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FOREWORD TO THE DOVER EDITION

NEW HARMONY, a little town in the extreme southwestern corner of Indiana, is one of those small communities—there is a handful scattered about in every country—which embody within their limits a disproportionately large amount of significant history. At some of these places decisive and epoch-making battles took place; at others, great men or women lived or were born; and a few of them were sites of social activities which have proved to be important in the development of mankind. New Harmony belongs in the latter category. It was the setting for an experiment that was intended to change the whole social and commercial pattern of society. In this respect, the experiment was a failure; but in others—in its by-products, as it were—it was an influential pioneer.

New Harmony was the site chosen by Robert Owen in 1824 for the initiation of a completely new social system which was to be based on cooperation rather than competition, and which sought the good of all rather than the enrichment of a few individuals at the expense of the majority. Owen, who at this time was fifty-two, had an international reputation as a philanthropic cotton-mill owner, and as a reformer and socialist. He had been associated for twenty-five years, as manager and chief owner, with the largest cotton-spinning establishment in Britain, and had turned this place, New Lanark, in Scotland, into the most benevolently conducted working community in the country. It

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had become a showplace of the industrial revolution, a model of its kind that was exhibited with pride to all kinds of distinguished visitors from all over the world; for Owen not only created an efficient factory, but a healthy, well-regulated and compassionately governed human community as well.

In those days the owner of a factory usually owned everything connected with it: the houses in which his employees lived, the shops they used, and virtually the employees themselves—for usually the only alternative to working in the factory was starvation. The employer was thus all-powerful and often tyrannical. Employees were treated with less consideration than many animals; they were grossly overworked and underpaid, and in consequence were half-starved and appallingly ill-housed. They were treated, in fact, as mere extensions of the new machinery and not as human beings at all. Children of seven and eight were commonly employed in factories for fourteen and fifteen hours a day, going to and from work in darkness for two-thirds of the year, and never breathing fresh air or feeling the warmth of the sun in all those months except on Sundays.

Owen would have none of this. "Would any of us," he wrote, "permit our slaves, if we were obliged to maintain them, to be so treated? . . . I feel almost ashamed to address any human being on such a subject."* He also pointed out that quite apart from humanitarian considerations it was to the ultimate advantage of manufacturers to have well-taught, healthy, and prosperous employees; and he certainly demonstrated by example that this was so. He paid higher wages, demanded shorter hours of work, and provided far better housing, schooling and food than most of his com-

**Address to the Master Manufacturers of Great Britain, 1819.*

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petitors; yet the factory paid, and paid well; and the more it paid, the more Owen ploughed back into the business in improving the conditions and amenities of the workers.

A feature of life at New Lanark which benefited greatly from Owen's benevolence was education. The schools were much praised, and with good reason. They were a radical departure from the orthodox system of cramming the memory with facts learnt parrot-wise in an ambience of rigorous control. Dancing, physical exercise, play, and conversation were introduced as teaching methods as well as books. Artificial rewards and punishments were abolished; and teachers were instructed to be kind, for how could the mind be expected to unfold in an atmosphere of terror? Such ideas and practices, as far ahead of their time as those of Pestalozzi and Froebel, anticipated methods which did not come into general use in Britain for almost a hundred years. Education, indeed, was at the very basis of Owen's philosophy: man's character, he insisted, was formed by his environment, and the only way of making good citizens was by providing conditions in which man's better nature would be encouraged to grow, and in which body and mind would be well cared for and trained in right habits and ways of living. The whole benevolent system at New Lanark was based on this proposition.

At New Lanark, Owen was in supreme control, and not even a succession of timid or dissenting partners could prevent him from putting into practice what he believed. When he saw the results of his work, he found them good, and he wanted to see them extended beyond the confines of his own factory. His employees were prosperous and happy; he looked forward to the day when all employees would enjoy the same conditions, and with his incurable optimism and rationalism, he saw no reason why they

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should not do so. He had only to spread his message abroad, and point to the visible results of his beliefs, and surely—surely even self-interest would persuade other manufacturers to follow his example.

It was in this way that Owen became the leading propagandist for a radical change in human relationships. *A New View of Society* (1813–1816) carried forth his message, in an elaborated form, that character is formed by environment: change the environment, and you change men, and therefore society. Other writings described a plan he had conceived as a solution to the widespread unemployment and destitution that followed the manufacturing slump at the end of the Napoleonic wars. This plan proposed Villages of Cooperation, modeled on New Lanark, which would be centers of social activity and rational education as well as centers of production. They would be mainly self-supporting, agricultural as well as industrial. They would cooperate rather than compete, and would exchange surpluses. They would try as much to train good citizens as to relieve poverty.

The more Owen thought about this plan, which is most fully set out in his *Report to the County of Lanark* (1820), the more it appealed to him as an end in itself. Why shouldn't these Villages of Cooperation spread far and wide over the land until the ideal state of society which they represented should replace the competitive and cut-throat society of capitalism, and thus introduce a new era of peace and brotherhood—not only in Britain, but in all countries?

He appealed for the realization of this idea to the English government. The Home Secretary, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and even the Duke of Kent all professed interest, and owing to his enormous prestige as a manufacturer,

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Owen was given a respectful hearing. Unfortunately, riots and disturbances were widespread at the time, and the government was much more concerned with putting these down (with the utmost severity) than with getting at the roots of the trouble and doing something to alleviate the intolerable conditions that were responsible for these acts of protest and revolt; consequently, the government regarded Owen's proposals as hopelessly unrealistic.

Owen therefore tended to turn away from appeals to authority, and began instead to address the public in a series of pamphlets and manifestoes. Being honest and outspoken, and not a tactful or tactically minded man, he reiterated in these appeals what had not been noticed before, but was now seized upon by his opponents and used very effectively against him: namely, his uncompromising opposition to established religion. This, he pointed out, attributed man's unhappiness to his own misconduct, whereas it was not his fault at all, but the fault of his environment. This attitude stirred up a good deal of opposition to, and suspicion of Owen, and made it evident that he would get no more backing for his Villages of Cooperation from the general public than he had from the government. He would have to look elsewhere for the furtherance of his schemes, or attempt to set up a model community with his own resources.

By this time—round about 1820—Owen had undoubtedly heard of the communities of the Shakers and the Rappites in America, and when Richard Flower called on him at New Lanark in August 1824, as agent empowered to sell

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the Rappite community* of Harmonie on the Wabash River in Indiana, Owen was very interested indeed. Although wealthy, he could not afford more than half the sum he would have had to pay for an establishment of minimum size in Britain. For a quarter of this estimated sum he could buy Harmonie, ready-made as a community town, and including an acreage of land about twenty times greater than the least amount that was necessary. In October, therefore, he sailed to America, examined Harmonie, and in January 1825 bought the place lock, stock and barrel. On 20,000 acres of partially cleared land there were 180 buildings and accommodation for about seven hundred people. It cost \$125,000. He renamed it New Harmony.

The story of what happened at New Harmony has often been told. "I am come to this country," Owen announced at the end of April 1825 in the Hall of New Harmony (which had been the Rappite church), "to introduce an entire new system of society; to change it from an ignorant, selfish system to an enlightened social system which shall gradually unite all interests into one, and remove all causes for contest between individuals." This sounded splendid, and so did his call to "the industrious and well-disposed of all nations" to come to New Harmony and help found the new utopia. The call was soon answered: in a few weeks eight hundred people had assembled, of all classes, creeds, professions, trades, and nationalities. Some sincerely wished to try to bring about Owen's rather vaguely outlined vision, but many were attracted by his reputation as a philanthropist, and expected to step into a ready-made paradise, not to help make one. Moreover, the preparations for what

*For the history of the Rappites see pp. 7-42 of this book; also Arndt, Karl, J. R.: *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia, 1965).

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Lockwood calls "the greatest experiment in social reconstruction which the world has yet witnessed" were pitifully inadequate to support the invitation to take part in it. For one thing, the constitution had no provision for excluding undesirables, no means of expelling them if they joined, and no bond—to replace that of religion in the sectarian communities—to unite the greatly diverse members. In addition, the constitution of this Preliminary Society vested complete control of the community in Owen for a period of three years, and Owen almost immediately left New Harmony, and did not return for six months.

When he did return, in January 1826, with his famous Boatload of Knowledge, he came with the fixed purpose of establishing a Community of Equality at once—a second constitution which was duly adopted before anyone had really got used to the first one. It proved to be so vague as to be unworkable, and almost immediately led to a division and the formation of another community. Interests were by no means "united into one": within a year, five constitutions had been used up, and the parent community had been split into four. Eventually, the communal basis of ownership was abandoned and the little town relapsed into individual ownership. For a time hope had been high, in tune with Owen's own optimism; in 1825 and 1826 half a dozen Owenite communities had sprung up elsewhere than at New Harmony; but by 1829 at the latest, the whole Owenite communitarian experiment had failed.

The scheme failed, but some of the leading individuals who took part in it did not fail, either as human beings or as experts and innovators in the various branches of learning they represented, or in propagating the theories they believed in. The geological, educational, libertarian, and many other achievements of Robert Dale Owen and Frances

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Wright, of William Maclure, Richard Owen, and Thomas Say reached out not only into the state and legislature of Indiana, but also into the life of the nation itself; New Harmony remained a center of knowledge, as well as a monument to an uncommonly generous and optimistic conception, throughout the nineteenth century. Even today, no serious student of Owenism—which is to say, no serious student of socialism—can afford to neglect the collections in the library of the New Harmony Workingmen's Institute; and no one interested in the communitarian tradition, standing in this little town, surrounded by buildings erected by the Rappites and once used by the Owenites, can fail to think wistfully of what might have been, if only some level-headed practical organizer—like Joseph Meacham of the Shakers, or John Humphrey Noyes—had been in charge of the place during the first crucial year or two of Owen's dispensation.

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The story of New Harmony has been told, but too often it has been told only in terms of failure. It is the great merit of the present work that it gives as much space to success as to unsuccess, and that the author, whom one would not suspect of having radical or even liberal sympathies, presents his subject with the proper impartiality of the historian.

It was in the library of the Workingmen's Institute at New Harmony that the first work on this book was done, in the summer of 1893, when George Browning Lockwood took up this study as a subject of research at De Pauw University. His family had moved, when George was five years old, from Illinois to Peru, Indiana, where his father became editor and then publisher of the *Peru Republican*.

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The son followed his father into journalism, and became active in Republican party politics while still at the university. These were the two main vocations of his life. He was editor and publisher of newspapers at Marion and Muncie; founder and editor of the *National Republican*, which began its life at Muncie and then moved, as Lockwood did, to Washington; secretary to the Governor of Indiana, and then to Charles Warren Fairbanks during his term as Vice President of the United States. He was also secretary of the Republican National Committee for two years, and director at Washington of the Hoover-for-President Club. Some slight notion of his character may be gained from the fact that his *Marion Evening Chronicle* ran a "dry" campaign in the years before the First World War; that two of his brothers became Y.M.C.A. secretaries; and that he died of heart failure (at the age of fifty-nine) after returning to Muncie from Washington to help with the management of his newspaper during the illness of the general manager.

Lockwood's life seems to have been unspectacular and solid, like that of a thousand others with similar vocations, and it is interesting to speculate upon his possible reactions to Robert Owen's great experiment, if it had taken place, so close to home, in Lockwood's own lifetime. As a chronicler of the succession of communities at New Harmony, from Rapp's arrival in 1814 onwards, his account is unexceptionable. It was originally published at Marion, Indiana in 1902 as *The New Harmony Communities*. In the following year the book was adopted by the State Board as required reading in the Indiana State Teachers Reading Circle Course. A new and revised edition entitled *The New Harmony Movement* (1905) was published by Appleton and Co., and was studied, amongst other readers, by 14,000 Indiana teachers in 1905-6. Charles A. Prosser,

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then superintendent of schools at New Albany, collaborated in the reconstruction and elaboration of the educational chapters, and the book received national approval in the form of an introduction by W. T. Harris, then U. S. Commissioner of Education.

The New Harmony Movement is still the only book-length history of New Harmony. It is a carefully compiled history of the vicissitudes of fortune experienced by that little town, and a useful introduction to the complex activities associated with it over a period of two or three generations; but the book is sixty-five years old, and lacks important information about the Owenite communities which has come to light during that period. Since much of this information is essential to a serious student, bibliographical references to these documents, together with an indication of their contents, are given in the following paragraphs.

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The official records of the community provide an incomplete and partisan account of what happened in an extremely intricate situation; and not much is added by a study of *The New Harmony Gazette*, which was forever optimistic and Nelson-eyed. These, in addition to the elaborate and often unrealistic statements made by Owen himself, were the main sources upon which Lockwood had to draw, apart from Paul Brown's *Twelve Months in New Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1827). This latter account, though detailed, illuminating, and factually correct where it can be checked, was suspect by its extreme anti-Owen bias of interpretation. No other detailed or individual account covering the same period (April 1826–May 1827) was available to Lockwood.

The impact of the various constitutions on individual

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members, their doubts and dissensions, their struggles of conscience over whether or not to compromise with ideals, and the various detailed processes of attempting to transform theory into practice—the problems of management, bookkeeping, the organization of labor and goods, the confrontation on a basis of supposed equality of one class of member with another of a different class, of atheist with believer, of habitual drinker with teetotaler, or radical communist with tentative cooperator—these were not revealed in any depth until the publication of five important sets of contemporary personal papers. These documents, as Professor Bestor points out, “provide the bulk of what we know about the New Harmony experiment from its inception to its failure”;^{*} and Professor Harrison refers to them as being “indispensable for a picture of the community.”[†]

The only one of these five sets of papers that covers the whole period of the Owenite experiment is *Education and Reform at New Harmony: Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820–1833*, edited by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1948). In this series of letters the instigator of all that was most lasting at New Harmony—the educational and scientific experiments and publications—discusses with one of his Pestalozzian teachers the possibilities and actualities of the community. An able and level-headed intellectual and organizer, Maclure makes many forthright and judicious criticisms of Owen and New Harmony, and incidentally offers a wealth of detailed information on its affairs.

Two diaries that are complementary to each other and cover the purchase of Harmonie from the Rappites, the propaganda for New Harmony, and the early phases of the

^{*} *Backwoods Utopias*, p. 262.

[†] *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America*, p. 164n.

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community, are those of William Owen and Captain Donald Macdonald, published respectively in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1906) and Vol. XIV, No. 2 (1942). William Owen, who had come out from England with his father Robert Owen, was left, together with Macdonald, in the unenviable position of caretaker of the community during the first critical months, without any practical guidance or even consistent principles of governorship from the absent owner. They did their best in an impossible situation, and their accounts make it plain, explicitly or implicitly, that whereas New Harmony could never have been started without Owen's genius, it was doomed by it at the same time.

There are also two sets of complementary letters covering this same early period. Those of William Pelham in *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, edited by Harlow Lindley (Indianapolis, 1916), pp. 360-417, present on the whole an over-optimistic view, comparable to Owen's. Pelham even went so far as to write (16 March, 1826), "you need not fear a dissolution of this Society, for *it cannot happen . . .* the foundation . . . stands on a rock." But there are lively and vivid passages describing daily life, and Pelham's faith and good nature are typical of the best kind of member, whose devoted but practical idealism is a necessity in every community. The other letters are collected as *New Harmony, An Adventure in Happiness: Papers of Thomas and Sarah Pears*, edited by Thomas Clinton Pears, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1933). They are of both general and particular interest, since Pears was a bookkeeper in the community, and describes the problems of management that he encountered in that department as well as those of community life in general.

The definitive work on Owenism is Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr.'s *Backwoods Utopias* (Philadelphia, 1950). A more recent

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work which places Owen and his influence within the context of philanthropy and millennialism, while providing a reliable factual survey of the whole nineteenth-century field of social experiment, is J. F. C. Harrison's *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (London, 1969). Both books have excellent and extensive bibliographies.

Dorset, England
June 1970

MARK HOLLOWAY

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



NEW HARMONY AS IT NOW APPEARS FROM INDIAN MOUND.

INTRODUCTION

WHAT is called in this book the "New Harmony Movement" forms a noteworthy practical lesson in sociology—in that part of sociology which treats of the isms of that important science.

In the institutions of civilization we count four cardinal types—the family, civil society with its division of labor, the state, the church. The two extremes—the family and the church—give us, on the one hand, the first departure from the individual with his narrow experience, and on the other the arrival at the highest reenforcement by the race or the social whole. The family, although nearest to the unassisted individual, does not for that very reason permit much development of individuality. Its principle is obedience to elders, and especially to parents and naturally constituted guides. A high degree of self-activity and independence is not found possible in this institution, because blind obedience is irrational.

As compared with the family, civil society with its division of labor gives greater opportunity for the development of individuality. The individual through his vocation contributes something to supply the wants of his community. He makes some article or performs some function that is useful to the social whole, and thereby lays his community under obligation to him and gets recognition for his service. He has proved himself essential to the society in which he lives, and society hastens to set before him, for the supply of his own particular needs, the aggregate production of all the units of society. It

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does this through and by means of the market wherein his own product is measured with the products of others, and he gets a *quid pro quo*.

In civil society, therefore, the individual manifests his differences and idiosyncrasies, and gets them recognized and approved by the whole community. And, on the other hand, he gets his needs and wants, his defects and peculiarities, supplemented and provided for by his fellow men. Their capacities and idiosyncrasies make up for his deficiencies, just as he makes up for their deficiencies to the extent of his own real power. Hence society seems to be, in one respect, a larger individual, an institutional person; more perfect than the particular individual because it contains all the strengths united into one great social strength, the defects and weaknesses eliminated by mutual compensation.

The state is the individuality of this greater human self which comes to exist through the division of labor and the process of compensation. It subordinates the individual to the social will. And it does this not only in respect to the property and belongings of the individual, but in reference to his liberty and his very life itself. It uses the individual and his property to protect the life and property of the whole, but by this negative process it secures the positive result of the protection of life and liberty to all its citizens. The individual is reenforced by the strength of his whole nation, and thus achieves an individuality altogether transcendent as compared to that which he realized in the family, or even in his industrial vocation. We are ascending a ladder toward emancipation from natural limits, and toward achievement of a colossal individuality—family, industrial vocation, citizenship in a nation.

