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“Godless Edens”: Surveillance, Eroticised Anarchy and “Depraved Communities” in Britain and the Wider World, 1890 – 1930

Antony Taylor

Ranging from Tolstoyan communes, through quasi-religious sects, to artistic and bohemian alternatives to conventional society, the new radical communal settlements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attracted considerable voyeuristic and censorious attention from the state, police, anti-vice activists, and near neighbors. The freakish and unconventional nature of these colonies is reaffirmed in much of the historiography relating to their existence and by the desire of those reformers who came afterwards to distance themselves from their apparent excesses. Itinerancy, rootlessness, “sexual deviance”, atheism, and “immorality” remained constant charges against the inhabitants. Multiple issues surrounded the creation of land communes, and their establishment revealed fissures within popular politics that fuelled the tensions between upholders of the values of morality, modesty, temperance, and anti-vice activism, and the colonies themselves, which were perceived as detrimental to prevailing social and moral norms.

This chapter analyses a range of secular, religious, socialist and *völkisch* communities to establish the communalities in their attitudes, but also in order to chart the fault line that divided inhabitants of the new experimental settlements dedicated to a profound transformation of human society from the organized anti-vice agitations of the later nineteenth-century. It explores the issue of schism within the ranks of anti-vice activists and demonstrates the ways in which exponents of utopian models of alternative societies were often relegated to the margins despite their

enthusiasm for the reform of human character. Moreover, it locates these errant communities in the context of a backlash that established the commonplace accusations against radicals, socialists and left utopians increasingly standard in the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Through an examination of popular responses to these settlements, this chapter charts the sensationalist literature that ridiculed, or emphasized, the dangers accompanying any wider acceptance of the unconventional ideas preached at experimental colonies like Whiteway (in England) and at Monte Verità (in Switzerland), which became notorious as hotbeds of vice and alternative living. Such material problematized the relationship between anti-vice activism as a movement of protest, and the activities of the inhabitants of colonies dedicated to a cleansing of society from the ills of drink, nicotine dependency and other vices.

Hostility to radical land communes and the internationalist and transnational ideas they represented framed a number of the commonplace fears of the later nineteenth century. Across Europe a return-to-the-land movement was fuelled by a similar blend of folk nostalgia, rejection of unrestrained urbanization, and faith in the redemptive power of human proximity to nature. Formed against the backdrop of a crisis in modernity at the end of the nineteenth century, land communes refracted contemporary fears about a range of anxieties including: the decrepitude of urban society, the collapse of national character and family values, and the decay of vernacular communal traditions and architecture in the face of the relentless advance of the dispirited urban crowd, and formless, charmless suburban design. Christened *lebensreform* (life reform) in Germany, these sentiments drew on notions of the 'simple life,' advocating the revival of declining yeoman values to counteract the spread of urban poverty. Home handicrafts, artisanal design traditions, and the use of traditional materials featured strongly in the outlook of these colonies. Often bohemian in conception, most advocated a recuperation of the traditions of spade husbandry, a disavowal of the use of mechanized and steam-driven machinery in agriculture, and a return to the values of stability and continuity represented by a romanticized ideal of peasant life.[i]

These ideas overlapped with kindred currents of opinion that brought life reform movements into the mainstream at the *fin de siècle*. For Max Nordau and other prophets of declinist notions, a reliance upon industry and urbanization had bred a spiritual and physical exhaustion in urban populations that contributed to a sense of national and international malaise. Nordau's 1895 classic study *Degeneration* charted the spread of concerns about decadence, degeneracy and racial weakness amongst the intellectual circles of the late nineteenth century.[ii] The renewal of physical health eroded by urban life was important for 'life reformers', coupled with a determination to tackle and root out the neuroses and anxieties bred by city living.

Anti-vice activists were central to the project for a restoration of physical vigour. For them the concern to reform urban populations drew on agendas for the modification of human character to free it from the enslaving effects of intoxicants and artificial stimulants of all kinds. As historian Daniel T. Rogers has pointed out, this was essentially an internationalist program that amalgamated models adopted by progressives in North America, Europe, the Nordic nations, and Great Britain.[iii] Antidotes to the problems of the late nineteenth-century were thus infused with a strong sense of moral mission, ranging across voluntarist, state and municipal reform solutions to urban poverty, through debates about conscription and national efficiency, town planning, physical sports and open air education, to eugenicist remedies to problems of unhealthy and physically debased human populations.[iv] As Eric Hobsbawm has demonstrated, most of these notions were consonant with the new styles favoring space, light, and naturalistic designs adopted by architects and designers of the metropolitan urban *art nouveau* style that became characteristic of the period.[v]

Land colonies constituted a renegade fringe of these ideas. While land reform projects were popular in this period, they proved especially enticing for those contemplating a complete break with pre-existing models of civil society through the creation of experimental communities. The use of the term 'colony' itself to describe them was problematic, carrying undertones of the imperial civilizing mission. Many of the 'new lifers' thought of themselves as pioneers, taking enlightenment

to the heathen and creating model societies that would serve as an inspiration to others in a new social imperium. Others thought their ideas capable of realization only in remote and far flung parts of European empires.[vi] Such reformers advocated a more extreme utopian vision of human perfectibility than that preached by anti-vice organizations that brought many of their key elements into conflict with established norms, and moral purity campaigners. Aspects of alternative land reform colonies that were widely reported on and proved unpalatable to late Victorian sensibilities included: nudism, vegetarianism, irreligion, free love, same-sex unions, dress reform, occultism, feminism, pacifism, paganism, and the practice of alternative medicine, among other myriad forms of militant antistatism. These notions were also tendencies that manifested themselves in allied labor and socialist organizations in the United States, Britain, and White settler colonies like Australia and New Zealand, where they drew much comment from contemporaries.[vii]

Cranks, Marginals, and Marginals in Memory

The aberrant communal institutions that became a marked feature of the years before and after the turn of the nineteenth century have attracted uneven scholarly attention.[viii] Outside treatments of religious settlements that emphasize the spiritual and reclusive elements in community building, studies of secular and non-monastic withdrawal from conventional society remain rare.[ix] While some colonies have found their individual chroniclers, few accounts have sought to place them in context or to establish a broader narrative about their role and significance. Despite this neglect, land communes generated popular debates about communal and unconventional living, and tested prevailing assumptions about the organization of society, community, and its relationship to the state. Surveying their impact in North America, Robert S. Fogarty has described them as "enclaves of difference" that provided a forcing ground for new ways of social and cooperative living at a time when conventional Victorian pieties were under question.[x] The strange and faddish nature

of these colonies, noted by many contemporaries, has added to their increasing relegation to the historiographical margins.

