

CHAPTER III

The Fourierist Period

I.—CHARLES FOURIER: HIS LIFE AND THEORIES

CHARLES FOURIER was born on the 7th day of February, 1772, at Besançon, in France.

At a very early age he showed a strong inclination for observation and study, his favorite topics being geography, astronomy, chemistry, and physics.

As the son of a wealthy merchant, he was himself destined for a mercantile career. But the boy had no love for commerce. The practises and tricks of trade were repugnant to his upright instincts; he succeeded but poorly in the "noble art of lying, or the skill to sell," as he termed it, and, altho he changed several positions in his early youth, the verdict of his employers was invariably the same—"an honest young man, but not fit for business." At the age of eighteen, Fourier undertook an extended tour through France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium in the interests of his employers, and he took advantage of the opportunity to study the climate of these countries, the architecture of their principal cities, and, above all, the industries, social conditions, mode of life and character of their inhabitants.

In 1781 the elder Fourier died, leaving a fortune of about 200,000 francs, of which Charles received two-fifths, and only after the death of the taciturn philosopher his friends learned that he had lost that inheritance during the siege of Lyons in 1793.

In 1812 Fourier received a small legacy from his mother, from which he derived a yearly income of 900 francs, and, supplementing the little annuity with his occasional earnings as a curbstone broker, he abandoned his mercantile pursuits and devoted himself entirely to the study of social problems.

The first known product of his pen was an essay published in 1803, in the *Bulletin de Lyon*, under the title "Triumvirat continental et paix perpetuelle sous trente ans" ("The Continental Triumvirate and Perpetual Peace Within Thirty Years"). In this essay Fourier developed the idea that it was necessary for the interests of a lasting peace to establish a universal empire in Europe. The four European powers to be considered in connection with such an empire were, in his opinion, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, of which, however, the latter would be vanquished in a single battle. The triumvirate and lasting peace then became possible, but should the three empires not agree, Austria would soon be absorbed, and the contest for the universal dominion would lie between France and Russia, with the chances of victory in favor of the latter. The article was said to have attracted the attention of Napoleon, who warned the publishers not to print similar sentiments in the future.

In 1808 he published his first large work under the title "The Theory of the Four Movements and of the General Destinies," which was followed by his "Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association, or Theory of Universal Harmony," in 1822; the "New Industrial World," in 1829; and two volumes of "False Industry, and its Antidote, Natural, Attractive Industry," published in 1835 and 1836.

Of these works, the first contained a general outline of his social system, and the others were devoted to a fortification of its several points and parts.

The social system of Fourier is the most ingenious and elaborate scheme presented by any utopian writer, and it is impossible to appreciate the movement to which it gave rise on two continents without a knowledge of the leading features of that system.

Fourier is the apostle of social harmony.

Unlike most utopians, his starting-point in the criticism of the present order of things is not the injustice of the distribution of social wealth, or the suffering of the poor, but

the anarchy and wastefulness of modern production, and the repellent condition of labor. He does not address himself to the sentiments of man, but to their material interests. His battle-cry is not "Justice," but "Order," and the general prosperity and happiness of mankind is but an incident of the universal harmony of his system, not its primary aim.

God created the universe on a uniform and harmonious plan, argues Fourier, hence there is a harmonious connection between everything existing; between organic and inorganic matter, between man and God, man and the globe, and the globe and the universe. Endowing man with certain instincts and passions, God intended the free and full exercise of these instincts and passions, and not their suppression. Hence all human passions are legitimate and useful, and an ideal state of society is such as affords to its members a full opportunity to gratify them.

Fourier thereupon proceeds to analyze the human passions, and finds them to be twelve in number, as shown in the following table, reproduced from Brisbane's "Social Destiny":

Five sensitive pas- sions	{ Sight Hearing Smell Taste Touch	} <i>Tendencies.</i> Elegance, riches, and material har- monies	} Collective tendency.
Four affective pas- sions	{ Friendship Love Ambition Paternity		
Three distributive or directing pas- sions	{ Emulative Alternating Composite	} Series and con- cert of masses	

Of these, the first five, if properly exercised, tend to elegance, refinement, the cultivation of all fine arts, and to physical health and enjoyment.

The four "passions" of the second group tend to establish well-balanced and harmonious social relations between

* "Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Reorganization of Industry," by Albert Brisbane, 1840.

man and man, and are, therefore, also designated Social Passions.

The three passions of the third group are of Fourier's own creation, and require some explanation. The tenth, or Emulative Spirit, called by Fourier the *Cabaliste*, is the spirit of party, intrigue, or rivalry. Exercised in a legitimate manner, as in the rivalry of groups for the excellence of their productions, it is a source of great industrial improvements and inventions. The eleventh, or Alternating Passion, called the *Papillione*, in the technical language of Fourierism, is the desire for change and variety in all pursuits. Applied to industry, it would destroy the monotony of the present methods of work, and make the latter pleasant and attractive. The twelfth, or Composite Passion, is the spirit of enthusiasm begotten by a combination of two passions of different groups, as, for instance, hearing excellent music in company of dear friends, which gratifies both the sense of hearing and sense of friendship. Applied to industry, it signifies the association of congenial persons for the performance of a pleasant and attractive work.

The free play of these passions leads to the formation of *Groups* and *Series*.

A Group is "an assemblage of persons—three, seven, twelve, or more—freely and spontaneously united for any purpose, either of business or pleasure. But in strict theory, we understand by Group a mass leagued together from identity of taste for the exercise of some branch of Industry, Science, or Art."*

A full Group should consist of at least seven persons, so that it could form three Subgroups, three in the center, and two in each wing. The two wings of each Group represent two opposite extremes of taste and tendencies, while the center maintains the equilibrium, and, therefore, should be the more numerous.

A number of Groups, at least five, unite into a Series.

*The quotation is from Brisbane.

The Series is made up of Groups on the same principle upon which the latter are made up of individuals.

For instance, a cattle-breeding Series is divided into as many Groups as the kinds of cattle it breeds, and each Group is divided into Subgroups for every variety of cattle within the breed raised by the Group.

It must be observed that the Series and Groups are not formed arbitrarily by an overseer or superintendent, but by the free choice of the members, and also that they are by no means fixed organizations, but that each member may go from Group to Group, from Series to Series, as his inclinations dictate.

The great advantages which Fourier sees in this mode of work are the choice and variety of occupations, and short duration of each; the choice of congenial fellow workers; the division of labor and rivalry between the separate Groups and Series.

To these natural advantages Fourier adds some artificial attractions, such as elegance and beauty of all exterior objects connected with industry; honorary distinctions, such as ranks, titles, and decorations; and the stimulus of music, uniforms, and emblems.

To provide for a field broad enough to allow every one to exercise usefully his varied inclinations by means of Groups and Series, a number of individuals, preferably 1,800 to 2,000, must associate together.