There is one step of higher emancipation. The three institutions just considered are worldly. The church is the other-worldly institution which has for its object

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emancipation from the thralldom of space and time by revealing to man his origin and his final purpose in the divine order of the universe. Man as a moral being belongs to an other-worldly realm. In the church he celebrates his discoveries of the divine order, and founds upon them a higher emancipation from the shortcomings and imperfections, the restraints and limitations, of mere nature.

These are the four rounds in the ladder of civilization. The mere individual outside of these four institutions of civilization exists in a state of rudimental freedom. A state of Robinson Crusoe isolation is the lowest order of rational life. Crusoe finds himself dependent on the products of nature for his food, clothing, and shelter, but is without organized means for the subjugation of nature. Hence he lives from hand to mouth and subject to all the vicissitudes that visit his habitat in and out of season. He exists also in a state of war, not only against natural forces but of one savage man against other savage men. Progress out of these evil conditions will demand social organization through the four institutions which we have been considering. These will emancipate his individuality and bring him beyond the stage of animal likes and dislikes to the stage in which is revealed to him deeper and deeper ideas of reason and higher and highest attainments of freedom and achievement.

By these institutions he will get command not only of bread for his body, but of high positions of influence and power among his fellow men; above this, he will attain insights into the science of nature and into the structure of the moral order of society; the gradual unfoldment of human nature in the history of civilizations; insights into the art and literature of the most gifted peoples. Reading all things in the light of the highest principle, he will receive what is better than bread, or than dominion over nature and man, or than insights into special realms of

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truth. Emerson, in his poem *The Days*, celebrates the gifts which the days bring to man:

"To each they offer gifts after his will,
Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all."

Emerson has indicated in his poem progressive steps of emancipation of individuality. Bread gives freedom from the wants of the body; kingdoms the sway over our environment of nature and human society—wealth and high station; stars the several insights and skills which give us a deeper self-knowledge and the artistic power needed for the poet and the sage; and "the sky that holds them all" is the religious view or philosophic view of the divine which is presupposed by all these gifts.

It happens that partial insights into the good and the evil of institutions create sects of reformers who seek to eradicate one institution by another. They would substitute civil society for the family and for the state. Communism or socialism undertakes to do this, and the failure of this view of the world is illustrated in a great variety of phases in the history of New Harmony, both in the experiment of the Rappites and in the longer and fuller experiment of Robert Owen and his successors.

The Rappites, as pointed out by the author of this history, were religious communists. Rapp himself was prophet, priest, and king. As is usual in this kind of communism, one prophet excludes all other prophets. He prevents his disciples from growing into prophets, or, indeed, from undertaking any original thinking or planning. Originality, if encouraged, would soon destroy the community. Morris Birkbeck is quoted as saying: "Strangers visit their establishment and retire from it full of admiration; but a slavish acquiescence, under a disgusting superstition, is so remarkable an ingredient in their character that it checks all desire of imitation."

With Rapp's community, the ideal disciple was an

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obedient slave. Governed by a man who understood business, like Frederick Rapp, labor could be well organized and the earnings could be accumulated in the strong chest of the prophet and king. But in this case, the institution which we have called civil society does not get established in such a way as to develop individual freedom. The Roman idea of property emancipates the individual from the patriarchal ties of the family and develops individual initiative, but New Harmony suppressed the individual initiative and secured obedience to the priest and king.

Thus the church admitted civil society only in its serfdom, and not in its freedom. But the church, in this experiment, abolishes not only civil society in its aspect of individual initiative, substituting the family principle of patriarchal rule, but in turn it abolishes the family outright by introducing the principle of celibacy. And by this it saws off the limb on which the whole community depends. Moreover, such a community is incompatible with the state except in its most rudimentary form of the tribe. No neighboring town or county could trust the New Harmony citizens in a political election because they were puppets moved by a king inspired by otherworldly interests and firmly keeping aloof from the interests of the county and the State of Indiana and the nation. There was in store for this community, when the Indiana Territory should become populous, an exterminating persecution at the hands of a mob like that which drove Mormonism out of Nauvoo in later years. Its return to Pennsylvania anticipated the catastrophe. Religious communism attacks family, civil society, and state in the developed form which these institutions take on in modern civilization.

The second form of community, that of Mr. Owen, which came to be established at New Harmony, was in some respects the opposite of the religious community that had preceded it. It established itself in the name of a

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civil society more or less opposed to the family, more or less opposed to the state, and, above all, opposed to the church. The strict regulations penetrating to the private life of the Owenite communist remind us of the Rappite community of the prophet and priest, and so also does the control of labor by a one-man power and the covering of all production into the common storehouses, and in this it contradicted the ideal of the civil community, smothered individual initiative and arrested the training of the population into civil freedom. Owen might desire to have original initiative develop in the individuals of his community. And his establishment of common-school education shows that he was almost entirely unconscious of the meaning of the division of labor as a function of the institution of civil society. He seemed to think that not only could the laborer forswear self-activity in planning as well as executing, but even could be aroused by school education without the danger of feeling the absolute need for the exercise of original initiative in his trade and vocation.

Involved in this contradiction, his communistic experiment could not flourish, and did not flourish. The religious community, after the death of its prophet, gradually changed into a civil community.

The lesson forced on us by these two experiments is the necessity for each of the four institutions, and the limitation of each through the other. If, in the name of one of these institutions, an attempt is made to suppress another institution, the attempt destroys the whole experiment. For each institution, in order to be complete, demands the creation of the other institutions in their full development. If the dominant institution endeavors to create for itself the other institutions, it dwarfs them or mutilates them.

The lack of a religious faith in the Owen experiment made impossible on the part of the other citizens of Indi-

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ana the cooperation necessary for an influential citizenship in the State. The outside citizens could never forecast what practical cooperation in their policy might be secured from the Owen community. Hence they suspected even the best measures proposed by Robert Dale Owen in the constitutional convention and in the legislature. They were afraid that his well-known opinions regarding the church concealed some latent mischief which would come out as an injury to the commonwealth sooner or later if adopted, and hence arose some of the opposition against the legislation which he proposed in behalf of so good a cause as that of public free schools.

Public free schools have a tendency to develop the power of the boys and girls in the line of original initiative. The school enables them to see not only things as they are, but to compare them with the scientific and historical ideals of what they ought to be. They can see possibilities of the manufacture of useful machinery in beds of ore and forests of timber; they can see the possibility of mills for textile manufacture or for manufactures of hardware in the waterfalls of their rivers. Armed with science, the mind is able to make mechanic inventions. All classes of citizens gain in directive power by means of the studies of the school. But the citizens of Indiana looked upon the experiment of communism at New Harmony as in the direction of suppressing individual initiative and the substitution of a one-man power for independent ownership of real estate and personal property, and for independent freedom of choice.

If Robert Dale Owen had described the true effects of school education in the line of freedom of property and independent initiative, he would have recommended his scheme for free public schools more effectively than he was able to do as the representative of a communistic experiment, for his communism preached a silent lesson in contradiction to his plea for free schools. And his

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opposition to the churches established in the several towns and villages of Indiana aroused that deepest and most bitter of all opposition, the opposition founded on divergence of theological views, divergence as to the fundamental view which one takes of the meaning of the world of nature and of human destiny. This hostility of the people of Indiana to measures which were really greatly for the benefit of the whole State is a very interesting feature in this history, and it is very clearly pointed out by the author in this book.

The work of Maclure in the school at New Harmony, and afterward as publicist, deserves study on its own account. He brought industrial instruction into his school, and laid so much stress on the mechanical features of education that he in a great measure neutralized the effect of the school on the characters of his pupils, for he more or less turned off the minds of his pupils from those studies which give original initiative, and turned them in the direction of matters of skill and routine practise. In these days of attempts in the direction of manual training and other industrial education, the experiment of Maclure and its results on the people of New Harmony deserve the most careful consideration. How much directive power came from his instruction in the way of industrial preparation? How much directive power in the way of enabling his pupils to understand and cooperate with their fellow men in other parts of Indiana and the United States in later life?

I am greatly impressed with the value of this work as a study for teachers everywhere, and would commend its careful study especially to the great storm-centers of social agitation, such as the cities of Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco, for example.

W. T. HARRIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 20, 1905.

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Law and procured for widows the absolute ownership of one-third of the deceased husband's property. Owen accomplished this in 1838. The session of 1841 overthrew the reform. He reestablished it in 1852.

(d) He modified the divorce laws of the State so as to enable a married woman to secure relief from habitual drunkenness and cruelty.

For his persistent and finally successful efforts to reform unjust laws, the women of Indiana, or a comparatively small number of them, in 1851, presented him with a handsome silver pitcher, inscribed, "Presented to the Hon. Robert Dale Owen by the women of Indiana, in acknowledgment of his true and noble advocacy of their independent rights to property, in the Constitutional Convention of Indiana." The presentation took place before a large audience in the hall of the House on the evening of May 28, 1851.

The women of this country owe to Robert Dale Owen a debt of gratitude which they can discharge in no better way than by a tardy respect for his memory. And nearly a half century after Robert Dale Owen wrote into the statute law of his adopted State the modern conception of the legal rights of women, we find the women's clubs of Indiana cooperating in a movement to place the bust of their great emancipator in the rotunda of the Indiana State capitol, almost on the site of the structure within which he carried on his victorious battle in their behalf.

CHAPTER XX

THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT

"Awake! ye sons of light and joy,
And scout the Demon of the schools:
The fiend that scowls but to decoy,
To pamper zealots: frighten fools:
To blind the judgment: crib the soul
Wake up! And let your actions tell
That you with Peace and Virtue dwell.

"Away with studied form and phrase,
Away with cant, and bigot zeal,
Let Truth's unclouded beacon blaze,
From Nature's kindness learn to feel:
From Nature's kindness learn to give
Your hands, your hearts, to all that live.
Wake up! 'Tis deeds alone can tell
That you with Peace and Virtue dwell."

—Poem dedicated to the children of the New Harmony Boarding-School, New Harmony Gazette, October 8, 1825.

"An age of hatred, strife and woe
Has long in terror reigned.
Its numerous victims are laid low,
The world in blood is stained,
But now the time is coming fast
When strife shall be forever past.

CHORUS

"The day of peace begins to dawn,
Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!
Dark Error's might will soon be gone,
Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!
Poor mortals long have been astray,
But Knowledge now will lead the way,
Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!

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“Now Vice and Crime no more shall stalk
Unseen in open day,
To cross our silent, peaceful walk
Through life's enchanting way :
Old Ignorance with hoary head
Must seek his everlasting bed.

“Each warrior now may sheath his blade
And toil in vain no more,
To seek fair Virtue's genial shade,
For now all wars are o'er.
The battle's done, the day is won,
The victory's gained by Truth alone.”

—*Song written for the children of New Harmony.*

“MAN does not form his own character but it is made for him.” This is the motto which Robert Owen caused to be inscribed upon the title-page of every issue of the *New Harmony Gazette*, a publication which was at once the official organ of the Communities and the medium through which Owen and those associated with him exploited their peculiar social, educational, and religious ideas. By this Owen meant to declare in the language of psychology that, though heredity, will, and environment are the forces which mold the characters of men, the greatest of these is environment. It does not lie within the scope and purpose of this chapter to discuss the truth of Owen's belief. To do so would be to reopen an ancient battle of the psychologists in which the victor is yet to be named. But, in order to understand the various schemes which the founder of New Harmony projected for the betterment of society in general and of the working class in particular, it is necessary to remember that he always believed that men were the creatures of their surroundings—that they were in a sense but the clay which the Great Potter presses against the plastic wheel of circumstance.

There is a sense too in which environment is to-day recognized as a greater factor in the shaping of human

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character than in the days when Owen wrought. We have come to recognize what Owen saw, though his age did not, that the much vaunted human will itself, if not largely the result of the many-sided circumstances which have touched it, can be and is being skilfully trained in the schools, a training which one must of necessity denominate as environment.

There are two great agencies which the social reformer may invoke in his efforts to regenerate society. These are environment and religion. Acquiring at the very outset of his remarkable efforts for the betterment of his fellows a deep-set hatred for the clergy and the church, Owen deliberately divorced his social schemes from the aid of the Christian religion and pinned his faith to environment, which to him was the only medium whereby the character of the individual could be bettered and a Golden Age be consummated.

Out of his belief in the all potency of environment as a reforming agency came his doctrine that it is vitally important that human beings be surrounded with circumstances favorable to their development. “How may we make men and society better?” The most unselfish social reformer since the days of Savonarola would answer, “By making their environment better.” The story of Robert Owen's career as philanthropist and reformer is the story of one man's earnest efforts, some wise and some unwise, to surround human beings with more favorable conditions, within which, if Owen's theory be true at least, they must of necessity become better men and better women.

To him there were at least four phases of the environment surrounding the subjects of his philanthropy from time to time. These phases were their home environment, their social environment, their industrial environment and their educational environment.

It was home environment he sought to better when he taught the people of New Lanark cleanly habits and en-

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forced in the houses of the employees of his cotton-mills a rigorous sanitation. It was only in order that the deplorable industrial conditions under which the English factory-hand labored might be made such as should give him at least a chance to become a man, that Owen began that wonderful sixteen years of agitation of the labor problem which culminated in the quickening of the conscience of the British public, in the enactment of child-labor laws, in increased wages for the productive classes, in parliamentary regulations of factory sanitation, in the inauguration and firm establishment of the idea that government has a right, in the interest of common justice and the general welfare, to interfere in internal trade and with industrial relations.

Swept from his usual safe moorings as a practical business man by his strong belief that under ideal surroundings a perfect race might be developed, the hero of New Lanark sought to establish at New Harmony an ideal social environment within which, unhampered by the artificial atmosphere with which our social system has enveloped us, man, living close to nature, might work out a better character and attain a more perfect manhood.

So it was when Robert Owen sought to change the educational surroundings of the children of his beneficence. So far as his connection with schools was concerned, they were only a phase of his struggle to create a better environment for the development of character among the working people who were the object of his care. In his days no schools opened their doors to the children of the poor. Forced into the factory at a tender age, denied even the rudiments of an education and surrounded at home by squalor and vice, these unfortunates grew into a distorted and debased maturity. To Owen, the school was a weapon for social regeneration to be used as a device by which these children of the great Fourth Estate might be surrounded by a refining atmosphere during their tender

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and formative years. He was not an educator in the sense in which we use the term to-day. He was not a teacher and did not attempt to act as one. Unlike the schools which Pestalozzi established, his schools were not experiments made for the purpose of testing and proving the efficiency of preconceived educational theories nor attempts to exploit any pet methods and devices of teaching. They were machinery for social and moral regeneration.

Let it be remembered that primarily, Robert Owen was a social and a moral rather than an educational reformer. And yet we shall see that his search for social and moral reform through the avenue of the schools led him into educational innovations, which justify us in placing his name high in the list of great educational thinkers.

THE SCHOOL AT NEW LANARK

Sixteen years after assuming charge of the mills at New Lanark, Robert Owen made his first experiment in education as a means of social reform by founding a school for the benefit of the children of that dreary factory town. From *An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark*, written by Robert Dale Owen during the existence of the school and dedicated to his distinguished father, we learn that the training was given in special quarters erected for that purpose; that these quarters were made much more attractive for the children of the factory-hands than those of many of the most prominent boarding-schools of Dickens' day; that a large play-room, the first which the history of pedagogy has recorded, was attached to the school; and that the enrolment exceeded seven hundred.

Of this number, one hundred children between the ages of two and five years were taught in what, for want of a better name, was termed the infants' school; and six hundred over five years of age in a higher or advanced school.

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These six hundred pupils of the higher school were divided into two sections of three hundred each. The first section, consisting of children between the ages of five and ten years, constituted a day-school; and the second section, consisting of the children over ten years of age, who worked in the factory during the day, constituted a night-school. Both the infant school and the higher school were in session each day of the week save Sunday from 7.30 to 9.30 A. M., from 10 to 12 A. M., and from 3 to 5 P. M.; while the night session of the higher school began at 7 and closed at 9.30 P. M.

Of the two schools, which were really two departments of a single school held under a common roof, the infant school received the greater portion of Owen's enthusiasm and attention. It was not only the feature of the educational work projected by him at New Lanark which attracted more attention and drew more distinguished visitors there than did all the other innovations which he introduced into town and factory, but it is also that feature which, perhaps more than any other educational experiment he attempted in his long career as a reformer, best entitles him to be classed as a pioneer and thinker in the educational field.

For the infant schools of that isolated Scottish factory town were the first of their kind, and to Robert Owen rather than to Froebel must be given the credit for the discovery and practical application of the idea that there is a type of educational training beneficial to both intellect and moral fiber, which can be successfully given by the schools to children under the tender age of five years. Strip from the kindergarten as we know it to-day the gifts and the games, the devices and the educational ideas with which the name of Froebel will ever be associated, and look upon it as a garden for the training of children, and we may say without fear of giving offense that Robert Owen was the founder of the first kindergarten. The infant

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school at New Lanark was inaugurated in the year 1816. It was not until twenty-one years later (1837) that Froebel opened his first kindergarten, or "Garden of Children," in the village of Blankenburg.

This little village is not more than fifty miles distant from the town of Hofwyl, where M. De Fellenberg conducted a school whose training was based upon the educational ideas of Pestalozzi and to which Robert Owen sent his sons for an education. Here, in 1819, eighteen years before Froebel established his garden for children at Blankenburg, came Robert Owen to investigate Pestalozzi's ideas and methods of teaching. For three years previous to this time, Robert Owen had been carrying on a school at New Lanark. We know but little concerning the instruction in it during this period, for his educational work at New Lanark had not as yet attracted public attention. We do know that, visiting Hofwyl, with a kindling enthusiasm for educational reform, he received there both information and added enthusiasm.

There can be no doubt that Owen was greatly influenced in his educational thought by his visit to Hofwyl and his contact with the educational principles laid down by Pestalozzi. Owen and Pestalozzi were kindred spirits. Both, like Abou-ben-Adhem of old, loved their fellow men; both sought to raise the laboring class out of a degraded state; both had an abiding faith in the potential uplifting of the common people; both believed that education was a necessary means by which that uplifting was to be consummated. To the question, how may the peasantry be raised out of its degraded state, Pestalozzi had one answer, and only one. This was, *by education*. More a man of affairs and a deeper student of the whole sweep of the social problem than Pestalozzi, Owen sought the aid of every phase of man's environment, yet recognized and appealed to education as the most effective of all weapons in the struggle for permanent social betterment.