Most contemporary accounts highlight the eccentricities, morbidly withdrawn character, or monomaniacal tendencies of these communities over their positive contribution to radical and progressive cultures. In the majority of cases the colonists gained a reputation as "cranks", a derogatory label also applied to other anti-vice activists like Eugene Sandow.[xi] An exercise in "pure communism with the usual admixture of crankdom" was the verdict of Irish radical Jack White on the anarchist community at Whiteway in Gloucestershire, England.[xii] This vision of their outsider status was an aspect of community living many of the colonists embraced. Reclaiming the word crank, it was frequently adopted as a badge of honor by colony members to differentiate their lifestyles from the mainstream. One member of the New Australia colony established by Australian and British migrants in Paraguay in 1893 commented: "You think we're a lot of cranks…Well, of course we are, or we shouldn't be here. We came to Paraguay to get away from convention, and be as cranky as we please."[xiii]

Even advocates of such schemes were willing to lampoon the nature of the programs they supported, and to mock the outlandish enthusiasms of the rank and file members they attracted. Allen Clarke, a Lancashire radical who solicited support for an ideal colony in Blackpool, ran stories in his newspaper satirizing exactly the same cult enthusiasts whose involvement he solicited. In his dialect story *The Simple Life*, the protagonist, Tum Bibbs, is described as "abeaut the biggest faddist…In his time he's been on an' off wi' Socialism, Spiritualism, Mormonism, 'th' Salvation Army, Vegetarianism, Walkin' Tours, th' Bare-yeaded Society, the No-Breakfast Lot, an the Lord Knows What."[xiv] Frequently such colonists were portrayed as risible amateurs, misunderstanding the farming process, unable to control their livestock, and with "fowls [that] would not lay," and bees that "refused to swarm."[xv]

Moreover, the relegation of these communes to the margins was compounded by the desire on the part of progressive reformers and advocates of labor who succeeded them to distance themselves from their excesses. The shift across Europe from parties that advocated 'new fellowship' and 'new life movements' to those that were grounded in debates about economic issues and sought to represent the interests of organized labor in government led to a rejection of the utopian and heterodox religious practices that had characterized the previous ethicist and socialist groupings of the 1890s and 1900s. For a subsequent generation these colonies were a symptom of arrested development on the left.[xvi] George Orwell's disdain for the eccentric penumbra of beliefs that surrounded the Independent Labour Party is echoed by Bonar Thompson's reference from 1934 to the "simple-lifers, fresh-air cranks, banana-biters, nut-eaters, milk-drinkers, male suffragettes, free-lovers, dress reformers (who wore the ugliest kind of clothing), anti-God fanatics – all sorts of intellectual, moral and political fungi" who inhabited the movement before and after the Great War.[xvii] In subsequent historiography, those identified too closely with the new social, sexual and communal ideas of the turn-of-the century fell from grace, and were written out of later histories of labor traditions.[xviii] In Europe the migration of faddist ideas around diet, dress and physical health from life reform agitations into the platform of the radical right, made the legacy of utopian and unorthodox ideas even more difficult to disentangle for German liberals and Social Democrats who found this strand of politics resistant to assimilation into an avowedly left tradition.[xix]

Ideal Communities and Anti-vice Activism

The late-nineteenth century commune movement occupied an ambiguous position in relation to the growing anti-vice movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The analogous spaces occupied by reformers working towards socialism, for personal salvation, and for the moral reform of society have often been noted by historians working in this area.[xx] Usually regarding themselves as engaged in anti-vice activity, campaigning against the moral pollution and

spiritual impoverishment of the outside world, the inhabitants of late nineteenth-century communes were often ambivalent towards orchestrated purity campaigns. Most of the anarchists/socialists and life reformers attracted into the commune movement had roots in a strong radical tradition of self-improvement, moral restraint, and self-denial from stimulants and alcohol derived from the new social movements of the period. There was a spectrum of such ideas across the British and Continental ethicist socialist parties. Tolstoy, in particular, was a "strident" opponent of smoking, drawing on Max Nordau's view of the practice as a symptom of urban neurosis and anxiety.[xxi] Other socialists condemned the "worship of Wills" (a tobacco company).[xxii] Abstinence from alcohol, vegetarianism, and opposition to vivisection characterized the outlook of the *Broederschap* (Brotherhood) colony at Blaricum outside Amsterdam in 1899.[xxiii] Such entrenched attitudes were not uncommon amongst anarchists and extreme reformers. The anarchist orator, Guy Aldred, was a young convert to anti-smoking, discovering the issue at school: "As a result of some of the boys smoking, and inviting me to do so, I entered into discussions of the rights and wrongs of this habit, its folly or usefulness. Finally I joined the Anti-Nicotine League. My first adventures in propaganda were keen activity on behalf of this body and also as recruiting agent for the Band of Hope and the Total Abstinence Movement."[xxiv] Most colonists saw the discarding of clothes, dietary reform and abstinence from artificial stimulants as part of a broader program to reform human society itself: nudism would normalize nakedness, reducing unrestrained carnal urges; a diet without meat would quell the martial spirit, rendering the population more attuned to international peace proposals and less inclined to favor bloody public executions; and temperance and avoidance of smoking would diminish urban wretchedness and prevent the inherited transmission of congenital ill-health to subsequent blighted generations.[xxv]

In Britain, such attitudes were part of a vein of moral puritanism with roots deep in the Cromwellian Commonwealth tradition that resurfaced regularly in radical reform and anti-poverty campaigns throughout the *fin de siècle* period. In the early twentieth century, Ramsay MacDonald appealed for an infusion of Puritan virtues into the newly emergent labor movement as part of the

revelation that “its paths are through stony places because it has the wisdom to see that the life of effort is the life of progress.”[xxvi] In the United States, the long history of community-building in Maine and Massachusetts was seen as a return to the Puritan roots and certainties of the founding fathers, lost in the superficialities of Gilded Age America. The same parallels were apparent in Tennessee, where the colonists at the Ruskin colony were described as “a curious mingling of 1776 and 1976, of backwoods and millennium,” displaying “the same stuff as the pilgrims had when they landed on the Atlantic coast.”[xxvii] For many such reformers, overseas settlements like William Lane’s New Australia in Paraguay, or William Ranstead’s socialist colony in New Zealand, were new or socialist Canaans.[xxviii]