This association, named the Phalanx, is the social unit in the system of Fourier; it is the corner-stone of his theory, and its workings are described by him with great detail. The domain of the Phalanx occupies an area of about three square miles, and its principal edifice is the Palace. The Palace consists of a double line of continuous buildings about 2,200 feet in length and three stories in height; like the Group and the Series, it is composed of a center and two wings. The center is reserved for quiet occupations; it contains the dining-halls, council-rooms, library, etc.;

in one of the wings all workshops of a noisy nature are located, and the other wing contains the hotel with apartments and saloons for strangers. The storehouses, granaries, and stables are placed opposite the Palace, and the space between the two forms the grand square, where parades and festivities are held. Around the interior of the entire building winds a spacious gallery, which is, so to say, the street of the Phalanx. It is an elegant covered avenue, from which flights of stairs lead to every part of the building. "The inhabitants of the Palace," exclaims Fourier with enthusiasm, "can, in the height of winter, communicate with the workshops, stables, bazaars, and ballrooms without knowing whether it rains or blows, whether it is warm or cold."

Behind the Palace are the gardens and fields of the Phalanx, arranged with due regard to the nature of the soil and sense of beauty.

In the Phalanx there are no parasites, as servants, armies, fiscal agents, idlers, etc. The women are freed from their monotonous and stultifying household duties, and do useful work in a number of branches for which they are exceptionally well adapted.

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↓ All members work, and all work is done on the cooperative plan, hence the enormous economies and great wealth of the Phalanxes. Let us suppose a Phalanx consists of 400 families. Each family, living separately, would have to maintain a separate kitchen. This would take almost all the time of 400 housewives, and the cooking would be pretty bad in most cases; in the Phalanx all the cooking is done in one vast kitchen, with three or four fires for preparing the food for different tables at different prices; ten skilled cooks perform all the work, and the meals are infinitely better. The same applies to all other household work, as well as to farming and industrial pursuits. Instead of a hundred milkmen who lose a hundred days in the city, one or two are substituted, with properly constructed vehicles to

perform their work; instead of having to manage a hundred little farms, one great domain is being cultivated skilfully and scientifically; one large granary, with all advantages of dryness, ventilation, and locality, is substituted for hundreds of inconvenient little granaries, etc.

The education of the children is the object of the greatest care of the Phalanx. All children receive an equal education in the common nurseries and schools. True to the theory of the usefulness of all human passions, the Phalanx considers it the principal duty of teachers to detect all inclinations and tendencies of the child, to develop them, and to turn them to good account.

The classification of children according to character and taste commences from the very birth. The sucklings are divided into three classes: the quiet, or good-natured; the restless, or noisy; and the turbulent, or intractable; and separate rooms are maintained for each of the classes. The nurseries are large, beautiful rooms, and the work of nursing is done by women who have an inclination for it. Mothers may personally nurse their children, if they wish.

The children are divided into seven orders according to age, and the education and pursuits of each order are determined by the inclinations manifested at the particular age.

At the age of three years the child is initiated in easy and attractive industrial pursuits, such as helping in the kitchen, and thus the energies usually wasted by children on play and mischief are being utilized by the Phalanx, while the child acquires an early taste for industry.

As the child advances in age and attains a higher degree of physical development and intellectual culture, the scope of its useful activities is enlarged. Especially noteworthy in this respect is the organization of the "Little Hordes."

The Little Hordes are composed of children of the age of from ten to twelve years, who take upon themselves the performance of all filthy and disagreeable work, such as cleaning sinks and sewers, the management of manures, etc.

The reason why this work is assigned by Fourier to children of that age is, as he observes, that they show a marked passion for filth and dirt; this passion, like any other, is given them for a useful purpose, which can best be accomplished by the organization of "Little Hordes." The Little Hordes rank as the "Militia of God" in the service of Industrial Unity; they hold the first place in parades, and receive the salute of supremacy.

With all that, however, the Phalanx is not a communistic organization. Seven-eighths of the members of a Phalanx are farmers and mechanics, the balance being composed of capitalists, men of science, and artists. The property of the Phalanx is represented by shares of stock, but it is not necessary for every member to hold stock, nor need a stockholder be a member. The Phalanx keeps accounts with every member, crediting him for his services at rates fixed by the council, with due regard to his efficiency and the nature of the services. At the end of the year an inventory is taken, and the profits are divided as follows:

Five-twelfths to labor.

Four-twelfths to capital.

Three-twelfths to skill or talent.

No jealousy or antagonism is created by this division of profits, as there are no fixed classes in the Phalanx. The same member holds one or more shares in the Phalanx, does work in one or more Groups, and develops special skill in one or more branches of industry, and thus shares in all three classes of profits. On the other hand, the capitalist is either satisfied with the mere dividends on his investment, or he adds to it such income as he may earn by applying his labor or talents to any useful pursuit, while the poor man works and earns more or less according to his preference for leisure or enjoyment.

The Phalanx contains sumptuous apartments as well as modest living-rooms; it furnishes elaborate repasts as well as simple meals; it imposes no restrictions on clothing or

amusements, and every member may lead a mode of life in accordance with his means and inclinations.

This, in rough outlines, is the positive side of Fourier's system. Its author expected his system to supersede the present order of things gradually. The first Phalanx being established, others would follow in rapid succession until the entire globe would be covered with them, and Fourier, with his wonted mathematical accuracy, figures out that the globe would hold exactly two millions of Phalanxes.

Here Fourier, as many utopians before and after him, is carried away by the beauties and possibilities of his own social theories, and crowns his system with a fanciful superstructure. The system of Phalanxes, he asserts, will ultimately unite the entire human race into one brotherhood, with a uniform civilization and mode of life, and with one universal language. Constantinople will be the capital of the globe, and the residence of the Omniarch, the chief executive of the world. The Omniarch will be assisted in the administration of the globe by 3 Augusts, 12 Cæsarinas, 48 Empresses, 144 Kalifs, 576 Sultans, etc., altho it nowhere appears what useful functions this host of royalties is to perform.

But the most fantastic part of Fourier's system is his theory of cosmogony. Each planet, he declares, has its period of youth, development, decay, and death, in the same way as man. The average life of the planet is 80,000 years, of which the period of infancy lasts 5,000 years, that of ascending and descending development 35,000 years each, and that of senility 5,000 years. Within that period the human race passes through thirty-two periods. We are now in the fifth of these periods, that of Civilization. The eighth period, that of Harmony, will bring about universal happiness. The polar crown (*couronne boreal*) will then originate, and will revolutionize the physical aspect of the globe; the climate will be uniform all over the world, the wild beasts will disap-

pear, and new creatures, useful to man, will take their place; the ocean water will acquire the taste of lemonade, and the world will be one huge paradise.

As we showed above, Fourier was not a communist. "No community of property can exist in the Phalanx," he declares expressly, and again and again he reiterates that a diversity of fortune and enjoyments is essential to universal harmony. Of Owen, who was his contemporary, Fourier used to speak with contempt, saying that he did not understand the principles of association. His system is a compromise, a scheme of harmony between capital and labor.

Fourier himself considers his system as absolutely infallible, and compares his "discovery of social attractions" to Newton's discovery of physical attraction. He clings to every detail of his system with the tenacity, belief, and enthusiasms of the prophet, to borrow a happy comparison made by Bebel in his lucid study of Fourier's life and theories.*

That the discovery was not made sooner was simply due to the fact that all previous science, as well as all previous civilization, moved on false lines.

