ance, and has furnished no little aid, even to Frothingham, and to those who have since studied this matter.

The plan of Brook Farm as a sociological experiment will not be dealt with here; nor will its relations with several communities which slightly touched its own life be especially examined. The essential difference between it and such other attempts at social reform as the Hopedale Community, the North American Phalanx at Red Bank, New Jersey, the Wisconsin or Ceresco Phalanx, and the Northampton Association of Education and Industry, was indicated by Charles Lane (*Dial* IV. 354), when he said of the West Roxbury Association: "It is not a community; it is not truly an association; it is merely an aggregation of persons, and lacks that oneness of spirit which is probably needful to make it of help and lasting value to mankind." The attempt to transform Brook Farm into a modified Fourierist Phalanx proved its ruin.

CHAPTER II

BROOK FARM

The Organization

In the summer of 1840, Mr. and Mrs. Ripley boarded on a milk farm in West Roxbury. It was a pleasant place, varied in contour, with pine woods close at hand, the Charles River within easy distance. A close inspection of the substratum of sand and gravel would have confirmed a suspicion in the mind of a practical farmer that there was a reason why there had been no attempt to produce anything but milk on the estate; but the meadows, which formed a large part of the farm, were fair to see, and the fertile farms adjoining seemed to indicate a favorable soil and location. At all events, the Ripleys left it feeling that they had found a spot on which to carry out what had become their dearest wish: "to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor adapted

to their tastes and talents, and securing to them the fruits of their industry; to do away with the necessity of menial services by opening the benefits of education and the profits of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions." "To accomplish these objects," Ripley wrote to Emerson, in a letter of November 9, 1840, "we propose to take a small tract of land which, under skilful husbandry, uniting the garden and the farm, will be adequate to the subsistence of the families; and to connect with this a school or college, in which the most complete instruction shall be given, from the first rudiments to the highest culture."

When Ripley first talked over the subject of an association with Emerson, he thought that $50,000 would be necessary for its equipment; but at the time of writing the above letter he had decided that $30,000 would supply the land and buildings for ten families, and allow a sufficient margin to cover the first year's expenses. This sum he proposed to raise by forming a joint-stock company among those who were friendly to his enterprise, each subscriber to be guaranteed a fixed interest, and the subscriptions to be secured by the real estate. Ten thousand

dollars of the amount he believed could be raised among those who were ready to lend their personal coöperation to the undertaking; the rest would be furnished by those whose sympathy could take only the form of financial encouragement. The shares he would place at $500 each; five per cent interest would be guaranteed, and the privilege of withdrawing would be allowed any shareholder who gave three months' notice of his intention. This last proviso, however, was modified when the Articles of Association came to be drawn up.

In the winter of 1840, Ripley decided to buy Brook Farm, making himself at first responsible for its management and success. About the first of April, 1841, he, with his wife and sister and some fifteen others, including Hawthorne, Mrs. Minot Pratt and children, George P. Bradford, and Warren Burton, took possession of the farm-house which, with a large barn, was already on the estate. The first six months were spent in "getting started," especially in the matter of the school, of which Miss Ripley was largely in charge, and it was not until the early fall — September 29 — that the "Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education" was organized. By this time Minot Pratt and Charles Dana had arrived, and the Articles of Association were drawn up, the stock subscribed for, and the officers of the Institute elected. The signers of

the original agreement, in addition to the persons already named, were Samuel D. Robbins and Mary Robbins, his wife, David Mack, George C. Leach, and Lemuel Capen. Of these, Mr. and Mrs. Robbins and David Mack never allied themselves with the Association, Mack joining the Community at Northampton, which was organized in 1842. Twenty-four shares of stock were taken, and one-third of the amount was actually paid in, Mr. Ripley's library being his pledge for $400 of his subscription. These shares were distributed as follows: George Ripley held Nos. 1, 2, and 3, amounting to $1500; Minot Pratt, 4, 5, 6; William B. Allen, 7, 8, 9; Charles A. Dana, 10, 11, 12; Marianne Ripley, 13, 14, 15; Sophia Ripley, 16, 17; Nathaniel Hawthorne, 18, 19; Maria T. Pratt, 20, 21; Sarah F. Stearns, 22, 23; Charles O. Whitmore, 24. At the same time the following officers were elected: General Direction, — Ripley, Pratt, and Allen; Direction of Finance, — Hawthorne, Dana, and Allen; Direction of Agriculture, — Allen, Pratt, and Ripley; Direction of Education, — Sophia W. Ripley, Dana, and Marianne Ripley; Recording Secretary — Dana; Treasurer — Pratt. Allen, a young farmer from Vermont, had been engaged as head farmer for the first season, there being no other man of much agricultural experience in the company during the first few months, except Frank