In Europe such attitudes frequently arose from the Catholic inner worldly ascetic tradition. St Francis of Assisi was often invoked as a model for some secluded anarchist communities.[xxix] Moreover, the trappings of apostate Catholicism were apparent in some settlements. The Monte Verità community at Ascona in Switzerland, was intended as a self-proclaimed monastery for the new hybrid religions at the end of the nineteenth century.[xxx] Tolstoyan groups in particular practiced extreme forms of self-denial, including abstinence from food and a refusal to sleep indoors or to wear shoes or sufficient clothing in lifestyles that were reminiscent of mendicant friars and secluded monastic orders.[xxxi] These parallels were apparent to some observers. A British radical, referring to a Dutch anarchist colony on the Zuyder Zee, observed: “They are like monks, who leave the world to save their souls. They should not go away from their fellows, but stay in the world to reform it.”[xxxii]

For supporters of these alternative colonies, images of pilgrimage and devotion continued the strong association with religious revelation for the enthusiasts of life reform experiments. At Whiteway in Gloucestershire, the comparison was made explicit at Eastertime 1899: “It is quite a feat to get to this colony, and betokens a considerable determination on the part of the pedestrian visitor. Like the kingdom of god, it can be attained only by hard-climbing.”[xxxiii] As Martin Green has pointed out of Monte Verità, rope sandals, the ancient emblem of the pilgrim, were *de rigeur* at

alternative land communes, and most communities were magnets for visiting radicals or the bohemian avant-garde.[xxxiv]

Hostility to Land Communes

The images of dysfunction surrounding the communes of the later nineteenth century were reinforced by their remote physical locations and distance from urban centers. They inhabited spaces that were marginal, liminal and on the peripheries of neighboring state systems. Mountains, moors and wasteland were often sought out as the natural terrain of remote communities. Mountains, in particular, had a long connection with the outcast, the penitent, and the exile; but were at the same time threatened frontiers for exploration and mapping.[xxxv] The Llano del Rio colony in California was founded in the desert, a traditional haunt of mystics and ascetics.[xxxvi] Such characteristics were frequently intentional, occasionally they were a necessity, to distance commune-dwellers from enemies and critics. During a period when national boundaries and borders were solidifying in the build up to 1914, creating a proliferation of customs posts, border guards, passport identification documents, and external censorship regimes, the existence of land communes posed an apparent threat to the stability of national boundaries. In later years, the German anarchist, Augustin Souchy, recalled "the good old times…we enjoyed liberties now lost. Before 1914, everyone could travel across all of Europe without any documents of identity."[xxxvii]

Often depicted as undermining the state, or compromising border security, land communes were painted as a serious danger. The Monte Verità Community at Ascona in the Ticino region between Italy and Switzerland provided one such source of moral panic. In a porous border area in the Alps it was depicted as a centre for smuggling activities (particularly saccharine into Munich), as an arsenal for the stockpiling of anarchist bombs, and as a haven for draft-resisters.[xxxviii] A freebooting, condottieri quality hung around most of these land communes. Martin Green, in his

study of alternative culture at Monte Verità, described the generation who built the settlement as "simple life vagabonds," with links to the German *Wandervogel* tradition.[xxxix] A marked piratical element was discernible to some visitors. Victor Serge, visiting the anarchist commune at Stockel in Belgium, noted an orator, haranguing the colonists: "a big black devil, with a pirate's profile."[xl] In Britain, *The New Order*, the journal of the Tolstoyan movement in the 1890s, featured songs and poetry about the freedoms of a privateering lifestyle, and the comradeship of the high seas.[xli] The unconventional lifestyles of the colonists frequently laid them open to charges of itinerancy and vagrancy. In Britain, the anarchist inhabitants of the Whiteway settlement ceremonially burnt the title deeds to the land they acquired, thereby relegating themselves to the status of squatters.[xlii]

Restraining or taming such urges towards antisocial behavior was a concern for some members of land communes. "Some few there were," wrote an observer of the ailing Kaweah colony in California, "of the indolent and good for nothing class…but it was never supposed that these could constitute a model society without considerable disciplinary training."[xliii]

The outlandish qualities of the inhabitants of land communes made them prey to the attentions of outsiders and opponents. Most colonists were visibly distinct in dress, outlook, and, even, language. This created a gulf with neighbors, nearby communities, and local and state officials. The majority of colonies encouraged the adoption of rational dress. A movement that had gathered pace in the 1870s and 1880s and was aligned with female emancipation campaigns in the United States, and organizations like the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union, rational dress adherents encouraged the adoption of loose, non-constrictive underclothes for women, fewer petticoats, and the rejection of corsetry and bodices that compressed women's bodies into tortured and unnatural shapes.[xliv] As Sheila Rowbotham has pointed out, land communes were havens for such freedoms.[xlv] Ideal clothes for women were regarded as simple in design, unencumbered by trains and excessive decoration, and carried no badges and signs of rank. Men's clothes were similarly inventive, ranging from tweed jackets, via smocks, knickerbockers and sometimes including capes and, in the anarchist

colony at Whiteway, incorporating ”a kind of Greek costume” introduced by two young undergraduates.[xlvi] No shaving and long hair made the male colonists extremely hirsute in appearance. Salome Hocking in her fictionalized account of her time spent at Whiteway painted a pen portrait of a fellow colonist in which he appears as the incarnation of the noble savage: “Sydney Goodwin, clothed only in knickerbockers and a vest, his long hair blowing about his shoulders as he worked, was bending over a bed in which he was sowing some seeds. With his dark, grave unemotional face, he made me think of Fenimore Cooper’s noble red man or of Longfellow’s Hiawatha.”[xlvii]