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When he returned from Hofwyl, whatever may have been his previous views, Robert Owen transplanted to British soil Pestalozzi's enthusiasm for education and many of his cardinal educational principles, of which he made immediate application in his school at New Lanark, then in its third year. If he had done nothing else, Owen would be entitled to notice in pedagogical circles as a carrier of good seed. Though not an educational theorist, he had instinctively applied much of the Pestalozzian creed in his school before his visit to Switzerland. After his return, the school was modeled almost entirely upon the educational principles which he held in common with the great Swiss schoolmaster. We shall see that this is particularly true of the higher school.

THE INFANT SCHOOL

The infant school, however, was a distinct departure in educational thought and procedure in many respects. Its one hundred children were given in charge of a simple-hearted, almost illiterate fellow named Buchanan, who, though cursed by a shrewish wife, loved little children, and was when free from her domination tender and skilful in their moral training. Little attempt was made to impart serious knowledge whether in or out of books. The children were gradually and incidentally taught the nature and uses of common things by familiar conversation and little stories, when the children's curiosity either on the playground or in the schoolroom led them to ask questions.

"Infants above one year attended school under special care." Play and stories were the medium through which the heart and mind of the child were besieged and led; and games, sometimes within the attractive schoolroom and sometimes, when the weather permitted, out on the green, constituted the major part of the curriculum. Buchanan

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was really the first kindergartner and Owen's school the anticipation of Froebel's later attempt. Aside from the theory and the system which the Prussian pedagogue introduced into the infant school there is little if anything of pedagogical value in the modern kindergarten which is not to be found at New Lanark. Let us see if this can not be readily demonstrated.

(1) Like all the kindergartens or infant schools which follow it, the purpose of Owen's infant school was to influence the character of children at a tender and formative age. This was Froebel's purpose in inaugurating his kindergarten. "In his conference with teachers Froebel found that the schools suffered from the state of raw material in them. Till the then school age was reached the children were entirely neglected. Froebel's conception of harmonious development naturally led him to attach much importance to the earliest years."

Twenty-one years earlier we find Robert Owen founding his infant school to meet the same difficulty. Like Froebel's school, it was an afterthought. In his description of the higher school at New Lanark, Robert Owen complained that the work was handicapped by the habits which the children had formed before the opening of school-life. How keenly every modern school-teacher can sympathize with this complaint! To meet it the infant school was established by means of which it was hoped that children transplanted at a tender age into an atmosphere of love and refinement might be dominated in their habits by the influence of the schoolroom and not by that of their rude homes. How like this is our modern practise of placing kindergartens in the slums of the large cities!

Like Froebel, and many years in advance of Froebel, Robert Owen saw that "each age has a completeness of its own. First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. The perfection of the later stage can be attained only through the perfection of the earlier. If the infant

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is what he should be as an infant and the child as a child, he will become what he should be as a boy just as naturally as new shoots spring from the healthy plant. Every stage then must be cared for and tended in such a way that it may attain its own perfection."

(2) Like all the true kindergartens which follow it, the aim of the infant school at New Lanark was not to impart serious knowledge whether in or out of books, but to fix habits and shape character. To the master of New Lanark, the formation of character was the chief end of all educational efforts not only in the infant school, but also in the higher school, where the imparting of serious knowledge was made a secondary though important consideration. Almost half a century before Dickens attacked the "cramming system" of the English boarding-schools, a system which throttled the development of character as well as intellect, Robert Owen said: "It must be evident to common observers that children may be taught to read, write, account, and sew and may yet acquire the worst habits and have their minds rendered irrational for life. . . . Reading and writing are merely instruments by which ideas either true or false may be imparted, and when given to children are of little comparative value unless the children are also taught how to make a proper use of them."

Of his infant school it could be said even more truthfully than of Pestalozzi's school at Stanz, more truthfully than of any other school preceding Froebel's: "The thing was not that they should know what they did not know, but that they should behave as they did not behave. If they could be made conscious that they were loved and cared for, their hearts would open and give back love and respect in return."

The elimination of all serious knowledge, the absence of the teaching of all facts as such, is the feature of Owen's school which stamps it as a pioneer in a new field. Over-enthusiastic admirers of Pestalozzi have maintained that

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he operated an infant school on the Continent before the New Lanark school came to be. But the records of the schools at Neuhof and at Stanz, which were the only educational experiments in which Pestalozzi preceded Owen, reveal, according to the declarations of Pestalozzi himself, that the children of both schools were of a variety of ages, the oldest being not more than fifteen and the youngest not less than five years old. Neither was, in the sense in which the term was used at New Lanark, an "infants' school. Nor did Pestalozzi ever conduct a school of any type in which the acquirement of serious knowledge, the teaching of facts as such was not made an important though a subordinate aim of the training bestowed. This more than the difference in the ages of the children is the distinguishing mark between the infant school at New Lanark and all previous educational attempts upon the Continent.

The difference between Owen's infant school and its contemporaries is the difference between the mission of the modern kindergarten and the mission which this utilitarian age is seeking to thrust upon it. An impatient thirst for the glittering prizes of this industrial epoch has taken hold upon the prospective college student. He is asking that some arrangement be made so that he with his sheepskin may step into the arena of business or professional life at an earlier age. There are not wanting signs to indicate that in the interests of this earlier graduation the domination from the top may next demand that the kindergarten shall serve chiefly as a preparatory school for the primary unit. Then the kindergarten must decide whether, like the other units of the system, it will bow its neck to the yoke or whether, ignoring the call from above, it will continue to solely seek the moral development of all childhood rather than the higher educational interests of the few who are destined for college walls.

The claim has been made repeatedly and the dictum ac-

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cepted without controversy that Froebel's kindergarten at Blankenburg was the first infant school that did not attempt to teach any serious knowledge, the first to make games a means of training the character of children. This dictum merely overlooks Owen's attempt. It is true that after Pestalozzi's repeated failures as a school manager, numerous "infant schools" arose on the Continent; that these sought to apply Pestalozzian educational principles; and that, like all of the attempts made by him whose efforts they imitated, these infant schools made the teaching of elementary knowledge the nucleus of their training. But these differ as much from the infant school at New Lanark as they do from the kindergarten at Blankenburg, whose forerunner they were.

Sargent, in *The Social Philosophy of Robert Owen*, says, "The Infant School System was an inevitable consequence of Owen's doctrine as to the vital importance of surrounding human beings with circumstances favorable to their development. It has been said that the plan was previously carried out on the Continent. That may be true. It has also been said that the experiment was suggested in a conversation between Owen and a lady. Both statements may be true, and yet Owen's claim to the invention remains unimpeached. Owen's glory is not that he sent for a Swiss instructor, nor that he went about craving the advice and aid of any one, but that he threw his own energy into the work, and with the feeble instruments at his command commenced and completed his long projected task."

In a speech delivered at a memorial exercise in Kensal Green Cemetery on the 21st of April, 1871, T. H. Huxley, the great English scientist, said:

"I think that every one, who is compelled to look as closely into the problem of popular education, must be led to Owen's conclusion that the infant school is, so to speak, the key of that position; and that Robert Owen discovered this great fact and had the courage and patience to work

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out his theory into a practical reality is his claim, if he had no other, to the enduring gratitude of the people."

(3) Just as in all other infant schools and kindergartens worthy the name, love was the dominating factor in Owen's school. In the face of ridicule, Owen retains as the head of his infant school a teacher who is both illiterate and without professional training because "he does not know how to teach what is found in books, but he does know Nature and loves children, and by that love will bring Nature and the children together." With Owen as with Pestalozzi and Froebel, "the essential principle of education is not teaching. It is love. The child loves and believes before it thinks and acts."

(4) In the New Lanark school the "benevolent superintendence" which Pestalozzi and Froebel practised characterized the teaching. This was an educational idea which Owen received at the feet of Pestalozzi. His great faith in the ultimate uplift of the common people made him a steadfast believer in the innate possibilities of childhood—in its large capacity for physical, intellectual, and moral development. Powers are hereditary, but it is the duty of the schoolroom environment to assist to the fullest extent in calling them forth. There is a natural method by which these powers unfold. The natural method is as certain, if we could but discover it, in the development of moral and intellectual powers as in that of physical powers.

Bacon taught that we command Nature only by obeying her. Nature is in the schoolroom with the teacher eager to assist in the developing process. Let the teacher beware lest in his blind following of a system or in his devotion to a false educational creed, or in his anxiety to cram childish minds with the letter that killeth, he interfere with that development which Nature at his elbow seeks to bring about. Let him rather practise that benevolent superintendence which remembers that "the purpose of

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teaching is to bring ever more out of man rather than to put more and more into him"; which perceives that the purpose of instruction is not to teach but to develop; which follows Nature and not a system; which leads the mind of the child and yet follows it with trusting footsteps; and which vaunteth not itself but stands in the presence of Nature, the handmaiden, with uncovered head.

To the criticism that the teacher of the infant school at New Lanark merely played with the children, let it be urged that though he would not have understood the term "benevolent superintendence," yet with Owen's encouragement he practised it almost a quarter of a century before Froebel made it one of the chief features of his kindergarten. For the simple pedagogue of New Lanark gave his charges, through play, that which Nature asked for them at their stage of growth, and drew out of them through its physical exercise, spontaneity, quickness of thought and action, happiness, and love.

What part ought benevolent superintendence to play in the schoolroom to-day? In 1889 Charles De Garmo, in his *Essentials of Method*, after discussing the question, declared that the teacher has his activity limited to these two things: "First, the preparation of the child's mind for a rapid and effective assimilation of new knowledge; second, the presentation of the matter of instruction in such order and manner as will best conduce to the most effective assimilation." Quick, in his *Educational Reformers*, after discussing and approving the above, adds that "besides this he must make his pupils use their knowledge, both new and old, and reproduce it in fresh connections."

(5) Just as in the kindergarten which followed it, the infant school at New Lanark brought into play the activity of the children. While, like Froebel, Owen limited the function of the educator to "benevolent superintendence" of the natural unfolding of childhood, yet, like Froebel also, he recognized that since the natural development of

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childish powers requires their appropriate exercise, "benevolent superintendence" must both originate and direct childish activity. Some of the games which Buchanan and his female assistant gave to the children at New Lanark were Scottish games peculiar to the Lowlands; some, they devised to teach indirectly important ethical, moral, and physical truths; some, the children themselves invented. All were of a wholesome type and designed, like the games which Froebel bequeathed to the kindergarten, to call forth the spontaneous and untrammelled activity of the children.

It must of course be admitted that these games lacked the efficiency which the theory, and the plan, and the gifts, and the system which Froebel bestowed have given to the play of the modern kindergarten. But they were based upon the same idea and sought to achieve the same purpose. Though Robert Owen did not possess the mysticism which characterizes most of the utterances of Froebel, he showed by his efforts in the infant school at New Lanark that he too believed that "man is primarily a doer"; that "he learns only through self activity"; that "the formative and creative instinct has existed in all children and in all ages"; and that when the activity of the children is properly directed by benevolent superintendence they "render the inner outer," which is the end of all true education.

HIGHER SCHOOL

In the higher school at New Lanark the following subjects were taught: Reading, writing, arithmetic, natural history, geography, ancient history, modern history, sewing, singing, and dancing. No books were used, for "his aim was to train the children to good habits, not to cram their heads with facts." Only amusement in the form of games was offered to those under six years of age. Instruction was made pleasant and agreeable, no lesson being

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given more than forty-five minutes in length. Much of the instruction was given by the "object method," for William Maclure, who visited the school in 1824, says that "the children are taught by representations in all cases where they can be obtained, the transparent being used only in part for the explanation of the elements of botany, the shape of the leaves, etc." Much attention, and properly so, for it is the basic study in the acquirement of knowledge, was given to reading.

Robert Dale Owen in his description of the school dwells but little upon the course of study, but takes occasion to say, "Children should never be directed to read what they can not understand. Reading should be preceded between the ages of five and seven years by a regular course in natural history, ancient and modern history, chemistry, and astronomy. All this on the plan prescribed by Nature to give a child such particulars as he can easily be made to understand concerning the nature and properties of the different objects around him, before we teach him the artificial signs which have been adopted to represent these objects." Robert Owen doubted "whether in a rational state of society children under ten years old would be taught to read."

Absurd as was Owen's plan to prepare children for intelligent reading, from our point of view, it was made necessary by the exceedingly difficult vocabulary and technical subject-matter in the most elementary readers of that day. In these days when the makers of readers are, in the name of classical literature, filling them with selections that lie beyond the vocabulary, the experience, and the comprehension of the children for whom they are intended, it would be well to remember again and again the simple declaration: "Children should never be directed to read what they can not understand."

The higher school, better than the infant school, perhaps, shows the effects of Owen's visit to Stanz. Through

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the meager accounts which Robert Owen, his son, and various visitors to New Lanark have written concerning the methods of instruction in the higher school, we can state with safety that in it, with one notable exception, the main features of Pestalozzianism prevailed. Those features as summed up by Morf in his contribution to Pestalozzi's Biography are:

(1) "Instruction must be based on the learner's own experience.

(2) "What the learner experiences must be connected with language.

(3) "The time for learning is not the time for judging, nor the time for criticism.

(4) "In every department instruction must begin with the simplest elements and, starting from those, must be carried on step by step according to the development of the child; that is, it must be brought into psychological sequence.

(5) "At each point, the instructor shall not go forward till that part of the subject has become the proper intellectual possession of the learner.

(6) "Instruction must follow the path of development, not the path of lecturing, teaching, or telling.

(7) "To the educator, the individuality of the child must be sacred.

(8) "Not the acquisition of knowledge or skill is the main object of elementary instruction, but the development and strengthening of the powers of the mind.

(9) "With knowledge must come power, with information, skill.

(10) "Intercourse between educator and pupil, and school discipline especially, must be based on and controlled by love.

(11) "Instruction must be subordinated to the aim of education."

The one tenet of the creed espoused in common by Pes-

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talozzi and by Froebel, which Robert Owen neither accepted nor practised in his various educational experiments was the one which, if added to the declaration of principles given above, would be numbered twelve and reads as follows: "The ground of moral-religious bringing-up lies in the relation of mother and child."

Extremely clear and strong is the attitude of Pestalozzi and Froebel with respect to the necessity of religious influence in education. Pestalozzi placed moral and religious training above the intellectual, and with him moral and religious training were one and the same. He revolted against the prevailing elementary education of his day because "everywhere in it the flesh predominated over the spirit, everywhere the divine element was cast into the shade. Everywhere selfishness and the passions were taken as the motives of action." To him the education which was to lead forth the soul powers as well as the mind powers of the people must be different from this, for "man does not live by bread alone. Every child needs to know how to pray to God in all simplicity, but with faith and love. If the religious element does not run through the whole of education, this element will have little influence on the life; it remains formal or isolated. The child accustomed from his earliest years to pray, to think, and to work is already more than half educated."

With Froebel, all true education was founded on religion. He pointed the way to that halcyon day when "education should lead and guide man to clearness concerning himself and in himself, to peace with Nature and to unity with God"; when the training of the schools "should lift him to a knowledge of himself and of mankind, to a knowledge of God and Nature; and to the pure and holy life to which such knowledge leads." With him always "the object of education is the realization of a faithful, pure, inviolate, and hence holy life."

With Froebel as with Pestalozzi, moral and religious

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training were one and inseparable. Owen divorced the two by ignoring in all of his educational, as in all of his other attempts at social reform, the religious nature of man. At the time of the New Lanark experiment, he had made at least no public declaration of his religious views. It was not until seventeen years later that, on the very verge of sweeping reforms in English factory laws, which his unceasing agitation coupled with the public confidence reposed in him had made possible, Owen, then the largest figure in the public eye, made such a sweeping attack upon all existing religious creeds and displayed such a bitter hatred toward all existing religious institutions that he astounded the British public, alienated the support of Christian people, defeated his proposed reform measures, and handicapped all his after efforts at social reform by the common public belief that they were the outgrowth of atheistic and anarchistic tendencies. Yet we find that even at the New Lanark school, in the language of Robert Dale Owen, "No religious instruction was permitted, but much moral instruction, some of it direct, but most of it indirect, was given."

Owen's attitude on the subject of religious instruction grew, of course, out of his peculiar religious beliefs, so different from the simple trusting faith of his great educational contemporaries. Though in reality not an atheist in the sense in which we use the term to-day, his God was not the God of Pestalozzi and Froebel, but the God of Huxley—not a living, regenerating force in human hearts touched by His quickening spirit, but a great creative force, which, having endowed life with potential perfection, has left it to be developed by the tender mercies of a chance environment.

The question of religious instruction in the public schools has become a much mooted one at the present day, particularly in the United States. In those lands where church and state are one, the question becomes

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comparatively easy. There state schools become an arm of the church for the teaching of its creed—a task which, though all other phases of educational training be neglected, must be thoroughly executed. An overwhelming public sentiment approves of the religious instruction given and the voice of a hopeless minority is ignored. But in this country, where freedom of religious thought and speech is guaranteed by Constitutional provision, and where the twenty million children receiving public instruction come from homes where every phase of religious belief and even of unbelief finds enthusiastic supporters, the problem of what to do with religious instruction in the schools becomes exceedingly difficult.

No clearer statement of this problem which confronts legislatures and courts, as well as educators, can be found than that given by Nicholas Murray Butler in the *Meaning of Education* (McMillan & Co., 1901, pp. 28–31 inclusive). After tersely setting forth the difficulties surrounding religious instruction in our educational system, and showing that the drift in the schools of the United States is away from the simple religious instruction which Pestalozzi and Froebel gave and toward the non-religious instruction of the schools at New Lanark, Butler comments as follows: “Two solutions of the difficulty are proposed. One is that the State shall tolerate all existing forms of religious teaching in its own schools. The other is that the State shall aid by money-grants schools maintained by religious or other corporations. Neither suggestion is likely to be received favorably by the American people at present, because of the bitterness of the war between the denominational theologies. Yet the religious element may not be permitted to pass wholly out of education unless we are to cripple it and render it hopelessly incomplete. It must devolve upon the family and the church, then, to give this instruction to the child and to preserve the religious insight from loss. Both family and church must become

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much more efficient, educationally speaking, than they are now, if they are to bear this burden successfully.”

