

Watervliet Shakers through the Eyes of Oneida Perfectionists, 1863-1875

By Anthony Wonderley

The Oneida Community (1848-1880) of central New York was notable for its intellectual garrulity—a curiosity about other utopians coupled with eagerness to make first-hand acquaintance with idealists of every stripe. Founded and led by Vermonter John H. Noyes, Oneida Perfectionists considered themselves members of one extended family sharing equally in all relations of labor, love, and property. They felt especially close to their fellow Christian communists, the Shakers, and, for a time, developed neighborly ties with one particular community of the Millennial Church.¹ Watervliet, just north of Albany and about one hundred miles east of Oneida, was among the largest Shaker settlements with some 235 members (about the same as the Oneida Community) divided among four families.

Through visitation and correspondence, Oneida contacts with Watervliet were more frequent and more personal than they were with any other communal group. Both parties insisted they dealt with each other on business matters and, to both, “business” meant fascination with the other’s labor-saving gadgetry. For over a decade, businessmen of Oneida and Watervliet shuttled back and forth, bringing to their communities increasing familiarity with and respect for the other. Following a visit of Oneida men and women, however, the Shakers pulled back. “We are not yet sufficiently liberal to acknowledge what is admirable in [your system],” a Watervliet elder explained to the Perfectionists, “nor to meet you half way even to confer on the subject. I candidly believe you love us more than we do you.”²

Oneidans reported their experiences with Watervliet in newsletters intended to be read internally—the 1863 *Community Journal* and the *Daily Journal* in 1866—and in a magazine published weekly for external circulation—variously called the *Circular*, the *Oneida Circular* (beginning in 1871), and the *American Socialist* (beginning in 1876). The Shaker accounts appeared as articles (generally travel reportage) and as brief notices within a column of Oneida Community news items. From these Oneida

All images are courtesy of Oneida Community Mansion House.

Community (O.C.) sources, I will summarize the interchange with an eye toward details about the attitudes and concerns of the interlocutors.

It began with a washing machine. As the Oneida Community erected a new building for laundry in the early spring of 1863, O.C. member Erastus Hamilton (see fig. 1) visited Watervliet “to make observations on their improvements in washing machines, buildings & other matters with a view to getting at the most approved plans for our new Wash House.” Hamilton reported that “there was a good deal of interest and curiosity manifested by both men and women with whom [I] came in contact to find out about our Community, its principles, measures etc., and some of them seemed to have quite an idea of our doctrines. One of them admitted that they would either have to come over to us or we to them.”³

Another O.C. member, Theodore Noyes, visited Watervliet a year later, probably to buy the washer. At a cost of \$150, the “Shaker” washing machine remained in service for at least six years. Not surprisingly, Noyes’ brief description of Watervliet focused on Shaker inventiveness and business success:

Their barns and arrangements of keeping cattle are much superior to any that we have seen, and exhibit great ingenuity of construction. Their washing room and laundry are models of neatness and convenience. We also saw their arrangements for the preserving of fruit, green corn, peas &c. They do an immense business in this line, putting up many thousand dozens of cans in the course of a season. They also have extensive arrangements for manufacturing extracts of various kinds, drying and packing medicinal herbs and garden seeds. The manufacturing of brooms employs a number of hands. Their products sustain a high reputation in the market, and if you purchase a genuine Shaker article, you may be sure it will turn out what it is represented to be.⁴

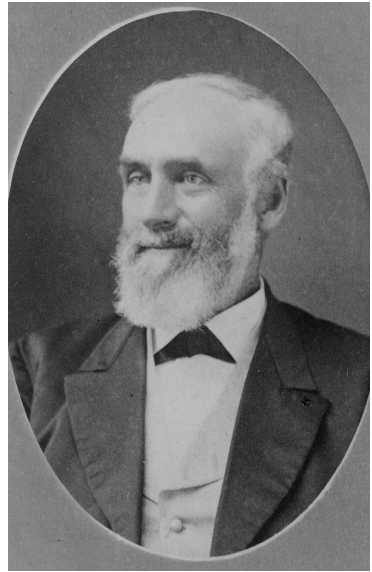


Fig. 1. Erastus Hamilton, a financial officer of the Oneida Community and the architect of the Community dwelling called the Mansion House.