For some colonists, pure nakedness, for instance propagated and lived as *Nacktkultur* in Germany or embraced by avant-garde artists throughout Europe, was the most rational solution to the complexities of Western urban civilization.[xlviii] Drawing on the classical aesthetic tradition, in the German Social Democratic movement nude bathing and sports were often used to reinforce communal solidarities and to celebrate the bodies of workers honed by physical and industrial toil.[xlix] Nudism in the 1890s sought a withdrawal from the mainstream and a retreat into a reclusive and private realm of naked humanity. There was thus a significant overlap with the aims and directions of land communes. Communal solidarities at Llano del Rio and the Fairhope settlement in Alabama were frequently represented by images of nude or semi-nude bathing circles and at Whiteway “one intrepid fellow had been addicted to mowing barley in a state of pure nature.”[l] Elsewhere the links between nudism and physical hygiene regimes that advocated sun-baths, earth cures, and hydrotherapy reinforced the connections between the everyday life of the colonists and public displays of nakedness. Self-medication and nonconventional healing methods were common at the colonies.[li] This emphasis on the formation of alternative diagnostic and nature therapies outside the medical mainstream was in a long tradition in British and European radicalism that drew on the alleged properties of mesmerism as a technique to anesthetize and sedate patients. Such ideas proved entirely consistent with the aims to break down civic, national, and ultimately medical orthodoxy that characterized the settlements’ attitudes towards mainstream society.[lii] At Monte

Verità such treatments encouraged the transformation of the colony into a pioneering sanatorium that sought to redraw the boundaries between science and health culture.[liii]

The strongest criticisms of land communes came from those who regarded them as places of unfettered sexual excess. Allegations of free love, immorality, and sexual impropriety were a frequent resort of opponents of the settlements. Accusations against them included hatred of the family, sexual promiscuity, encouragement of underage sex, birth control, the transmission of venereal diseases, nudism, and the practice of sex rituals that went alongside moon worship, paganism and occultism. Some of these allegations of sexual libertinage were a recapitulation of long-standing accusations of immorality leveled at American religious communes in particular.[liv]

Common law relationships, known as "free unions" or "vegetarian marriages" in Germany, were, however, a feature of most of the settlements.[lv] For some colonists the practices of anarchism, freethinking and free love were necessary preconditions for the future success of communal living.[lvi] Lacking vows or a formal record of mutual obligations, but stressing equality within relationships, free unions were reported by Nellie Shaw at Whiteway as beneficial partnerships that compared "quite favorably with legal marriage."[lvii] Even where not completely tolerated, as in the Ruskin colony in Tennessee, ideal communities provided sympathetic environments in which freedom from societal constraints enabled unconventional relationships to flourish.[lviii]

Lurid accounts of these practices informed popular fiction, and were widely used by proponents of red scare campaigns against socialists. Critics saw the practice of free love as undermining familial bonds within such communities and corrupting of the young, as detrimental to the establishment of judicial or civil institutions, and, ultimately, as breeding tensions and pressures that contributed to their decay.[lix] American campaigners against such alternative moralities never doubted that spiritual desolation and moral impoverishment were inevitably the lot of women practicing free love in the 1900s.[lx] In Europe such views persisted into the 1950s. In Daphne Du Maurier's short story *Monte Verità*, the community was represented as a fortified settlement that

abducted young girls from neighboring towns for the practice of arcane and gothic rituals.[lxi] In reality, "free unions" often transferred more power to the women in relationships, and resulted in loving and fruitful unions without a coercive element.[lxii] For critics this had the unintended effect of elevating the role of women in these communities over that of (or at least creating equality to) the men, creating a topsy-turvy world of reversed and destabilized gender roles. For many women, however, the ideal communities provided space for experimentation, for the sharing of similar sentiments, and for the opportunity to create a new grammar of sexuality. In them, many women were free for the first time to define an autonomous space for themselves in new and hitherto unexplored ways.[lxiii] Women remained significant and enthusiastic exponents of all the land communes. More than mere scribes, they were often memory keepers, fierce partisan defenders of their values and traditions, and historians of their demise.[lxiv]

Religion, Mysticism and Land Communes

Most of the communities also incubated the new hybrid-religious ideas that proliferated at the end of the nineteenth century and further accentuated their distance from the mainstream. The idea that a more just social system would in Philip Lockley's words, "realise the divine purpose for humanity" was a well-established notion within the culture of popular radicalism and was a marked aspect of the outlook of French anarchists in particular.[lxv] These individualized sects are often seen as the outcome of a post-Darwinian crisis in religious faith, and the consequence of an expansion and democratization of worship. A decline in church attendance, doctrinal struggles, and the strident opposition by European liberals towards state churches had by the end of the nineteenth century led to a backlash against the hierarchy and secular power of established faiths.[lxvi] What emerged from this context were new individualized religiosities, with non-exclusive memberships, and open congregations that placed an emphasis on ecstatic experience and a direct unmediated communication with higher powers and intelligences. Most stressed the plurality of religious beliefs,

and sought to unify and reconcile the common elements from all world religions. They often embraced esoteric practices and advocated alternative anti-rationalistic ideas, frequently involving occultism and contact with the spirit-world, much to the distress of more secular radicals.[lxvii] An intense spirituality was apparent at most communities, growing out of an exploration of new non-European faiths allied to an indigenous tradition of philosophical and theological transcendentalism. Some of this transcendent vision was inspired by the work of Richard Wagner, and the emphasis he placed on a "total artwork" that brought together performance, music, literature and dance. Wagner was regularly performed at Monte Verità and his music remained a favourite of British radicals into the interwar period.[lxviii] The diffusion of Hindu and Buddhist ideas in particular was very marked in all the communities. Theosophy, which merged elements of both religions (as well as aspects of Islam) with the intention of reviving the decadent West with Eastern lore, was a frequent resort of community members. The cooperator and Tolstoyan Percy Redfern wrote of the appeal of theosophy: "Many socialists in those days were attracted by the 'divine wisdom.' It taught universal brotherhood, it was unconventional and its claims for present day occult powers intrigued the materialists."[lxix] Chinese Taoism, in addition, colored the outlook of the Monte Verità community at Ascona: one of its founders, Gustav Graser, had translated the Tao into German.[lxx]

