

# Communitarian Connections: Josiah Warren, Robert Smith, and Peter Kaufmann

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THE CONCEPT OF A UTOPIAN WORLD, an alternate world to the one ordinarily lived in, has been man's goal for centuries. Among the thousands seeking a perfect society in the nineteenth century were the three men to be discussed here: Josiah Warren, Robert Smith, and Peter Kaufmann. Smith joined the Shakers, Kaufmann joined the Harmonists (Rappites), and Warren participated in the Owenite debacle. The three knew each other well, and many of their letters have survived. Smith and Kaufmann were close friends for a time; Smith was godfather to Kaufmann's son Peter Robert. The two also worked together in Philadelphia in the early 1820s on the Labour for Labour scheme which was to reform the life of the working man. That they were unwittingly laying the groundwork for the later organization of labor was an unexpected bonus. However, the Labour for Labour scheme came directly from Josiah Warren's experiment with the Time Store in Cincinnati as correspondence between Smith and Warren shows.

Josiah Warren is well-known to most Utopian scholars. He wrote several books about his schemes and was well-acquainted with most of the better-known reformers of his day. Born in Boston in 1798 of Puritan stock, he married at twenty and went off to make his fortune on the frontier in the 1820s. Cincinnati was the western frontier when he settled there, working as a music teacher and orchestra leader, a profession he continued when he joined Robert Owen's New Harmony in Indiana.

When Owen went to Cincinnati in 1824 to unfold his plan for a New Moral World and to recruit members for it, his reputation as the boldest, most successful social reformer of the age was already international. Warren was evidently so impressed by Owen's fervor, conviction, and

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enthusiasm that he was one of the first to join the grand experiment at New Harmony, taking with him his wife and family.<sup>1</sup> He spent two years there; and, after the scheme failed, he apparently left without bitterness but instead with a plan to use his time with Owen as a learning and teaching experience to carry on his own experiments.

Warren blamed the failure of New Harmony on the suppression of individuality, on the lack of initiative and responsibility, and on the common property scheme. Its downfall was caused, in his opinion, by the submergence of the individual within the confines of the community.<sup>2</sup> Individual initiative was stifled without personal rights, and the limitation of individual property rights resulted in almost total dissipation of responsibility for the individual, ending in incapacity and failure. His primary source of dissatisfaction with the communistic experiments at New Harmony was what he called "the combination of interests."<sup>3</sup> This combination required, as he saw it, a government based on authority and demanding obedience which resulted in the end of individual liberty. He wanted a system based on voluntary cooperation but not rising above any person within its structure. To prove his belief in such individuality, he began his Time Store in Cincinnati at the corner of Fifth and Elm.

The Time Store was the first equity store designed to illustrate the cost principle—the germ of the cooperative movement of the future. The principle involved was the equal exchange of labor measured by the time occupied and exchanged hour-for-hour with other kinds of labor. To illustrate the theory: A clock hangs in a conspicuous place in the store. A customer enters to make his purchase. All goods are marked with the price in plain figures, which is their cost plus a nominal percentage to cover freight, shrinkage, rent, etc., usually about four cents on the dollar. The purchaser selects what he needs with little assistance or prompting from the clerk and pays for the purchase in lawful money. The time spent by the merchant in waiting on the customer is now calculated by reference to the convenient clock; and, in payment for this service, the customer gives his labor note, something after this form: "Due to Josiah Warren on demand thirty minutes in carpenter work... John Smith" or "Due to Josiah Warren ten minutes in needlework ... Mary Brown." The store-keeper thus agreed to exchange his time for an equal amount of the time of those who bought goods from him. Profits in the customary sense were nonexistent. Instead, there was the application of the principle of labor for labor, the cost principle in its most primitive form which was modified through experience so as to allow for the different valuation of

1. George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York: Appleton, 1905), p. 295.

2. James J. Martin, *Men Against the State* (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1957), p. 15.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

the various kinds of labor.<sup>4</sup> The Cincinnati Time Store existed for about two years before Warren discontinued it. He felt he had vindicated his idea without any economic loss on the venture.