Fourier's faith in the ultimate realization of his scheme was never shaken; he submitted his plans of a model Phalanx to scores of princes and bankers, and was never discouraged by their skepticism or derision. In one of his latest works he appealed for the means of establishing a trial Phalanx, and, during the ten years preceding his death, he went to his house at noontime with the regularity of clockwork, expecting the arrival of a philanthropic millionaire in response to his appeal.

Fourier did not live to see the short period of popularity of his theories. He died in Paris on the 10th day of October, 1837, surrounded by a very small circle of enthusiastic disciples. His tombstone bears this legend:

*"Charles Fourier, Sein Leben und Seine Theorien," Von A. Bebel, Stuttgart, 1890.

“Here lie the remains of Charles Fourier. The Series distribute the harmonies. The Attractions stand in relation to the destinies.”

II.—FOURIERISM IN THE UNITED STATES

IN the United States Fourierism was introduced by Albert Brisbane.

Brisbane was born in 1809, the only son of a well-to-do landowner, at Batavia, N. Y. He received a thorough and many-sided education, and spent his early manhood in travel in the principal countries of Europe and Asia. He studied philosophy in Paris under Cousin, and in Berlin under Hegel, and in both capitals he made the acquaintance of many men and women prominent in politics and in the republic of letters.

Of great influence in the formation of his character and views seems to have been the select circle of Berlin's intellectual aristocracy, which had for its gathering-point the drawing-room of the brilliant Mme. Varnhagen von Ense.

Of a keen analytical mind and broad sympathies, Brisbane was early attracted by the humanitarian systems of the utopian socialists of that time.

He first enlisted with the St. Simonian school, and devoted much of his time and means to the propaganda of its principles. But the theories of the great French utopian, extravagant in many respects, did not satisfy him long, and when the movement split under the rival leadership of Enfantin and Bazard, Brisbane severed his connections with it.

It was a short time after that, that a copy of the newly published “Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association,” by Fourier, fell into his hands.

The effect of the book on the young man was magical. He read it and reread it, and the more he studied it, the higher rose his admiration for the work.

“Now, for the first time,” relates Brisbane in his autobi-

ography,* "I had come across an idea which I had never met before—the idea of *dignifying* and *rendering attractive* the manual labor of mankind; labor hitherto regarded as a divine punishment inflicted on man. To introduce attraction into this sphere of commonplace, degrading toil—the dreary lot of the masses—which seemed to overwhelm man with its prosaic, benumbing, deadening influence; to elevate such labors, and invest them with dignity, was indeed a mighty revolution!"

In 1832 Brisbane went to Paris, where he remained two years studying the more intricate parts of Fourier's system, partly under the personal guidance of the master, and taking active part in the Fourierist movement, which was then just commencing to develop. Upon his return to the United States, Brisbane carried on the propoganda of his social ideas in a quiet way until 1840, when he published his "Social Destiny of Man." The work is a concise exposition of Fourier's system. About one equal half of it consists of extracts from Fourier's work, while the other half is devoted to the author's commentaries and illustrations, suitable to American conditions. The style of the work is popular, the exposition lucid, and the book had an immense and spontaneous success. It was read by all classes of persons interested in social problems, and may be said to have laid the foundation for the Fourierist movement in this country.

It was also instrumental in converting to the cause of Fourierism the man who subsequently became its most eloquent and influential apostle—Horace Greeley. Of this interesting episode Brisbane gives the following amusing account:

"I engaged Parke Benjamin to look over the proof-sheets of 'Social Destiny of Man,' he being a practical journalist of wide experience.

"Talking over the subject together one day, and of the

* "Albert Brisbane, A Mental Biography," by his Wife, Redelia Brisbane, Boston, 1893.

probable effect of the book on the public, he suddenly exclaimed: 'There is Horace Greeley, just damned fool enough to believe such nonsense.' 'Who is Greeley?' I asked. 'Oh, he is the young man up-stairs editing the *New Yorker*.'

"I took my book under my arm and off I went to Greeley.

"As I entered his room I said, 'Is this Mr. Greeley?' 'Yes.' 'I have a book here I would like you to read.' 'I don't know that I can now,' he replied; 'I am very busy.' 'I wish you would,' I urged; 'if you will, I will leave it.' 'Well,' he said, 'I am going to Boston to-night, and I'll take it along; perhaps I'll find time.'

"Greeley took the book with him and read it, and when he came back he was an enthusiastic believer in Industrial Association."

The importance of the new acquisition for the cause of Fourierism in this country soon became manifest; two years after the episode narrated, when the *Tribune*, founded in the mean time by Greeley, had become a popular and influential metropolitan newspaper, with a daily circulation exceeding 20,000, which was very large for that time, its editor opened the columns of the paper to the teachings of Brisbane.

The arrangement was carried out in a rather original way.

One spring morning in 1842 the *Tribune* appeared with this heading conspicuously printed on the top of one of the columns of its front page:

"ASSOCIATION; OR, PRINCIPLES OF A TRUE ORGANIZATION
OF SOCIETY.

"This column has been purchased by the Advocates of Association, in order to lay their principles before the public. Its editorship is entirely distinct from that of the *Tribune*."

Both sides profited by the arrangement, for while Brisbane acquired a large daily audience for the propaganda of his theories, the *Tribune* gained an additional circle of read-

ers among persons interested in social problems. Brisbane edited the column until he went again to Europe, in the summer of 1844, and he made good use of the opportunity. Theoretical articles on Fourierism, practical hints as to the best way of organizing associations, fervid appeals to the readers, controversial arguments and accounts of meetings, filled the space allotted to Brisbane, from day to day.

"At first," relates Parton,* "they seem to have attracted little attention, and less opposition. They were regarded (as far as my youthful recollection serves) in the light of articles to be skipped, and by most of the city readers of the *Tribune*, I presume, they were skipped with the utmost regularity, and quite as a matter of course. Occasionally, however, the subject was alluded to editorially, and every such allusion was of a nature to be read. Gradually Fourierism became one of the topics of the time. Gradually certain editors discovered that Fourierism was unchristian. Gradually the cry of Mad Dog arose. Mean while the articles of Mr. Brisbane were having their effect upon the people."

Horace Greeley's services to the cause of Fourierism were not limited to the passive act of lending some space in his paper. He wrote and spoke on the subject of Associations whenever and wherever occasion presented itself; and he took an active and leading part in the councils and conventions of the Fourierists, and in the attempts to realize their theories by the formation of Phalanxes.

Of lasting interest is the famous discussion on Fourierism carried on between Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond in the columns of the *Tribune* and the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. The debate was conducted with much spirit and ability on both sides, and was afterward published as a separate pamphlet.

Next in importance to Brisbane and Greeley in the movement was Parke Godwin, associate editor of the *Evening*

* J. Parton, "Life of Horace Greeley," Boston, 1869.

Post, and son-in-law of its editor-in-chief, the poet, William Cullen Bryant. His pamphlet, *Democracy, Constructive and Pacific*, which appeared in 1843, became one of the most effective weapons in the literary arsenal of Fourierism. The pamphlet contained but little more than fifty pages, but in brilliancy of style, power of argument, and soundness of views, it excelled everything else written in this country in defense of Fourierism. Parke Godwin was one of the first American socialists to divine the tendencies of the capitalist mode of production, and he came very near the modern socialist conception of the class struggle. His appeal was addressed principally to the working men. Godwin also published a booklet, entitled "Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier," and a "Life of Charles Fourier."