Farley, who had previously spent some time at farming in the West. The vote "to transfer the Institution recently carried on by George Ripley to the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education from and after November 1, 1841," and "to transfer the establishment recently carried on by Marianne Ripley," was not passed until October 30, and was merely the formal ratification of earlier business transactions.

The farm was bought of Charles and Maria M. Ellis, and according to the deed, dated October 11, 1841, contained "about one hundred and seventy acres of land in that part of the town of Roxbury which has lately been set off from Newton," and on "the westerly side of the road leading from Dedham to Watertown." Another parcel of land, called the "Keith lot," lying on the opposite side of this road, was included in the same conveyance, but there is nothing in the deed showing the area of this lot, and it would be difficult, at this time, to establish its boundaries with any degree of certainty. The area was twenty-two acres. The consideration for the whole estate is stated to be $10,500. On the same day, October 11, 1841, Ripley, Hawthorne, Dana, and Allen, as trustees, mortgaged the property to Daniel Wilder and Josiah Quincy, commissioners of the sinking fund of the Western Railroad Corporation, to secure the payment of $6000 in three

years and twenty-one days; they also made a second mortgage to secure to George R. Russell, Henry P. Sturgis, and Francis G. Shaw the payment of $1500 each, and to Lucy Cabot the payment of $500. If the consideration named in the deed from Ellis and his wife was the real consideration (and it probably was), it would seem that the trustees succeeded, at the start, in mortgaging their property for $500 more than it cost them.

Each subscriber was entitled to the tuition of one pupil for every share of stock held, instead of his interest, or tuition to an amount not exceeding twenty per cent interest on his investment. The consent of the trustees was necessary to the legal transference of stock; and any stockholder might withdraw his stock, with the interest due thereon, by giving twelve months' notice to the trustees. Every applicant for resident membership was to be received on a two months' probation, and at the end of that time the established members were to decide on his merits as a permanent acquisition, a two-thirds vote being required for his admission. It was agreed that labor should offset the price of board — a year's labor for a year's board, with lesser amounts in the same proportion. Three hundred days' labor was to be considered the equivalent of a year's labor and was to entitle the Associate to one share of annual dividend; sixty hours were to constitute a week's labor from May to October, inclusive; forty-eight hours, from November to April. The price of board to Associates who did not work was fixed at $4 a week — this to include rent, fuel, light, and washing. The children of Associates, over ten years of age, were to be charged half the regular rate; children under that age were to pay $3.50, "exclusive of washing and separate fire."

The Association was a joint-stock company, not incorporated. Every person who held one or more shares of stock was to be considered a member of the Association, and to be allowed one vote on matters relating to the disposition of its funds. The stock was non-assessable. The property was to be vested in and held by four trustees, chosen each year by the Association. The interest on the stock was to be paid in certificates of stock, although the subscriber was to be allowed, if he preferred, to draw on otherwise unappropriated funds the amount of interest credited in his favor; for no stockholder was to have any claim on the profits accruing to the Association beyond his guaranteed five per cent interest.

In view of the large results contemplated by this scheme, these preliminary articles seem very simple, and yet it was never felt that they were inadequate; for when the Association became later

a collection of "groups and series," no change was made in the principles of its constitution, though the details were necessarily modified.