During the time the store was active, Robert Smith had visited it and had returned to Philadelphia to write about it in the *Mechanics Free Press*, where he published the following letter that Warren had written to him:

Dear S

The perusal of your letter which I received about 3 weeks since gave me great satisfaction. It affords me pleasure to find that you still feel such an interest in the subject to which I am devoted. You inquire what progress has been made since you left here; to this I could reply more than the limits of a letter will permit, but I will endeavor to enable you to form some idea. I think you left before the cold weather commenced... as soon as the season became cool there were great demands for cloths of various kinds which I found no difficulty in procuring ... and which I sold the goods in 6 days and some in less time. The place now became crowded altho it stands remote from the bustle of business; so much was this the case that I became so exhausted with buying and selling goods and in talking and explaining that I was obliged to shut up the magazine half of each day... but this produced too much disappointment to the country people and others that I was induced to open again during the daytime... all those who were so much delighted at first have not changed and many more who knew nothing of it nor held any correct views of the nature of justice between man and man... have really become enlightened... and are now spreading the honest principle far and wide. The magazine has been enlarged to about double its former dimensions; the work was performed by seven carpenters all upon the time system, and by putting my labor against theirs they have gained at the rates of from 1 to 50 dollars per hour... when we require instruction in any part with which we are not acquainted we obtain it from some of our friends and pay them hour by hour in labor notes on the magazine. I look upon these movements with great interest for they are of numerous importance to those who are now suffering by mystery and speculation.<sup>5</sup>

So, while the Time Store had proved itself successful and was to appear again in another guise in Philadelphia under the direction of Smith and Kaufmann, Warren felt it was time to move on to other experiments that he wished to try: the individual as the sovereign in society as well as individual economics as the basis of any planned commune.

His next effort was at Spring Hill near Massillon, Ohio. Here in 1830 Warren found a group of reformers already conducting a school for boys under the direction of Dr. Samuel Underhill. This same Dr. Underhill is mentioned in a letter from Robert Smith to Solomon Sala in Canton,

4. William Baillie, *The First American Anarchist* (Boston, Small Maynard, 1906), p. 9.

5. *Mechanics Free Press* (Philadelphia), May 10, 1828, col. 2, p. 2.

July 18, 1829. Smith wrote, "I am much gratified that dear (?) Underhill has laid aside for the present those subjects that have caused prejudice against him and shall be happy to hear that he continues to wield (?) his powerful muscles (?) in support of the injured laborer."<sup>6</sup> Smith was probably speaking of the very active Farmers and Mechanics Society established in Canton, Ohio, through the efforts of Kaufmann and himself. This society was a meeting place where the workers could discuss new ideas of reform as they did in Philadelphia at the Mechanics Library Association.

When Warren arrived at Spring Hill, he found a small manual-training school already established. The school for the twenty-five children already under the care of Underhill and associates included a community of property arrangement. The men directing this experiment were veterans of three Owenite colonies and had recently separated from the Kendall commune, an offshoot of Owen's New Harmony. The Spring Hill school had come about through the donation of money from a Quaker lady to Dr. Underhill and his associates. Her purpose was to benefit an undesignated number of children. The bequest stipulated that the income of the communal school was to be augmented by the proceeds derived from the sale of the products made by these children who went to school three to four hours daily and then worked eight hours.

Underhill and his associates listened to Warren on changing the basis of economic activities to one of individualism featuring the cooperation and cost / price elements which he had developed in his Cincinnati store. Now several elements of the labor exchange plan were worked out. Along with the introduction of labor notes, Warren reported satisfactory results in his attack on the apprentice system. Twelve persons were reported to have learned to make shoes successfully in less than a month. Warren himself also learned to make wagon wheels in five days. He also conducted a music school for twenty children upon the labor exchange idea, the pupils paying their share of the two-hour lessons with their own labor notes for six minutes of their own time. At the same time, experiments were carried on in learning ironworking, spinning, printing, typecasting, and house construction in an attempt to learn how soon the mastery of the skills involved could be accomplished. This investigation continued into other activities which were considered vital at the beginning of an individualist colony without outside aid, Warren insisting that "the movement must be carried on by those who have nothing but their own hands, their time and their necessities."<sup>7</sup>

6. Robert Smith, letter to Solomon Sala, July 18, 1829, *Kaufmann Inventory*. The correspondence between Peter Kaufmann and Robert Smith, located in the Kaufmann Inventory at the Ohio Historical Society, has not been published previously. The letters are quoted here with the permission of the Ohio Historical Society. All quotations are reproduced here exactly as they appear in the manuscripts.

