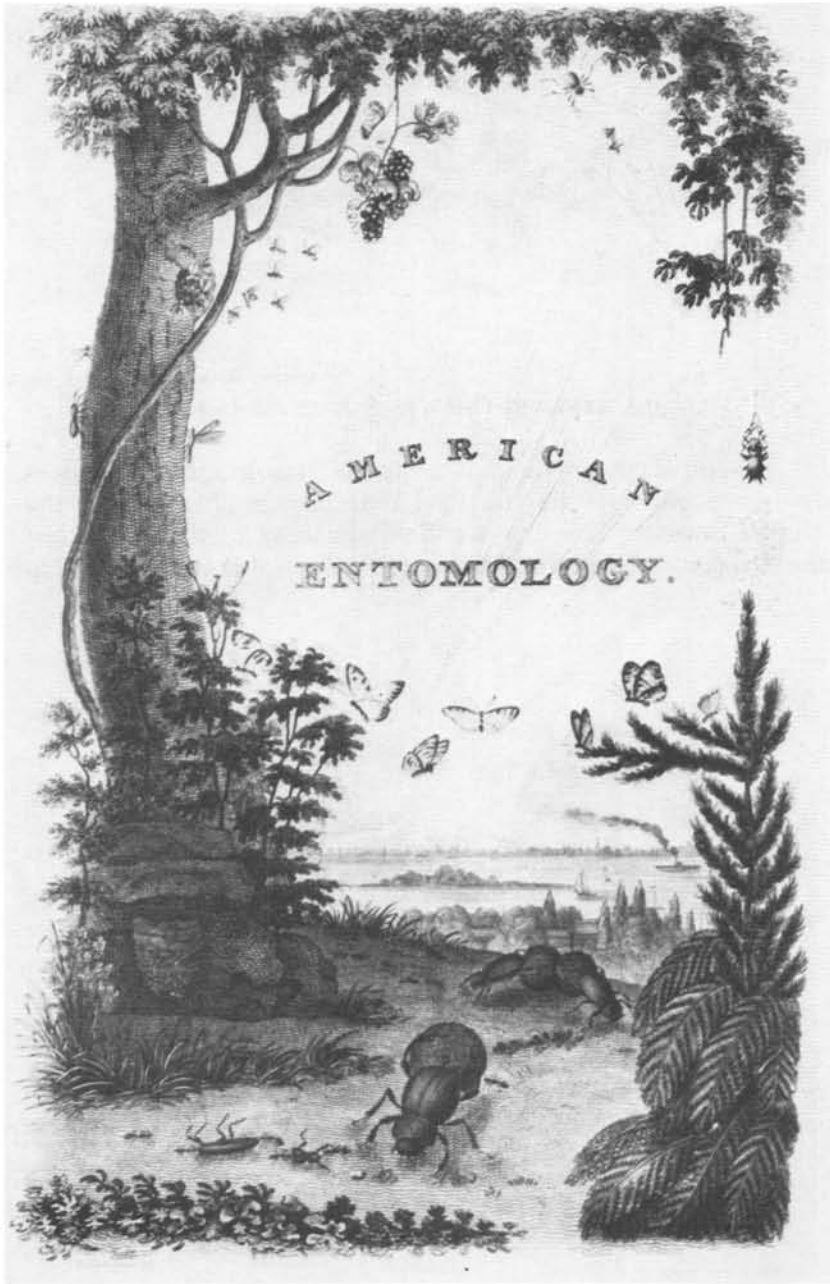
As the communal aspects of the New Harmony undertaking began to fail, the educational and scientific program of the community began to flower, and New Harmony became the focal point of activity in the natural and earth sciences west of the Alleghenies from 1826 to the Civil War.

Other scientists, whose activities covered numerous fields, were: Gerard Troost, geologist and foremost mineralogist, who joined Lesueur on geological expeditions and taught in the community schools (see p. 231); Stedman Whitwell, architect, whose meteorological recordings were published in the *New Harmony Gazette*; Samuel Bolton, chemist, whose experiments in 1828 aided in the use of gas for heating and lighting the meeting room in No. 2 of the Society for Mutual Instruction; James Sampson, collector of natural history specimens, particularly shells, fossils, and archaeological artifacts (many are still to be found in the Workingmen's Institute); and Robert Henry Fauntleroy, scientist and inventor, astronomer, geodetic surveyor, bridge builder.