While Robert Dale Owen wrote but little concerning the methods of instruction and course of study at New Lanark, he has described at length the plan of school government and the moral training attempted there. From this description, the following principles regulating the New Lanark schools may be gathered:

(1) “All rewards and punishments whatever, except such as Nature herself has provided, are sedulously excluded. By natural punishment, we mean the necessary consequences immediate and remote which result from any action.” In his instructions to the teachers Robert Owen declared that, “they were on no account ever to beat any one of the children, nor to threaten them in any manner in word or action, nor to use abusive terms; but were always to speak to them with a pleasant countenance and in a kind manner and tone of voice.”

Robert Dale Owen but voiced the sentiments of his distinguished father when he declared all rewards and punishments other than those which Nature bestows to be unjust—“unjust as on the one hand loading those individuals with supposed advantages and distinctions whom Providence, either in the formation of their talents and dispositions or in the character of their parents and associates, seems already to have favored; and on the other, as inflicting further pain on those whom less fortunate circumstances had already formed into weak, vicious, or ignorant, or, in other words, into unhappy beings.

“And prejudicial in rendering a strong, bold character either proud or overbearing, or vindictive and deceitful; or in instilling into the young mind, if more timid and less decided, either an overweening opinion of its own abilities and endowments or a dispiriting idea of its own incompetency—such an idea as creates a sullen, hopeless despondency and destroys that elasticity of spirit from whence

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many of our best actions proceed, but which is lost as soon as the individual feels himself sunk, mentally or morally, below his companions, disgraced by punishment, and treated with neglect or contempt by those around him."

"Artificial rewards and punishments are introduced; and the child's notions of right and wrong are so confused by the substitution of these for the natural consequences resulting from his conduct—his mind is in most cases so thoroughly imbued with the uncharitable notion that whatever he has been taught to consider wrong deserves immediate punishment; and that he himself is treated unjustly unless rewarded for what he believes to be right; that it were next to a miracle if his mind did not become more or less irrational; or if he chose a course which otherwise would have appeared too self-evidently beneficial to be rejected."

(2) "Every action whatever must be followed by its natural reward and punishment."

(3) "A clear knowledge and a distinct conviction of the necessary consequences of any particular line of conduct is all that is necessary, however skeptical some may be on this point, to direct the child in the way he should go, provided common justice be done in regard to the other circumstances which surround him in infancy and in childhood."

(4) "Whatever in its ultimate consequences increases the happiness of the community is right; and whatever on the other hand tends to diminish that happiness is wrong."

(5) "The happiness of the child is intimately connected with that of the community. Experience aids in this. Artificial rewards and punishments confuse this thought. Rightly understood, the child is led to right action, for he could not deliberately make himself miserable in preference to making himself happy."

(6) "A child who acts improperly is not an object of blame but of pity. The fact of wrong action simply shows

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that he has not been properly trained." Here Robert Dale Owen draws an analogy between the child who is a wrongdoer and the traveler who, improperly directed, takes the wrong road and fails of his destination. We would not think of chiding or punishing the traveler. Not he, but they who failed to direct him properly are to blame. Rather will we care for his wants, place him upon the right road, and send him upon his way rejoicing. The child who has gone astray is not to blame; but those who have directed him wrong. Like the traveler, he is to be pitied, not censured; cared for; and set again in the path of right action.

Though, as compared with the other schools of the period, the New Lanark school was as successful educationally as the great cotton-mill which maintained it was financially, some of the same difficulties were encountered which confront the public-school administration to-day. Robert Dale Owen recites some of these:

(1) "The children were only five hours at school and under its influence each day; the remaining nineteen hours being spent under the influence of parents more or less ignorant, more or less unrefined, more or less brutal and vicious." The problem of the home handicap is still with us, but it becomes less serious as the home grows better from one decade to another.

(2) "There was great difficulty in securing proper teachers for the work—those possessing the general and particular knowledge, habits, and temper necessary to successful teaching, without the pedantry to which members of the teaching profession are susceptible."

(3) "As soon as the children arrived at the age of ten years, they were withdrawn and placed in the cotton-mills." Child-labor laws and truancy regulations have made this impossible under the age of fourteen years in many of the States of the Union.

(4) Many of the children, because of poor home-train-

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ing, had formed bad habits which both infant school and higher school found it difficult to eradicate.

Even in that day, when the public conscience had not been quickened in educational matters, the schools at New Lanark attracted wide-spread attention. The visitors who came to New Lanark for the purpose of seeing the schools in operation were very numerous. They arrived by thousands annually. "I have seen," says Robert Owen, "as many as seventy strangers at once attending the early morning exercises of the children in the school." Among these visitors were many of the first persons of the kingdom as well as numbers of illustrious strangers. The Duke of Holstein (Oldenburg) and his brother stayed several days with Owen at New Lanark that they might thoroughly understand the system of infant instruction in operation there. The Grand Duke Nicholas, afterward Emperor of Russia, offered Mr. Owen large inducements to remove his colony to the Russian Empire. Prince John Maximilian of Austria spent some time at New Lanark. Many foreign ambassadors became guests of Mr. Owen, among them Baron Just of Saxony, whose sovereign presented a gold medal to Robert Owen as a mark of approval. An attempt was made by disciples of Owen to establish a similar settlement in London, but unfavorable conditions caused the failure of the experiment.

It is interesting to note that on the 30th of July, 1824, William Maclure, a wealthy retired merchant of Philadelphia, a man destined to play such a leading part in Owen's later educational experiment at New Harmony, visited the New Lanark schools. From this visit there came a friendship between the two men which culminated in their association as partners in the New Harmony venture. Maclure says of the New Lanark schools at this time: "It is really astonishing the order, happiness, and comfort that pervade the whole. His (Owen's) success gives me much pleasure on two accounts: First, for the good it certainly

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will produce; and, second, for the encouragement it infuses into my long-projected plan of forming experimental schools, which, in so superior a field as the United States, can scarce fail while such an extensively profound and beneficial system seems to flourish in spite of all the opposition both in church and state."

THE SCHOOL AT NEW HARMONY

In less than a year after William Maclure wrote in such enthusiastic terms his approval of the school at New Lanark, Robert Owen had determined to abandon his social and educational labors there and found a "New Moral World" somewhere on the American continent. The very Providence whose interference in human affairs both men denied must have brought about the strange association of Robert Owen and William Maclure in the New Harmony venture; for out of it came not only the greatest experiment in social reconstruction which the world has yet witnessed, but also the firm establishment of Pestalozzian principles of education in this country, a great impetus to the American scientific spirit, and a series of movements which largely affected American educational development.

There was much in common between the two men—more in common between them than there had been between Owen and the hero of Stanz. Both men were wealthy and therefore able to put their schemes for reforming society to the test. Both were philanthropists, willing to give their all for social betterment. Both eliminated religion from their schemes of reform. Both espoused the cause of the productive classes who, in the language of Maclure, "make their living in the sweat of their brows." Both brought a severe indictment against the existing social order. The means by which the reformation of that social order should be consummated was the one serious point of

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difference between them. Owen seized upon every phase of man's environment as a weapon in his fight for the uplifting of his fellows. Interested as he was in the educational experiments at New Harmony, the social Utopia he sought to create there claimed the greater part of his enthusiasm and attention. Maclure, on the other hand, believed that "free, equal, and universal schools" were the only means by which the rise of the productive classes could be achieved. Interested only in the educational phase of the New Harmony movement, he manifested little interest and less faith in the dreams which his partner sought to realize.

Both believed in the educational principles enunciated by Pestalozzi. Maclure in his *Opinions on Various Subjects*, a publication of three volumes, printed and bound in the industrial school at New Harmony, sets forth at length his reasons for approving of the Pestalozzian system of instruction. After criticizing the evils of the social order, he declares that "to rectify as far as education can the foregoing evils, the system of Pestalozzi through all its manipulations is admirably calculated. Having traveled seven summers in Switzerland, and some months of each residing at Pestalozzi's school at Yverdun, I never saw the pupils in or out of school without one of the teachers presiding at their games, etc., all of which were calculated to convey instruction. They were constantly occupied with something useful to themselves or others from 5 A. M. to 8 P. M., with the exception of four half hours at meals, at which all the teachers ate with the pupils; their attention was never fatigued with more than one hour at the same exercise, either moral or physical; all was bottomed on free will by the total exclusion of every species of correction. Their actions were cheerful, energetic, and rapidly tending toward the end aimed at.

"I do not recollect ever to have heard a cry or any demonstration of pain or displeasure nor even an angry

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word from teacher or pupil all the time I lived among them. One of the most beneficial consequences is the pleasure all of Pestalozzi's pupils take in mental labor and study. Though I often went out of my road fifty leagues to examine young men taught under this system, I do not remember ever finding one of an ill-natured temper, or bad conduct of all I saw either in Europe or in this country, and I usually found them greatly superior in all the useful accomplishments to all those educated by other methods."

It was in 1805 that Maclure first visited Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland, where, to use the language of Joseph Neef, "he was soon convinced of the solidity, importance, and usefulness of the Pestalozzian system. Indeed, to see Pestalozzi's method displayed before his eyes and to form an unalterable wish of naturalizing it in his own country were operations succeeding each other with such rapidity that Maclure took them for one and the same operation." On being asked by him to recommend a disciple capable of carrying on the work in America successfully, Pestalozzi named Joseph Neef. Maclure supported Neef for two years while he was learning the English language, after which he established, on the Schuylkill River, five miles from Philadelphia, with Neef as principal, the first Pestalozzian school on the Western continent. After several years of indifferent success the school was transferred to Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where in 1814 the effort was abandoned because of public prejudice against Neef's boldly proclaimed atheism. Neef moved to Louisville, bought a small farm near the city, and renounced teaching altogether. From this retreat he was brought to New Harmony by Owen and Maclure in 1826.

When the partnership between Owen and Maclure gave the latter sole charge of the educational efforts at New Harmony, he gathered together some of the members of the teaching force of his former school and the scientists whom his own distinguished achievements had attracted to

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the venture and set out with his "Boat-load of Knowledge" down the turbid Ohio. The party arrived at The New Moral World eight months after Robert Owen had established his colony there. Maclure began at once to organize the school system, which he fondly hoped would become the center of American education through the introduction of the Pestalozzian system of instruction. One of his first acts was to publish a prospectus, or "course of study," for the contemplated schools.

MACLURE'S OUTLINE, OR COURSE OF STUDY, FOR THE NEW HARMONY SCHOOLS

In Silliman's Journal, early in 1826, and before the organization of the schools had been much more than begun, Maclure outlined the system of instruction to be pursued, stating that Piquetal d'Arusmont, and Madame Fretageot, with Messrs. Say, Maclure, and other educators, "are now prepared to organize at New Harmony a boarding-school on those principles which have for some time been in operation at New Lanark, Scotland."

(1) *Great or Fundamental Principle of Education*

"The great or fundamental principle is, never to attempt to teach children what they can not comprehend, and to teach them in the exact ratio of their understanding without omitting one line in the chain of ratiocination, proceeding always from the known to the unknown, from the most easy to the most difficult; practising the most extensive and accurate use of all the senses; exercising, improving, and perfecting all the mental and corporal faculties by quickening combination; accelerating and carefully arranging comparison; judiciously and impartially making deductions; summing up the results free from prejudice, and cautiously avoiding the delusions of the imagination, a constant source of ignorance and error."

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(2) *Mechanism and Mathematics*

"The children are to learn mechanism by machines or exact models of them, arithmetic by a machine called the arithmometer, geometry by a machine called the trigonometer, by which the most useful propositions of Euclid are reduced to the comprehension of a child five or six years old; mathematics by the help of the above-mentioned instruments."

(3) *Science*

"Natural history in all its branches is learned by examining the objects in substance or accurate representations of them in designs or prints; anatomy by skeletons and wax figures; geography by globes and maps—most of the last of their own construction; hygiene, or the preservation of health, by their own experience and observation of the consequences of all natural functions. They learn natural philosophy by the most improved and simple instruments."

(4) *Writing and Drawing*

"They are taught the elements of writing and designing by the freedom of hand acquired by constant practise in forming all kinds of figures with a slate and pencil put into their hands when they first enter the school, on which they draw lines, dividing them into equal parts, thereby obtaining an accuracy of the eye which, joined to the constant exercise of judging the distance of objects and their height, gives them a perfect idea of space."

(5) *Music*

"They learn music through the medium of an organ constructed for the purpose, and a sonometer, first learning the sounds and then being taught the notes, or signs of those sounds."

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(6) *Gymnastics*

"Gymnastics, or the exercise of all muscular motions, they acquire by the practise of all kinds of movements always, preferably, those that may lead to utility, such as marching, climbing, the manual exercise, etc. They are taught the greatest part of these branches at the same time, never fatiguing the mind by giving more than an hour's attention to the same thing, changing the subject and rendering it a play by variety."

(7) *Languages*

"The pupils learn as many languages as there are languages spoken by the boys of different nations in the school, each instructing the other in the vocabulary of his language."

(8) *Manual Training*

"Lithographing and engraving as well as printing are to be carried on in the school building, as well as other mechanic arts, that the children may receive manual training. The boys learn at least one mechanical art—for instance, setting type and printing, and for this purpose there are printing-presses in each school by the aid of which are published all their elementary books."

In attempting to carry out the course of study announced in Silliman's *Journal* and outlined above, Maclure patterned the New Harmony educational system closely after the successful system which Owen had abandoned at New Lanark. He not only adopted the same educational principles, but also the same school units and organization. The infant school at New Harmony, receiving children from two to five years of age, was the exact counterpart of Owen's infant school at New Lanark; the higher school, enrolling those from five to twelve years

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of age, was the reproduction of the night-school which Owen had conducted for the benefit of the operatives of his New Lanark mills.

The schools, though established primarily for the benefit of the children of the community, were open, on payment of tuition, to children from outside the community, and pupils came from as far east as Philadelphia and New York. The terms for non-resident children were: for boarding, lodging, washing, clothing, medical attendance, medicine, and instruction in the various branches taught, one hundred dollars per annum. Girls were received upon the same terms as boys, the course of instruction prescribed for them being the same as that laid down for the other sex. The doctrine of the social system as officially promulgated was: "It is contemplated in Mr. Owen's system, by giving our female population as good an education as our males, to qualify them for every situation in life in which, consistently with their organization, they may be placed."

To an age which coeducation has conquered, Owen's declaration that the females of New Harmony were to receive as good an education as the males seems superfluous, but in the far-off year of 1826 the declaration attracted additional public attention to the educational experiments on the Wabash. While it is true that previous to the New Harmony venture a few private and endowed schools were founded for the express purpose of affording better educational advantages for girls, yet it is also true that the educational system at New Harmony was the first public-school system in the United States which offered the same opportunities to girls as it did to boys. For though the schools at New Harmony were open to non-resident pupils upon the payment of a tuition fee of one hundred dollars per annum, yet, so far as the children of the community itself were concerned, they were public schools in an even wider sense than that in which we use the term to-day, for

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in them the children were not only trained but fed, clothed, and sheltered.

At the time of Maclure's arrival at New Harmony there were no public schools in the United States save the township schools of New England. In these public schools of the New England colonies some provision had been made for the education of girls before the close of the eighteenth century, but these provisions were meager and unsatisfactory. The training which they received was given either in short summer terms or at the noon hours or at other intervals of the town or boys' school. Boone, in his *History of Education*, says: "But no such opportunity was offered girls to make the most of themselves as had been forced upon most boys for a half-dozen generations." Even in most of the private schools, where better educational facilities were offered to girls, instruction was confined to writing, reading, spelling, arithmetic, and English grammar. In the very year in which the New Harmony schools were inaugurated, an attempt was made at Boston to establish a high school for girls. In a year, however, it failed because the attempt to give an education to both sexes involved too great a drain upon the public purse. It was not until 1843 that Providence opened its high school for boys and girls. It was several years before another community took up the interest. In 1840 the city of Philadelphia established a separate high school for females. It was not until 1852 that Boston reestablished the girls' high school.

These are the facts in the past history of education in this country which led Boone to say, "By a kind of traditional blindness, few among the colonial fathers saw the contradiction of the most fundamental of their religious and political principles in disregarding or thwarting the intellectual life of their daughters." The educational experiment at New Harmony then was not only far in advance of the other schools of this country in its methods of

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government and in its Pestalozzian system of instruction, but also in the provisions which it made for the proper education of the gentler sex.

In Community House No. 2 Madame Neef, assisted by Madame Fretageot, conducted an infant school of over one hundred children. Mrs. Neef was the wife of Joseph Neef and the mother of five of the teachers in the higher school of the community. She was a native of Würtemberg. Her brother became a professor in Pestalozzi's Institute, and she was educated under the supervision of Mrs. Pestalozzi. Professor Neef was her French teacher, and just before his departure for America they were married. The laws of the social system provided that children should become the property of the community at the age of two years, and it was in the infant school that they were first received. The chief work of the teacher was to direct the amusements of the children, who were taught various games, some of them instructive, similar to those employed in the present-day kindergarten. The training of the school was copied very largely after that which Buchanan had given in his crude efforts at New Lanark.

The higher school for pupils between the ages of five and twelve years was taught by Joseph Neef, as principal, assisted by his four daughters and one son, all of whom had been pupils of Pestalozzi and had been brought to the community because of their familiarity with his system of instruction. In the palmy days of the New Harmony experiments the enrolment in this school was between one hundred and eighty and two hundred pupils of both sexes. It was, strictly speaking, the Pestalozzian school of the system. The prospectus published by Maclure in *Silliman's Journal* constituted its course of study. A portion of the time of the pupils of this school was devoted to some branch of the work of the industrial school, the two schools constituting what we would call to-day a manual training-school.

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The school for pupils over twelve years of age, called by the *New Harmony Gazette* the "School for Adults," had at one time an enrolment of eighty. These received, usually at night, special training in mathematics and the useful arts together with lectures on chemistry by Troost, drawing by Lesueur, natural history by Thomas Say, and experimental farming by M. Phiquepal d'Arusmont.