The course of financial events may be here conveniently followed to the end. In December, 1842, Hawthorne and Allen conveyed their interest as trustees to Ichabod Morton and John S. Brown; and on April 6, 1843, Morton's interest was conveyed to Minot Pratt. The two years which had then elapsed since the founding of the Association had not brought a sufficient number of new members to take up any large amount of stock, or to develop the farm and its industries to the point at which the income largely exceeded the outgo; and on the last mentioned date Ripley, Dana, Pratt, and Brown, as trustees, placed a third mortgage for $1000 on the property, which was taken by Theodore Parker, as guardian of George Colburn. This was payable on demand, and was to bear interest at five per cent; it increased the mortgage debts to $12,000. On October 7, 1844, Brown turned over his interest as trustee to Lewis K. Ryckman, and on May 3, 1845, the board of trustees, then consisting of Ripley, Dana, Pratt, and Ryckman, deeded the entire property to "a certain joint-stock company . . . incorporated by the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the name of the Brook Farm Phalanx, and . . . this day

. . . organized under the Act of Incorporation according to law." The Phalanx assumed the payment of all debts and obligations of every nature contracted by the former joint-stock company, and agreed to hold the trustees as well as all other agents harmless against all claims and documents contracted in behalf of the Association.

Three months later, August 20, 1845, the new corporation appears to have put on a fourth mortgage of $2500 to Francis G. Shaw, executed by "George Ripley, President of said Phalanx," and "Charles A. Dana, Chairman of the Council of Finance." The fact was so patent that the community must offer suitable accommodations for the families of desirable men who could aid in developing the industrial side of the experiment, that desperate measures seemed necessary to secure the completion of the partially constructed Phalanstery. Without doubt the Board of Direction felt that the increased productiveness of the farm, the new buildings and other improvements which they had achieved, warranted the placing of this last mortgage; for although the financiering of the Brook Farmers may not have been adjudged able, it was never thought to be unscrupulous. The difficulties under which the leaders must have labored seem clear enough in the light of the facts disclosed by the Registry of Deeds of Norfolk County. Starting, apparently, with a

capital of $4500 furnished by the paid-up stock and the balance between the cost of the farm and the amount raised by the first mortgage, a plant had to be provided with which to develop a wholly uncultivated soil and to set in motion the wheels of household industry. The insurance and interest on stock and mortgages were furthermore ever present problems.

The report of the Direction of Finance for 1842 and 1843 showed a deficit on November 1, 1843, of $1964.88; the report for 1844, a balance of $1160.84; and it seems to have been a matter of debate whether the last named sum should be distributed as dividends or allowed to go toward wiping out the preceding deficit; but it was finally recognized that the earlier loss might properly be considered as so much capital invested in permanent improvements on the estate, and that "the results of one year's industry ought to be divided irrespective of the results of former years, and certificates of stock issued to those persons who are entitled to such dividends." Later reports cannot be consulted, but the fourth mortgage sets aside any doubt regarding the general state of the treasury.

After the burning of the Phalanstery, which occurred March 3, 1846, it became far more difficult to raise capital or to dispose of stock. Since the structure had been built through investments on the loan stock, no insurance had

been placed on the house, and the holders of partnership stock, therefore, and the regular members of the Association, had to bear the loss. About $7000 had already been laid out on the Phalanstery, and about $3000, it was estimated, was still needed. A current report, perhaps founded on a statement by Dana, that the insurance had expired the day before the fire, and that the failure to renew it had been owing to the carelessness of one of the Directors, does not agree with Ripley's own statement in the *Harbinger* of March 14, 1846.

For another year the quiet conflict went forward, and on March 4, 1847, at a meeting of stockholders and creditors, Mr. Ripley was "authorized to let the farm for one year from March 1, for $350; and the Keith lot for $100 or more, with such conditions and reservations" as he felt to be for the interests of the stockholders. At a later meeting of the stockholders, August 18, 1847, the President of the Phalanx was authorized "to transfer to a board of three trustees the whole property of the Corporation for the purpose and with power of disposing of it to the best advantage for all concerned." The board of trustees included Theodore Parker, George R. Russell and Samuel P. Teel.