7. Baillie, *The First*, p. 7.

He also began here his experiments with vocational training for children, trying to convert young people into productive members of the community in as short a time as possible. He was convinced that the apprentice system and unequal pay for children resulted in either exploiting young people or confining them to a parasitical existence in the interests of eliminating pressure for jobs. He tried placing boys of eleven or twelve on their own resources, giving them full responsibility over their own activities and decisions. He insisted that admission of the young to adult circles—in economic matters, at least—could begin much earlier than supposed. He insisted that relationships be reversed in teaching trades, that the pupil pay his instructor according to the time that the latter actually spent teaching the trade in question. "When we admit the rights of children," said Warren, "and acknowledge that there is no equitable ground of demands upon them, only as equivalents for what they receive of us... and set an example which it would be safe and legitimate for them to follow out toward us... then this is education."<sup>8</sup>

So, in fewer than three years, a number of the elements of non-exploitative economic self-sufficiency had been tried: first, the cost basis of price; second, the cooperative nature of production with the provision of individual responsibility in the matter of both quantity and quality; and, third, solving the problem created by artificial restraints on production represented by the apprentice system and the educational structure.<sup>9</sup>

Having once again proved his ability to start a successful venture from virtually nothing, Josiah Warren now began preparations in 1833 for his next Utopia, this time the village of Equity also in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. From then on, at intervals of approximately ten years, he started new communities. Eighteen-forty-four saw the beginning of Utopia (also in Ohio), although in the meantime he had organized a Time Store at what was left of New Harmony, Indiana. His last effort came in 1850 when he founded Modern Times along with Stephen Pearl Andrews, another well-known reformer. This community was located on Long Island, New York, about forty miles from New York City. All of Warren's communes were economic ventures. Each of them was based on the time-labor system, and each of them was "moderately successful," as Robert S. R)garty notes in his *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History*.<sup>10</sup>

All of this was observed and analyzed by workingmen of the times. The first faint rumblings of organized labor were being heard in Philadelphia in the 1820s when carpenters in the building trade protested the

8. Martin, *Men Against the State*, p. 37.

9. Baillie, *The First*, pp. 7-8.

10. Robert S. Fbgarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 116-117.

master builders' policies of requiring fifteen hours of labor during the daylight hours of the brief construction season, complaining that labor customs of the farm were unsuitable to their profession. Thus it seemed almost inevitable that these same workingmen would be enthusiastic about a cooperative store operated by the members where goods manufactured by the mechanics could be sold without a middleman. The idea of receiving the whole product of their labor instead of drawing a wage appealed to many workers, and they watched with interest Warren's Time Store experiment in Cincinnati.<sup>11</sup>

This interest was being fostered in Philadelphia by Robert Smith and Peter Kaufmann. As already noted, Smith had been so impressed by Warren's Time Store that he wanted to establish the same scheme in Philadelphia. He and Kaufmann were both members of the Mechanics Library Association established in 1827 to organize the Philadelphia workingmen through education, since this type of reform could not offend the privileged orders.<sup>12</sup> The Library was a clearinghouse for ideas,

a forum for discussion, and a meeting place for all, regardless of trade. Once the group had a meeting place and new ideas were discussed, the next step was to establish a newspaper to spread these new ideas to others outside the membership. So it was that on January 12, 1828, the *Mechanics Free Press* was first issued, the first paper in the United States edited entirely by workingmen and dedicated to the cause of labor reform.<sup>13</sup>

Robert Smith used it as a pulpit to arouse interest in the Labour for Labour Association. He felt sure that a store such as Warren's would succeed in Philadelphia, and so was born the Producers Exchange of Labour for Labour.<sup>14</sup>

This Labour for Labour reform plan generated more interest than any other reform ideas prevalent at the time because of Robert Smith's efforts. Writing under the name "Cosmopolite," he used his editorials and articles to condition workingmen toward participation in the plan. He appealed to them by insisting that only with the primitive system of barter could a permanent value be given to all commodities and labor alike.<sup>15</sup>

The Philadelphia Labour for Labour store was different from Warren's store in that it was not an individual business on a competitive basis, but a cooperatively owned and operated store. It was to receive deposits of

11. Louis H. Arky, *Origins of the American Labor Movement: Leaders and Ideas in Philadelphia*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1952, p. 23.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

14. See the Agreement of the Producers Exchange of Labour for Labour Association: Declaration of Purpose. Original manuscript in the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration Library.