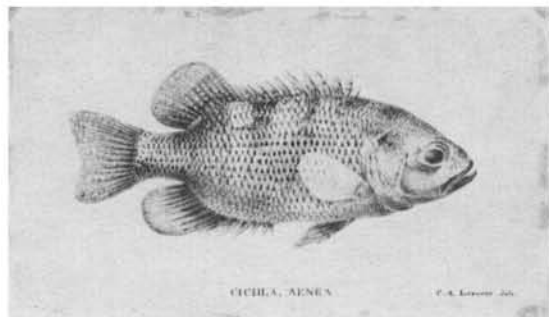
This map, accompanying William Maclure's *Observations on the Geology of the United States*, is considered the earliest attempt at a geological map of this country. The memoir, result of fifty trips traversing the Alleghenies, was first published by the American Philosophical Society in its *Transactions* (Vol. I, New Series, 1809). A second and revised edition appeared in 1817, again in the *Transactions*, but it was also issued as a separate volume.

Courtesy Historic New Harmony, Inc.



Title page drawn by Charles Alexandre Lesueur for Thomas Say's *American Entomology, or Descriptions of the Insects of North America* . . . (Philadelphia, 1824).

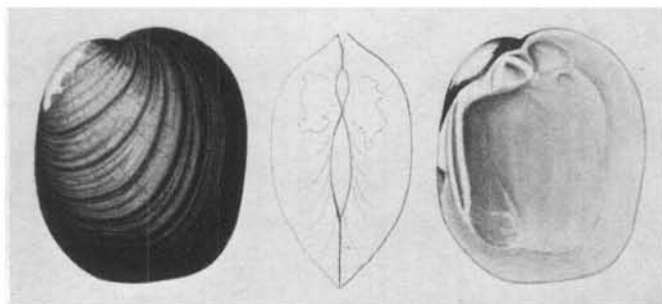
Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.



Courtesy Historic New Harmony, Inc.

CICHLA AENEA BY CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

Joseph Jackson, an authority on lithography, considers Lesueur's effort to be the first real lithograph made in the United States.³⁸ The drawing first appeared in the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* in June, 1822.



Courtesy New Harmony Workingmen's Institute

Plate 17 from Thomas Say's *American Conchology, or Descriptions of the Shells of North America* . . . (New Harmony, 1830).

³⁸ George H. Eckhardt, "Early Lithography in Philadelphia," *Antiques*, XXVIII (December, 1935), 249.

INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY

The names of New Harmony's star-studded scientists are well known; those of her inventors, rather less so: Oliver Evans, Jr., and Robert Henry Fauntleroy, to name just two. Evans and Fauntleroy were contemporaries; they were both married to women of distinguished ancestry and distantly related to each other through these marriages. They lived successively in the same house (at Evans' death Fauntleroy purchased the Harmonist frame building). They apparently worked together, for the designs and drawings of Evans ultimately became the possessions of Fauntleroy in whose personal papers they survived.

Evans, youngest son of the inventor of high pressure engines, steam carriages, and milling systems, was influenced by the rich heritage of his father. He married Louisa, the eldest daughter of Joseph Neef, in 1827 and came to live in New Harmony. There he taught in the Owen Community schools, joined the Education Society, began operation of an iron foundry, manufactured cast plows, operated a sawmill, set up a grist mill to make use of his steam engine, and farmed. Numerous very handsome colored drawings of engines and their parts still remain.³⁹

Fauntleroy, scientist, inventor, engineer, and musician, also came to New Harmony in 1827 with his sister, Emily Carter Fauntleroy, and brother-in-law, Joseph Fauntleroy, a first cousin. Robert married Robert Owen's daughter, Jane Dale, in 1835. He taught and lectured on astronomy, made meteorological reports, and accompanied David Dale Owen on some of his geological surveys. His fertile, active mind developed plans for a gunlock, a fly driver, an "elliptograph," a "Self-registering Log" for vessels, a weaving and carding machine, and a telescope. As an expert in mechanical drawing he was particularly interested in undershot and overshot water-power wheels, steam engines, and cotton and grist mills. Drawings, patent proposals, and his instrument, the Fauntlerolicon, may be seen in the New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.⁴⁰

³⁹ The main sources for information about Evans is the Maclure-Fretageot Correspondence.

⁴⁰ Ross F. Lockridge, *The Old Fauntleroy Home* (New Harmony Memorial Commission, 1939); Jane Dale Owen Fauntleroy, "Records of a Beloved Life for My Children," New Harmony State Memorial Collection (New Harmony Workingmen's Institute).