Of equal importance with these standard works on Fourierism were the periodical magazines devoted to the cause. In October, 1843, Brisbane established the *Phalanx*, a monthly magazine edited by him, with the able cooperation of Osborne Macdaniel. It was published until the middle of 1845. When Brook Farm was converted to Fourierism, the *Phalanx* suspended publication, and its place was taken by the *Harbinger*.

The *Harbinger* was a weekly magazine. It was published at Brook Farm, and, after the dissolution of the community, in New York.

The conversion of Brook Farm added a new galaxy of brilliant writers to the cause of Fourierism.

One of the foremost of them was the founder of Brook Farm, George Ripley, a man of profound scholarship and of exceptional qualities of mind and heart. He was a Unitarian minister, but after fourteen years of work in the pulpit he came to the conclusion that his profession was incompatible with his social and ethical views, and resigned from the ministry. Having become converted to Fourierism, he devoted himself entirely to the cause. The *Harbinger*, during the four years of its existence, contained no less than 315 contri-

butions from his pen. Charles A. Dana was another notable acquisition of the Fourierist movement. At that time he was a very young man, but sober and serious in all he undertook. His thorough training and methodical ways earned for him the nickname of "Professor" among his associates. Dana contributed 248 articles to the *Harbinger*.

But the most prolific writer on the staff of the *Harbinger* was John S. Dwight, who heads the list of contributors with 324 articles. Dwight, who, like Ripley, had studied for the ministry, and, like the latter, voluntarily abandoned the pulpit, was a poet, a lover and connoisseur of fine letters and music, and, withal, a man responsive to all appeals of human sufferings and wants.

Prominent in the Fourierist movement of that time was also William Henry Channing, a Unitarian minister famed for his eloquence.

Of other men and women of national fame whose names are identified with the Fourierist movement in this country, we may mention Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Henry James, James Russell Lowell, Francis G. Shaw, and Margaret Fuller, all of whom, with the exception of the three first named, were contributors to the *Harbinger*.

The *Phalanx* and the *Harbinger* were the classical organs of Fourierism, but they were not its only representatives in the field of periodical literature. In his autobiography already alluded to, Brisbane mentions a weekly magazine run by him in conjunction with Greeley before the establishment of the *Tribune*. The magazine lasted but two months. Brisbane at one time also succeeded in getting the editorial management of the *Chronicle*, a small daily newspaper published in New York by one John Moore, and of a monthly magazine, called the *Democrat*, published by John O'Sullivan. Both papers were converted into ardent advocates of Fourierism.

Besides, the Fourierists of Wisconsin published the

Gleaner, those of Michigan issued a paper called the *Future*, and William Henry Channing published the *Present*.

Another effective factor in the spread of Fourieristic doctrines in this country were the public lectures held by the pioneers of the movement with great frequency. Brisbane, Greeley, Channing, Godwin, Dana, and a host of orators of minor renown, were ever ready to extol the beauties of Association before audiences of any dimensions and in any place within reach. Here is a characteristic notice of one of such meetings published in the *Tribune*, and quoted by Sotheran: *

“T. W. Whitley and H. Greeley will address such citizens of Newark as choose to hear them on the subject of ‘Association,’ at 7: 30 o’clock this evening, at the Relief Hall, rear of J. M. Quimby’s Repository.”

Extended lecture tours were also undertaken at different times by leading Fourierists, notably by John Allen, John Orvis, and Charles A. Dana, and these lectures and speeches, in a majority of cases, attracted crowds of eager listeners.

The time was exceptionally propitious for the reception of their doctrines. The country was just passing through one of those periodical crises which, when they occur, seem to menace the very foundation of our economic and industrial system. Production had almost ceased, hosts of working men were thrown out of employment, the misery of the population, especially in the industrial cities of the Northeast, was appalling, and vagrancy developed with alarming rapidity.

Charitable organizations and official commissions, appointed for that purpose by several municipalities and States, tried in vain to cope with the situation: it had grown beyond their control. The nation stood bewildered and helpless before the mischievous workings of the blind economic powers. The complacent social philosophy of thousands of thinking men and women was rudely shaken by the mani-

* “Horace Greeley, and Other Pioneers of American Socialism,” by Charles Sotheran, New York, 1892.

festations of the crisis, and scores of new social problems were forced upon their attention.

At the same time the antislavery agitation was just commencing to assume serious dimensions, and, as has happened with almost every liberating movement, it soon transcended its original aim and bounds. The denunciations of chattel slavery logically led to the criticism of all other forms of social dependence of men. "Abolition of chattel slavery and of wage slavery" was one of the mottoes of the more radical part of the abolitionist movement, and the key-note of the eloquent appeals of Wendell Phillips and many other popular agitators of the time.

It was at that juncture that Fourierism made its appearance in the United States. It promised to bring permanent order and harmony into industry, and mutual independence in the social relations of men. The promises were bright and alluring, and they were preached by most eloquent tongues. No wonder then that the movement spread rapidly in this country.

Numerous Fourierist societies were formed in the States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan. In all these States local conventions were held from time to time, and on the fourth day of April, 1844, a National Convention of Associationists was held. The convention assembled at Clinton Hall, New York, and it was a most noteworthy and enthusiastic gathering. George Ripley was chosen president, and among the vice-presidents were Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Parke Godwin, and Charles A. Dana.

Letters of sympathy and encouragement were received from all parts of the country. Numerous resolutions were adopted, the most of them dealing with the subject of organizing associations. Associations on the plan of Fourier's phalanxes were declared to be the universal remedy for all social evils, but the adherents were at the same time warned

against experiments undertaken on too small a scale or with insufficient preparations.

The convention also decided to form a permanent National Confederation of Associations, with the *Phalanx* as its official organ, and with a standing executive committee of eighteen. It also declared in favor of international cooperation of Associationists, and appointed Albert Brisbane a committee to confer with the Fourierists of Europe as to the best mode of mutual cooperation.

The period immediately preceding and following the National Convention may be regarded as the high-water mark in the Fourierist movement in this country; in the next chapter we shall witness its decline.

III.—FOURIERIST PHALANXES

FOURIER early foresaw the danger of hasty experiments for the progress of his movement. He declared that a phalanx could not unfold its benefits and beauties, and could not be made a success, unless it had a membership of 1,500 to 2,000 persons, and a capital of about 1,000,000 francs, and to the end of his life he strenuously discountenanced all trials on a smaller scale.

Brisbane modified the high standard of the master by reducing the number of persons required for the formation of a phalanx to 400.

