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D. Josiah Warren: An Annotated Bibliography

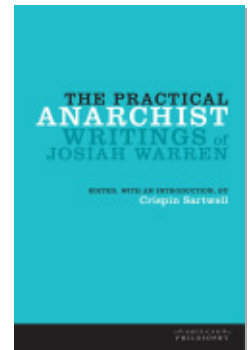
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APPENDIX D

JOSIAH WARREN: AN ANNOTATED
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A number of people have had a hand in researching Warren's writings, and this appendix is an attempt to summarize the bibliographical work on Warren as it currently stands. Ronald Creagh's bibliography in *L'anarchisme aux Etats-Unis* (Paris: Didier Erudition, 1986) was invaluable. The bibliography below owes a particular debt to Shawn Wilbur, whose research on Warren informs this book throughout. Bailie's research for *The First American Anarchist* remains fundamental. Anne Caldwell Butler's graduate work at Ball State in the 1960s and '70s unearthed new materials. Agnes Inglis collected materials and references for a file at the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. It is entirely possible that whole books by Warren may exist, waiting to be discovered.

Entries within each section are arranged chronologically.

BOOKS AND BOOKLETS PUBLISHED DURING WARREN'S LIFETIME

- A New System of Notation: Intended to Promote the More General Cultivation and More Just Performance of Music.* New Harmony, 1843. Self-published first statement of Warren's innovations in musical notation.
- A Collection of the Most Popular Church Music Written upon Geometric or Scientific Principles.* New Harmony, 1844.
- Equitable Commerce: A New Development of Principles as Substitutes for Laws and Governments, for the Harmonious Adjustment and Regulation of the Pecuniary, Intellectual, and Moral Intercourse of Mankind, Proposed as Elements of New Society.* New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1852. Stephen Pearl Andrews edited this primary source for Warren's thinking. It uses an eccentric typographical/indexing system in which themes are numbered and lettered in a hierarchy and then noted in the margins. The first edition was published in 1846. In his "Editor's Preface" to the 1852 edition, Andrews writes, "The main body of this book was published as far back as 1842. It has now undergone, at my request, a revisal by the author" (5). The work is "signed" "Josiah Warren. New Harmony, Indiana, U.S., 1846" (106). Believe it or not, an 1869 edition was published under the title *The Former Title of This Work Was "Equitable Commerce," but it is now ranked as the first of True Civilization*, a title only Warren, in the whole history of humankind, could have devised. A number of small editions were published in the twentieth century.
- Practical Details in Equitable Commerce, Showing the Workings, in Actual Experiment, During a Series of Years, of the Social Principles Expounded in the Works Called "Equitable Commerce."* New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1852. I obtained a copy from the Houghton Library at Harvard University. It is mostly in dialogue form, recording what seem to be actual transactions. Something of a miscellany, it features a preface by Andrews in which he sets out the project of *Modern Times*. There are also theoretical cogitations very much redundant with other writings. But it yields a narrative of Warren's projects between New Harmony and *Modern Times*, with many detailed records that Warren regarded as the data confirming his theory.
- Written Music Remodeled and Invested with the Simplicity of an Exact Science.* Boston: John P. Jewett, 1860. An elaboration of Warren's work on musical notation in the 1840s.
- True Civilization: An Immediate Necessity and the Last Ground of Hope for Mankind, Being the Results and Conclusions of Thirty-Nine Years' Laborious Study and Experiments in Civilization as It Is, and in Different Enterprises for Reconstruction, by Josiah Warren, Counsellor in Equity.* Boston,

1863. This qualifies his anarchism to some extent with a system of arbitration panels, and it also addresses the Civil War. Warren appears to have become a fan of military drilling, an unlikely juxtaposition. The table of contents, rather than running serially through the text, gives page numbers nonsequentially by theme. Chapter 4 reproduces the sections on economics from *Equitable Commerce*.

Practical Applications of the Elementary Principles of True Civilization to the Minute Details of Everyday Life. Princeton, Mass., 1873. This self-published booklet narrates Warren's practical experiments, starting with Tuscarawas. There is a copy in Houghton Library at Harvard University.

PERIODICALS

Warren's periodicals were mostly very small runs of a single or a few issues, printed by himself, and for which he fabricated the type, written entirely by himself. In some cases, the distinction between periodical and booklet is arbitrary.

The Peaceful Revolutionist. Apparently four issues were published in volume 1. I have only located numbers 2 and 4, dated February 3, 1833, and April 5, 1833 (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin). There was also a pamphlet published under this title in May 1848 at Utopia, Ohio (vol. 2, no. 1).

Herald of Equity. Dated Cincinnati, 1841 (Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana).

Gazette of Equitable Commerce. Vol. 1, no. 2, dated New Harmony, September 1842. This issue includes material on the Time Stores and equitable commerce. The contents of vol. 1, no. 1, are not known, nor is it known whether any other issues were published (Indiana Historical Society).

Letter on Equitable Commerce. Dated New Harmony, February 1844 (Indiana Historical Society).