After visiting in 1866, the Oneidan “W,” probably William Woolworth (see fig. 2), offered these impressions of Watervliet:

The kitchen, bake-room, dining-room, laundry, workshops, and even their barn and stables are all kept scrupulously neat; and the members, though peculiarly habited, are ever tidy and cleanly in appearance. Everything also about the establishment is generally well arranged. The very atmosphere of the place seems instinct with order. Even the cows, I was told, all know their places in the stalls; which statement will be the more readily credited if I add, that a measure of meal generally rewards the bovines for their intelligence in this respect.

And here I may mention that the Watervliet Shakers have fine herds and flocks, which are well fed and well housed. Their barns are large and convenient, and contain many labor-saving contrivances. The largest barn is so arranged that teams are driven into the upper story, and the hay or grain is easily tumbled into the bays below. Twelve teams can unload at the same time. The meal boxes are also filled above; thus the herdsman has little lifting to do...

This society has its workshops for carrying on its own indispensable businesses, such as blacksmithing, shoe-making, tailoring, dentistry, sawing, milling, machine-work, &c., &c. The members are principally devoted to agricultural pursuits; but they also carry on some branches of manufacturing for the benefit of the Gentiles. I noticed in one room the sisters making paste-board boxes, for a paper-collar establishment. In another room herbs were being pressed and put in packages, to be sold for medicinal purposes. Another room is devoted to making extracts from herbs and flowers. In another room garden-seeds of all kinds are prepared for market; and Shaker garden-seeds everywhere command the best prices. Canned fruits and vegetables, especially corn and peas, are put up in considerable quantities for sale.⁵

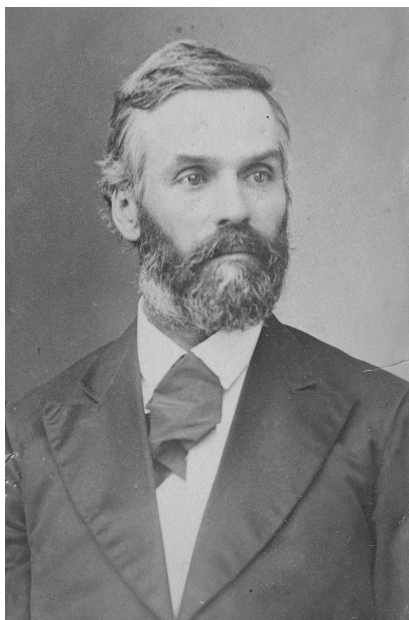


Fig. 2. William Woolworth, another financial official, presided over the day-to-day activities of the Oneida Community in the absence of John Noyes.

Woolworth described the distribution of Shaker settlements throughout the East, noting with disapproval that the individual communities operated independently of one another. Then he turned to the fundamental issue separating Shakers and Perfectionists: celibacy versus free love. For the Oneida Community, the latter meant “pantogamy” or “complex marriage”—sexual (often called “social”) relations in which all adult men and women were considered spouses to one another in the same family. Citing identical biblical passages about the absence of marriage in heaven, the two groups had, of course, drawn opposite conclusions.

Some of the members with whom I conversed, thought it was to be regretted that the Oneida Communists, whom they considered to be so nearly right in many things, should fail to come up to their standard on the social question. They do not understand the cost of our freedom. Theirs is indeed the easier method. It is indeed a great thing to crucify the old Adam and make the natural passions cease to do evil; how much greater to make those same passions work righteousness and glorify God! The Shaker system is negative in its results. It restrains the arts and crucifies the old life; it does not instruct human nature in the true and heavenly actions of all its powers. The same logic which says there shall be no exercise of amativeness because under the devil’s management it has been productive of great evil, would say there shall be no exercise of alimentiveness, because under the devil’s management it makes gluttons and drunkards.⁶

The purpose of Woolworth’s visit was hinted at in his focus on Shaker labor-saving devices:

The saving of manual labor by mechanical contrivances and the best arrangements, is noticeable in many departments. In the laundry, for example, no lifting is required; and the sisters, I was told, do all the work and make sport of it. In this department, the same general arrangement is followed that is seen at Oneida Community. Indeed, I suppose the O.C. are somewhat indebted to the Shakers for some [of] the improvements in their laundry—most certainly for their large washing-machine. It is to be hoped that the Shakers, in return, may borrow some improvement from us which will be equally valuable....