The sentiments such faiths generated were visionary in nature and reliant on the concept of the adept, carefully instructed into the realm of arcane knowledge. In some colonies homegrown gurus emerged that encouraged immersion by the settlers in sect-like religious behavior. Francis Sedlack, the Czech philosopher who was resident at the Whiteway colony in Gloucestershire and sought to explore the idea of the Fourth Dimension in his writings, was a potential sage. In accounts by other colonists he was described as "daily meditating and practicing other Yogi methods, such as following the flow of the blood from the heart all through the body till its return."[lxxi] Edward Carpenter at Millthorpe was a similar figure, who had close links with Hindu revivalist movements in Ceylon.[lxxii] These flourishing alternative belief systems reaffirmed the connection between the broader empire, imported ideas, unfamiliar religions and the proliferation of extra European models

of religious observance that increased suspicion and outside hostility. The centrality of vegetarianism in land colonies flourished as a consequence of the infusion of Hindu beliefs and ideas, while temperance and restraint in matters of sexual morality were a marked element of the theosophical tradition.[lxxiii] For some outsiders overt displays of non-European religious adherence, and the ritualistic adornments that went with them, suggested that the land colonies harbored colonial separatists and fugitive nationalist leaders. Often the new esoteric faiths refracted back at *émigré* nationalists a heady mix of Eastern ideas and a sense of the wisdom of subject peoples that were taken up and used by colonial leaders.[lxxiv] Gandhi gained much of his early knowledge of sacred Hindu texts from the theosophist circles he encountered in London in the 1890s. He visited the anarchist settlement at Whiteway in 1909, and set up two imitative community experiments at the Phoenix settlement and Tolstoy Farm in imperial South Africa that became prototypes for his ashram movement.[lxxv]

Moral Opposition to Land Communes

These "godless edens" in Britain and the United States, in particular, were settlements around which many of the fears of anti-vice organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cohered.[lxxvi] Frequently, the colonists offered highly idiosyncratic answers to the questions raised by life reform agitations. Usually they stood outside the constraints of social control exhibited in more paternalistic company settlements like that at the Pullman town on the outskirts of Chicago.[lxxvii] Espousing nontraditional approaches to the family and dress reform ideas, they constituted a conspicuous element in remote rural areas where traditional hierarchies of power and social control held sway. While preaching the virtues of community existence, such radical enclaves often encountered opposition from neighbors and those established communities that lived in close proximity to them. Language itself ruptured the relationship between the colonists and their neighbors. Most practiced or encouraged the new ancillary languages that grew up to promote

international and global solidarities from the 1890s. Esperanto, learnt by garden village pioneers like Ebenezer Howard to propagate his antiurban vision abroad, was frequently spoken in land communes, driving a wedge between their inhabitants and neighboring communities.[lxxviii] The large volume of sightseers and tourists that visited these sites further strained their relations with adjoining farms and settlements.[lxxix] Colonists at the Ruskin Colony in Tennessee were condemned for their lax attitude towards church attendance, and for violating the Sabbath with work, organized games, and fishing. Here there were attempts to invoke antique blasphemy laws against them.[lxxx] At the Whiteway Colony in Gloucestershire, the local vicar incited a public decency campaign against the settlers over their overt displays of nudity. The colonists' refusal to register births or deaths, pay tithes, and even to observe Christian burial ritual placed the colonists outside the norms of rural community life.[lxxxi] Despite their enthusiasm for a return to the land many colonists radiated a disdain for the customs and conventions of rustic life that further complicated these relationships. Other groups found themselves in conflict with local landowners and their gamekeepers or agents. Rustling of cattle and sheep and the theft of vegetables and crops were not uncommon features of the tense relationships between settlers and neighbors.[lxxxii] In some cases colonists were actively driven from the land by local landowners where there was a failure to renew leases and property rights lapsed. Elsewhere, such as at the anarchist community at Blaricum in the Netherlands, the military was called in to defend the colonists from the depredations of the local population. More subtle pressure was applied at the Llano colony outside Los Angeles, when local notables conspired to cut off water supplies to the settlement, forcing it to move on.[lxxxiii]

Seen as harboring dangers that undermined the state, compromised borders, and threatened neighboring communities, land communes were usually depicted as carriers of deviant, asocial, and dangerous views and positions. A refusal to pay taxes or to observe planning regulations brought them into conflict with both local and national authorities. Indifference to planning legislation was a recurrent feature of makeshift and ad hoc communities in both pre and post-1914 Britain.[lxxxiv] At the Brotherhood Church colony of Stapleton, near Pontefract, colonists declined on

principle to fill in census forms for the 1911 census.[lxxxv] Frequently they encountered opposition on health grounds. This entrenched the association in the public mind between dirt and deviance in such enclaves. At Purleigh in Essex, an outbreak of smallpox at the Tolstoyan anarchist colony there led the local board of sanitation to close down the living accommodation, in a move that resulted in the dispersal of the colonists and hastened the fragmentation of the community.[lxxxvi] Attracting political militants, draft-dodgers, refugees, and exponents of anti-imperial ideas (Francis Sedlack at the Whiteway colony held all these positions) alternative communities were seen as challenging the state, and creating channels of communication for political and cultural dissidents whose clandestine organizations transcended national boundaries.[lxxxvii] Public meetings and demonstrations at these dissident enclaves were often seen as conductors for dangerous radical creeds that radiated outwards into nearby towns. However remote, they inspired a hostile culture of surveillance and a close supervision that emphasized the negative and immoral aspects of their communal endeavors. In order to counteract the corrupting influence of such settlements, police informers and spies infiltrated communities like Whiteway, reporting back to the authorities on the "promiscuous sexuality" they witnessed.[lxxxviii]

Conclusion

Many ideal communities saw government agencies and national institutions as characteristic of the constraints they sought to avoid. This tense relationship to modernity caused some to vigorously debate "such points as whether it was lawful to support the state by putting a postage stamp on a letter."[lxxxix] Some actively avoided using postal services altogether, others utilized the mail to disseminate handbooks of alternative living and contraceptive advice. The stockpiling of leaflets and printed matter of the kind noticed by Victor Serge at Stockel in Belgium, often brought

them into conflict with national postal services. The colonies at Llano del Rio in California, and the Ruskin Colony in Tennessee housed printing presses for the express purpose of publishing such material.[xc]

Internal differences usually doomed the settlements from the outset. In many cases insufficient dedication to community commitments like temperance or to an anti-capitalist spirituality would lead ideal colonies to fracture or to schism.[xci] Nevertheless, in the United States in particular, the postal service was also an active agent of suppression, invoking the Comstock laws against colonies that sent "obscene" or scurrilous material through the post. In the case of the anarchist Home Colony at Tacoma in the Pacific Northwest, this led to the closing down of the colony against the background of the moral panic that surrounded the assassination of President McKinley in 1901 by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz.[xcii]

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed a period of prolific community building by radicals, progressives, anarchists and social reformers. Expressive of the communitarian impulses unleashed by the reform movements of the period, these settlements were dedicated to a total transformation of society and nothing less than the reform of human character itself. Traditionally, the history of these settlements has been disaggregated from the broader history of radicalism and anti-vice activism in Britain, Europe, the United States and elsewhere. This chapter has re-examined the role of such communities in the context of late nineteenth century popular politics and reevaluated their significance in relation to the changing moral and political concerns of reformers and anti-reformers at the end of the nineteenth century. Drawing together a number of examples of such settlements, from Whiteway in Gloucestershire in the UK, via the Monte Verità community at Ascona in Switzerland, to the Llano del Rio Colony outside Los Angeles in California, this chapter demonstrates the contemporary late-Victorian hostility to radical land communes, and considers the vision of sexual impropriety that adhered to them. It has also established the transnational impact of these communities, most of which were organized explicitly around agendas for the renovation of

existing societal conventions, both at home and abroad, during a time of rapidly changing values at the *fin de siècle*.