Periodical Letter on the Principles and Progress of the Equity Movement. Dated Modern Times (Thompson's Station), New York, 1854–58. Shawn Wilbur has identified seventeen issues.

The Quarterly Letter: Devoted to Showing the Practical Applications and Progress of Equity, a Subject of Serious Concern to All Classes, but Most Immediately to the Men and Women of Labor and Sorrow! Vol. 1, no. 1, dated October 1867. Consists exclusively of a treatise by Warren, "Labor for Labor," which narrates Warren's experiments up through those at Tuscarawas (New Harmony and Time Store). This source, together with *Practical Applications*, provides the more or less continuous narrative presented in this volume (Labadie Collection, University of Michigan).

ARTICLES, BROADSIDES, AND PAMPHLETS

- “Explanation of the Design and Arrangements of the Cooperative Magazine Which Has Recently Been Commenced.” *Western Tiller*. Eight communications from September 8, 1826, to July 27, 1827. The *Western Tiller* was published in Cincinnati.
- “A Letter from Josiah Warren.” *Mechanics Free Press* (Philadelphia). May 10, 1828, 2.
- “From ‘The March of Mind.’” *New Harmony Gazette*. September 10, 1828, 365.
- “Time System for Labor Exchange.” *Western Tiller*. Five articles between September and October 1828.
- “Reduction in the Cost of Printing Apparatus.” Cincinnati, 1830 (broadside).
- “To the Friends of the Equal Exchange of Labor in the West.” *Free Enquirer* 2 (July 17, 1830): 301–2.
- “Improvement in the Machinery of Law.” *Free Enquirer* 2 (July 17, 1830): 300.
- “Reply to E. C.” *Free Enquirer* 2 (August 14, 1830): 332.
- “Social Experiment.” *Free Enquirer* 3 (February 16, 1831): 137.
- “Written on Hearing of the Death of Camilla Wright.” *Free Enquirer* 5 (February 23, 1833): 144 (poem).
- “Introduction to a New Printing Apparatus, Adapted to the Wants and Capacities of Private Citizens.” Trenton, Ohio, 1836.
- “Manifesto.” New Harmony, Ind., 1841 (leaflet). Reprinted with an introduction by Joseph Ishill, Berkeley Heights, N.J.: Oriole Press, 1952.
- Written contributions to the *Indiana Statesman*, New Harmony (February 1, 1845; March 7 1846); and a series of engravings (July 4, August 16, October 11, December 27, 1845; January 31, February 14, 1846).
- “Music and the Sciences.” *American Journal of Music and Musical Visitor* 4 (February 16, 1846): 147.
- “Improvement in Compositions for Stereotype-Plates.” US Patent 4,479, April 25, 1849.
- “Letter from Josiah Warren.” *Boston Investigator* 19 (September 25, 1849): 3.
- “Positions Defined.” Modern Times, N.Y., 1854 (leaflet).
- “Explanation,” *Boston Investigator* 23 (February 22, 1854): 2.
- “Modern Education.” Long Island, N.Y., December 1861 (leaflet).
- “Modern Government and Its True Mission, A Few Words for the American Crisis.” n.p., March 1862. Signed “A Counsellor.”
- “On Mobs, I.” *Boston Investigator* 33 (September 23, 1863): 155.

- “On Mobs, II.” *Boston Investigator* 33 (September 30, 1863): 163.
- “The Emancipation of Labor.” Boston, 1864 (Collection of the Working Man’s Institute, New Harmony, Ind.).
- “An Open Letter to Louis Kossuth.” *Boston Investigator* 33 (February 17, 1864).
- “The Principle of Equivalents: The Most Disagreeable Labor Entitled to the Highest Compensation.” n.p., 1865 (pamphlet).
- “Woman and the Money Question.” *Revolution* 4 (July 1869): 29.
- “Superficialities.” *Revolution* 4 (August 12, 1869): 83.
- “Response to the Call of the National Labor Union for Essays on the Following Subjects.” Boston, 1871 (pamphlet).
- Controversy with Andrews in *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly*. July–September 1871.
- “The Motives for Communism—How It Worked and What It Led To.” *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly* 4 (February 17, 1872): 6. This was the first in a series. The subsequent pieces appeared in *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly* on the following dates: February 24, March 2, March 16, April 13, April 20, April 27, May 25, June 15, 1872; April 12, April 26, 1873.
- “Letter to E. H. Heywood.” Princeton, Mass., 1873. Reprinted in *Index* 5 (April 30, 1874); and in Bailie, *Josiah Warren* (127–35), as “Josiah Warren’s Last Letter.”
- “Money: The Defects of Money Are the ‘Roots of All Evil.’” Charlestown, Mass., 1873 (pamphlet).
- “A Few Words to the Pioneers.” *Word*. July 1873. Followed by a series of articles in subsequent issues.
- “The Cost Principle.” *Index* 4 (December 11, 1873): 504–5.
- “Labor the Only Ground of Price.” *Index* 5 (May 28, 1874): 260–61.
- “A Few Words to the Writer in a Paper Called ‘The Circular’ on ‘the Sovereignty of the Individual.’” n.d. (Labadie Collection, University of Michigan).
- “Young America.” n.d. (pamphlet) (Working Man’s Institute).