That there are among them sharp intellects, is evinced by their thrifty management, and by the fact that they have from time to time turned out useful inventions. The most popular large washing-machine is a Shaker invention, and the best idea of a pea-shelling machine probably originated with a Watervliet Shaker, and was patented in 1864. One of their members is at the present time at work on a machine for cutting

green corn from the cob, which he thinks will be a success.⁷

Three months later, the Oneida Community entertained G.B. Price, a Watervliet Shaker who claimed to have “seen our Community and Mr. Noyes, in a vision, before the Community was started, and took great interest in looking at Mr. N’s photograph.” More mundanely, Price was the inventor of the pea-shelling machine mentioned above. He had come “to talk about our making his Pea-Shellers for such as may apply to us for them — [and] to examine the corn-cutting machine” — a device recently invented by O.C. member Jonathan Burt (see fig. 3).⁸

Price “said at once that the corn-cutter is a fine thing (see fig. 4), altogether superior to the one a Shaker brother had been working at ten years. He said that on his return, he should advise the Trustees of his society to obtain one of our corn-cutters, and if it worked satisfactorily, he had no doubt, it might lead to the sale of a dozen among the Shaker families at Watervliet, Lebanon and other places.”⁹ Within days of this conversation, the Oneida Community received an order from a New Jersey firm for a pea-sheller and a corn-cutter. “We have to pay Mr. Price of Watervliet \$25 for each Pea-Sheller sold by us,” it was noted, “on account of his patent interest.”¹⁰

Privately, Price expressed dissatisfaction “with the spirit and genius of Shakerism.” Complaining that the Shakers were governed “by the prejudices of their old people,” Price said that “the principal thing now taught among the Shakers is obedience, and reverence for those who had preceded them as having been inspired and taught the whole truth. To the question, ‘Does that satisfy such a mind as yours?’ he replied, ‘It has to satisfy it.’ ‘That is a



Fig. 3. Jonathan Burt, inventor of the corn-cutting machine, who supervised the Oneida Community’s carpentry department. Burt furnished the land on which the O.C. was founded as well as the saw mill which long sustained the organization.

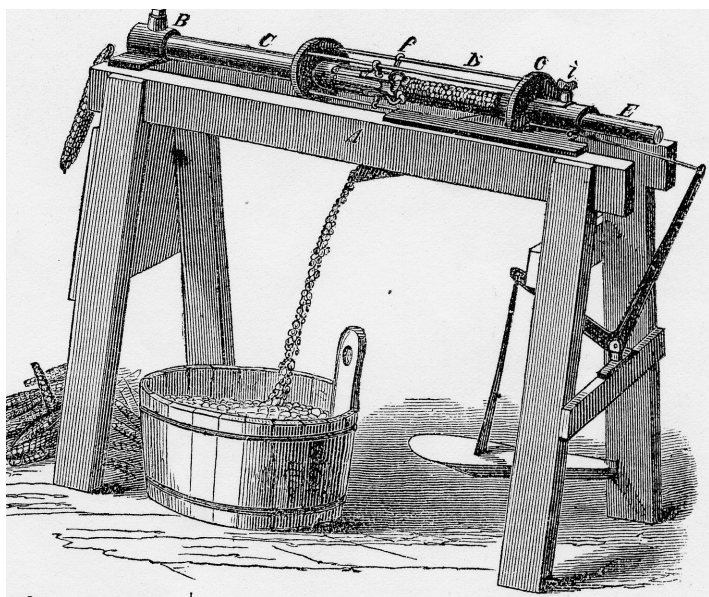


Fig. 4. Burt's Corn-cutting Machine.