"The most easy plan for starting an Association," he argued, "would be to induce 400 persons to unite, and take each \$1,000 worth of stock, which would form a capital of \$400,000. The stockholders would receive one-quarter of the total product or profits of the Association; if they preferred, they would receive a fixed interest of 8 per cent. The investment of \$1,000 would yield \$80 annual interest. With this sum the Association must guarantee a person a dwelling and living; and this could be done. The edifice could be built for \$150,000, the interest upon which, at 10

per cent., would be \$15,000. Divide this sum by 400, which is the number of persons, and we have \$37.50 per annum for each person as rent. Some of the apartments would consist of several rooms, and rent for \$100 or less, so that about one-half of the rooms could be rented for \$20 per annum. A person wishing to live at the cheapest rates would have, after paying his rent, \$60 left. As the Association would raise all its fruit, grain, vegetables, cattle, etc., and as it would economize immensely in fuel, number of cooks, and everything else, it could furnish the cheapest-priced board at \$60 per annum. Thus a person who invested \$1,000 would be certain of a comfortable room and board for his interest, if he lived economically, and would have whatever he might produce by his labor in addition. He would live, besides, in an elegant edifice surrounded by beautiful fields and gardens."

Brisbane himself and the other leading Fourierists always clung to this ideal of a large and wealthy Association, and from time to time publicly warned the hotspurs of the movement against hasty experiments with insufficient capital and members.

But very little heed was paid to the warning. The able and persistent propaganda of Associationism had created a popular enthusiasm which soon grew beyond the control of the leaders. Fourierism had taken root in the broad masses of the population, and the masses were impatient to realize the bright promises of the new social gospel on the spot.

Phalanxes grew, as it were, spontaneously. They were undertaken by any number of men, large or small, with any, and sometimes without any, capital, and soon covered all States in which Fourierism had taken a foothold, with a veritable network.

The history of these experiments is one monotonous record of failure. The inherent defects of Fourier's scheme of social organization appeared on the surface as soon as it was put to the test of a practical application. The supposed

strength of the scheme, the compromise between the interests of capital and labor, between cooperation and individualism, was, in fact, a source of great weakness. It robbed the Phalanxes, or at least those of them which attempted to organize on the real Fourieristic plan, of that unity of interest and endeavor which is so absolutely indispensable for a social experiment of that nature, and which alone sustained all successful communities during their early trials and struggles.

But, in justice to Fourierism, it must also be admitted that the instances in which the experiments were undertaken on the lines laid down by Fourier or Brisbane were very few, and that more of the failures are attributable to extraneous factors than to the inherent defects of Fourierism. The men who undertook the experiments were, in many cases, in the testimony of Greeley, "destitute alike of capacity, public confidence, energy, and means," especially of means.

Instead of a capital of \$400,000, one four-hundredth part of it would frequently be all an Association would manage to get together for a start. With that sum it was manifestly hard to purchase the fertile and beautiful "domain" in the vicinity of a populated city, as recommended by the originator of the "Phalanxes."

The experimenters, as a rule, had to satisfy themselves with a small parcel of barren land in the wilderness, and that one heavily mortgaged. The distance from the city, and the scantiness of their means, relegated the settlers to agricultural pursuits exclusively, although very few of them were trained farmers. One or more miserable log huts took the place of the gorgeous social "Palace," and the "attractive industry" dwindled down to a pathetic and wearisome struggle of unskilled and awkward hands against the obstinate viles of a sterile and unyielding soil. The struggle, as a rule, lasted until the first instalment on the mortgage became due, and as the mortgagee was never satisfied with the three-twelfths of the profits allotted to capital by Fourier, the "do-

main" was almost invariably foreclosed. The only Phalanxes that attained some significance, and at one time seemed to justify the expectation of permanent success, were the North American Phalanx in New Jersey, the Brook Farm Phalanx, and The Ceresco, or Wisconsin Phalanx in Wisconsin. Of those the first mentioned lasted fully twelve years, and the career of the other two extended over five and six years respectively. The average life of all other known Phalanxes was about fifteen months. A brief sketch of their history will be found in the next chapters.

The Phalanxes were to Fourierism vastly more than the social experiments of other utopian schools were to their theories. While all the other schools of utopian socialism contemplated a social organization on a national scale, and regarded their communities as mere illustrations and miniature models of the future state, the Fourieristic Phalanxes were the final state; they were to their founders not only means of propaganda, but also the realization of their teaching. The peculiar feature of the Fourierist scheme is that it introduces the state of social happiness and equilibrium by instalments. Every Phalanx is a piece of that social state, realized and complete within its limits, and quite independent of the surrounding world. The Phalanxes thus naturally became the test of Fourierism, and the movement did not survive their failure.

In vain did the American apostles of Fourierism protest that the doctrines of their leader had not had a fair trial, and were in no way responsible for the disasters of the numerous social experiments undertaken in haste and carried out in defiance of the teachings of Fourierism. Their protests were not heeded. To the popular mind, *Fourierism* was synonymous with *Phalanx*, and the failure of the latter was proof of the impracticability of the former. Besides, the industrial depression which had greatly assisted the movement in its formative stages, had passed, and with it, the eagerness for radical social reforms.

Fourierism as a theory retained hold of a number of choice intellects for some time, but as a popular movement it disappeared within the same decade that saw its origin and marvelous development—the decade of 1840–1850.

The further career of the originators and champions of this remarkable movement was of a rather variegated nature. Horace Greeley continued taking an active interest in public life. His *Tribune* was a strong and indefatigable champion of the cause of antislavery from the start and until the final triumph of the cause. He was elected to Congress in 1848, and in 1872 he was nominated for the Presidency of the United States by the "Liberal Republican Party," and indorsed by the Democratic Party. He survived his unsuccessful campaign but a short time, and when he died, on November 29, 1872, thousands of the common people in all parts of the United States mourned the loss of a sincere and devoted friend, and his funeral in the city of New York assumed the dimensions of a gigantic popular demonstration. Greeley remained true to the ideals of his youth to the very end.

Albert Brisbane lived till 1890. He spent much of his time in Europe, and devoted the balance of his life to scholarly and artistic pursuits. His entire being was so absorbed by Fourierism that, when the movement ebbed away, it seemed to have taken with it all his vigor and enthusiasm. His public career was closed, and altho he witnessed the rise of the modern socialist movement at home and abroad, he remained a passive though somewhat sympathetic observer of its progress.

George Ripley devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits. He was a regular contributor on the staff of the *Tribune*, and, together with Charles A. Dana, edited the "American Encyclopædia." He died on July 4, 1880.

Dana also joined the staff of the *Tribune* in 1847. He was Assistant Secretary of War under Stanton during the civil war, and in 1868 he established the *New York Sun*.

His radical social views did not survive the Fourierist movement very long, and in later years he and his paper were consistent and able defenders of everything conservative and reactionary in politics. He died in 1898.

John S. Dwight developed into a musical critic of note, and published *Dwight's Journal of Music* from 1852 to 1881. He died in 1893 at the age of eighty years, a kind-hearted, noble, and enthusiastic old man, surrounded by a host of loving friends.

IV.—THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX

OF all the Fourierist experiments undertaken in this country, the North American came probably nearest to the ideal of a "Phalanx." It was established by a number of earnest and cultured residents of New York and Albany for the purpose of "investigating Fourier's theory of social reform as expounded by Albert Brisbane," as its founders expressed it in their declaration of their objects.