On April 13, 1849, the farm was sold at public auction, and was bought for $19,150 by John L. Plummer, chairman of a special joint com-

mittee on the removal of the Roxbury almshouse. On April 16, the Common Council of the City of Roxbury instructed this committee to acquire the estate. Mortgages amounting to $14,500, an execution in favor of Anna G. Alvord, amounting to about $1961, and also an accumulated interest amounting to $984 brought the indebtedness of the Phalanx to $17,445. The Phalanx, therefore, received $1704 toward the settling of all other claims against it. The City of Roxbury established an almshouse on its purchase. In 1855 Brook Farm became the property of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who seems to have cherished a vague project to colonize the place with desirable companions, though the difference between his scheme and an ordinary land speculation is not obvious. In 1868 it passed into the hands of Lauranna C. Munroe, who held it, as the wife of James W. Munroe, until 1870. The estate was then bought by G. P. Burkhardt, who, shortly after, deeded it to the "Association of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for Works of Mercy," which to-day provides a shelter there for many homeless children in what is known as the Martin Luther Orphan Home.

The Buildings and Grounds

A seeker after country quiet and beauty might easily be as much attracted to-day by the undulating acres of Brook Farm as were those who sought it as a refuge from so-

cial discouragement nearly sixty years ago. The brook still runs slenderly through the meadow; there are still the sunny uplands, the dim groves, and the denser woodlands; and human life still teems over it all. The farm-house which stood not far from the road when the life of the little community began, and which was naturally put to immediate use, was speedily christened the Hive. It was the heart of the community, though perhaps it would have been superseded had the Phalanstery reached completion. It was a house with two rooms on each side of a wide hall; those on one side were occupied by the vivacious Mrs. Barlow and her three sons, who came as boarders, and those on the other side served as sitting room and dining room, the kitchen being back of the latter. The upper rooms were used as sleeping rooms. With a growing family some reconstruction soon became necessary, and two of the rooms on the first floor were thrown together to make a larger dining room, which should also serve as an assembling place, not only for "Hiveites," but for the other residents; and both these needs it met so long as the community survived. Its ceiling was low; at each end of the room were two windows, and in the middle of one end was an old-fashioned fireplace of brick. There were as many as six long pine tables with benches on either side,

painted white; and the neatness and attractiveness of the apartment were emphasized by white linen and white table-ware. The rooms on the other side of the hall became parlor and office; Mr. Ripley's library was arranged along either side of the hall, and from a door at its farther end one could step out into the meadow. To the original building were added two wings containing rooms for laundry and other purposes, with spaces for shed and carriage rooms underneath. There was a room, for example, where mothers could leave their children in care of the Nursery Group while they attended to their daily work — a clear forerunner of the present "day nursery." A large upper room in one of the wings, occupied by single men, passed by the name of Attica — a sounder jest than can usually be found in the annals of Brook Farm. Here, at one time, slept John Codman, the General (Baldwin), the Parson (Capen), the Admiral (Blake), and others.

The house faced toward the east, and was separated from the brook and meadow below by two terraced embankments enlivened by shrubs and flower beds. Mulberry and spruce trees gave character and background to these adornments, and a great elm which stood near the Hive and a sycamore which shaded it added dignity to the ordinary looking dwelling.

New comers were wont to find their first welcome at the Hive, though one or two speak of arriving wholly unnoticed. There may have been a method in this silent absorption of a new member; possibly it was to convey the lesson at once of the unimportance of one individual more or less in the community. Whatever the reason, the conduct is noticeable. Mrs. Kirby says that when she arrived she found more than fifty persons assembled in the dining room. Miss Russell also speaks of this Trappist mode of reception. A swift impression for good or bad must have been formed on seeing so immediately the collected forces of the Association conducting themselves in their most unaffected manner.

To the south of the Hive was the barn, which also faced the east. Across the street from the entrance to the farm stood a small house which the community hired at first for the school, and which, except, perhaps, for one short interval, it retained for that purpose until the school was abandoned. This building, which was called the Nest, was in charge of Miss Ripley; here some of the teachers and pupils lodged. There was a feeling that the real life of the community was pent up within its own grounds, and that this section of the family without the walls, was to a certain degree isolated; and yet the records show no lack of participation by these individuals in the activities of the Association.