This device separated corn from the cob “as fast as a man can place ears in the frame and work the treadle, say at the rate of twenty per minute, thus saving the labor of five or six hands” (*Circular*, July 16, 1866, p. 143).

singular answer.’ ‘It is the best I can give.’” Price asked that the Oneidans not quote him publicly: “If you wish to keep good terms with the Shakers you must stop reviewing.” In response, the Perfectionist author gibed, “It was a cowardly utterance and indicates that ‘the swamp angel’ is doing effective service in Shakerism.”¹¹

Price must have returned a glowing account of the Oneidan corn-cutting machine, for two months later the Oneida Community received an order for such a device — not from Watervliet but from the nearby Shaker community at Mt. Lebanon and its famous elder, Frederick Evans.¹² In September of 1866, Jonathan Burt went east with a corn-cutter, giving a demonstration of the device at Watervliet before moving on to Mt. Lebanon.

Knowledgeable about Oneida Community sexual practices, the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon engaged Burt in religious discussion.¹³ “They commenced upon me by conceding that we are right in the main but wrong in our views about sexual intercourse; they assumed that our true course is to back out of our position and accept theirs — and theirs is the

only gospel ground.” Burt responded by articulating the O.C. view of sex as sacrament.

[I] boldly but calmly took my position and assumed that they did not, as they supposed, understand us—that we in reality stand on a higher plane than they do—that we have got the key to salvation for the sexual organs—that instead of giving them up to destruction, we consider them the highest instruments of praise and worship in the Heavenly world. I told them that whilst we claim liberty for the free use of our sexual organs as a means of social enjoyment, improvement and refinement, we at the same time claim them as instruments of discipline—that in reality our liberty is a far more potent engine of crucifixion and destruction to the old, carnal nature than their abstinence is. I told them that instead of their being able to absorb and swallow us up, we expect in the end to absorb them and that ours is a higher calling than theirs.¹⁴

A reaction to Burt’s disquisition came not from Mt. Lebanon but from “one of the leading Shakers of Watervliet” asking for several copies of the Oneida Community’s contraception manual, *Male Continence*.¹⁵ The request was surely from “Brother Albert”—Elder George Albert Lomas of Watervliet’s South Family. While Lomas was interested in the O.C. corn-cutter, he apparently wished to find out more about John Noyes’ views before investing in the machine. In early 1869, Lomas wrote to Noyes with a list of questions about the O.C.’s sexual doctrines, asking if he, Noyes, would “crack these nuts for us, that we may secure the kernel.”

Among Lomas’ queries was: “Where is the man or woman who does not feel that they have suffered an irreparable loss after the departure from a life of innocent virginity?” Noyes replied: “Here at O.C. we have many who feel and *know* that sexual intercourse, conducted rightly, produces incalculable benefit, instead of irreparable loss.”¹⁶

Another was: “Do the angels, ‘who neither marry nor are given in marriage,’ engage in the sexuality as per the O.C.?” Noyes responded: “I do not know the details of social life among the angels. The fact that they do not marry, agrees with our practice, so far as it goes.”¹⁷

Lomas wondered whether sexuality had any affect on the soul and, “if so, does it tend to its elevation or degradation? If elevation, why did not Jesus advocate it? And if degradation, where is there any progress at O.C.?” To which Noyes answered: “Sexuality, as created by God and directed by his Spirit, tends most decidedly to the elevation of body and soul. Jesus did advocate the enormous expansion of all enjoyments, when he said that

whoever forsakes the good things of this world for his sake ‘shall receive a hundred-fold.’”¹⁸

The Oneida Community claimed that “Elder Lomas thought Noyes’ response a ‘neat thing,’ and was even so much pleased with it that he [Lomas] read it for the entertainment of the members of his society.”¹⁹ Satisfied or mollified, Lomas showed up at Oneida in the summer of 1869 to purchase a corn-cutter. He favored the Oneida Community assembled for their daily meeting with these words:

I am very happy to witness your Christian earnestness and to feel that souls are here struggling earnestly to carry out their convictions. We also are struggling to carry out the convictions of our hearts, and in this we feel a oneness with all who are striving for the same end by whatever means. We love sincerity, wherever we can observe it: it matters not whether we find it in the Catholic Church, whether we find it in Hindoostan, or in the dark ravines of Africa. If we can find sincerity, there we bow our heads to it. We feel that God is a good Father to us all, and that all our striving in various ways for the fulfillment of all truth will culminate in bringing us together.²⁰