Before starting upon the experiment, the advice of Greeley, Brisbane, Godwin, Channing, and Ripley was sought, and Brisbane was one of the committee to select the site of the proposed Association. The site finally selected was near Red Bank, Monmouth County, New Jersey, and in September, 1843, a few families took possession of the domain and at once set to work erecting a temporary dwelling-house. During the next year the number of actual settlers increased to about ninety.

Within a short time the temporary dwelling-house was replaced by a three-story mansion, with a front of 150 feet and a wing of 150 feet. A grist-mill was built on a stream running through the domain, and other industries were carried on in a small way. The chief pursuit of the Association was, however, agriculture. They planted two immense orchards, occupying about seventy acres, of every variety of choice fruit, and their fields and farms were kept in better

order and yielded better crops than those of their neighbors. The original investment of the Association was \$8,000; on the first annual settlement in 1844 its property was inventoried at \$28,000, and in 1852 it had risen in round figures to \$80,000.

As soon as the industrial and agricultural pursuits of the Association were sufficiently developed, production was carried on by groups and series, and in the distribution of profits, Fourier's law of "equitable proportion" was adopted.

For necessary but repulsive or exhausting labor the highest rate of wages was paid; for useful but less repulsive labor the wages were smaller; and the smallest reward was received by those choosing agreeable pursuits.

Thus men engaged in brickmaking received ten cents an hour, those engaged in agriculture about eight cents, while the waiters and Phalanx physician received six and one-quarter cents per hour. In addition to these wages, however, special rewards were paid for skill and talent displayed in any branch of industry or in the administration of the Association's affairs. Thus the chief of the building group, who had to lay out all plans for work from day to day and to supervise the work, received an extra stipend of five cents a day in addition to his regular earnings. The wages of the members, computed on this complicated system, varied from six to ten cents an hour, the latter figure being regarded as the maximum.

The members were given perfect freedom to choose such occupations as they preferred, and to work as much or little as they liked. They were credited with the amount and kind of labor performed by them every day, and were paid in full every month, the profits being divided at the end of the year. The average earnings of labor upon such division of profits amounted to about \$13 per year, while capital received about five per cent. upon the investment. It will be perceived that the earnings of the members were not large, but then the cost of living in the Phalanx was small in proportion.

The rent of a pretty good-sized, comfortable room in the principal mansion was \$12 per year.

Meals were, in later years, served *à la carte*, coffee being half a cent per cup, including milk; butter, half a cent; meat, two cents; pie, two cents; and other things in proportion. In addition to this, each member paid thirty-six and a half cents per week for the use of the dining-room, and his proportion for the waiting labor and for lighting the room. The waiters marked the charges for every meal in a book kept by each member for that purpose, and settlements were made at the end of every month.

The majority of the members of the Association were people of culture and refinement, and life in the Phalanx was exceedingly pleasant, to judge from the enthusiastic accounts of a number of prominent Fourierists who frequently paid them visits. They had a small reading-room and library, they possessed several musical instruments, and singing, dancing, and merrymaking were the order of the day as soon as their labors in the field or shops were over.

"I have often heard strangers remark upon the cheerfulness and elasticity of spirit which struck them on visiting Brook Farm," writes Ripley, "and I found the same thing strongly displayed in the North American Association." Neidhart, commenting upon the appearance of the members, observes: "There is a serene, earnest love about them all, indicating a determination on their part to abide the issue of the great experiment in which they are engaged. The women appeared to be a genial band, with happy, smiling countenances, full of health and spirits. Such deep and earnest eyes, it seemed to me, I had never seen before."

The education of the children was one of the first cares of the Association, equal attention being paid to their physical and intellectual development.

The North American Phalanx endured over twelve years. It was organized at a time when Fourierism was just commencing to make itself felt, and it saw the movement at its

zenith and in its decline. It witnessed the death of all other Phalanxes around it, and remained alone, the solitary monument of a movement that had given so much promise and had ebbed away so soon. This isolated position could not be maintained very long. The material advantages of the community were but small, and, in the first years of its existence, it was largely kept together by the sustaining influence of the enthusiasm born of a broad and live movement of which it was part, and, when that enthusiasm departed, it took with it the very soul of the Association. To all outward appearances the Phalanx continued its existence in all respects with the accustomed regularity, but beneath the surface the powers of dissolution were already working. Dissensions arose over matters of administration, dissatisfaction was occasionally expressed with the scanty earnings and poor prospects of the Association, and the question of disbanding was but a question of time. The dissolution of the Association was hastened by an accident. In September, 1854, the mill of the Association, built at a cost of about \$12,000, was destroyed by fire. Greeley offered to lend them a sum sufficient to rebuild, and the Association assembled to deliberate upon the offer, and to decide upon the location of the new mill. In the course of the discussion some one suggested that they had better not build at all, but dissolve. The suggestion was quite unexpected and irrelevant to the matter under discussion, but it seemed to express the sentiment secretly entertained by the majority of the members, and upon the vote being put, the Association, to everybody's surprise, determined to dissolve. Thus abruptly terminated the existence of the North American Phalanx. Its property was sold at forced sale, and its shareholders were paid sixty-six cents on the dollar.

V.—BROOK FARM

BROOK FARM is the most brilliant and fascinating page in the otherwise rather monotonous and prosaic history of Fourierist experiments in America.

The Farm attracted the noblest minds and choicest spirits of Fourierism, and lent poetry and charm to the entire movement. And still Brook Farm did not commence its career as a Fourieristic experiment. The origin of Brook Farm is to be found in a philosophical and humanitarian movement which originated in New England about the thirties of the last century, and of which Boston was the intellectual center.

The men and women whose names are most closely associated with that movement were George Ripley and his wife, Sophia Ripley; William Ellery Channing and his nephew, W. H. Channing; Margaret Fuller, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry D. Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John S. Dwight, Elizabeth P. Peabody, and scores of others whose names have since become part of our national history.

They were idealists and enthusiasts, and ardent advocates of all social, political, and religious reforms agitated in their days.

They met at irregular intervals at one another's houses and discussed all possible and impossible problems of philosophy, politics, and religion, and, altho they had no formal organization between themselves, they soon came to be known to the outside world as the "Transcendental Club."

The name was originally intended as an appellation of derision, but, as happened so often in history, it was subsequently adopted and borne with pride by the objects of the intended ridicule.

How the skeptical matter-of-fact critics of the movement understood the term *Transcendentalists* was probably best

expressed by the terse and witty definition of Miss Taylor, who said of them that they "dove into the infinite, soared into the illimitable, and never paid cash." The interpretation placed upon the word by the transcendentalists themselves is, on the other hand, expressed by Ripley in the following language: "We are called Transcendentalists because we believe in an order of truth that transcends the sphere of the external senses. Our leading idea is the supremacy of mind over matter."

The "Transcendental Club" existed several years, and the immediate fruit of its labors was a quarter-annual magazine of high literary standard, called *The Dial*. *The Dial* was published at irregular intervals, and contained many valuable contributions from the gifted pens of the famous men and women connected with the movement.