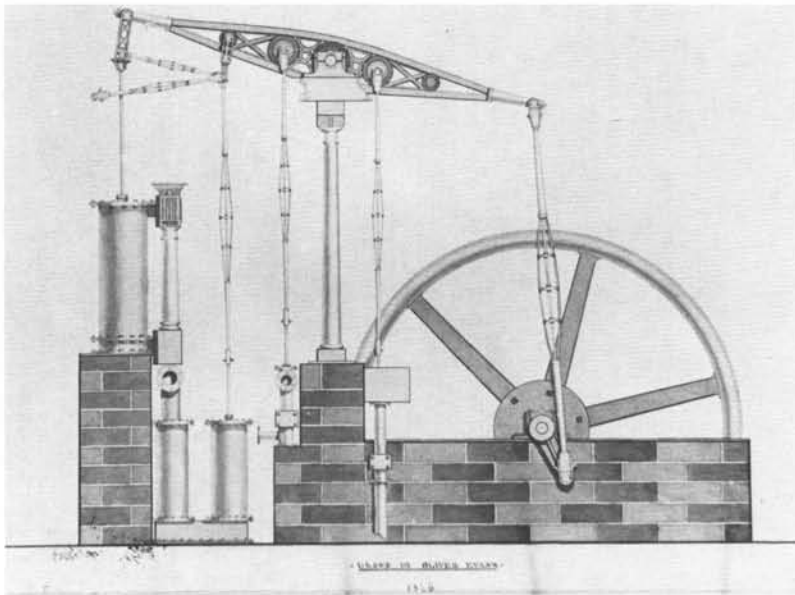


ROBERT HENRY FAUNTLEROY

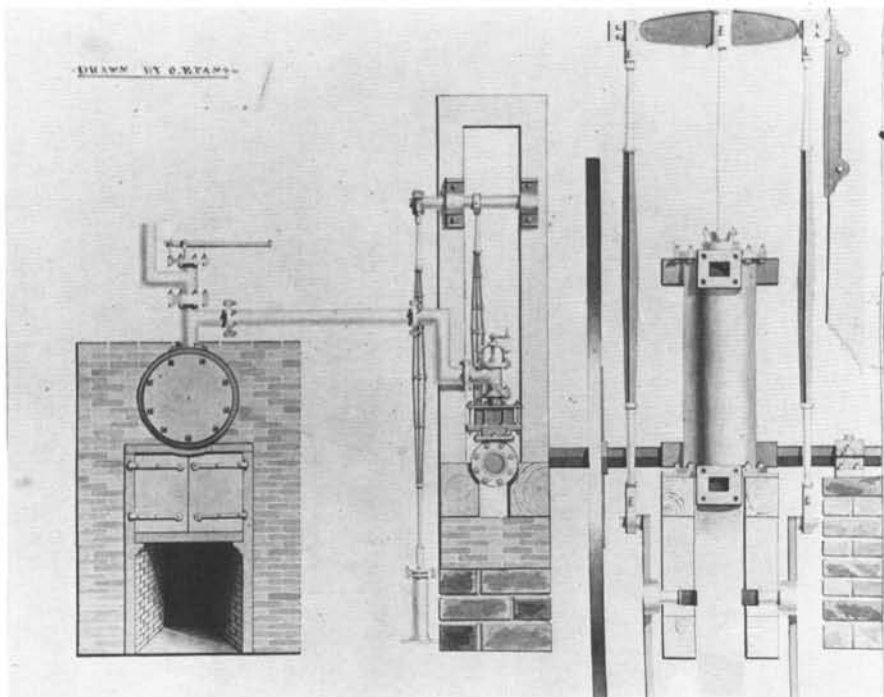
*Courtesy Indiana Department of Natural
Resources, Old Fauntleroy Home.*