Several weeks later, Jonathan Burt and George Cragin of the Oneida Community conveyed the corn-cutter to Watervliet. They toured the Shaker community and left an account touching on Shaker honesty and neatness, industriousness and community organization. Among other things, the Perfectionists learned that the highest Shaker Ministry alternated “between New Lebanon and Watervliet. The latter society, in which Mother Ann lived and died, being recognized as the elder sister.”²¹

Cragin, the article’s author, painted the future of Shakerdom as uncertain due to their failure to recruit new members. Declining numbers exacerbated another Shaker problem—the purchase of too much land.

There is evidently a grave mistake in supposing that they have accumulated their wealth by farming. The fact is far otherwise. The Shakers have been, from the earliest days of their prosperity, *manufacturers*. Their brooms, their cloths, their Shaker hats, and many other things, that properly come under the head of manufactures, have been the real sources of their wealth; and knowing of no safer method of investing their surplus funds than to exchange them for land.²²

Too much acreage and too few people forced the Shakers to hire outsiders to work the land. Thus had they imposed on themselves “heavy burdens, corroding cares and complexities.”²³



Fig. 5. A group of Shakers as depicted in 1875 (wood-engraving from Nordhoff, *Communitic Societies of the United States*, facing p. 118).

In the summer of 1874, Lomas and two women of Watervliet's South Family stayed overnight at Oneida. The *American Socialist* recorded that they were "*en route* for some place west of us. We have already had several calls from the Elder (who is always welcome), but never, as yet, had any of the Shaker sisters so honored us. The anticipation of their visit was a sensation"²⁴ (see figures 5-6).

While Lomas investigated the Community's "stock-raising and farm-culture," the women toured the kitchen, laundry, and nursery areas of the O.C. dwelling as well as a factory where steel animal traps and silk thread were manufactured. Later, Lomas regaled the Perfectionists assembled in their evening meeting with a "spirited sketch of Shaker history." Although a little nervous about entertaining Shaker women, the Oneidans claimed that they felt at ease with their visitors.

They seemed like "our folks;" so true it is that the devotion of self to God's service, however different the details of belief, begets a certain genuineness and magnetism of manner that recognizes its fellow among all hearts so given...We hope in future that visits from our Shaker friends will not be so infrequent as formerly. We have an increasing respect for them. Although we differ somewhat in our social views, the true principle of all Communism guides us both; and that is, the abolishment of selfishness and individual sovereignty in favor of unity and the good of the whole. We feel that we are one in this. As Elder Lomas said, we are

“noble contestants,” and the victory is to those who make the happiest home—to those who obey in all things the will of God—to those who realize that the Kingdom of Heaven has come on earth indeed and in truth.²⁵

Oneida Perfectionists Ann Bailey, James Herrick, Martin Kinsley, and a fourth person returned the visit early the following year.²⁶ Evidently a social occasion, the Oneidans were put up at the South Family by Elder Lomas and Eldress Harriet; then, guided by Lomas, conducted around the other settlements of Watervliet. At the North Family, the Oneidans noted, “Our folks were especially pleased with the cheerful, kindly, liberal feeling of the people over whom Elder Price presides. The women are there exempted from milking the cows, and from some other similar chores which are usually performed by the women in other Shaker families.”²⁷

The visitors witnessed “the delivery of a great burden of love to an individual, for transportation to another family which he was about to visit. The delivery of love is accomplished by a series of motions analogous to mesmeric passes, but without personal contact.”²⁸ That evening, the Perfectionists attended a meeting in which “the brethren and sisters sang songs peculiar to themselves—most or all of which they claim to have received inspirationally; gave testimony in favor of their mode of life and in acknowledgement of the blessings of Providence; went forth in the march; etc.”²⁹ The Oneidan account concluded, “We return thanks for



Fig. 6. A group of Oneida Perfectionists as depicted in 1875 (wood-engraving from Nordhoff, *Communitic Societies of the United States*, facing p. 282).