15. *Mechanics Free Press*, August 9, 1828.

articles which were to be graded according to the cost of raw materials plus the labor time needed to produce the articles. Eventually, Smith hoped to do away with all cash transactions. The first store opened at 453 Market Street in June of 1828.

Robert Smith was elated by what he saw as a success and wrote the following in a letter to Peter Kaufmann in the fall of 1828:

I need hardly say to you that our prospects are increasingly flattering, indeed the success of the system so far outstrips my most... anticipations ... I labored unaided... last winter... to point the honorable mechanics farmers and labourers to the means by which they might attain independence and felicity... the proposition to create a fund of Labour for purchasing groceries, marketing and wood was brought forward ... and in about two hours on Saturday evening 500 hours were subscribed... I trust you will have completed your business ... as your aid in conducting the business of the association has now become increasingly important... someone should be in the Market Street store who can attend to the accounts and explain the Labour for Labour with facility and accuracy ..<sup>16</sup>

Later in 1828, Smith wrote a letter telling his friends of a change in his plans. The stores were not succeeding as he had hoped they would so he decided to move to "inland Pa. to form a community according to the views of Robert Owen with some modifications." Here, he said, "they" planned to establish themselves as farmers and producers. Smith was probably talking about the beginning of Peter Kaufmann's Teutonia Scheme.<sup>17</sup>

Early in 1829, the Philadelphia Labour for Labour stores were re-organized under different managers, and Smith was on his way to his alternate world. He wrote two different letters to his friend Kaufmann telling him about the Shakers, whom Smith had just discovered. He was aware of Kaufmann's efforts to organize Teutonia; in fact, in one of his letters dated the 19th of December, 1829, he said: "I started from Teutonia agreeably to the info in my last letter to you."<sup>18</sup> But Smith chose to follow a different path.

Smith wrote to Kaufmann in a letter headed "Hancock, March 24, 1829," and in it he outlined his investigation into Shaker beliefs:

I arrived with my family at Hudson N.Y. on Thursday night. On Friday I started for Lebanon and Saturday afternoon arrived. ... After some consultation with the elders and at my desire it was arranged that I should come here. The principle reason of this arrangement was that Jesse Gause my old schoolmaster and one of my most particular friends has settled here and had expressed a wish that any of his former acquaintances joining the "Believers" might settle near him. This

16. Robert Smith to Peter Kaufmann, Fall, 1828, *Kaufmann Inventory*.

17. *Mechanics Free Press*, October 28, 1828.

18. Robert Smith to Peter Kaufmann, December 19, 1829, *Kaufmann Inventory*.



you see so far from separating chief friends it is their study (?) to give them every facility for all the enjoyments that mutual kindness can impart.—As soon as it was known that my family were in Hudson it was proposed to send a wagon for them. This was all fixed on Sunday—there is no superstition here, the people practice "pure religion" & habitually they have no need of superstitious observance of mere rituals... after we landed on Shaker ground my wife Sarah was placed in a room where she has all the children (Charles and Sarah) with her and they will not be taken away from her [The next line is blacked out and written below it is: "our intercourse is uninterrupted," a most ambiguous remark in the circumstances.] I reside in the same house with my friend Jesse Gause ...<sup>19</sup>

Research at Hancock<sup>20</sup> in the day journals and other records failed to turn up any record of Smith and his family. However, at the Shaker Museum at Old Chatham, New York,<sup>21</sup> the following names and dates were on the membership list: Jesse Gause is shown as living in the North Family House in 1829 at Hancock, while a Robert Smith in 1829 resides in the South Family House as do a Sarah and a Sarah Ann Smith. There is only one Charles Smith listed in 1829, and he is shown as a member of the Church family at Hancock, which is rather doubtful since newcomers to Shakerism did not initially join the Church family. The records at Winterthur<sup>22</sup> had nothing for the period from 1829 to 1831, the years Smith would have spent among the Believers.