The industrial school was the one innovation which Maclure grafted upon the educational system. Every other feature, as he himself acknowledged in the prospectus of the school, he copied, not from his own unhappy effort on the Schuylkill, but from Owen's brilliant success in Scotland. Maclure was one of the earliest champions of the idea of industrial education. He founded an agricultural school near the city of Alicante, Spain, on an estate of ten thousand acres purchased for this purpose, but an end was put to these plans by a political revolution which resulted in the confiscation of his property. New Harmony afforded another opportunity for an industrial experiment, which he eagerly seized. Though in his eccentric career Maclure championed many ideas with all the vigor of his vehement nature, there was none he espoused more vigorously than he did the educational theories upon which he organized the manual labor work in the schools of *The New Moral World*. These theories were:

(1) There should be free, equal, and universal schools to which at an early age children should be surrendered and in which they should be clothed, fed, sheltered, and educated at the public expense.

(2) Every child of the productive classes should be taught a trade in order that he may be self-supporting and independent.

(3) Properly managed, the labor of the child at his trade in the industrial department should more than pay for his maintenance and entirely relieve the public from the financial burden of supporting the schools.

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When the children who were the property of the community had arrived at the age of five years they passed from the infant school into the higher or true Pestalozzian school. While pursuing the work in this school as set forth in Maclure's *Prospectus or Course of Study*, they, at the same time, were learning some useful occupation or trade in the industrial school. The child was permitted to choose the branch of industry in which he wished to be trained. Where he made no choice, the management sought to assign him to one for which he had special aptitude. At night the children did not return to the homes of their parents, whom they saw but seldom, but slept in an upper room or loft above the workshop in which their daily manual task was performed. Every child was expected to learn at least one occupation or trade well. When this had been done he might receive permission to enter another workshop and learn a second industry.

It appears certain that at some time or other during the life of the industrial school at New Harmony each of the following useful occupations were taught: Taxidermy, printing and engraving, drawing, carpentry, wheelwrighting, wood-turning, blacksmithing, cabinet-making, hat-making, shoemaking, agriculture, washing, cooking, sewing, housekeeping, dressmaking, and millinery. Whatever may have been the character of the training in other departments, there is absolute proof that the work of the printing-shop was thorough. Maclure's *Opinions*, a publication in three volumes, was printed and bound by the pupils in it. The typographical work of these books is excellent, and after the lapse of eighty years the binding is in good condition.

We catch a faint glimpse of the industrial system in the diary of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who writes of his visit to the community schools in April, 1826: "I found Professor Neef in the act of leading the boys of his school out to labor. Military exercise formed a part of the instruc-

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tion of the children. I saw the boys divided into two ranks and parted into detachments, marching to labor. On the way they performed various wheelings and evolutions. All the boys and girls have a very healthy look, are cheerful and lively, and by no means bashful. The boys labor in the field and garden and were now occupied with new fencing. The girls learned female employments; they were as little oppressed as the boys with labor and teaching; these happy and interesting little children were much more employed in making their youth pass as happily as possible.

"Madame Neef showed me their schoolhouse, in which she dwelt, and in which places for sleeping were arranged for the boys. Each slept upon a cot frame, on a straw bed. . . . I went to the quondam church, or workshop for the boys who are intended for joiners and shoemakers. These boys sleep upon the floor above the church in cribs, three in a row, and thus have their sleeping-place and place of instruction close together. We saw also the shops of the shoemakers, tailors and saddlers, also the smiths, of which six were under one roof, and the pottery, in which were two rather large furnaces. The greater part of the young girls whom we chanced to meet at home we found employed in plaiting straw hats."

The industrial school at New Harmony was the second to be established in the United States. There was at this time but one other manual training-school in this country—the Rensselaer Institute, which was founded two years previously (1824). These two pioneer institutions, so closely associated in point of time, differed widely in curriculum. "The Rensselaer school had for that day extensive laboratory advantages in chemistry and physics, and taught the analysis of soils, fertilizers, minerals, and animal and vegetable matter, with their applications to agriculture, domestic economy, and the arts, and as early as 1835 had a department for instruction in engineering and technology." This course appealed only to students of

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a much greater age than the children who were taught in the workshops of the community.

The Rensselaer Institute was strictly a technical school, while the New Harmony experiment was purely a trade-school. In the latter a trade is taught, in the former both the trade and the technique of the trade are taught. Though the Rensselaer Institute was the first industrial and the first technical industrial school in the United States, Maclure's attempt afforded the first purely trade-school. After reciting a list of manual labor organizations which followed in the wake of these pioneer ventures, Boone, in his *History of Education*, says truly: "Though many of these efforts to promote industry in connection with literary institutions failed, and most of the schools were closed or reorganized as academies, they served a double and worthy purpose; the function of intelligent labor was magnified and the seed sown for a more fruitful harvest. For how much of the idea of technical education in agriculture and the mechanic arts the present is indebted to these institutions can not perhaps be determined. Enough is known to suggest that the obligation must be large."

But little concerning the workings of the New Harmony educational experiment can be gleaned from the official records of the community. Though still in a remarkable state of preservation, they are almost entirely occupied with the endless bickerings of the social system. The most reliable and interesting information concerning the community schools is to be derived from the accounts given by those who in the days of *The New Moral World* in the capacity of teacher or pupil or visitor came in contact with them.

Mrs. Sarah Cox Thrall, who died in New Harmony a few years ago, was a pupil in the community schools. She stated that in summer the girls wore dresses of coarse linen, with a coarse plaid costume for Sunday or for

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special occasions. In winter they wore heavy woolen dresses. At rising, a detail of the girls was sent out to do the milking, and this milk, with mush cooked in large kettles, constituted the essential part of the morning meal, which the children were expected to finish in fifteen minutes. "We had bread but once a week—on Saturdays. I thought if I ever got out, I would kill myself eating sugar and cake. 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. At dinner we generally had soup, at supper mush and milk again.

"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. At regular intervals we used to be marched to the community apothecary shop, where a dose that tasted like sulphur was impartially dealt out to each pupil, just as in Squeers' Dotheboys school. Children regularly in the boarding-school were not allowed to see their parents, except at rare intervals. I saw my father and mother twice in two years. We had a little song we used to sing:

"Number 2 pigs locked up in a pen,
When they get out, it's now and then;
When they get out, they sneak about,
For fear old Neef will find them out."

Robert Dale Owen also gives us a picture of the New Harmony schools in operation. "In the educational de-

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partment," he writes, "we had considerable talent, mixed with a good deal of eccentricity. We had a Frenchman, patronized by Mr. Maclure, a Piquet d'Arusmont, who became afterward the husband of Frances Wright, a man well informed on many points, but withal a wrong-headed genius, whose extravagance, wilfulness, and inordinate self-conceit destroyed his usefulness. He had a small school, but it was a failure—he gained neither the good-will nor the respect of his pupils.

"Another, of a very different stamp, was Prof. Joseph Neef, from Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland. Simple, straightforward, and cordial, a proficient in modern languages, a good musician, he had brought with him from Pestalozzi's institution at Yverdon an excellent mode of teaching. To his earlier life, as an officer under Napoleon, was due a blunt, offhand manner and an abrupt style of speech, enforced now and then with an oath—an awkward habit for a teacher, which I think he tried ineffectually to get rid of. One day, when I was within hearing, a boy in his class used profane language. 'Youngster,' said Neef to him, 'you mustn't swear. It's silly, and it's vulgar, and it means nothing. Don't let me hear you do so again.'

"'But, Mr. Neef,' said the boy, hesitating and looking half frightened, 'if—if it's vulgar and wrong to swear, why—'

"'Well, out with it. Never stop when you want to say anything; that's another bad habit. You wished to know why—'

"'Why you swear, yourself, Mr. Neef.'

"'Because I'm a fool! Don't you be one, too!'

"With all his roughness, the good old man was a general favorite alike with children and adults. Those whose recollections of Harmony extend back to the '40s preserve a genial remembrance of him, walking about in the sun of July or August, in linen trousers and shirt, always bareheaded, with a grandchild in his arms, and humming

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to his infant charge some martial air in a wonderful bass voice, which, it is said, enabled him in his younger days, when giving command to a body of troops, to be distinctly heard by ten thousand men."

Robert Dale Owen thus relates an experience of his own in teaching one of the community schools: "When I first took charge of the school, finding that the teachers occasionally employed corporal punishment, I strictly forbade it. After a time the master of the eldest boys' class said to me one day: 'I find it impossible to control these unruly rascals. They know I am not allowed to flog them, and when I seek to enforce rules of order, they defy me.'

"I sought to show him how he might manage them without the rod, but he persisted. 'If you'd try it yourself for a few days, Mr. Owen, you'd find out that I'm right.'

"'Good,' I said, 'I'll take them in hand for a week or two.'

"They were a rough, boisterous, lawless set; bright enough, quick of observation; capable of learning when they applied themselves, but accustomed to a free swing, and impatient of discipline, to which they had never been subjected. I said to them at the start: 'Boys, I want you to learn; you'll be very sorry when you come to be men if you don't. But you can't learn anything worth knowing without rules to go by. I must have you orderly and obedient. I won't require from you anything unreasonable, and I don't intend to be severe with you. But whatever I tell you to do is what has to be done, and shall be done, sooner or later.' Here I observed on one or two bold faces a smile that looked like incredulity, but all I added was: 'You'll save time if you do it at once.'

"My lessons, often oral, interested them, and things went on quietly for a few days. I knew the crisis would come. It did, in this wise. It was May, the thermometer was ranging toward ninety degrees, and I resolved to take the class to bathe in the Wabash, much to their delight. I

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told them that by the doctor's advice they were to remain in the water fifteen minutes only; that was the rule. When I called, 'Time's up,' they all came out, somewhat reluctantly, however, except one tall fellow named Ben, a good swimmer, who detained us ten minutes, notwithstanding my order, several times repeated, to come on shore.

"I said nothing about it until we returned to the schoolroom, then I asked the class: 'Do you remember my saying to you that whatever I told you to do had to be done sooner or later?' They looked at Ben and said, 'Yes.' Then I went on. 'I am determined that if I take you to bathe again, you shall stay in fifteen minutes only. How do you think I can best manage that?' They looked at Ben again, and seemed puzzled, never, very surely, having been asked such a question before. 'Has no one any plan?' I asked.

"At length a youngster suggested: 'I guess you'd better thrash him, Mr. Owen.' 'I don't wish to do that,' I replied. 'I think it does boys harm. Besides, I never was whipped myself, I never whipped anybody, and I know it must be a very unpleasant thing to do. Can't somebody think of a better plan?'

"One of the class suggested: 'There's a closet in the garret, with a stout bolt to it—you might shut him up in there till we got back.'

"'That's better than flogging, but is the closet dark?'

"'Yes.'

"'I think Ben would not like to be shut up in the dark for nearly an hour.'

"'No, but then we don't like to be kept from bathing just for him.'

"Then one little fellow, with some hesitation, put in his word: 'Please, Mr. Owen, wouldn't it do to leave him in the playground?'

"'If I could be sure that he would stay there, but he

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might get out and go bathing, and remain in half an hour, perhaps.'

"At this point Ben, no longer able to restrain himself—he had been getting more and more restless, turning first to one speaker, then to another, as we coolly discussed the case—burst forth: 'Mr. Owen, if you leave me in the playground, when they go to bathe next time, I'll never stir from it. I won't. You'll see, I won't!'

"'Well, Ben,' said I, 'I have never known you to tell a falsehood and I'll take your word for it this time. But remember, if you lie to me once, I shall never be able to trust you again. We couldn't believe known liars if we were to try.'

"So the next time we went in bathing, I left Ben in the playground. When we returned, he met me, with eager face, at the gate. 'I never left, even for a minute. Ask them if I have,' pointing to some boys at play.

"'Your word is enough. I believe you.'

"Thereafter Ben came out of the water promptly, as soon as time was called; and when any of his comrades lingered he was the first to chide them for disobeying orders.

"Once or twice afterward I had to take a somewhat similar stand (never against Ben), persisting each time until I was obeyed. Then, bethinking myself of my Hofwyl experience, I called in the aid of military drill, which the boys took to very kindly, and when three weeks had passed I found that my pupils prided themselves in being what, indeed, they were—the best disciplined and most orderly and law-abiding class in school.

"So I carried my point against a degrading relic of barbarism, then countenanced in England, alike in army, navy, and some of the most accredited seminaries."

An account of the formation of the educational society has already been given. With this Mr. Maclure and his associates allied themselves, and the educational interests

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of the various communities were under its care. In December, 1826, William Maclure forwarded to the State Legislature a petition for the incorporation of the New Harmony Educational Society, and a bill was introduced stating that William Maclure "had bought, in and adjoining New Harmony, one thousand acres of land with suitable buildings erected thereupon, devoted to the establishment of schools, and had furnished a liberal endowment, embracing many thousands of volumes of books, with such mathematical, chemical, and physical apparatus as is necessary to facilitate education, and is desirous to obtain an act of incorporation to enable him more fully to carry out his benevolent designs." This bill was rejected in the State Senate by a vote of fifteen to four, on account of the popular impression that atheism was promulgated in the New Harmony schools. The Gazette, in commenting on the action of the Legislature, says: "We presume, from their conduct, that they have no confidence in our society or its intentions."

In a discussion following the signing of the articles of partnership between the two men, Maclure assured Owen that not only would he guarantee that instructors and professors of a superior type would be enlisted in the proposed educational experiments, but also that by the departmental system of instruction all the children of the schools would be brought into contact with the superior qualifications possessed by all these teachers. Contrary to this understanding, when the schools were organized each principal teacher assumed entire charge of the training of a particular group of children. During the larger portion of the life of The New Moral World Maclure was traveling elsewhere, leaving the New Harmony schools without any leadership save that mildly exercised by Thomas Say, whom he had deputized to assume charge during his absence.

These things, together with the failure of the Pestaloz-

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zian school to achieve expected results and of the industrial school to be self-supporting, caused Owen, dissatisfied with the educational experiments of his partner, to establish a separate school system, independent of Mr. Maclure's, under the leadership of a Mr. Dorsey, a short-lived venture that achieved no other result than to inaugurate a quarrel between the two proprietors which culminated in legal complications.

When at last Robert Owen saw the social temple tumbling about his head, with the characteristic blindness of the enthusiast who has failed to achieve his golden dream, he cast about for every reason save the right one to explain the downfall of his ideal social order. Though the real cause of the defeat of his plans at New Harmony lay in the fact that he had trusted too largely to that imperfect human nature which if perfect would make social reform unnecessary and even our present social system ideal, Owen did not hesitate to charge the defeat of his communistic schemes to Maclure's educational experiment.

In his farewell address to the people of New Harmony made in 1827, just before the utter collapse of The New Moral World, Owen said: "If the schools had been in operation upon the very superior plan upon which I had been led to expect they would be, so as to convince parents by ocular demonstration of the benefits which their children would immediately derive from the system, it would have been, I think, practicable, even with such materials, with the patience and perseverance which would have been applied to the subject, to have succeeded in amalgamating the whole into a community.

"You also know that the chief difficulty at this time arose from the differences of opinion among the professors and teachers brought here by Mr. Maclure, relative to the education of the children, and to the consequent delay in putting any of their system into operation.

"Having been led to entertain very high expectations of

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the abilities of these individuals, I looked to them to establish superior arrangements for the instruction of all ages, and I was induced to suppose that the population would be compensated by the unequalled excellence of the system when put into operation; and in consequence of the unlimited confidence which I placed in these individuals to execute this most important part of my plan, you all know how much I have been disappointed. Instead of forming one well-digested arrangement, in which all the children of the community should have the benefit of the superior qualifications possessed by each professor and instructor, each principal teacher undertook the entire instruction of a certain number of pupils, by which arrangement they were prevented from associating with other pupils.

"By this error in the practise, the object which I had most at heart could not be attained; the children were educated in different habits, dispositions, and feelings, when it was my most earnest desire that all the children should be educated in similar habits, dispositions, and feelings, and should be brought up truly as members of one large family, without a single discordant feeling.

"It is true that each of the professors and principal teachers possessed considerable abilities, and acquirements in particular branches of education, but the union of the best qualities and qualifications of several of even the best modern teachers is required to form the character of the rising generation as it ought to be formed, and enable children when they attain maturity to become sufficiently rational and intelligent to make good, useful members of the social system."

"Though the Educational Society perished in the ruins of the social order and Robert Owen retired broken in fortune from the Waterloo of his efforts as a social architect, Maclure remained in New Harmony and continued his

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educational experiments. Almost pathetic is the story of his after efforts as an educational architect. In 1827 he published an announcement of "Maclure's Seminary," stating: "Young men and women are received without any expense to them, either for teaching, or food, lodging and clothing. Hours, from five in the morning until eight in the evening, divided as follows: The scholars rise at five; at half past five each goes to his occupation; at seven the bell rings for breakfast; at eight they return to work; at eleven their lessons begin, continuing until half past two, including half an hour for luncheon; then they return to their occupation until five, when a bell calls them to dinner. Afterward until half past six they exercise themselves in various ways; then the evening lessons begin, and last until eight. The basis of the institution is that the scholars repay their expenses from the proceeds of their seven hours' labor, but to effect this will require several years more."

On May 27, 1827, Mr. Maclure announced "The Orphans' Manual Training-School." The Manual Training-School had its laboratory in a separate building, equipped "with such requisites as are necessary for an experimental course of lectures in chemistry. In another building is a small room lately fitted up for containing the philosophic apparatus, for which it is well adapted. The other room of this building has been used for some time as the drawing-school, but it is to be converted into a museum, in which all the natural productions of Harmony and the surrounding country will be accumulated, as well as the collection made by Mr. Maclure during his travels through Europe and America." Mr. Maclure also founded what he called "The School of Industry," which had for its principal motto, "Utility shall be the scale on which we shall endeavor to measure the value of everything." Under the auspices of this organization Mr. Maclure established, on January 16, 1828, the New Harmony Disseminator, "con-

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taining hints to the youth of the United States; edited, printed, and published by the pupils of the School of Industry."

When one by one his educational experiments in the training of children, in each of which he placed such high hopes, came to naught, William Maclure, still eager to do something for the cause of education and for the productive classes, "who earn their living in the sweat of their brows," directed his philanthropy toward the formation of an educational society for adults which he dubbed "The Society for Manual Instruction." Announcing its formation, the Disseminator, in 1828, explains that the new society is really a mechanics' institution; that it differs only in name from the mechanics' institutes of the United States and Europe, its objects and means being the same as these; and that its objects are to "communicate a general knowledge of the arts and sciences to those persons who have hitherto been excluded from a scientific or general education by the erroneous and narrow-minded policy of colleges and public schools, which have invariably endeavored to confine learning to the rich few, so that they might tyrannize over the uneducated many."