In 1840 Ripley finally decided to make a practical application of the principles and theories advocated by the transcendentalists. He resigned from the ministry, and, encouraged by a few of the more ardent spirits of the "Club," he set out to establish a community. A location was chosen in the spring of 1841. It was a farm in West Roxbury, about nine miles from Boston. The place was originally a milk farm, and belonged to one Mr. Ellis. It consisted of about 200 acres of good land, and was extremely picturesque. The first settlers consisted of about twenty persons, including Ripley himself, his wife and sister, Dwight, Hawthorne, and William Allen. But few of the remaining members of the Transcendental Club followed Ripley to the Farm.

The official name adopted by the little colony was The Brook Farm Institute for Agriculture and Education, and the object of the Institute was formulated by its founders in their Articles of Association, as follows:

"To more effectually promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization in accordance with

the laws of Divine Providence; *to substitute a system of brotherly cooperation for one of selfish competition*; to secure for our children, and to those who may be entrusted to our care, the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual, and moral education which, in the present state of human knowledge, the resources at our command will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient, and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other the means of physical support and of spiritual progress, and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement, and moral dignity to our mode of life."

By their Articles of Association they also agreed that the property of the community be represented by shares of stock; that all members be provided with employment according to their abilities and tastes. They also provided for a uniform rate of compensation for all labor; for a maximum working day of ten hours; for the free support of all children under the age of ten years, and persons over the age of seventy years, as well as of all those who may be unable to work on account of sickness; for free education, medical attendance, and use of library and bath.

The administration of the community was lodged in four committees of three, styled respectively the Departments of General Direction, Direction of Agriculture, Direction of Education, and Direction of Finance.

It will thus be perceived that the Brook Farmers, consciously or unconsciously, showed a decided leaning toward Fourierism from the start, and that their subsequent formal reorganization as a Phalanx was an easy and logical development, rather than a sudden conversion, as it has been represented to have been.

The principal feature of the young community was its

school. This was divided into four departments: an infant school for children under the age of six years, a primary school for children under ten, a preparatory school for pupils intending to pursue the higher branches of study in the institution, and a six years' course to prepare young men for college.

A wide range of sciences and arts was taught under the skilful and loving guidance of many competent instructors, and equal attention was paid to physical and moral development. Many men, who subsequently played an important part in the literary and political life of the country, owed much of their achievements to their education in the Brook Farm School. Among the most brilliant of such scholars were the Curtis brothers—James Burrill, who made a name for himself in the scientific world of England, where he ultimately made his home, and George William, the well-known novelist and one-time editor of *Harper's Weekly*; Francis Channing Barlow, who became a general in the civil war and later held the offices of Secretary of State and Attorney-General in the State of New York; Colonel George Duncan Wells, noted for his bravery in the civil war; and Dr. John Thomas Codman, who wrote a charming book of reminiscences of Brook Farm.*

In the course of the following three years the number of members grew to about seventy. The financial success of the Farm was but very moderate, and the life full of toil and devoid of earthly comforts. But the Brook Farmers had the extraordinary skill to cover their poverty with the attractive veil of poetry, and to infuse charm and romance into their prosaic every-day occupations. After the day's work was over, it was customary for the young men to repair to the kitchen and laundry, and to gallantly offer their services in dish-washing or clothes-hanging to the ladies. This done, a dance or games would be improvised in which all the young

* "Brook Farm, Historic and Personal Memoirs," by John Thomas Codman, Boston, 1894.

people of the Farm would participate, while the older men and women would be interested and sympathetic on-lookers.

Music, excursions, and literary and scientific discussions would fill out all leisure hours, and, all told, the Brook Farmers were a happy and congenial lot of men, women, and children.

Life on the Farm was rendered still more attractive by the frequent visits of friends from the outside world. Among the most frequent and most welcome visitors were Margaret Fuller, both Channings, Theodore Parker, Miss Peabody, and, later on, Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Parke Godwin, and other leaders of the Fourierist movement.

In the beginning of 1844, a short time after the National Convention of Associations, Brook Farm declared itself formally a Fourieristic community, and changed its name to "Brook Farm Phalanx."

The transition did not effect a radical change in the plan of organization and mode of life of the settlement. But it added a new feature to it. Brook Farm became the center and fountain-head of Fourierist propaganda. Early in 1844 the publication of the *Harbinger* was transferred to the Farm, and the presence of the high-class weekly journal opened a new field of activity for the literary talents of the Brook Farmers. The editorial department was in charge of Ripley, Dana was the principal reviewer, Dwight the art critic, Orvis wrote principally on Association, Ryckman was a steady contributor, other members of the Farm wrote occasionally an article or poem, and all of them took a lively interest in the magazine, discussing the merits and demerits of every article, and hailing the appearance of every new number as an event. In addition to the publication of the *Harbinger*, the Brook Farmers promoted the cause of Fourierism in various ways, and frequently sent out some of its most eloquent and efficient members to preach the blessings of Association to the outside world. The lecture tours thus undertaken by Dana,

Allen, and Orvis are the most noteworthy enterprises of the Farm in that direction.

It was at that time that the Association was incorporated by a special act of the Massachusetts Legislature, and at that time, also, that it was decided to build a large unitary building on the Farm.

Brook Farm was now in its most prosperous phase. It had become famous throughout the length and breadth of the country. Its visitors numbered by the thousands every year, it was showered with applications for admission to membership, and its financial returns were slowly but gradually improving.

The Farm was all activity and hope, and bubbling over with life and fun. But the main interest of the members was centered on the unitary Phalanx building, or "Palace," on which they had worked indefatigably over two years, and which was now nearing completion.

It was expected that the large building would enable the Association to admit to membership many deserving applicants, who had so far been kept back on account of the lack of accommodations on the Farm, and that the resources and working capacity of the settlement would be greatly strengthened by the accession of membership.

It was on a fine spring evening in 1846, amid these pleasurable expectations, that the Brook Farmers, most of whom were dancing and merrymaking as usual, were startled by the cry, "The phalanstery is on fire!"

And sure enough it was. Through some negligence of the workmen who were engaged in putting the finishing touches on it, the large wooden structure had caught fire, and the heartbroken Brook Farmers gazed on in helpless terror as the flames mercilessly enveloped the object of all their labors and hopes, and rapidly reduced it to ashes. Had the loss occurred a couple of years earlier, when the Fourierist movement was still strong, Brook Farm might perhaps have recovered from it; but in 1846 the movement was

already on the wane, the enthusiasm of its votaries in Brook Farm was considerably dampened, and the destruction of the phalanstery proved fatal to the further existence of the Farm, in the same way as the destruction of its mill was fatal to the existence of the North American Phalanx. The Association struggled through the following spring and summer, but in the autumn it gradually broke up, the *Harbinger* was transferred to New York, and the property of the Association sold. The site of Brook Farm is now occupied by an orphan asylum maintained by a Lutheran church.*

VI.—THE WISCONSIN PHALANX, OR CERESCO

OF all Fourieristic experiments, the Wisconsin Phalanx was conducted on soundest business principles, much of its material success being due to the great administrative abilities of Warren Chase, who was its leading spirit from the first to the last.

The Association was organized in May, 1844, in the county of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The country was uninhabited for miles in all directions, and land was extremely cheap, selling at \$1.25 per acre.

The settlers paid cash for their land, and it was one of the distinguishing features of the Association that it never incurred debts on its property.