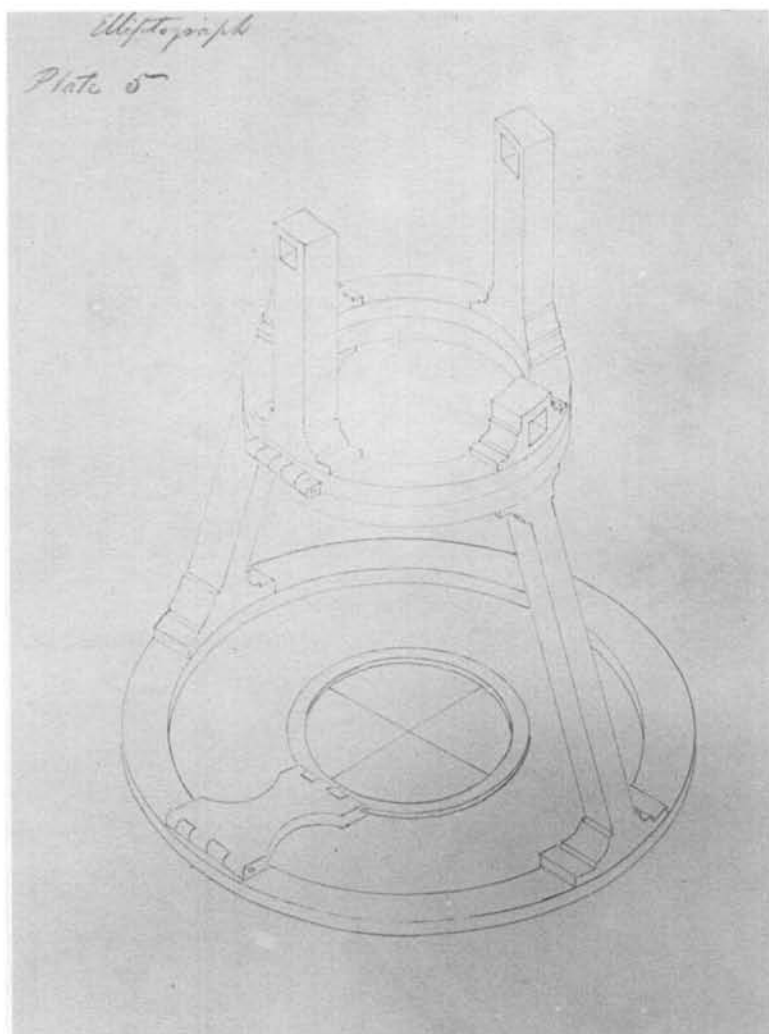
OLIVER EVANS, JR.



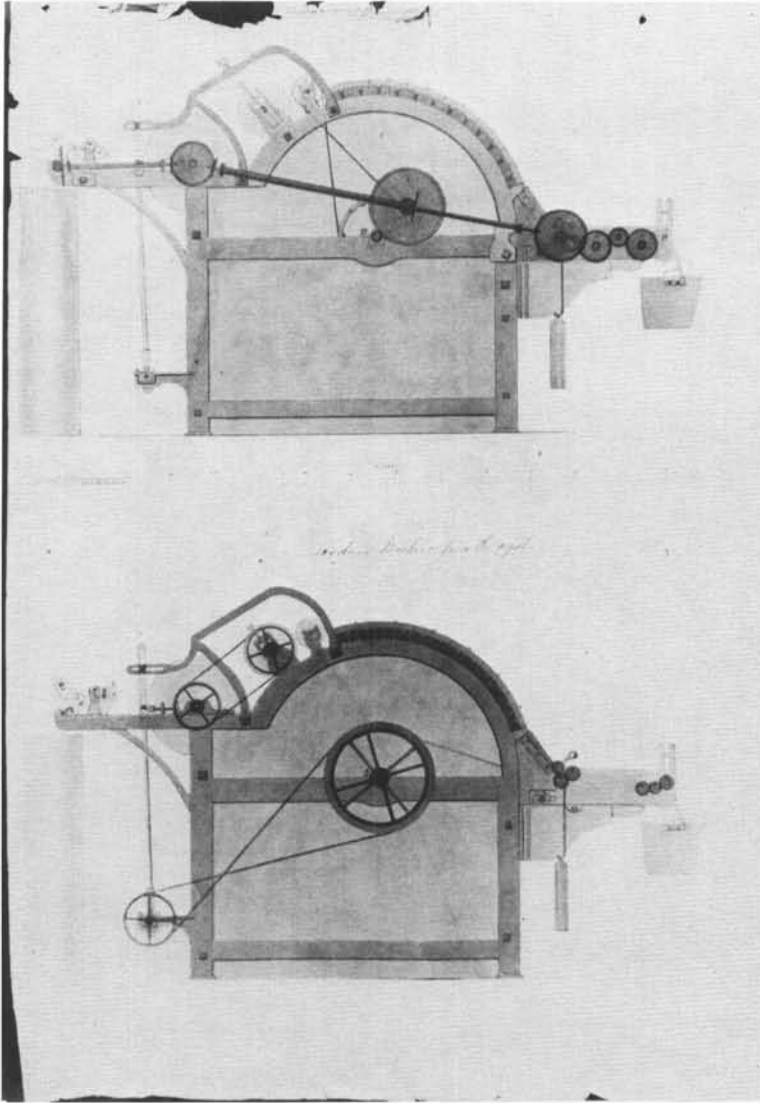
New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.