the hospitality and attentions extended to our little party at Watervliet. Perhaps one of the pleasantist features of Communism in the future will be frequent interchange of ideas by means of such friendly visits.”³⁰

That was not to be. The end of the Oneida Community-Watervliet interchange apparently was announced in an extraordinary letter from Elder Lomas to the Perfectionists in the spring of 1876. It opened ecumenically enough: “The Oneida Community is practically engaged in many religious pursuits identical with those of our own. Mutually discarding, as we must for the present, certain peculiarities of each other’s systems, are we not yet committed to mutual admiration and competition in points wherein we agree? And these are not few.”³¹

Lomas wondered at the endurance of the Oneida Community: “You having lasted already longer by a quarter of a century than I had supposed you would, or than you certainly ought if you were as corrupt as I had thought. Now, seeing you have not yet lowered your colors at the bidding of our prejudice—seeing you continue to keep up good courage, and are even braver in your middle age than in your youth, I am certainly puzzled.”³²

The Shakers, Lomas admitted, were in decline owing to their own “staid, recluse and non-progressive policy.” Because Shakers would never change, it was up to the Oneida Community to accept as much Shakerism as it could stomach. “Hasten three-quarters of the way toward us, that we may embrace you! To this end, I mean to place the principles of Shakerism in such a clear, attractive light that our great differences may entirely disappear, and a complete conversion be the consequence! Are you ready? Have you any serious objections to being converted? But please don’t ask *us* similar questions just yet.” The burden of Lomas’ song was that “you love us more than we do you; and until we are more liberal we shall continue to prefer death without your assistance to living by your most loving efforts!”³³

No further inter-community visits are known. Did the connection with Watervliet end or was it reported more circumspectly than previously? In early 1877, the Oneida Community printed a letter from “Shakers, N.Y.” stating: “There are great differences between our systems in some respects; but in so many, are our views in unison, that we are very much nearer alike than is commonly known by the general reader.” Signed “Albatross,” the letter’s author may have been Brother Albert. Later the same year, Oneida Perfectionists visited an unnamed Shaker community which could have

been Watervliet. In 1878, the Community's "Shaker friend, G.A. Lomas" sent them a valuable souvenir — a silver pen made and evidently invented by the Shakers in 1819.³⁴

Did contact with the Shakers affect the Oneida Community? During the Watervliet years, the self-reflexive bent of the O.C. became markedly anthropological in character as its intellectuals began to query their place in history. A move away from theological concerns was signaled by the new name they attached to their magazine, *The American Socialist*. It was also reflected in O.C. study of other socialist communes. Of the three classic surveys of American utopianism published in the 1870s, no fewer than two were written by Oneida Community members.³⁵ The Watervliet connection, in all likelihood, contributed to the Perfectionists' efforts to see themselves in wider context.

We might wonder, on the other hand, how ties with the Oneida Community affected the Shakers. During the 1860s, according to Louis Kern, Shaker insistence on absolute sexual segregation was questioned at Mt. Lebanon and Watervliet, dissatisfaction on that score being reflected in high rates of apostasy. That, in turn, resulted from greater knowledge of other communal arrangements as illustrated by a visit of the Oneida Community's "Friend Burt" in 1866. Now knowing that corn-cutting Jonathan Burt did indeed pique the Watervliet Ministry's interest in O.C. scriptural interpretation, Kern's suggestion seems credible.³⁶

I will offer another instance of the Oneida's affect upon the Shakers. In 1866, an O.C. visitor to Watervliet noted the absence of musical instruments. Evidently the matter was taken up with Watervliet Shaker G.B. Price — he of the pea-sheller device — who "acknowledged that there was no valid objection against it, and that the Shakers were now governed in this respect by the prejudices of their old people." In 1875, an Oneidan visitor found a recent Watervliet innovation to be "the study and practice of music, instrumental as well as vocal. They have cabinet-organs and hire an outside teacher to instruct the young folks how to play them." Contact with the Oneida Community may have encouraged a more expansive appreciation of music among the Shakers.³⁷