[i] See Alun Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob: Reconstructing the English Farm Labourer, 1870-1914' in *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison*, ed. Malcolm Chase and J.F.C. Harrison, 218-35 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996) and for the practice and popular reception of Ruskin's land reform ideas, H. H. Warner, ed., *Preface to Songs of the Spindle and Legends of the Loom* (London: N.J. Powell and Co., 1889), 7-8.

[ii] Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969 [1895]), 36-8 and Wolfgang Martynkewicz, *Das Zeitalter der Erschöpfung: Die Überforderung des Menschen Durch die Moderne* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2014). For discussion of Nordau's ideas in the British radical press see the *Labour Leader*, September 7, 1895, 3.

[iii] Daniel T. Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Harvard: Cambridge, Mass.), chapter 4.

[iv] See in particular amongst the extensive literature on this subject, Charlotte Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples: The History of a Radical International Movement* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), chapters 2-3; Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1990), chapter 2; Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 82-90 and 158-164; Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), chapters 2-3; and John Alexander Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism and Conservation, 1900-1940* (Stanford: University of California Press, 2007), 11-13. There are contemporary examples of all these concerns in *The Dawn: A Monthly Journal of Progress*, September 1, 1901, 97-8; October 1, 1901, 109; and November 1, 1901, 121-2.

[v] Eric Hobsbawm, *Fractured Times: Culture and Society in the Twentieth Century* (London: Little Brown, 2014), chapter 10.

[vi] August Engelhardt, an extreme German dietary reformer, for example, established a colony in German New Guinea to propagate his plan for an ideal society whose diet consisted solely of coconuts; see August Engelhardt, *A Carefree Future: The New Gospel* (New York: Benedict Lust Publications, 1913), chapter 1.

[vii] See Thomas Lineham, *Modernism and British Socialism* (London: Palgrave, 2012), chapter 4; Chris Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 39-42.

[viii] The literature on Germany and France is the fullest. See Gilbert Merlio, '*Die Reformbewegungen zwischen Progressismus und Konservatismus*', in *Lebensreform: Die Soziale Dynamik der Politischen Ohnmacht*, ed. Marc Cluet and Catherine Repussard, 63-75 (Strasbourg: Francke A. Verlag, 2013).

[ix] See for a survey of the extant literature, Howard P. Segal, *Utopias: A Brief History from Ancient Writings to Virtual Communities* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), chapter 3 and Dennis Hardy, *Utopian England: Community Experiments, 1900-1945* (London: Routledge, 2000), 176-80.

[x] Robert S. Fogarty, *All Things New: American Communes and Utopian Movements, 1860-1914* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), 1.

[xi] See Carey A. Watt, "Physical Culture as Natural Healing': Eugen Sandow's Campaign Against the Vices of Civilization c. 1890-1920," in this volume.

[xii] J. R. White, *Misfit: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1930), 147. "He seems to attract cranks," was one view of Julius Wayland's Ruskin Colony in Tennessee: see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *A Socialist Utopia in the New South: The Ruskin Colonies in Tennessee and Georgia, 1894-1901* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 41.

[xiii] Stewart Grahame, *Where Socialism Failed: An Actual Experiment* (London: John Murray, 1912), 218.

[xiv] Allen Clarke, "The Simple Life," *Teddy Ashton's Northern Weekly*, October 8, 1904, 4.

[xv] W.C. Hart, *Confessions of an Anarchist* (London: E.G. Richards, 1906), 77 and the *Labour Leader*, October 12, 1906, 323.

[xvi] Robin Archer, *Why is there No Labour Party in the United States?* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), 207; Stefan Berger, *The British Labour Party and the German Social Democrats 1900-1931* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), chapters 3-4; and Ross McKibben, *Parties and People: England, 1914-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 140-1.

[xvii] Bonar Thompson, *Hyde Park Orator* (London: G.P. Putnam, 1934), 163. For Orwell on such ideas, see Robert Colls, *George Orwell: English Rebel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 64.

[xviii] Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008), 171.

[xix] Martin Green, *Mountain of Truth: The Counterculture Begins: Ascona, 1900-1920* (Brandeis: University Press of New England, 1986), 236-8 and Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany*, 4-9.

[xx] Victor Bailey, '"In Darkest England and the Way Out": The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement, 1885-1910," *International Review of Social History*, 29 (1984):133-171; Maureen A, Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivism 1890-1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 59-67.

[xxi] Diana Maltz, "Living by Design: C.R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft and Two English Tolstoyan Communities, 1897-1907," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39, no 2 (September 2011): 409-426, 414; and Nordau, *Degeneration*, 41.

[xxii] See the career of the Bristol socialist, Hugh Holmes Gore, in Stephen Yeo, "'A New Life': The Religion of Socialism in Britain, 1883-1896," *History Workshop Journal* 4, no. 1 (1977): 5-56, 45-6.

[xxiii] *The New Order*, November 1, 1899, 171. At the Norton colony outside Sheffield, "all were non-smokers, teetotallers and vegetarians." See the *Sheffield Telegraph*, September 30, 1957, 3.

[xxiv] Guy Aldred, *Dogmas Discarded: An Autobiography of Thought, 1886-1908* 2 vols., (Glasgow: The Strickland Press, 1940 [1908]), vol. 1, 13.

[xxv] For nudism, see Philip Carr-Gomm, *A Brief History of Nakedness* (London: Reaktion, 2012), 151-9, and Maren Möhring, "The German Nudist Movement and the Normalisation of the Body," in *Normalising Diversity*, ed. Peter Becker (San Domenico: EUI Working Paper HEC No. 20003/5), 45-63; for temperance campaigns see Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1994 [1971]), 34-5 and chapter 17; and for vegetarianism, James Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 23 and 96-8.