In this same letter to Kaufmann he describes some of the Shaker views as he interprets them: "practical religion is the basis of Shakerism... In what I call Metaphysical Theology these views are precisely similar to yours ... I will only on the abtruse part of their doctrines say 'Come and See' ... To do good, to live soberly rightiously and Godly, to deny all ungodliness and every worldly lust, and particularly to take up the Cross against the flesh is all that is indispensable to a union with this people." ("The Cross" was a Shaker euphemism for celibacy.)

The next letter was written at Hancock on April 28, again to Kaufmann. In it Smith says he had planned to meet Kaufmann by the second week in May, but "this resolution has changed and I am now a Shaker... I concluded to leave but almost as soon as I fixed on going again to the world my feelings became uncomfortable... I concluded to follow this *invisible leader* [probably Ann Lee] and give this narrow way a fair trial... I am at present employed in the garden it is a kind of business I like. The gardens are a very great source of wealth to the Society but the foundation of all their prosperity is the universal economy that prevails in every department of their numerous operations."<sup>23</sup>

19. Ibid., March 24, 1829.

20. Hancock Village Records, 1820-1830, Library, Hancock, NY.

21. Hancock Village Records, 1820-1830, Library, Shaker Museum, Old Chatham, NY.

22. Hancock Village Records, 1820-1830, Library, Winterthur Museum, Wilmington, DE.

23. Robert Smith to Peter Kaufmann, March 24, 1829, *Kaufmann Inventory*.

Poor Robert Smith; once again, he wrote to Peter Kaufmann, this time in December of 1829 and now already gone from Hancock: "... Started from Teutonia... my departure from Pittsburgh was delayed nearly two weeks... passing through the streets one day I accidentally met Wm. Christman and to abbreviate the story... he threw me in prison (for debt) ... this is a dreadful place and my feelings have been lacerated by the barbarous inhumanity of my unrelenting persecution."<sup>24</sup>

The final letter of this small collection was written August 29, 1830; and, after it was written, Robert Smith disappeared. The only other source of information discoverable were the few remarks about him in Peter Kaufmann's thirty-page autobiographical letter to Ralph W. Emerson. In these mentions there is no hint of his origin or background nor of his appearance on the scene in Philadelphia in 1828. In his letter to Emerson, Kaufmann writes:

In the summer of 1828 ... our reformer [Kaufmann refers to himself as "our reformer" or "our hero" throughout the letter]... again returns to Philadelphia... and towards the close of June ... our hero received word from the two main Mechanics organizations ... the Mechanics Library Assoc. & The Labour for Labour Exchange Society ... which our reformer assisted in promoting make gigantic progress ... Robert Smith ... its ostensible leader ... is a man of considerable parts ... but very opinionated, self willed and hasty ... and if there is no controlling check to his volitable temper... all the members of the Society ... before the lapse of two weeks... would split off... Smith however takes not only a particular liking to our hero but permits himself to be led by his counsel to an uncommon degree. Abstaining ... on one occasion ... to carry out a decision ... known to have been formed by him ... Smith is asked in the presence of our reformer ... by a friend ... when he is going to prosecute his journey? Smith replies: I have given it up all together: this man here (pointing to our hero) with his superior judgement... has dissuaded me entirely from it... during his short absence ... to settle his private affairs in Ohio... his friend Robert Smith in Philadelphia having no longer a checking force at his side ... causes the splitting of the Labour for Labour Organization and the large store ... into four inefficient fragments all destined by degrees to pull away ... until finally dying ... our reformer owns ... a very good horse... after procuring a wagon... he is provided with a stock of goods... and these he readily sells.. and by it helps his new friend Robert Smith out of his main difficulties.<sup>25</sup>

This was the last mention of Smith's name in the Emerson - Kaufmann exchange, although Kaufmann does tell Emerson of the birth of his son, Peter Robert, on June 28, 1829. This child was Kaufmann's third son and was named for Robert Smith. Smith ends his letter of March 28, 1830,

24. Ibid., December 19, 1829.

25. David H. Sowd, "Emerson's Correspondence with Peter Kaufmann," *E.S.Q.: A Journal of the American Renaissance*, 20 (1974): 186.

to Kaufmann by saying: "Please to kiss my little namesake for me. I hope he is well."<sup>26</sup> Smith also speaks of his wife Sarah and his two children, Sarah and Charles, in one of the "Shaker" letters but gives no other details.<sup>27</sup> He simply appears on the scene in 1828, and there is no more mention of him after his last letter to Kaufmann on August 29, 1830.