LETTERS AND NOTEBOOKS

- A set of what are apparently lecture notes, too fragile to xerox. Described by Martin in *Men Against the State* (Working Men’s Institute, New Harmony, Ind.).
- “Notebook D.” A book-length handwritten notebook used by Warren at widely divergent stages of his career (1840, 1860, 1873). It overlaps with *Equitable Commerce* and other writings, but it also contains some previously unknown material. It was edited by Ann Caldwell Butler for a

master's thesis at Ball State University in "Josiah Warren, Notebook D," (June 1968). The material used here is based on Butler's version (Working Men's Institute).

Three letters to Stephen Pearl Andrews about stereotype plates and publishing plans (photocopies), 1850–51 (Working Men's Institute).

Letter addressed "My Dear Sir." Thompson's Station, Long Island, New York, March 12, 1853. Addresses various subjects, including Warren's printing experiments (Labadie Collection, University of Michigan; other letters are not legible due to bleed-through).

In *Partisans of Freedom*, Reichert mentions twenty-one letters exchanged between Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews contained in the catalogues of Charles Coffin Jewitt at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Reichert characterizes them as showing how close the two men were in their ideas and projects in the early 1850s.

Handwritten document titled "A Scrap of History" ("by the author of TC and EC etc"; thus, late period). A memoir of Owen's New Harmony (Labadie Collection).

MAJOR SOURCES BY OTHERS

Andrews, Stephen Pearl. *The Science of Society*. Weston, Mass.: M&S Press, 1970 [1851]. Explicitly presented as an exposition of Warren's ideas, this book was no doubt greeted with some relief by anyone who had tried to read Warren directly. Nevertheless, in eccentricity Pearl Andrews far outpaced Warren, and he would soon invent a universal language ("Alwato") and attempt to answer all possible questions in his system of "universology." It has often been stated, including apparently by Warren himself, that this book is the best embodiment in writing of Warren's philosophy. As Wunderlich points out in *Low Living and High Thinking*, however, the book was bound to fail in its attempt to reconcile Warren and Fourier, an extremely unlikely project.

Bailie, William. *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist*. New York: Herbert C. Roseman, 1971 [1906]. The only biography of Warren, this is a bit on the hagiographic side to be absolutely in good taste. Still, Bailie unearthed much valuable information on Warren's life and ideas.

Butler, Ann Caldwell. *Josiah Warren: Peaceful Revolutionist*. Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, July 1978. Rock-solid research on Warren's activities and beliefs. Includes samples of Warren's musical notation and a copy of his will.

Heywood, Ezra. "Yours or Mine? The True Basis of Property." First printed as a pamphlet in Princeton, Mass., 1876. Reprinted in *Essential Works of*

- Ezra Heywood*, ed. Martin Blatt (Westin, Mass.: M&S Press, 1985), 71–104. Also consult the Heywood essay “Hard Cash,” collected in the same volume (103–29). Both are very able expositions of Warrenian economics.
- Martin, James J. *Men Against the State*. Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1970 [1953]. This is still the best treatment of American individualist anarchism, and it begins with several chapters displaying serious research on Warren (though his dating of various Warren communities is inaccurate).
- Noyes, John Humphrey. *History of American Socialisms*. New York: Dover, 1966 [1870]. See esp. chap. 10. A sharp and fair assessment (characteristic of Noyes) with material from *The Peaceful Revolutionist* and an interview with a resident of Modern Times (probably not Warren or Andrews). Noyes’s chapter is based on the A. J. Macdonald Papers on American Communities at the Beinecke Collection at Yale University. This material comes from Macdonald’s travels, interviews, and collecting of ephemera from American ideal communities, and contains considerable material on Warren. MacDonald’s actual typescript is hard to decipher, but the collection also includes the whole of *The Peaceful Revolutionist*, vol. 2, no. 1, dated Utopia, Ohio, May 1848. There are also some drawings of Modern Times by MacDonald.
- Reichert, William O. *Partisans of Freedom*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Press, 1976. This text is exemplary in its connection of Warren to Emerson. Reichert calls Warren the “chief architect of libertarianism” (64).
- Shively, Charles. “A Remarkable American: Josiah Warren, 1798–1874.” Undergraduate honors thesis, Harvard University, 1959.
- Stern, Madeleine. “Every Man His Own Printer: The Typographical Experiments of Josiah Warren.” *Printing History* 2, no. 2 (1980): 1–20. A delightful and well-researched treatment of Warren’s career as a printer and inventor.
- Wunderlich, Roger. *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times, New York*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992. By far the best scholarly work on Warren, it includes many sources no one else consulted. Wunderlich got a Ph.D. from Stony Brook University at age seventy-two and became more or less the official historian of Long Island.