[xxvi] J. Ramsay MacDonald, "A Plea for Puritanism," *The Socialist Review*, 8 (1912), 423. Also see for puritanism in the early Labour Party, the *Labour Leader*, June 29, 1906, 93 and Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain* (London: Verso, 1998), 276-322.

[xxvii] Herbert N. Casson, "Life in Ruskin," *The New Time*, November 1, 1898, 220 and *The New York Herald*, June 27, 1897, 1. For the New England Puritan tradition in community-building, see Lewis G. Wilson, "Milford and Hopedale," *New England Magazine*, 27 (1902), 498-502.

[xxviii] Grahame, *Where Socialism Failed,* 19 and *The Clarion,* January 6, 1900, 3 and February 3, 1900, 2.

[xxix] Peter *Latouche, Anarchy! An Authentic Exposition of the Methods of Anarchists and the Aims of Anarchism* (London: Everett and Co. 1908), 135.

[xxx] Mara Folini, *Monte Verità: Ascona's Mountain of Truth* (Berne: Society for the Study of Swiss Art, 2000), 8.

[xxxi] *The Social Democrat*, 5 (1901), 179.

[xxxii] Ibid, 4 (1900), 325.

[xxxiii] *New Order*, June 1, 1899, 86; and for the image of anarchist communes as "a city set on a hill," *New Order*, August 1, 1899, 106.

[xxxiv] Green, *Mountain of Truth,* 123, and for visits by radical intellectuals to the Clousden Hill Colony near Newcastle, Nigel Todd, *Roses and Revolutionaries: The Story of the Clousden*

Hill Free Communist and Co-operative Colony, 1894-1902 (London: People's Publications, 1986), 28-9 and to the Ruskin Colony in Tennessee, *The Coming Nation*, June 12, 1897, 4.

[xxxv] Reuben Ellis, *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism* (Madison, Wisconsin: 2001), 8-16. D.H. Lawrence on a walking tour of the Swiss Alps in 1912 recalled meeting groups of Italian anarchist artisans exiled and on the move from temporary habitation to temporary habitation: see D. H. Lawrence, *Twilight in Italy* (London: Heinemann, 1970 [1956]), 137-9.

[xxxvi] *The Gateway to Freedom: Co-operation in Action at the Llano del Rio Colony* (Llano, California: The Llano del Rio Co-operative Company, n.d.), 3-6.

[xxxvii] Augustin Souchy, *Beware! Anarchist! A Life for Freedom: The Autobiography of Augustin Souchy* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1992 [1977]), 10. See for the impact of customs and border posts, Adam Mckeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalisation of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), chapter 1, and Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chapter 4.

[xxxviii] Green, *Mountain of* Truth, 165.

[xxxix] For the *Wandervogel* tradition, see Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany*, 123-33.

[xl] Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975 [1945]), 13.

[xli] *The New Order*, September 1, 1899, 132.

[xlii] Ibid, 130-31 and the *Labour Annual*, 6 (1900), 115.

[xliii] *Land Nationalisation News*, March 1, 1892, 43.

[xliv] *The Coming Nation*, August 24, 1894, 4 and *The Co-operative News*, October 22, 1898, 1194.

[xlv] Sheila Rowbotham, *Dreamers of a New Day: Women Who Invented the Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 2011), 39-42.

[xlvi] Nellie Shaw, *Whiteway: A Colony in the Cotswolds* (London: C.W. Daniel, 1935), 111.

[xlvii] Salome Hocking, *Belinda the Backward: A Romance off Modern Idealism* (London: A.C. Fifield, 1905), 68.

[xlviii] For further discussion of nakedness see Philippa Levine, "Modernity, Vice, and the Problem of Nakedness," in this volume.

[xlix] Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany*, 15 and 25.

[l] *The Gateway to Freedom*, 19; *The Fairhope Courier*, October 15, 1901, 1; and White, *Misfit*, 146.

[li] Nellie Shaw, *A Czech Philosopher on the Cotswolds being an Account of the Life and Work of Francis Sedlack* (London: C.W. Daniel, 1940), 96.

[lii] J.F.C. Harrison, "Early Victorian Radicals and the Medical Fringe" in *Medical* Fringe *and Medical Orthodoxy, 1750-1850*, ed. W.F. Bynum and R. Porter, 198-215 (London: Croom Helm, 1987). For the use of mesmerism to abate the pain of invasive medical procedures, see the obituary of the former Owenite, E.T. Craig in *Land and Labour*, January 1, 1895, 6.

[liii] Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 121-3 and Folini, *Monte Verità*, 8-10.

[liv] William Alfred Hinds, *American Communities* (Chicago: William H. Kerr, 1902), 226-39. Some American radicals suggested learning from the successful economic practises of groups like the Mormons in Utah, see *The Coming Nation*, August 11, 1896, 2.

[lv] For "vegetarian marriages" see Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 124.

[lvi] *Freedom*, October 1, 1917, 51.

[lvii] Shaw, *Whiteway*, 131. One visitor to the anarchist colony at Whiteway, however, detected a generational rebellion by children against parents in free love unions: see W. Byford-Jones, *Both Sides of the Severn* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1932), 6. This visitor also recorded an instance of polygamy at the colony (p. 4).

[lviii] Brundage, *A Socialist Utopia in the New South*, 64-67, *Freedom*, August 1, 1899, 61 and the *Co-operative News*, November 19, 1898, 1281.

[lix] Grahame, *Where Socialism Failed*, 52-6.

[lx] David Goldstein and Martha Moore Avery, *Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children* (Boston: Thomas J. Flynn and Co., 1911), 152-227.

[lxi] Daphne du Maurier, "Monte Verità," in *The Apple Tree: A Short Novel and Some Stories* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1952), 9-81.

[lxii] Rowbotham, *Dreamers of a New Day*, 58-64.

[lxiii] Ibid, chapter 3.

[lxiv] For example, the feminist Ida Hoffman was a founder of the Monte Verità community at Ascona, Nellie Shaw defended the reputation of Whiteway, and the writer Mary Gilmore hoped for a later vindication of the New Australia colony in Paraguay. See Follini, *Monte Verità*, 5-8, Nellie Shaw, *Whiteway*, 8-9 and Mary Gilmore, *Old Days, Old Ways: A Book of Recollections* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1934), 82-3.

[lxv] Philip Lockley, *Visionary Religion and Radicalism in Early Industrial England: From Southcott to Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 241. For French anarchism, see Richard D. Storr, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), chapter 10.