Notes

1. Scholars who have noted communications between the Oneida Community and the Shakers and, further, John Noyes' praise of the Shakers as the Ur-communists, include Edward Deming Andrews (*The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society*, New York: Dover, 1963 [or. 1953], 130, 221), Henri Desroche (*The American Shakers: From Neo-Christianity to Presocialism*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971 [or. 1955], 259, 266), Lawrence Foster (*Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984, 89-90), and, in greatest detail, Giles Wayland-Smith ("Twin Visions: The Oneida Community-Shaker Connection," in the *Oneida Community Journal*, September, 2008, 4-10).
2. *American Socialist*, April 20, 1876, 26.
3. *Community Journal*, March 9 and 12, 1863, 20. The building under construction at the Oneida Community was the Tontine.
4. *Circular*, March 1, 1864, 7. Theodore Noyes conducted his business in Watervliet with "Agent Mr. C. M." If this is the same managing agent identified, in 1869, as Deacon Miller, the O.C. purchased the washing machine from Watervliet's Church Family.
5. *Circular*, March 19, 1866, 7.
6. *Circular*, March 19, 1866, 7.
7. *Circular*, March 19, 1866, 7.
8. *Daily Journal*, June 6, 1866, 473.
9. *Daily Journal*, June 6, 1866, 474-75.
10. *Daily Journal*, June 12, 1866, 514.
11. *Daily Journal*, June 6, 1866, 474-75.
12. *Daily Journal*, August 10, 1866, 131.
13. Burt reported the Mt. Lebanon Shakers had read *Male Continence*, a pamphlet by John H. Noyes detailing the Oneida Community's method of birth control in which men did not ejaculate (*coitus reservatus*). Clearly the tract was available long before 1872, the date usually cited for its Community publication.
14. *Daily Journal*, September 5, 1866, 220-22.
15. *Daily Journal*, November 29, 1866, p. 518.
16. *Oneida Circular*, July 14, 1873, 229-30.
17. *Oneida Circular*, July 14, 1873, 229-30.
18. *Oneida Circular*, July 14, 1873, 229-30.
19. *Oneida Circular*, July 14, 1873, 229-30. Lomas' letter, dated March 15, 1869, was published at this later date under the heading "Shaker Nuts."
20. *Circular*, August 2, 1869, 157.
21. *Circular*, September 6, 1869, 197.
22. *Circular*, September 6, 1869, 197.
23. *Circular*, September 6, 1869, 197-98.
24. *Oneida Circular*, June 29, 1874, 214.
25. *Oneida Circular*, June 29, 1874, 214. Lomas, like Frederick Evans of the Mt. Lebanon community, was conducting groups of Shakers to public presentations in the outside world about this time (Anna White and Leila S. Taylor, *Shakerism: Its Meaning and Message* [Columbus: Fred J. Heer, 1904], p. 206).

26. *Oneida Circular*, February 1, 1875, 37-38. I cannot identify the other woman from the initials given (S. K. D.).
27. *Oneida Circular*, February 1, 1875, 37.
28. *Oneida Circular*, February 1, 1875, 37.
29. *Oneida Circular*, February 1, 1875, 38.
30. *Oneida Circular*, February 1, 1875, 38.
31. *American Socialist*, April 20, 1876, 26.
32. *American Socialist*, April 20, 1876, 26.
33. *American Socialist*, April 20, 1876, 26.
34. *American Socialist*, February 1, 1877, 37-38 and December 5, 1878, 388. One additional visit is noted vaguely as that of a “free-thinking Shaker” of Watervliet who expressed pleasure at seeing O.C. “men, women and children working together at the paring-bee” (*Oneida Circular*, October 19, 1874, 341).
35. Still consulted by scholars today, the three books are those of Charles Nordhoff (*The Communistic Societies of the United States* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1875]) and Oneida Community members William Alfred Hinds (*American Communities: Brief Sketches* [Oneida: Office of the American Socialist, 1878]) and John Humphrey Noyes (*History of American Socialism* [Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1870]).
36. Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias — The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 103-4.
37. *Circular*, March 19, 1866, 7; *Daily Journal*, June 6, 1866, 474; *Oneida Circular*, February 1, 1875, 37.