The Emerson letter above is a brief introduction to Peter Kaufmann, about whom there is a wealth of material. His letters at the Ohio Historical Society form a huge inventory, most of them written in German. However, the letters in English to Smith, Warren, and other reformers of the day indicate not only the interchange of business and practical matters among the communes and sects, but also the personal relationships that developed. Peter Kaufmann worked hard in his correspondence to make friends and to influence them.

He was born in Germany in 1800 and came to the United States in 1820, landing in Philadelphia. Here he met Catherine Wiltz, also German-born and a Quaker. Through her, he met many of the well-to-do influential Quaker leaders of the period and, through them, also received financial help. He knew both Morris Longstreth and John Cooke, who entertained Robert Owen when he went to Philadelphia in 1824, and it is possible that Kaufmann met Owen at that time. However, Kaufmann did not join Owen's group at New Harmony, Indiana, but instead went to Economy, Pennsylvania, where George Rapp had established his new colony after the sale of Harmony to Robert Owen. Here Kaufmann worked as a teacher as well as doing practical handwork.

At the time Kaufmann joined the Harmony Society, it was troubled over the new Constitution Father Rapp wanted his followers to sign, depriving them of even more individual rights. The upshot of the constitutional change was the defection of forty-two persons, including Peter Kaufmann, whom Karl Arndt states was the manipulator behind the rebellion and the later court case against the Rapps.<sup>28</sup>

Kaufmann now became the leader in forming with the other Rappite rebels a new alternate world called Teutonia. It was to be patterned after Economy but not as strict, and its Constitution was published in both English and German.<sup>29</sup> In a letter, Kaufmann writes: "induced by several influential men respected by age, character, and position in this vicinity who appeared to desire a social cooperation I wrote out a constitution and submitted it to public inspection."<sup>30</sup>

26. Robert Smith to Peter Kaufmann, March 28, 1830, *Kaufmann Inventory*.

27. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1829.

28. Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rev. Ed., 1975), p. 358.

29. Teutonia Constitution, *Kaufmann Inventory*.

30. Sowd, "Emerson's Correspondence with Peter Kaufmann," p. 197.

Among the objects of philanthropy that the signers named, the following three were included in their constitution:

1. A universal, all-sided education for all men;
2. Emancipation for the Negro;
3. Civilization and Christianization of the Indian races.

This constitution was signed by nineteen very idealistic reformers, at least eight of whom were former members of the Harmony Society and Economy.<sup>31</sup>

From a study of the constitution which they proposed, it is clear that they liked the communistic life of the Harmonists but that they wished to be less severely religious, absolutely and completely democratic, and national in scope. Therefore, Kaufmann and his followers were going to build up a commune called "The Society of the United Germans at Teutonia" which would be formed mainly of German immigrants. However, the founders of the new colony were diligent in their efforts to assure one and all that the group conformed to the laws and ideals of the United States of America. To quote from the preamble of the society's constitution:

... we the undersigned unite ourselves... into an association in which no member shall have any privilege before the other ... And in order to guard the primitive rights of men—Liberty and Equality ...

Article I of this same constitution went on to say:

... There should be no arrangement made or introduced among us which may in any way be contradictory to the Constitution of the United States, the laws of the country, or the precepts of the Gospel .. ?<sup>2</sup>

The section on education once again emphasized the importance all the reformers of the day put on teaching the common man to at least read and write so that he could form his own opinions.

The society settled into a pleasant home in Springfield Township, Columbiana County, Ohio, about thirty miles west of Economy. "This new place is on or near Bull Creek about four miles from the little village of Peterborough,"<sup>33</sup> said Kaufmann. Most of the members were Germans who had withdrawn, penniless, from the society at Economy after their rebellion against Father Rapp's too-strict rule.

Teutonia lasted only four years, partly because of the lack of water power to operate the mills, but mainly because the thrifty, practical, hard-working settlers realized that they could become prosperous

31. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society*, p. 359.