[lxvi] Peter Washington, *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon: Theosophy and the Emergence of the Western Guru* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1992), 7 and Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 31-50.

[lxvii] See 'Theosophical Humbug' in *Freedom*, January 1, 1926, 1 and for debates about spiritualism in American radical circles, Christine Ferguson, *Determined Spirits: Eugenics, Heredity and Racial Regeneration in Anglo-American Spiritualist writings, 1848-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), chapter 1. The best study of plebeian spiritualism in Britain remains, Logie Barrow, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850-1910* (London: Routledge, 1986), chapters. 1-3.

[lxviii] Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 123, and for the popularity of Wagner in radical circles, see the *Labour Leader*, May 22, 1913, 10.

[lxix] Percy Redfern, *Journey to Understanding* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1941), 41. For discussion of Buddhism see the *New Order*, December 1, 1898. 121-3 and of the Koran, *Teddy Ashton's Northern Weekly*, December 10, 1904, 4. For Theosophy, see Mark Bevir, "Theosophy as a Political Movement," in *Gurus and their Followers: New Religious Reform Movements in Colonial India*, ed. Antony Copley, 159-205 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[lxx] Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 65.

[lxxi] Shaw, *A Czech Philosopher on the Cotswolds*, 66

[lxxii] Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter*, 149-61. Rowbotham alludes to Carpenter's "guru-like persona," 239.

[lxxiii] Gregory, *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, 108; Washington, *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon*, 88-9; and *Teddy Ashton's Northern Weekly*, May 14, 1904, 5.

[lxxiv] See the theosophist connections of many campaigners for Indian self-government described in the entry on "David Pole," in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, 13 volumes, ed. Keith Gildart and David Howell (London: Palgrave, 2010), 13: 304-5.

[lxxv] For Gandhi, his time spent in theosophical circles in London, and his community experiments, see Kathryn Tidrick, *Gandhi: A Political and Spiritual Life* (London: I.B.

Tauris, 2000), 2-41, 69-71 and 95-7; and Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, 207-9. For his visit to Whiteway, see James D. Hunt, *An American Looks at Gandhi: Essays in Satyagraha, Civil Rights and Peace* (New Delhi: Promilla and Co., 2005), 43.

[lxxvi] The term "godless eden" was used to describe William Lane's "New Australia" community in Paraguay in Grahame, *Where Socialism Failed*, 146.

[lxxvii] See Jane Eva Baxter and Andrew H. Bullen, "'The World's Most Perfect Town': Negotiating Class, Labour and Heritage in the Pullman Community, Chicago," in *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Paul Shackel and Gary Campbell, 249-65 (London: Routledge, 2011).

[lxxviii] For the popularity of Esperanto see *Freedom*, May 1, 1907, 23 and May 1, 1917, 27; the *Labour Leader*, January 17, 1908, 46; and *The Esperantist*, November 1, 1903, 1-2. For Ebenezer Howard's mastery of Esperanto see Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Place: The History and Future of the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 164.

[lxxix] See, for example, Shaw, *Whiteway*, 61.

[lxxx] Brundage, *A Socialist Utopia in the New South*, 128.

[lxxxi] See *Reynolds's Newspaper*, August 26, 1900, 1 and September 9, 1900, 1; Shaw, *Whiteway*, 105; *New Order*, June 1, 1899, 6 and Valerie Groves, *Laurie Lee: The Well-loved Stranger* (London: Viking, 1999), 25-6.

[lxxxii] See for such affrays at the Whiteway colony in Gloucestershire, Shaw, *Whiteway*, 118, Latouche, *Anarchy!*, 136 and White, *Misfit*, 146.

[lxxxiii] The Norton colony outside Sheffield closed when the local landowner objected to political meetings at the site; see the *Sheffield Telegraph*, September 30, 1957, 3. For attacks on the Blaricum colony, see Lucien Descaves, "*La Clarière de Vaux,*" *Le Journal*, June 7, 1903. Cutting in the Jules Prudhommeaux Papers, 108, International Institute for the Study of Social History, Amsterdam, and for the dissolution of the Llano community, Aldous Huxley, *Adonis and the Alphabet and Other Essays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956), 100 and *The Llano Colonist*, July 4, 1925, 8-9 and July 18, 1925, 7.

[lxxxiv] See Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward, *Arcadia for All: The Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape* (London: Mansell, 1984), 4.

[lxxxv] A.G. Higgins, *A History of the Brotherhood Church* (Brotherhood Church: Stapleton, nr Pontefract, 1982), 24. Anti-census activism was a feature of the direct action politics of the period, notably amongst the suffragettes: see Jill Liddington, *Vanishing for the Vote:*

Suffrage, Citizenship and the Battle for the Census (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

[lxxxvi] Higgins, a History of the Brotherhood Church, 22 and Redfern, *Journey to Understanding*, 94.

[lxxxvii] For the popular fears that often surrounded anarchist refugees resident in such colonies, see Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), chapter 2 and Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), chapter 5.

[lxxxviii] Home Office papers, (HO/144/6633), "Disturbances and Aliens Committee," May 22, 1926.

[lxxxix] White, *Misfit*, 146. For a recent study of the significance of postal services for the creation of the modern state, see Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), chapters, 2-3.

[xc] Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, 12-13, *The Gateway to Freedom*, 20, *The Coming Nation*, July 16, 1896, p. 4 and Jason D. Martinek, *Socialism and Print Culture in America, 1897-1920* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 88-9.

[xci] Some of the earliest schisms at the New Australia colony in Paraguay were in relation to the consumption of alcohol, see Grahame, *Where Socialism Failed*, 96-97 and the *Labour Annual*, vol., 2 (1897), 104. For a fuller treatment of the New Australia colony, see Antony Taylor, "'We Dream our Dream Still': Ruralism, Empire and the Debate about New Australia in Britain," *Labour History Review*, 77 (2012): 163-87. In the United States the Workingmen's Co-operative Colony in Kansas, the Equality Colony in Washington State and the Ruskin Colony in Tennessee, all ruptured after arguments about insufficient dedication to the principles of socialism: see Gary R. Entz, *Llewellyn Castle: A Worker's Cooperative on the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), chapters 3-5, G. E. Pelton, 'Equality's Struggle for an Existence', *Industrial Freedom*, May 22, 1899, 1-2 and Ernest S. Wooster, *Communities of the Past and the Present* (New Llano, La., 1924), 44-5.

[xcii] See Sidney Fine, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," *The American Historical Review*, 60 (1955): 777-99.