In 1828 Maclure went to Mexico to recuperate his failing health, leaving his financial and educational interests under the management of Thomas Say. The state of his health finally compelled him to take up his permanent residence there. Within a few years after his departure, the last School of Industry which he established closed its doors because of the withdrawal of the financial support of its founder. The Society for Mutual Instruction led a more or less insignificant and halting existence for several years and then "died for want of breath." Strange to say, after his departure from New Harmony Maclure seems to have lost all his former abundant interest and faith in his educational ventures for children. Not even in his correspondence with Thomas Say and Madame Fretageot does

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he allude to his former efforts in behalf of Pestalozzianism and self-supporting schools.

Yet within a year before his death in a strange land, we find Maclure still interested in the productive classes at New Harmony, still eager to do something for the education of the children of a larger growth. Through Mr. Achilles E. Fretageot, son of Madame Fretageot, he inaugurated in 1837 a correspondence with the workingmen of New Harmony which resulted in the establishment of a Working Men's Institute and Library, which rose like Phenix of old out of the dormant ashes of the Society for Mutual Instruction. The gifts which he had contemplated for this Working Men's Institute had not been bestowed at the time of his death. They were executed in part by the brother and sister, whom he named as the executors of his will.

This Working Men's Institute, as will be described in a subsequent chapter upon the Maclure Libraries, is in existence to-day, operates the New Harmony Library, was the first of the large group of institutes and libraries which Maclure established through the terms of his will, and is the sole remaining evidence of the educational efforts of the first American geologist. All the other educational ventures perished as perished the social order, leaving no record of their existence save that which they have written by their influence upon the educational methods and systems of the country.

What were the educational principles and aims of the New Harmony schools?

(1) First of all, as has been stated repeatedly, the Pestalozzian system of instruction was followed even more enthusiastically than at New Lanark. Owen advocated this system and Maclure was its devoted apostle. The prospectus for the schools written by Maclure was simply an exposition of the Pestalozzian method of teaching the various branches of study treated in the prospectus. The

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eleven postulates of the so-called Pestalozzian creed as given by Morf constituted the chart and compass of the educational experiments on the Wabash.

Morf's twelfth postulate, advocating religious training, was rejected at New Harmony, as it had been at New Lanark. Maclure was a pronounced atheist and opposed even more bitterly than Owen the Christian religion, which he denounced as an institution by the aid of which the non-productive oppressed and held in bondage the productive classes. The peculiar religious opinions of Owen and Maclure attracted to their venture, along with the idle and the vicious and the adventurous, men vehemently advocating every shade and phase of religious belief and unbelief. In such an atmosphere religious training was neither popular nor possible. From the columns of the New Harmony Gazette it is apparent that the two features or phases of the Pestalozzian system most emphasized were:

(a) *The object method of teaching.*

"Children in course of instruction are not perplexed with words of the meaning of which they have no conception." Models or pictures of the objects to be explained are employed where the object itself can not be immediately presented to the senses of the child.

(b) *The concrete in preference to the abstract.*

"The whole of the time at school is devoted to demonstrable fact, leaving all abstract studies until judgment is matured by a correct knowledge of them and an extensive acquaintance with the things around them."

(2) The children, in the language of the New Harmony Gazette, "were taught to value virtue for its own sake, without the hope of artificial reward or fear of artificial punishment." The abolishment of all reward and punishment save that arising out of the very nature of the act of the child was the cardinal principle of the New Lan-

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ark schools and the feature of the work there in which Robert Owen took the greatest interest. When Robert Dale Owen, while teaching in the community schools, conquered Ben in the manner which he describes on a previous page of this chapter, without the use of the ferule, he was but carrying out the chief educational principle which his distinguished father espoused.

Maclure, strongly approving of the system of school government exploited by the Owens, incorporated it into the educational system of the community. He was especially vehement in his opposition to the methods of punishment prevailing in contemporary schools. In the *New Harmony Gazette* of March 21, 1826, after stating his objections to those methods of punishment which produce fear, he continues: "Fear is a sensation so humiliating, irksome, and disagreeable to all the feelings of our species (as well probably as to those of all other animals), that the best disciplined temper can not prevent attaching hatred to the cause of it. But of all the manifold and destructive effects that fear has on the human family none is so injurious to the well-being of society and so totally subversive of the true interest of mankind as the fear of the child for the teacher, for, in addition to the innumerable bad consequences inseparable from fear in any stage of life, it closes the mind against receiving instruction from the only source that is accessible to children, their entire attention being occupied in watching the symptoms of anger in their teacher in order that they may be prepared to ward off the blow or contrive some means of escaping punishment."

It is well to remember here that twenty-five years before "Nicholas Nickleby" exposed the brutality of the English boarding-schools and in the very days when the birch rod lay like the sword of Damocles across the desk of every New England schoolmaster, a school system whose only means of government was the love between teacher and

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pupils, which, permeating every school, would render corporal punishment obsolete, flourished in a Western wilderness.

(3) More of the aims and hopes of the educational experiments at New Harmony are to be gathered from the educational views of the proprietors and teachers than from what little the schools accomplished or failed to accomplish during their brief career. Some of these will be briefly set forth in the paragraphs which follow.

THE RIGHT EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

The ideal training which the educational system of the social scheme hoped ultimately to bestow is described in an article, evidently written by one of the Owens (either Robert or Robert Dale, probably the latter), published in the *New Harmony Gazette*, May 16, 1827, from which the following is taken:

"*The right education of children*—not that education which teaches the child but a few, to him, unmeaning words and phrases, gives him, perhaps, a knowledge of some of the sciences, or even instructs him to hold converse with men of other days in their own languages, and makes him familiar with the history of ancient nations and people—yet too often leaves him morose, sullen, bigoted, and deceitful or cruel, passionate, and overbearing; a prey to envy, ambition, pride, vanity, and conceit; a being incapable of enjoying life himself and equally a source of misery to others—but that education which watches over the child from its most tender infancy, with a care that knows no intermission; that superintends his instruction and neglects him not in his amusements; that assists him in his difficulties and prevents their recurrence; that seeks to give him such habits, feelings, and desires alone as experience may prove to be a source of happiness; that leaves him not

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on his entrance into the world, but ever endeavors to surround him through life with circumstances in unison with his previous habits and inclinations and thus to make him an intelligent companion, a pleasing associate, and a happy being."

Value of interest and the means by which it may be secured.—Some of the educational ideas which Maclure sets forth in the three volumes of his *Opinions* are ridiculous from the standpoint of the intelligent teacher and layman of to-day. Some of them, however, even the pedagogue of the twentieth century would do well to remember. After making the query, whose interest has been consulted in all our old-school operations, Maclure continues: "Attention is the only medium through which instruction passes into the mind; without it nothing makes a lasting impression on any of the mental faculties. Can undivided attention be secured by fear or coercion? This is a query necessary to be solved, as a principle upon which education must be bottomed. Does not fear brutalize and paralyze all the faculties of the mind? Let any one at a mature age reflect on his feelings when under the impression of fear and he will find that neither his memory, judgment, nor any other of his mental faculties were sound. Fear perhaps is the great predisposing cause of many both moral and physical diseases.

"If fear has so debilitating an influence upon the physical and moral qualities of men hardened and strengthened by practise and experience, how much more must its baleful influence pervert and deteriorate the young and tender minds of children. In a state of fear the attention is distracted, and can not act in unison with the subject taught, but is secured by good-will, arising out of the pleasure and amusement children take in exercises that interest them. If so, and my experience does not permit me to doubt it, the essential business and duty of a teacher is to find out the inclination of his pupils, and teach them

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any and all the useful lessons he may find they study with pleasure."—Maclure's *Opinions*, vol. i, page 66.

Reasons why the useful arts should be introduced into the schools.—As has been before stated, Maclure was a thorough-going believer in industrial education. After condemning the pleasures which men derive from sports involving the practise of "tormenting cruelties" (such as fishing, shooting, horse-racing, and bull-baiting), he continues: "If pleasurable ideas can by habit and practise be united with such mortifying exhibitions of human depravity, where every result is annihilated the moment the action is finished, how much more easy would it be for teachers to imprint on the tender minds of children the union of pleasurable ideas with the useful occupation of some mechanical art. This would furnish the necessary muscular exercises so conducive to health, while, at the same time, the gratification would be prolonged by the permanent benefit obtained by the utility of what is produced, and securing pecuniary independence in being capable of practising a productive trade in case of necessity.

"The being taught to make shoes or coats does not force the possessor of such knowledge to be a shoemaker or tailor, any more than learning mensuration or navigation obliges one to become a surveyor or sailor. They are all acquirements good to have in case of necessity, and in no state of society is that necessity more likely to occur than in our system founded on liberty and equality, where the only bar to the most complete equalization of the whole population is the ignorance of the great producing classes, which, however, is vanishing rapidly before the increasing means of obtaining useful knowledge; and children ought to be trained and educated to suit the probable situation which the circumstances of the next age may place them in. Even at present, all our farmers and manufacturers, nine-tenths of our population, would be very much benefited by possessing one or two of the mechanic arts, suit-

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able to their occupations."—Maclure's Opinions, vol. ii, page 147.

The value of natural science as a study.—After discussing the obligation of every parent to give his children an education, Maclure recommends that the pursuit of some natural science be included in the training given, in these words: "While parents are giving their children the useful knowledge to carry them respectably through life, they ought not, on any account, to neglect giving them an occupation or an amusement to fill up their spare time, the want of which is the cause of most of the drinking and debauchery of youth. The best, most useful, and cheapest pastime is the natural sciences, which can be practised in all countries and climates at the least expense of either money or morals; the pursuits of which are productive of health, liberality, and the utmost extension of toleration, as there is room enough for all, without jostling or infringing on each other's rights or property; they banish envy and promote contentment, raising their votaries above the silly squabbles of disappointed ambition and teaching them an accurate mode of examining the properties of substances they are interested in knowing."—Maclure's Opinions, vol. iii, page 224.

"The senses and the imagination ought to be trained."—Maclure believed this with all the radicalism of his strenuous nature. His scientific pursuits had made him thoroughly utilitarian. In his eager search for the accurate knowledge which only the senses can yield, he had lost sight forever of the realm of the spirit, where faith reigns and imagination dwells a handmaiden. Hear the argument by which he exalts the senses and eliminates imagination from the curriculum!

"Nature has given us our senses, through which we receive all our ideas. Nor can the ingenuity of men invent the figure or form of anything that has not come to them either entire or by piecemeal through the medium of their

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senses. . . . Our senses being the only medium through which we can receive our knowledge of matter or motion, the only channel by which we can receive information of the qualities or properties of animated things, it must follow of course that teaching the correct and rapid use of all our senses and avoiding all abuse and deceptions of them ought to be the principal object of education.

"The delusion of the imagination, being one of the greatest abuses of our sentient faculties, ought to be left at a great distance from all places of instruction. . . . Imagination has been so beaten up, mixed, and compounded with the wisdom of our senses, that it is difficult to draw the line of separation between them; but every vision of the mind, which neither directly nor indirectly has come to us through our senses, may be considered to be the child of the imagination, which sometimes produces pleasure, like an opiate, to end in debility or disappointment; but most frequently it exaggerates imaginary evils, and, perhaps, nine-tenths of the anxiety, misery, and wretchedness of humanity are the fruits of imagination. It is probably not the natural state of man, but the artificial state, engendered by the fallacies of education, and kept up by the rulers of the church and state."

Proper subjects to teach in the school of a free people.—In his Opinions, vol. i, page 48, Maclure declares that education, like mankind, may be divided into two species, the productive and non-productive, the useful and the ornamental, the necessary and the amusing. The productive, useful, and necessary subjects in teaching are those which we acquire through the senses, such as drawing, chemistry, natural history, mineralogy, geology, botany, zoology, arithmetic, mechanics, natural philosophy, geography, and astronomy. The non-productive and ornamental subjects are those which train the imagination, such as literature, mythology, etc. "It is the productive, useful, and necessary that constitute the comfort and happiness of the

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millions, and ought alone to occupy the care and attention of all representative governments, elected by the majority of the millions, who produce all that is consumed under the domination either of public or private revenue. The millions have a right to what they produce; and all appropriations out of the public treasury, for teaching the non-productive knowledge which is merely ornamental or amusing to the possessor, may perhaps be considered as a deviation from right and justice, in expending the fruit of the labor and toil of the productive classes, to teach the children of the idle and non-productive how to consume their own time and the public property in learning to amuse themselves and kill time agreeably."—Maclure's *Opinions*, vol. i, page 48.

FREE, EQUAL, AND UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

The persistency with which both Owen and Maclure throughout their stormy careers advocated the establishment of a system of State schools, supported by the public purse, wherein without cost every child might receive an education equal to that of his fellows, constitutes their greatest claim on public gratitude. When the social experiment opened its doors invitingly to the discontented of the Republic, there were no public schools, in the sense in which we use the term to-day, outside of New England. "Public schools" in the Middle and Southern States were either "free schools" or "pauper schools." It was not until 1871 that some sections of the Eastern States ceased to charge a fee for the fuel consumed by the pupil. In our own time the public-school idea in some portions of the South is compassed by the care which it is thought the State should take of the dependent and unfortunate classes. It required the constitution of 1852 to establish in Indiana the principle that the property of the State should educate the children of the State and that all

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the common schools should be open to pupils without charge. Even the township schools of New England, though bestowing an education that was "free and equal," were not "universal," for, basing their moral and religious training upon the narrow creed of the dominant sect, they often alienated the support and the patronage of the followers of other faiths.

Yet in 1825, nine years before the first free school supported by taxation on Indiana soil opened its doors, and at least half a century in advance of the prevailing thought of the era, Robert Owen and William Maclure established upon the very frontier of civilization an educational system for all where instruction could be obtained "without money and without price." Though the non-residents were charged tuition, to the children of the community the schools were indeed and in truth free, equal, and universal; and it was hoped they would become self-supporting, for it was expected that their industrial training would ultimately relieve The New Moral World of the expense of maintaining the educational system. Just as Owen held up before the eyes of the nations a new social order, which, convinced of its benefits, they were expected to adopt in their respective civilizations, so Maclure hoped through the educational experiments within that social order to guide the human race toward the blessings of schools "free as the living waters."

The public utterances and writings of both men are replete with the sturdy assertion of the idea that schools ought to be "of the people, for the people, by the people." After maintaining that public schools furnish the most effective means of shaping character, Robert Owen declares that "the national plan for the formation of character should include all the modern improvements of education without regard to the system of any one individual and should not exclude the child of one subject in the empire." Equally vehement is Maclure, who says: "One of the

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most sacred duties of a free people, the first time they exercise the right of universal suffrage, is to elect into power none but such as will enact such laws as will secure to all free, equal, universal, and general instruction, at the expense of the public, which is the people's purse. Once secure an equality of knowledge by placing the whole population by free schools on the same footing, the equality of the two other essentials of freedom, property and power, must follow as certainly as light and heat follow the rays of the sun."

The sons of Robert Owen caught the spirit of free schools from their father. In an address delivered at New Harmony in 1840 Richard Owen said: "It should be our strenuous endeavor to give an education free and universal to the son of the poorest farmer as to the son of the chief magistrate. It may require much time and patience to attain the desirable result, but it should never be lost sight of. Let our first patriotic object at all times be—equal and universal education."

Though a subsequent chapter presents the invaluable services which Robert Dale Owen rendered to the cause of free schools in the formative days of the Indiana educational system, we can not forbear to mention here his attitude on the question of equal and universal education. Years after the educational experiments went down in the ruins of the social order, Robert Dale Owen still breathed their spirit, when, through the editorial columns of the *Free Enquirer*, he declared: "We desire to see our public schools so endowed and provided that they shall be equally desirable for all classes of society. To effect this the means of instruction which are offered to the poor should be the very best which can be provided. This is no mere fanciful theory. I object, therefore, to all exclusive establishments for education in a republic; and exclusive every school or university is which denies admittance to the son of the poor on account of his father's poverty. I desire to see the

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living waters of knowledge bought without money and without price; for, so should they be in a commonwealth like this."

Startling to the age in which they were proclaimed as were the declarations of the founders of New Harmony concerning free public schools, they were no more so than the innovations which Maclure read into them, and by which he proposed to secure and perpetuate them. To a people vigorously debating the very legality of "pauper schools," he proposed and sought, through the educational experiments at *The New Moral World*, to demonstrate the wisdom and the feasibility of a Spartan system of education.

SPARTAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Like Pestalozzi, Maclure believed that in education lay the only hope of uplift for the working classes, whose cause he always championed. That this education might be open to them, he contended for free, equal, and universal schools. That such schools when established might reach the productive classes and serve them most efficiently, he proposed that in them all the children of the State, whether of low or high degree, "should be fed, clothed, and instructed at the expense of the people's purse, formerly called the public treasury." Not since the days of ancient Sparta had a system of instruction been advocated which was predicated upon the surrender of children of tender years to the absolute care and control of the State. Under the Spartan *régime*, home control did not cease and that of the government begin until the child had attained the age of seven. In Maclure's system, the infant at the age of two years must be transferred from parental to State care. The aim of the system of instruction in Sparta was bodily strength and agility. Maclure sought for the children of his care utility and mechanical skill. The original Spartan system of instruction was designed to prepare the

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male youth for the pursuit of war. Maclure hoped through its revival to prepare both the male and female descendants of the productive classes for industry and for an "independence of the oppression which their ancestors had suffered from the worthless classes of society."

Maclure gave numerous reasons for "pressing a revival of the ancient Spartan school organization upon the people of North America."

(1) The children would be divorced during their formative years from the handicap of ignorant and immoral homes.

(2) The productive classes, relieved of the burden of maintaining the children, would be better able to work out their own redemption.

(3) The forcible removal, if necessary, of children to the State schools would defeat the indifference of parents toward education.

(4) By making the surroundings as well as the instruction of children the same, a greater equality of opportunity of all social classes would be secured.

(5) By the grouping of the children in large numbers, they could be instructed and maintained for less than the cost under the present arrangement either to the parents of supporting them or to the State of educating them.

(6) Only by a system wherein the State commands the entire time of a child can he be properly taught a useful trade that will insure his industrial independence as a citizen.

(7) Through the useful trades and occupations taught the pupils, "free, equal, and universal schools" could be made self-supporting, thus "relieving the productive classes of the burden of maintaining them."