32. Teutonia Constitution, *Kaufmann Inventory*.

33. *Kaufmann Inventory*.

through their own efforts instead of relying on a communal society to do it for them. Nevertheless, the commune lasted longer than most and probably would have continued for another few years if Kaufmann had spent more time and attention on the project. While he was organizing Teutonia, he was also working with Robert Smith who had asked him to return to Philadelphia since his managerial skills were needed there in the Labour for Labour Store.

As the Teutonia scheme grew, letters were exchanged about the structure and direction of the Society, such as the following from Louisa Riedesel to her sister, Catherine Kaufmann, Schellsberg, February 1, 1828:

I would ... like for you, dear sister, to tell me your opinions about the society to be created at Teutonia, if you believe such a thing will come to be ... to ask more questions I consider to be excessive because I believe ... you understand what I mean.<sup>34</sup>

And, from Catherine Kaufmann to her sister and friend, Louisa Riedesel, Teutonia, February 8, 1828:

Yes the society of United Germans is already in existence therefore my opinion doesn't matter ... the members are all ... Christians ... not seeking their own happiness alone but... have a sympathetic heart towards their fellow man and for the good of humanity, give *everything* that the 'mine' and 'yours' will cease to be among us ... we have made a beginning in Teutonia to do something for humanity.<sup>35</sup>

From Kurtz (?) to Peter Kaufmann, Canton, January 5, 1828: "Now something new and interesting for Teutonia. In Pittsburgh the bookprinter Martheus ... has decided to dedicate his entire German writings to Teutonia and to join himself."<sup>36</sup> And, lastly, the problems—from Catherine Kaufmann to Peter Kaufmann, Springfield, July 6, 1828: "In my earlier writing I informed you about Schwerd Gottebar and Max Entschluss that they want to have printed in the newspaper that no one should give you anything for the society of Teutonia because it no longer exists."<sup>37</sup>

In January of 1828, Kaufmann left Teutonia for Philadelphia to give Smith his assistance in the Labour for Labour Store as well as to explain his new social system to the members of the Mechanics Library Association. He stayed some weeks in Philadelphia on the invitation of the Library Association, where he had delivered a lecture on his version of communism at the Universalist Church on Callowhill Street to a large

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

audience. This same lecture was published in an early edition of the *Mechanics Free Press*.<sup>38</sup>

Kaufmann and Smith as reformers commented on the workingmen's troubles in an exchange of letters. Kaufmann stated that "there is an *uncommon* stir here amongst people of the working class and they seem to *commence* to see their *interest* and how the great mass of their misery may be diminished and ameliorated... it will require some time for me to bring the hearts nearer together... since all confidence is destroyed in and toward another in frightful degree."<sup>39</sup> Robert Smith replied, "I am happy to find that your mind retains all its former devotedness to the glorious cause in which we have labored so hard... I feel assurance that however contaminating your present business may be your Philanthropic soul will ever rise superior to its deleterious influence."<sup>40</sup>

This swell of labor protest had a wide appeal to workers, trade unionists, and reformers, with Warren, Kaufmann, and Smith deeply involved. However, in the 1830s, each man took a different path.

Robert Smith, as mentioned before, disappeared, leaving no trace. In his letters to Kaufmann, he made little mention of his private life. He wrote of his wife Sarah and their children, Charles and Sarah, but gave no other details. He spoke of his old schoolmaster, Jesse Gause, at the Shaker Hancock settlement, which suggests he grew up in America or at least was brought here before he started school. He also writes in the same letter: "I cannot give up the idea of doing something more than I could do here for the emancipation of my fellow men from the mental and physical slavery they are in—with plans I have in contemplation I can pay my debts in one year with ease..."<sup>41</sup> Here is proof that he planned to pay his debts and also that he planned to continue his work in helping to alleviate the lot of the worker. Finally, in a letter written March 8, 1830, he says:

I am much inclined to think ... that all my calculations about settling down ... will at least for the present have to be postponed as prospect of success as a wanderer is becoming ever increasingly promising. There is however something exceedingly unpleasant to be always among strangers ... and just as you begin to feel at home and to enjoy social fire side comforts ... to be compelled to move off...<sup>42</sup>

The itinerant reformer was once again the seeker.