Early in 1842, the colony having outgrown its accommodations, a house was built on the highest point of land which the farm contained, a pudding-stone ledge forming the cellar and two sides of the foundation wall. This square wooden structure, in which the exterior use of smooth matched boards served to produce a most depressing effect, was so flimsily constructed that what went on in any one room could be heard in every other room. It was painted, after the imitative fancy of the day, the color of gray sandstone. The only feature which redeemed its severity was a deep, slightly ornamented flat cornice which ran around the top, although there were low French windows through which one could step out upon the upper of the two terraces. The house was reached by a long flight of steps from the farm road. The view was a delight; the Hive was distant about three minutes' walk; there was a grove in the rear, an orchard in front; and from some of the upper windows might be had charming glimpses of the river. Into this — the Eyrie, Aerie or Eyry (as Mr. Ripley spelled it), Mr. and Mrs. Ripley moved as soon as it was finished; Mr. Ripley taking the greater part of his books with him. The room on the right of the hall became the library, but was also used as a recitation room. In the parlor opposite was the piano, by the aid of which John Dwight taught music, and

the family enjoyed many a rare evening. Behind these rooms were four small dormitories given over to pupils. Mr. and Mrs. Ripley occupied the room over the parlor, and Mrs. Kirby (then Miss Georgianna Bruce) and Miss Sarah Stearns were in the room behind them. Charles Newcomb and the Curtis brothers also roomed here, and Miss Dora Wilder was the housekeeper.

The Cottage — which alone of all the community buildings remains to-day — was the next house erected after the Eyrie. Mrs. A. G. Alvord, whose heart was in Brook Farm but whose health was precarious, built the Cottage, reserving a part for herself, but putting most of it at the service of active members. It was in the form of a Maltese cross, with four gables, the central space being taken by the staircase. It contained only about half a dozen rooms, and probably could not have accommodated more than that number of residents. Miss Russell says that it was the prettiest and best furnished house on the place; but an examination of the pathetic simplicity of its construction will confirm the memory of one of its occupants that contact with nature was admirably close and unaffected; from the rough dwelling, which resembled an inexpensive beach cottage, to outdoors was hardly a transition, and at all seasons the external and internal temperatures

closely corresponded. The house was well placed on a clearly defined knoll, and the grass stretched directly from it in all directions except in the rear, where the flower garden had been started. The schoolrooms for the younger children were transferred to this building, and Miss Russell, Dwight, Dana, and Mrs. Alvord roomed here until the new organization was effected, when Miss Russell was moved to the Pilgrim House. The Cottage has always been known as the Margaret Fuller Cottage — although it was probably the only house on the estate in which Margaret Fuller never stayed during her occasional visits. It is one of the charms of a legend that its lack of truth only slightly detracts from the sentimental associations accumulated around it; and this is especially true of the Cottage, which still bears its traditionary honors. During a visitation of smallpox the Cottage was divested of its furnishings, and turned into a temporary hospital; and at another time it barely escaped entire demolition through the carelessness of some workmen who were digging a cellar under it. Until lately the Cottage wore its original dark brown color; and it is still the best visible remnant of the early days and gives a pleasant impression of what the daily life of the Association must have been.

The Pilgrim House was built by Ichabod Morton, of Plymouth, who planned to occupy it with his family, and who possibly hoped to persuade his brother Edwin to join him. It was a double house, placed south of the Cottage. There were double parlors, separated by folding doors, running across one end of the house, and two families might occupy these in common; a partition wall, built at right angles to the parlor, divided the rest of the building into two houses, each having its own entrance. Externally it looked like twin houses, back to back, and was a "very uncouth building." The barrenness of its appearance was the more marked because there were no trees about it; and standing, as it did, on high ground, it proclaimed, in its oblong shape and white paint, an austere New England origin. Ichabod Morton, after a brief residence of two weeks, returned to Plymouth, and the dwelling passed into the hands of the Association. The community took down the walls between the two kitchens, and thus provided a commodious and cheerful place for the laundry rooms; the tailoring department was established here, and here the *Harbinger*, the literary publication of Brook Farm, had its editorial office. The big parlor furnished a bare but convenient place for convivialities. Otherwise the dwelling was given over to lodging purposes.

In the spring of 1843 the construction of a