(8) Best of all, the complete surrender of all children to the care of the republic would settle, once and forever, in the affirmative the question of State responsibility for the education of its wards.

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Robert Owen accepted Maclure's innovation because it afforded an opportunity to transplant the offspring of rude, debased, often vicious homes into the refining atmosphere of the system of instruction which he hoped to see established at New Harmony. When he drew up the plans of organization for The New Moral World, he provided therein for the absolute surrender of all its children, at the age prescribed by his partner, to the educational system. During the brief life of the new social order no feature of its educational work was so rigidly enforced as that, which, for want of a better name, we may term Maclure's New Spartan System. Robert Dale Owen became a firm convert to the idea, for many years later he declared through the editorial columns of the Free Enquirer, "I hold it befitting a republic that the State should furnish throughout the land, at public expense, State institutions where every young citizen should be educated and maintained from youth to manhood."

Self-supporting Schools

While the educational experiments at New Harmony were in progress, the people between the Connecticut and the Wabash were opposed to the maintenance by public taxation of free schools wherein the pupils received instruction only. Maclure's innovation added maintenance to the burden of instruction which the populace had already refused to bear. In order to secure the coveted free training to which the majority had not yet granted support, and fearful lest the burden of taxation, even if shouldered, might fall too heavily upon his favorite "producing classes," Maclure revived Pestalozzi's scheme for self-supporting schools, and during the educational experiments in community days made repeated efforts to demonstrate their feasibility. Though his industrial schools fell as far short of self-support as did the less

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ambitious effort of the Swiss schoolmaster at NeuhoF, yet Maclure, nothing daunted, still stoutly contended that the foremost reason for the introduction of the useful arts into the schools was "the great economy of enabling children to feed, clothe, and educate themselves by their own exertions; thus rendering them independent of the labor of others and establishing an equality founded on each administering to his own wants from the most early age."

Consolidation or Centralizing of Schools

Modern advocates of the consolidating or centralizing of rural schools will be interested in knowing that three-quarters of a century ago William Maclure recommended for the schools patterned after the New Harmony experiment, which he confidently expected to be established throughout the land, the same procedure.

At a period when educational affairs in the country west of the Appalachians were in a chaotic state, Maclure strenuously and repeatedly urged that the newly formed States adopt a civil township of the New England type as the local unit for the administration and support of the schools.

When these townships had been so created by process of law, Maclure hoped to see erected, at the center of each, one of his "Spartan systems of self-supporting free public schools." With extreme care he locates and describes the schoolhouse. "The locality must be chosen in a healthful situation, removed from swamps or stagnant water, on or near canals, great roads, or navigable rivers, surrounded at least by two acres of land for every child, as a productive farm from which they might obtain wherewith to feed them." "Buildings must be erected expressly for the purposes of the school." "The arrangement and commodious position of the workshops, houses, courtyards, gardens, etc., are necessary to successful execution of the plan."

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. . . "Materials used in construction ought to be solid and durable." "Wood to be avoided because of perishable quality and liability to harbor noxious insects."

"Pisé, a mixture of gravel, sand, and clay, rammed solidly between a shifting frame, might perhaps fulfil all the requisites of durability, health, and economy for buildings." . . . "With a coat of whitewash it has the solid and handsome appearance of a stone building and might be roofed with tiles or slates that would make it fireproof." "It might be heated by hot air or steam by the latest improvements in the construction of the kitchens." . . . "A parallelogram or square may be thought the best form for centralizing all the inhabitants, that the least time might be lost in changing place. A courtyard would occupy the center and all around the buildings would be the gardens, both for the convenience of culture and collecting the fruits."

With the characteristic confidence of the reformer, Owen's partner describes the benefits to be derived from such a plan of centralization:

(1) "In a township six miles square, the school situated at its center would be only three miles from its distant parts, bringing the scholastic operation within the reach of the inspection of all the inhabitants who are to benefit by the good management or suffer by the bad.

(2) "All being fed and clothed by the establishment, the vicinity of parents is not necessary and the schools may collect the children of a large district to the number of some hundreds, and each would serve in place of twenty or thirty small district schools, when the children eat and sleep at home.

(3) "An immense saving would be effected in time in a country so thinly peopled as the United States, where the greatest part of the children's time is wasted in going and coming at least once a day to a school necessarily at a considerable distance.

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(4) "The grouping of the children as to age, capability, or aptitude would be facilitated, which is utterly impossible in the present method of small schools.

(5) "Such a centralized system of schools would render possible the employment of more and better teachers, the teaching of a wider range of subjects, and the purchase of models, prints, and instruments incalculably superior to anything that the parish schools can possibly afford to buy.

(6) "Best of all under such a system, free, equal, and universal schools could be operated successfully at a minimum of expense, if not entirely without expense to the productive classes."

NEEF'S PLAN OF EDUCATION

No discussion of the methods of instruction or the principles of education which dominated the experiments at New Harmony would be complete which failed to set forth at least some of the views of Joseph Neef. Preceding pages of this book have sketched briefly the career of the man who was principal of both the early schools founded for the purpose of perpetuating the Pestalozzian system of instruction in this country. No man since the great Swiss schoolmaster has possessed either a greater devotion to his principles or a more unselfish allegiance to the cause of education.

In the introduction to his book, published seventeen years before the birth of Robert Owen's Utopia, and styled a Sketch of a Plan of Education Suited to the Offspring of a Free People, wherein the author exploits at length his peculiar educational principles and methods, Neef humbly acknowledges that the training of children and the rearing of vegetables are the only occupations for which he feels any aptitude. "I have, therefore, seriously inquired in which of these two spheres of activity I should

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produce the greatest advantage to the society of which I am a member, whether by clearing and tilling some secluded spot of land, or by cultivating the pretty bewildered field of education. After mature examination, I became fully convinced that in the latter capacity my faculties will be more likely to be beneficial to my fellow citizens. . . . Hear it, ye men of the world! To become an obscure, useful, country schoolmaster is the highest pitch of my worldly ambition!"

The meaning of education. While Socrates, Plato, and many of the profound thinkers of the Christian era had uttered related truths, it remained for Pestalozzi to define education, as he does many times in different phraseology, to be "the natural progressive and symmetrical development of all the powers and faculties of the human being." When Joseph Neef, transplanted to the Western continent by William Maclure, became the first great American apostle of Pestalozzianism, he brought with him, as the cardinal tenet of his creed, the same conception of the meaning and purpose of education which the author of his faith had proclaimed. In an age in which the cramming system sat enthroned in the boasted New England schools and threatened a triumphal march westward, Neef announced to the people of the United States through his Sketch that according to his humble opinion "education is nothing else than the gradual unfolding of the faculties and powers which Providence chooses to bestow on the noblest work of this sublunary creation, man. This definition may appear new, but I trust that its newness will not prevent its being as solid and true as just and plain. Certainly it requires no superior degree of acuteness to discover that Nature gives every human being physical, intellectual, and moral capacity. The new-born infant contains the germines of those faculties as the acorn comprehends the future majestic oak. Teach and accustom the young mind to make a just use of these faculties and your task

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as an educator is done. This unfolding of these powers is the real object of education, or, rather, education itself. Our arts and sciences, by the means of which that display is effected, are but accessory things."

While the definition of the meaning and purpose of education given by Pestalozzi and Neef was too broad for the age to which it was uttered, it has become too narrow for our own. Education has always been a subject having many phases. Successive reformers in its fields have re-defined it in terms of the phase which each wished to emphasize; in terms of the reform which each sought to achieve. The scholars of the Renaissance, aglow with enthusiasm for the glory that was Athens and the power that was Rome, declared learning and culture to be the sole aim of instruction and made education and knowledge synonymous. This view emphasizes the content of the course of study. Pestalozzi and Neef, attacking the system of instruction in the schools of the Humanists, maintained education "to be not knowledge, but the unfolding of childish power." This view emphasizes education as a *process*. It addresses itself to the method of instruction rather than to the content of the curriculum. By it one may determine better how to teach than what to teach out of the wealth of possible subjects that confront the twentieth-century pedagogue. These definitions of the meaning of education, asserted by the Humanists and by Pestalozzi, are, within certain limits at least, phases of the truth. Yet, both fall short of the lofty purpose which the twentieth century is breathing into the educational process.

All previous ages, in attempting to state the purpose of the schools, have focused their attention upon the child as an individual. The definition of education which they framed emphasized the ego and read into the educational process only an individual purpose. To the worshipers of the New Birth the *summum bonum* of instruction was to bestow learning upon the child; to Pestalozzi and Neef it

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was to unfold the powers and faculties of the child. Though both realized to some extent that the welfare of the social order was dependent upon the training of its future citizens, both made the interests of the child the center and circumference of all educational effort. There is a large element of truth in this view. All instruction must be individualized, since it must be comprehended and absorbed, not in social groups but personally and individually. Just, and only, in the proportion that the children of the Republic are made individually better and wiser will the society which they are to constitute become better and wiser.

These latter days have become more altruistic in stating the mission of the schools. The educational thinkers of the twentieth century have focused their eyes upon the child as a factor in society. They see both the child as an individual, who must be unfolded; and the social order for which he must be fitted, and wherein he should play his part as a citizen, touch elbows with his fellows, live to their fulness the measure of his days, work out his own individual destiny and be a weapon for good in the fight for social uplift. From the broad view-point of twentieth-century altruism the supreme duty of the schools is not to perfect the ego, but to fit it to play well a part which throughout life it must play in the struggle for the betterment of the race. By common consent we are seeking to rewrite the definition of education in altruistic phrase, are restating its meaning in terms of life, and reading into the very web and woof of the educational process a great social purpose.

What is the new meaning and purpose of education? Many would answer, "preparation for life," and many, "training for citizenship." Excellent as are these replies, they have grown so gray in the service of writers on educational topics that they have degenerated into meaningless catch-phrases.

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Nicholas Murray Butler would answer, "A gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race." While Columbia's president would doubtless read and probably has read into his answer much, if not all, that the critics find wanting, nevertheless, in its wording his definition seems inadequate and one-sided. The schools must not only bring the child into an adjustment with his spiritual possessions; they must prepare him to be a thinker and a worker, who shall so react upon those possessions that they shall be transmitted, enlarged and enriched, to posterity. Otherwise, progress would be impossible.

These, and many other similar definitions, reflect with a greater or less degree of accuracy the educational thought of the hour. Language is always more limited than thought. Any attempt to state in words the aim of the schools must necessarily fall short of the high mission which this altruistic age has assigned to them.

Conceding these things to be true, many believe that so far, at least, Paul Hanus has made the best statement of the aim of education when he declares it to be "preparation for complete living." "To live completely is to be as useful as possible and to be happy." To be as useful as possible one must be a worker, striving with skill and earnestness. "To be happy one must enjoy both his work and his leisure."

This description of the educational process is best because it encompasses all that the other definitions emphasize, and more. To prepare for complete living is certainly to inculcate learning and culture, since without these life must needs be narrow and fragmentary; is certainly to unfold completely every childish power and faculty; is certainly to prepare for life in its fulness; is certainly to train for citizenship, since one could not live completely who was deficient in civic duties; is certainly to bring the student into adjustment with the spiritual possessions of the race, since one could not even begin to live

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completely until he had been brought into the ownership of his scientific, his literary, his esthetic, his institutional, and his religious inheritance.

If each generation be prepared to live completely, it must be a testator as well as an heir, receiving from the educational process both the priceless inheritance which its forefathers have bequeathed, and the power to make that legacy still more priceless for generations yet to come.

School Republics for Self-government of Children

The last few years have witnessed numerous attempts in the United States to demonstrate the wisdom and the feasibility of managing schools through no other authority than that exercised by juvenile republics organized for the purpose of training their members in self-government. These attempts have been heralded as distinct departures in school management. Yet, in 1808, Joseph Neef outlined and subsequently attempted, both on the Schuylkill and on the Wabash, to execute successfully an elaborate plan for a self-governed school.

It was Neef's thought that the organization of the republic should be preceded by a very elaborate course in ethics, dealing with rights and duties, most of which must have been beyond the comprehension of the children. At the completion of this preliminary preparation for citizenship, Neef stepped before his pupils and inaugurated the republic in this language:

"Hitherto, my dear little friends—hitherto, my will was your law; it was the supreme rule to which you were obliged to conform your actions; I was your despot; your government was despotic. But you have now discovered the eternal laws of reason, which are to be the supreme regulators of your future behavior; that is, of all your actions; you are capable of being your own legislators, your own governors; you are, therefore, worthy of a free govern-

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ment; you are worthy to be governed by your own laws, or rather by the dictates of universal reason, which the Almighty has made a constituent part of your nature, and which you have now discovered; you are no longer my subjects, but you are, and must ever be, subject to your duties. To be a member of your society, a citizen of your little republic, is my ambition; it is your business to determine whether, by my preceding deportment toward you, I deserve to be your fellow citizen and fellow student."

The first business in order after the "inaugurating speech" was the formation of a constitution for the doubly infant republic. With characteristic enthusiasm and confidence, Neef describes the growth of the written instrument of government to which he had assigned his "gubernatorial authority."

"Do unto others that which thou wouldst have done to thee. This shall be the first statute, or rather the basis and foundation of our constitution. On one side we shall set down our unalienable rights, on the other our immutable duties, correlative to and resulting from our rights. All our laws will be nothing else but corollaries from and further explanations of our first and supreme law.

"Regulations of police will soon be found indispensably necessary, and of course they shall be made.

"The first transgression of a law or regulation will convince us that our little republic wants a court of justice and an executive power, and they will, of course, be established; a penal code will be wanted, and consequently created.

"That punishment and trespass ought to be rigorously proportional will not be liable to the least doubt; and this exact proportion we shall, therefore, strive to explore and to establish.

"If one of us happens to be accused, he shall enjoy all possible liberty to defend himself against his accuser; and, should his fellow citizens declare him to be not guilty, his

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accuser shall suffer the same punishment to which the accused would have been liable had he been found culpable.

"In framing our laws, statutes, and regulations we shall take peculiar care to make as few as possible, and exert all our skill to remove from them the least shade of baneful equivocation. All the citizens of our republic shall know and understand all their own laws."

Classical Education Unnecessary

Neef was in hearty sympathy with the utilitarianism of the New Harmony curriculum and shared in Maclure's violent antipathy toward the learned languages. "It is universally believed," says Neef, in his Sketch, "or at least pretended, that in order to render a boy's education liberal, learned, and classical he must absolutely learn that the Athenians called a fox *ἀλώπηξ*, and the Romans *vulpes*. Against this sufficiently ridiculous belief I make no great opposition, because I care very little about what is called a liberal, learned, and classical education, and because I believe that the education of a rational man ought to be rational, and nothing more. I shall raise against me the tremendous outcry of all our learned Hellenists and Latinists; I shall be charged with barbarism and vandalism, but I can not help starting the following question: Is the knowledge of those languages necessary, and consequently useful? Is it reasonable, is it conformable to common sense, to lose, nay, waste, from six to ten precious years in acquiring those languages? Are the advantages flowing from that knowledge a competent requital for the loss of time and of better knowledge that might be acquired in that time?

"I have maturely weighed and reflected on the matter and my answer to these questions is decidedly in the negative. I can not find the least necessity, nor consequently the least utility, in learning those learned languages. I

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am wholly unable to discover any real advantage which they bestow on the learner. I conclude, therefore, that it is repugnant to common sense to lose so many years as is usual in studying them."

Neef's radical opposition to the study of the Greek and Latin tongues was an attack upon the narrow curriculum of contemporary schools. In them the classical course constituted the one course of study required of all. The educational experiments on the Wabash were a revolt against the content as well as the method of the prevailing system of education. But in their eagerness to offer and do full justice to the utilities which the New England schools ignored, Maclure and Neef eliminated the cultures from the New Harmony course of study and made their boasted curriculum as narrow as that which it came to conquer.

Both the group of educators in The New Moral World and their contemporaries were right and yet wrong—right in that each emphasized an important phase of the twentieth-century curriculum, and wrong in that each failed to recognize the value of that which the other advocated. Few, if any of us, will agree with Neef that the so-called learned languages ought to be entirely eliminated from the curriculum. There is still a place, and that place a very important one, for a classical education in the affairs of men. Such a training provides unsurpassed mental discipline; is an unchallenged badge of scholarship and culture; leads, as no other road can, to the mastery of language, to skill and distinction in oratory and literature; and girds the learned with the open sesame by which the inner life of the ancient world is being laid, a priceless treasure, at the feet of these latter days.

Many, however, have come to believe that differences in taste, aptitude, ability, and prospective calling in life make the enforced pursuit of a classical course in many cases "unnecessary, useless, and unjust." Moreover, many will live to see the day when the hurdle of a foreign tongue

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will no longer be thrust across the path of the pilgrim seeking light; when the entrance requirements of all our schools will be as broad as the tastes and the aptitudes of the children of men; when the fittest shall be all those who have even the one talent which our educational system may enroll in the service of the republic.

NEW HARMONY'S FAILURES

What features of the New Harmony schools were objectionable? What features has the evolution of schools demonstrated to be either erroneous or impracticable?

(1) First of all, though Maclure never completely abandoned the hope that they might be successfully operated at a later day, the self-supporting schools of the new social order fell of their own weight. Neither then nor since has any type of industrial school been self-maintaining. No modern trade-school attempts as did Maclure's to feed, clothe, and shelter as well as train all its students. Yet, so little has the labor product aided in meeting the expense budget, that, in most, if not all, our technological and trade-schools, no pretense is made of placing upon the market the handiwork of the pupil. Not even in the modern reformatory, where needs are the simplest, cost of maintenance the lowest, and the workmanship of the inmates better than that of immature children can ever hope to be, do the receipts from either the labor or the products of the institution lift from the shoulders of the taxpayers of the State more than a small portion of the burden of maintaining it. A self-supporting factory is a commonplace thing. But if it were continuously and solely dependent upon the labor of an ever-shifting body of promiscuous children, unskilled, immature in strength and experience, as well as years, and often lacking taste as well as aptitude for the work, then the self-supporting factory, like the

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self-supporting school, would become an unattainable dream.

(2) The Spartan system of education, which Maclure hoped to revive, eliminated the home as a factor in the training of the child. His scheme, providing as it did for the surrender of the infant to the community as soon as he could be safely taken from the arms of the mother who bore him, would rob the home of its sociological and educational importance.