New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.

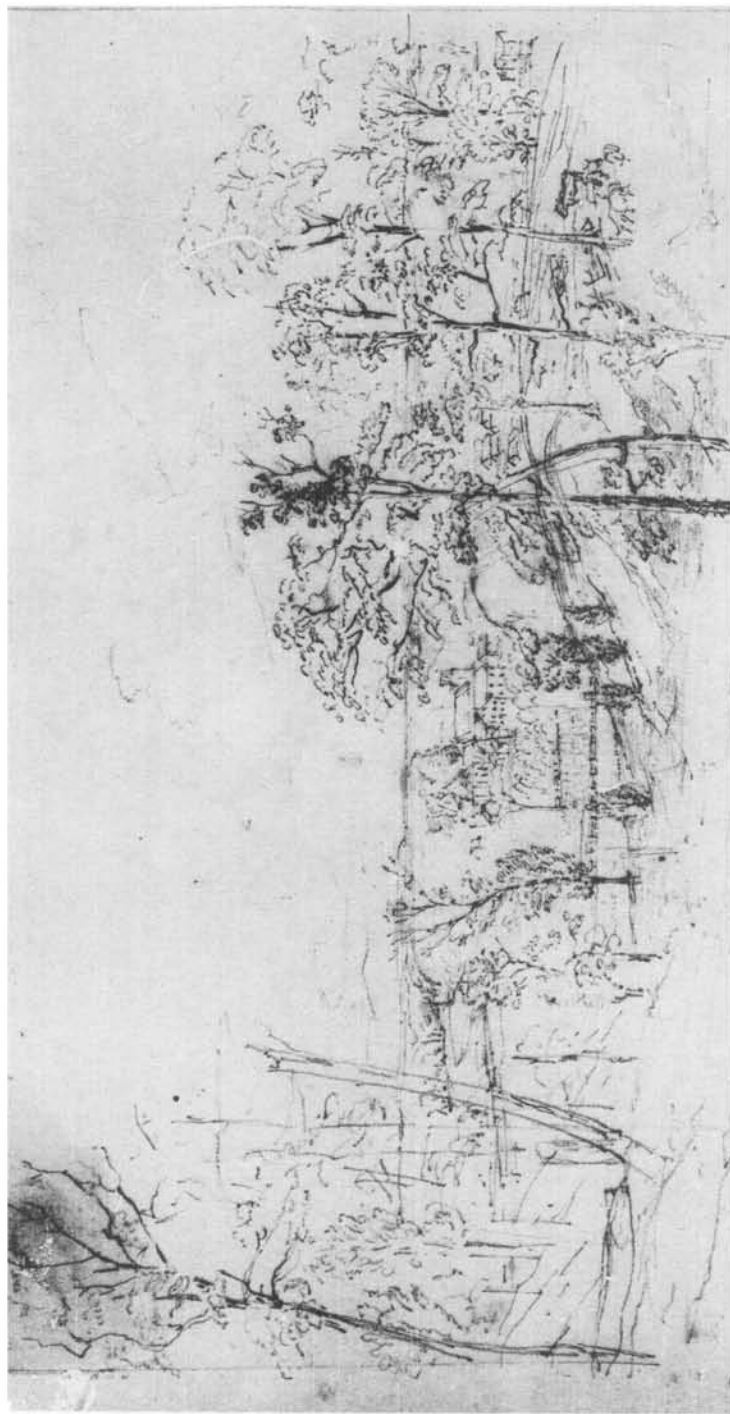
**ELLIPTOGRAPH**

New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.



SECTION OF A CARDING MACHINE

New Harmony Workingmen's Institute.



VIEW OF NEW HARMONY BY CHARLES ALEXANDRE LESUEUR

Courtesy American Philosophical Society.

A TOAST TO NEW HARMONY

In addition to the usual holidays, the people of New Harmony celebrated the birthday of Thomas Paine and the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815. The issue of the *New Harmony Gazette* of January 9, 1828, reported on the celebration of the Battle of New Orleans anniversary which was signalized by the playing of military music, the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, a splendid ball, and the drinking of toasts. Among many of these was one to the town:

"May the light of Truth continue to emanate, and at length shine out so refulgent, that Error shall fly trembling before it."