38. Sowd, "Emerson's Correspondence with Peter Kaufmann," p. 196.

39. Arky, *Origins of the American Labor Movement*, p. 118.

40. Robert Smith to Peter Kaufmann, no date, *Kaufmann Inventory*.

41. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1829.

42. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1829.

Like Smith, Peter Kaufmann also left an organized Utopia to begin one of his own which he personally could direct. The Harmonist rebellion might have been partially instigated by him. He was a manipulator behind the scenes, a man who used his friends to better his own position. In Philadelphia he used his wife's Quaker connections to borrow money to establish his own business, which subsequently failed. He heard Owen's pipes but shrewdly decided he could not compete with such a popular figure and so joined Rapp. The position as teacher in an Academy of Education probably appealed to his pragmatic mind. Here he could experiment with his educational theories without interference. He also fancied himself Father Rapp's successor and, in his letter to Emerson, boasted:

Old Mr. Rapp manifested invariably such decisive favoritism for our hero, that everybody in the society began to look upon him as the certain successor of the old "prophet" when his time should arrive, as besides there was no other person in the community qualified to fill Rapp's place after he should be gone..<sup>43</sup>

When Father Rapp demanded more power for himself and less freedom for his followers, Kaufmann left Economy and started to his own Utopia at Teutonia. He intended to control this alternate world by writing his own constitution and publishing his own newspaper. The whole scheme was quickly abandoned, however, when he was offered a substantial business opportunity. Kaufmann's letters show that money played an important part in his life. Although he never had much money, he continually assured his friends that he had plenty, made, of course, by his own shrewdness and business acumen.

In 1831 Peter Kaufmann moved permanently to Canton, Ohio, where he published and printed the *Vaterland Freund*. He later added a circulating library as well as printing pamphlets, books, and German almanacs. He served as both postmaster and village trustee in Canton while, on the national level, he was a delegate to three Democratic conventions. He was active as a member of the General School Committee of Germans in the United States. It was in this capacity that he delivered an address before the State Education Convention of Ohio, published in 1839 as *A Treatise on American Popular Education*.<sup>44</sup> He had met and become a personal friend, or so he said in his correspondence with Emerson, of Henry Clay, President Martin Van Buren, John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, and others.<sup>45</sup> He died in 1869, a respected member of the community.

Of the three men, Josiah Warren was the only one who spent his life seeking his alternate world. He succeeded to some degree in every

43. Sowd, "Emerson's Correspondence with Peter Kaufmann," p. 190.

44. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society*, p. 357.

45. Ibid., p. 567.

effort he made, although recognition was slow to come. Beyond the communities which he successfully initiated and the Time Store in Cincinnati, he tried many interesting experiments in industrial and practical education of the young. One of his chief interests was to improve the printing press, since books and papers were the best method of spreading information among the poorer classes. *The Peaceful Revolutionist*,<sup>46</sup> Warren's first periodical, appeared in January 1833 but survived only a few months. It was a four-page weekly of neat typography devoted to exposition of the principles of equity, printed on a press of his own invention.

About 1840 he built the first press to print newspapers from a roll. The following description of this mechanism is from an editorial which appeared February 28, 1840, in an Evansville, Indiana, paper: "The first number of the *Southwestern Sentinel* is possibly the first newspaper ever printed on a continuous sheet on the machine which Mr. Warren called his speed press."<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, the innovation was opposed by the printers who saw in its labor-saving power a menace to their interests. They deliberately threw the press out of gear so often that Warren finally went to the office and had the press hauled away and broken up.

Warren never received as much credit as he deserved for the ingenuity, labor, and money spent on the inventions at which he worked for most of his life. Holloway says that his individual gifts were as remarkable as his social theories and that sound common sense insured the practical application of both.<sup>48</sup> His faith in a workable alternate world continued until his death in 1874, although his experiments ended with his last visit to Modern Times in 1860.

The basic ideas of Warren, Smith, and Kaufmann were apparent in the sect each chose to join. Each group adopted some form of communism and each hoped that others would join because of the obvious virtue of the "people" and the evil of the "world."

46. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, p. 299.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

48. Mark Holloway, *Heavens on Earth* (New York: Dover Press, 1966), p. 155.