In that little masterpiece, *Through Nature to God*, John Fiske shows conclusively: (1) That in the enormous increase in duration of infancy, or the period when parental care is needed, lies the fundamental difference between man and any of the higher mammals, such as dogs, horses, and apes; (2) that this prolonged period of infancy is necessary to bring the child into proper adjustment with his environment; (3) and that this long period of helplessness and dependence, by knitting the parents together around a common center of interest, lies at the foundation of the human family and therefore at the foundation of society and of *institutional life*.

History demonstrates it to be equally true that as civilization has become more complex and life richer, deeper, and more far-reaching, we have extended further the period of infancy or tutelage, "until now, while the physiological period of adolescence is reached in perhaps fourteen or fifteen years, the educational period of dependence is almost twice as long." (*The Meaning of Education*, Nicholas Murray Butler, page 12, Macmillan Company, New York, 1901.) This is but saying in other words that the length of the period of infancy has kept step with the progress of the race and that the duration of parental care furnishes an accurate barometer of the civilization of any given epoch.

Maclure's proposition to transplant the weanling from its mother's breast to a motherless school system was a

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blow at the very vitals of the institution of the family, for since it arose only to care for the child during the years of his adjustment, without him the home has neither meaning nor purpose. Nor is it any the less true that the surrender of the infant at the tender age of two years to a hard-and-fast industrial system was a retrograde movement, a turning back of the hands of the clock of civilization, since such a procedure practically abolished the all-too-short period of dependence and parental care prevailing in the days when Maclure sought to revive the custom of ancient Sparta.

It is no answer to this last criticism to argue that in Maclure's proposed *régime* the State was to stand *in loco parentis* to the child. For that institution we call the government can no more be father and mother to the human offspring than the incubator can perform all the functions and duties of motherhood. Both the home and the school are necessary factors in the process of adjusting the child to his environment. To eliminate either is to rob him of a portion of his heritage.

(3) Enthusiastic over the evident efficiency of Pestalozzian methods and devices, the New Harmony group of educators ascribed to them power in the teaching of abstract conceptions and difficult processes which they did not possess. The prospectus of the school promises that "by an instrument called the trigonometre the most useful propositions of Euclid are to be reduced to the comprehension of a child five or six years old." (!) After a very detailed description of the construction of Pestalozzi's three arithmetical tables, Neef cites triumphantly a series of problems which—though he declares that with the aid of the tables they were solved with ease and rapidity by children nine years of age—are beyond the intelligent comprehension of any class short of second-year algebra to-day. These instances are typical of the confidence with which it was expected that the Pestalozzian system of instruction

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would make every branch of the scientific course of study as plain and easy to little children as the road to market. The mistake lay not in the system of instruction, but in ascribing to that system the impossible. The inevitable consequence was a curriculum which throughout its length and breadth was beyond the capabilities of those for whom its various studies were intended. Against the New Harmony course of study the criticism may be urged, just as it has been rightfully urged against many of the educational practises of later days, that "all instruction should be adapted to the capabilities of the learner. The important thing is not what children can be made to do, but what they ought to do at their stage of development."

(4) The course of study in the schools of the new social order bestowed upon the child only one of the five spiritual inheritances which successive ages have transmitted, enriched and enlarged, to posterity, and which it is the privilege and duty of the educational process to bestow.

These five inheritances to which the child is entitled are: (a) His scientific inheritance. The child is entitled to be armed with the modern scientific method and the results of modern scientific research. Thus prepared, he is entitled to go out into nature "to love it, to come to know it, to understand it," above all, to commune with it and to master it.

(b) His literary inheritance. This is the richest legacy because it is the one to which, for twenty-five hundred years, the race has given the most attention. The child is entitled to dip deeply into the storied lore of the ages, for through it will he quicken his imagination, enrich his vocabulary, master his own mother-tongue, think the thoughts of the prophets, seers, and sages of old, and acquire the learning and culture which the Greeks best describe by the use of "that fine old word *Humanitas*."

(c) His esthetical inheritance. The child is entitled to be brought into a feeling of appreciation and love for

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the beautiful, the artistic, the picturesque and the sublime. He is entitled to the cultivation of that dormant esthetic sense which, whatever be his vocation, will lift his thought and taste above the sordid things of life into the realm where the soul revels in the true and the beautiful; and transform him from a hewer of wood and a drawer of water into a king with a destiny.

(d) His institutional inheritance. The child is entitled to know how the human institutions, which are to play such a large part in his life-story, came to be; to receive a clear insight "into his rights, which are so easy to teach, and into his duties, which are so easy to forget"; to be brought into sympathy and harmonious relationship with the institutional life enveloping him, which, if he understands it aright, will teach him needed lessons concerning the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and "the necessity of cooperation in the working out of high ideals."

(e) His religious inheritance. Somewhere, either in the schoolroom or in the home, the child is entitled to know the wondrous story, freed from creed and dogma, by which that branch of the human family to which he belongs explains its own origin and destiny. Call that story a superstition, if you will, it is the only superstition which time has strengthened. Leaving out of consideration even the acceptance of its truth, the child is yet entitled to the Christian story, since it is so closely interwoven with the last nineteen centuries of racial progress that it is absolutely essential to their interpretation.

NEW HARMONY'S SUCCESSES

What features of the New Harmony educational experiments merit our approval? Though in 1826, Albert Gallatin, then ambassador to Great Britain, declared "the New Harmony system of education to be the best in the world,"

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even the special pleader in their behalf must concede that the early educational ventures on the Wabash (1) failed to meet the expectations of Owen and Maclure; (2) failed as institutions as dismally as did those of the social order; and (3) failed to influence the few contemporary schools surrounding them. The value of the educational efforts in The New Moral World must be measured not by what they achieved in themselves, for they accomplished little and perfected nothing; but rather by what they attempted—by the precious seed which they sowed on a frontier soil; and by the results which came from them in after years—by the golden harvest into which after many days that seed has ripened.

(a) *The precious seed sown by the New Harmony educational group.* To describe this is to enumerate almost all the innovations, to recapitulate almost all the educational fields in which, both in thought and practise, the reformers of the new social order were pioneers. They advocated and embodied into institutions educational ideas half a century in advance of contemporary thought. To Owen, Maclure, and Neef, and to the group of distinguished scientists and lesser educational lights aiding and abetting them, we must thankfully rest debtor for those priceless contributions:

(1) *The first infant school established in America.* This was in 1826. It was not until three years later that a school for children of tender years was inaugurated in New York City—a school to which Boone erroneously gives the credit of being the first infant school on this side of the Atlantic—an error not surprising, in view of the absence of any published account of the New Harmony educational experiment at the time his interesting and valuable work was written.

(2) *The first kindergarten of any type in the Western World.* To the extent that the play-school at New Harmony, like Buchanan's earlier efforts at New Lanark, was a

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forerunner of Froebel's more efficient organization, the kindergarten of the New Harmony schools preceded the first kindergarten of the Froebel type by thirty-four years, for it was not until 1860 that Miss Peabody, "without a knowledge of the details of Froebel's system," opened in Boston a school based upon the kindergarten idea.

(3) *The first use of the kindergarten as a part of the public-school system.* Though the Froebel kindergarten was introduced in 1860, its recognition and adoption by the public-school systems of the country was tardy. It was not until 1873 that Dr. W. T. Harris, then superintendent of the public schools at St. Louis, after years of agitation of the question induced that city to be the first in the United States to introduce the kindergarten into its public educational system.

(4) *The first distinctively trade-school* and the second industrial school in point of time inaugurated in the United States.

(5) *The first industrial school of any type to be made a part of a free public-school system.*

(6) The first noteworthy American attempt and the second American attempt of any character to introduce and perpetuate the Pestalozzian system of instruction which has conquered the schools of this nation.

(7) The first public-school system, free or unfree, offering the same educational advantages to both sexes.

(8) *The first free public-school system* in a land in which to-day the blessings of an education, "free as the living waters" (as Robert Dale Owen so earnestly hoped that it might become), forces itself upon the American children, if need be, by due process of law.

(9) The first real public-school system west of the Appalachians.

(10) The first formidable revolt ever made by a public-school system in this country against that so-called "liberal" education, which, regardless of taste and aptitude,

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ability and prospective calling, persist in thrusting the classics down the throats of all its unwilling victims.

(11) The most humane and enlightened system of school government to be found anywhere—for it was not equaled even by that in the schools of the tender-hearted Pestalozzi himself.

(12) The most enthusiastic and determined advocacy and support of “free, equal, and universal schools” that history records.

(13) The most ambitious and pretentious educational experiment which the world *had* yet witnessed and, with the exception of Pestalozzi’s earlier effort, the most courageous and unselfish educational experiment which the world *has* yet witnessed.

(b) *The results that came from the sowing.* Immediate results there were none. It was not to be expected that there would be. Owen and Maclure and the “Boatload of Knowledge” were prophets and seers upon the mountain-top, their backs to the wilderness, their faces turned toward a fleeting vision of the promised land. The New Harmony educational experiments were half a century in advance of their times. The educational principles and practises of that all-too-brief golden age on the Wabash did not lie within the comprehension of either the frontier pedagogue or the New England schoolmaster. Both followed blindly and implicitly in the footsteps of Master Cheever. The prejudice with which the sturdy pioneer from New England viewed the social and religious ideas of the Commune extended to its educational system and all pertaining to it. Schools were few and far between, poorly equipped and poorly attended, uncertain in duration and taught by poorly paid, poorly prepared backwoodsmen or roving adventurers from the East. The rough frontiersmen, engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the forces of the wilderness, had little time and less thought for the affairs of the schoolroom. The

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few who, in that age of slow communication between widely scattered settlements, had heard the story of the educational ventures at New Harmony associated them with the “other social vagaries” by which the new social order astonished, and yet at the same time amused the practical pioneers of the Western country. When the last, lingering school of the Commune closed its door it was apparent, even to an unprejudiced observer, that, measured by the immediate effect upon contemporary education, the New Harmony group of educators had labored and given of their substance entirely in vain.

But one “can not see, ’neath winter’s field of snow, the silent harvest of the future grow.” If Owen and Maclure, standing on the ruins of their golden dream for the betterment of their fellows and vouchsafed one clear vision into the future, could have seen the seed seemingly fallen among thorns and on stony ground grow, as it did grow, into a golden harvest of methods and measures and institutions for the educational betterment of men, they would have exclaimed in unison, “It is well.” For, measured by its after-effect, the educational experiment at New Harmony deserves to rank among the most important educational movements in this country.

A subsequent chapter tells, in detail, the story of the chain of public libraries, modeled after the Society for Mutual Instruction of community days, which Maclure by the generous provisions of his will, established in one hundred and sixty frontier settlements of the West. Given at a time when there were few private and no public libraries, it is impossible to overestimate the impetus which this wise benefaction gave to intellectual development in every one of the one hundred and sixty communities which enjoyed the benefits of Maclure’s liberality.

Subsequent pages describe the attainment and distinguished services of the noted group of scientists who,

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drawn to The New Moral World originally by the first American geologist, made the scene of Maclure's disastrous educational efforts a rendezvous and Mecca of scientists for many years. By their labors New Harmony became not only the first important scientific outpost in the West, but also the strongest scientific center in America.

The closing chapter of this book deals with the life and distinguished services of Robert Dale Owen. He was the very incarnation of the spirit of the founders of the new social order. In him both his father and William Maclure lived again, for his act was their act, made more effective by his talent. Whether as editor of the *Free Enquirer* or law-maker, we find him always the earnest, effective champion of "free, equal, and universal schools," and of wise measures for their betterment. As a member of the National Congress, he became the legislative father of the Smithsonian Institution. As a member of the legislature of the very State from which his distinguished father had withdrawn in chagrin over the failure of his educational, as well as his social schemes, Robert Owen, filled with the ancient enthusiasm of his house for popular education, formulated and brought to a successful passage the school-law whose enactment marks the natal day of the Indiana educational system. Robert Dale Owen was truly the legislative father of the Indiana common-school system. Through the wise legislation for which he must be credited, most of the educational principles and plans for the organization of common schools which the New Harmony group of reformers advocated, triumphed throughout the Middle West.

Though denied immediate consideration by contemporary schools, the educational doctrines of the New Harmony group found entrance to them in other ways. Neef's *Plan and Method of Education* and his *Methods of Teaching*, both published almost a generation before Hall's *Lectures on School Keeping* and Page's *Theory*

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and *Practise of Teaching*, were among the first pedagogical treatises in America. The New Harmony experiments gave these two books for the first time the recognition and prestige which made them one of the authorities in school management and methods throughout the country west of the Alleghanies for fully a quarter of a century after the collapse of the educational ventures of The New Moral World. Through the writings of his first American disciple Pestalozzi influenced the pioneer teachers on the frontier of civilization.

During their brief career the New Harmony educational experiments afforded the first training-school for teachers in all the West. Boone says that "the Pestalozzian theory found admirable exposition in the community school for both young men and young women, to whom it was more than a model school in their later teaching; it was at once an inspiration and a liberal training." When Owen's social system dissipated into thin air, there went forth from brief homes on the Wabash men and women who, scattering in every direction through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and becoming the instructors of the pioneer youth, sowed in almost every isolated hamlet the tenets of the educational creed which Pestalozzi and Neef and Maclure had espoused.

The eminent scientists who made New Harmony a rendezvous were themselves bearers of good seed and glad tidings. Their achievements and contributions drew renewed attention to the best features of the educational "light that had failed." Most of them, enthusiastic believers in the methods and aims of the New Harmony group, carried with them on their scientific explorations to every remote spot the new educational faith. Climbing to eminence in every Western State as surveyors and geologists and university instructors, their advocacy of the free public school and the Pestalozzian system of instruction commanded the attention which their distinguished attain-

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ments merited. They secured, after many days, the tardy recognition for which the New Harmony group of educators had asked, and asked in vain.

When the social system went to pieces, hundreds of its most enthusiastic devotees turned their backs upon the scene of the great disappointment and sought permanent homes elsewhere. Some returned to the country east of the Appalachians, while a greater number scattered themselves through the promising hamlets of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. All carried to the new habitation an enthusiastic support of the free public school and the Pestalozzian creed. Who can estimate the influence which they have exerted in molding the spirit, the method, and the organization of the public-school systems both north and south of Mason and Dixon's line?

The second distinctive Pestalozzian movement in this country invaded the conservative atmosphere of staid New England. It numbered in the list of its enthusiastic champions such men as Horace Mann and Barnas Sears and George Boutwell and Lowell Mason and Agassiz and David Page and E. A. Sheldon, and a host of others almost as illustrious. No more distinguished group of educators has blessed any epoch in our career as a nation. Their achievements constitute one of the brightest pages in our educational history. Combining with the enthusiasm that characterized the New Harmony group the conservatism and intellectual balance necessary to permanent reform, they gave the Pestalozzian faith a firm foothold on American soil, wrote its spirit into wise laws and enduring institutions, and sent it westward to complete the work that New Harmony had inaugurated. Whence came the first inspiration of this second Pestalozzian group? From the East or from the West, or from both? Who can answer with safety? Would it not be pardonable, at least, if the teachers of the Middle West should elect to believe that the traditions and the influence of the New Harmony experi-

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ments, working silently through the years, played at least a small part in the awakening of New England and served in some slight degree to turn the minds and hearts of its educational thinkers in expectant faith to the teachings of the master of Burgdorf?

Most of the educational doctrines of the New Harmony group of educators have triumphed and a national free public-school system, for which they so strenuously contended, more far-reaching and efficient than pictured in their fondest dream, is consummating that very equality of opportunity among the classes which the social experiments of The New Moral World sought to achieve. Robert Owen and William Maclure did not fail, for in the fulness of time they have come into their own.



D. D. OWEN.

APPENDIX

SOURCES

"THE New Harmony Communities" was taken as a research topic in 1893 by the author as a member of the seminarium of political science at DePauw University, and was followed during his senior college year under the direction of Colonel James Riley Weaver, Director of the seminarium, whose helpful suggestions have contributed materially to whatever success may have attended the effort to complete a thorough study of the social experiments at New Harmony. The initial work was done in the library of the Working Men's Institute at New Harmony during the summer of 1893, and a visit was made to the same library in 1896. The secretary of the institute, Mr. Arthur Dransfield, has for years been collecting with commendable care all the material obtainable with reference to the history of the Rappite and Owenite experiments, sparing neither trouble nor expense to make this collection complete. He has cooperated with the writer in his search for data, has made frequent corrections and suggestions, and under Mr. Dransfield's supervision the collection of photographs which form the basis for the illustrations in this volume was made. Considerable work was done in the Indiana State library at Indianapolis, where valuable material was found and rendered available through the courtesy of the former State librarian, Miss N. E. Ahern, and the present libra-

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rian, Mr. W. E. Henry. The paucity of material in the Library of Congress at Washington served to emphasize the fact that the story of the New Harmony experiments had become a lost chapter in the history of American social reform movements. Through the courtesy of the Librarian of Congress, Mr. Herbert Putnam, and the librarian of Yale University, Dr. A. VanName, the Macdonald manuscript, which forms a part of the Yale collection, was temporarily transferred to the Library of Congress and used under the supervision of the manuscript division. The Macdonald manuscript is a history of the earlier communistic experiments in America, and the familiarity of the author with the Owenite communities rendered this material especially valuable.

In the New Harmony library, one of the most interesting book collections in the country, the files of the New Harmony Gazette, a weekly paper published throughout the lifetime of the Owenite experiment as the organ of the movement, was found the most prolific source of information. The scrap-books of Richard Owen and Mrs. Arthur Dransfield, the letters and papers of Josiah Warren, the community account-books, and the letters, wills, and deeds of William Maclure, were also found in the New Harmony library. From Dr. Aaron Williams's book on "The Harmonists," the author has drawn liberally, this being the only authoritative publication on the history of the Rappites. Acknowledgments are due to Mr. John Holliday, of Indianapolis, who placed at the disposal of the writer data collected in a study of the New Harmony communities some years ago.

The chapter on Josiah Warren, as shown by the footnote, is the production of Mr. William Bailie, of Boston, who has through several years prosecuted a study of the life-work of the founder of the philosophy of individualism. Mr. Charles A. Prosser, of New Albany, Indiana, collaborated in the preparation of the chapters bearing on the

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educational phases and relations of the New Harmony movement.

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