The original settlers, about twenty in number, came with teams, stock, tents, and implements of husbandry, and speedily erected a large dwelling-house and sawmill. Within a few months from their arrival they were joined by their families, and in less than one year the number of resident members increased to about 180. They drew up a charter and by-laws, under which they were incorporated by the

* For a complete account of the Brook Farm experiment, see Lindsay Swift, "Brook Farm, Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors," New York, 1900.

Legislature as the "Wisconsin Phalanx," and they founded the township of Ceresco, which was likewise chartered by the Legislature. There were but few settlers in the town outside of the members of the Phalanx, and the latter were, therefore, elected to all town offices. By the laws of the State they were required to elect, among others, three justices of the peace, but, as they had no criminals and no litigation of any kind, the office became a purely complimentary one, and they regularly elected their three oldest men to fill it. They also elected one of their members to each of the two Constitutional Conventions held in Michigan during the period of their existence, and they sent three of their members to the State Senate. One of their members even ran for the office of Governor on the Free-Soil ticket, but he received a very small vote outside of the township, and was defeated. They also applied for and obtained a post-office in their town, and one of their members held the office of postmaster until the administration of Taylor.

They commenced operations with a very small capital, which gradually increased to about \$33,000.

They were very industrious, had over 700 acres of land under cultivation, and raised over 10,000 bushels of wheat in one season.

They never fully introduced the system of work in groups and series, but strove to fix the reward for labor, capital, and talent as much in accord with the precepts of Fourierism as practicable. The average wage was six to seven cents per hour; the average cost of board was sixty to seventy-five cents per week. They were very careful in the selection of new members, and admitted none who either from insufficient means or from physical weakness were likely to become a burden on their community.

They had a free school, but intellectual pursuits and social life were rather neglected. They had no library or reading-room, and no social gatherings or entertainment of any account. All told, the Wisconsin Phalanx surpassed the other

Fourierist experiments in point of material prosperity, but fell short of the average in culture and refinement.

The standing disagreement in the Association was over the subject of unitary, or isolated, households. The settlement was about evenly divided on the question, and their township elections mainly turned on that issue.

The partizans of unitary households always carried by a narrow majority, and hence a common dining-room and common mansion were maintained, but the minority was not disposed to submit, and continued to live in single families and to carry on their households in separate family dwellings.

This issue, together with a number of contributing causes, of which lack of harmony and enthusiasm are to be counted among the foremost, finally induced the Associationists to dissolve. The formal dissolution and division of profits took place in 1850. The sale of the property yielded 108 per cent. of the investments, the only instance where a Phalanx dissolved without a loss to its founders and stockholders.

VII.—THE PENNSYLVANIA GROUP

THE northern portion of the State of Pennsylvania was, in the middle of the last century, a most unpropitious location for settlers. The region was a rocky desert, with no industrial or business center for miles in all directions, and the land was barren and cold, and thickly covered with boulders. But the cheapness of the land proved an irresistible attraction for our social experimenters, and no less than seven Fourieristic settlements are known to have been established in that region between the years 1843 and 1845. Of these, the most noteworthy are the Sylvania Association, the Peace Union Settlement, the Social Reform Unity, and the Leraysville Phalanx.

The SYLVANIA ASSOCIATION was the first Fourierist Phalanx in the United States. It was founded in May, 1843, by a number of residents of New York and Albany. Thomas

W. Whitley was its president and Horace Greeley was its treasurer. The domain was selected by a committee consisting of a landscape painter, a homeopathic doctor, and a cooper; it consisted of 2,300 acres, situated in the township of Lackawaxen, Pike County. It contained a dilapidated grist-mill, which was speedily repaired by the settlers, and three two-story frame houses, which at one time had to accommodate all of the members, 136 in number. Later on the settlers built a large common dwelling-house, forty feet square and three stories high.

They had agreed to pay for their land \$9,000, in yearly instalments of \$1,000, and made the first payment on taking possession, but when the second payment fell due they found themselves unable to meet it, and the owner generously consented to take back the land with all improvements made by the settlers, and to release them of further obligations. The Sylvania Association existed about eighteen months.

The PEACE UNION SETTLEMENT was situated in Warren County, and consisted of about 10,000 acres of land. It was founded by Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar, an Austrian Professor of Biblical Study and Criticism, who considered it his special mission to establish universal peace on earth. The colony consisted almost exclusively of Germans, and the settlers abandoned the experiment after a brief but fierce struggle with the stubborn soil of their domain.

The SOCIAL REFORM UNITY was established by a group of Fourierists of Brooklyn, N. Y. The domain consisted of 2,000 acres, situated in Pike County, Pennsylvania. The land was sold to the settlers for \$1.25 per acre, but they only paid on account of the entire purchase \$100, or five cents per acre.

They prepared and printed a very elaborate constitution, of which they, however, never made use. The barrenness of the soil, their inexperience in farming, and their extreme poverty, caused the dissolution of the Association within a very few months.

The LERAYSVILLE PHALANX came into existence in a

unique manner. Near the village of Leraysville, in the county of Bradford, there were seven adjoining farms. The owners of the farms were all Swedenborgians, the most influential among them being Dr. Lemuel C. Belding, a pastor of the Church of New Jerusalem.

When the tide of Fourierism reached the little congregation, Dr. Belding and his friends decided to unite their seven farms into one domain. Amid impressive ceremonies they tore down the old division fences, and each of them turned over his farm to the Phalanx, at an appraised value, receiving shares in exchange. The seven original founders were soon joined by additional members, among whom were several physicians, clergymen, and lawyers, and a number of mechanics. The beginnings of the settlement were very promising, but an antagonism soon developed between the original owners of the domain and the newcomers, and the Association was dissolved after the brief existence of eight months.

VIII.—THE NEW YORK GROUP

THE western part of the State of New York was at one time the hotbed of the Fourierist movement. There was hardly a village or hamlet in the county of Genesee, the native county of Albert Brisbane, and in the neighboring counties of Monroe and Ontario, which did not contain one or more groups of Fourierists.

Brisbane devoted much of his time to propaganda of the principles of Association in that region; some well-attended county conventions were held in Batavia and Rochester, and Phalanxes were organized on a large scale.

Noyes describes seven experiments growing out of that movement whose history is almost identical. They were all undertaken with great enthusiasm and little preparation, were short-lived, and entailed heavy financial losses to their founders.

The most important of the New York phalanxes are the

CLARKSON PHALANX, the SODUS BAY PHALANX, the BLOOMFIELD ASSOCIATION, and the ONTARIO UNION.

The four Associations had a common origin, their organization having been decided upon at a mass convention held in Rochester in August, 1843. They were located on the shores of Lake Ontario, within a short distance from each other, and together had over 1,000 members and more than \$100,000 of invested capital. Their average life was a little less than a year.

This group of Phalanxes is noteworthy for the reason that it was the only one to form a confederation of Associations.

The confederation was styled the "American Industrial Union." Its administration was vested in a council consisting of representatives of all its component Phalanxes.

The council met once in May, 1844, and passed resolutions for a uniform conduct of the affairs of the Phalanxes, and for a system of exchange of products between them. But the resolutions were never acted upon.

The failure of the New York experiments created a deep and lasting prejudice against Fourierism in the region which had once been its stronghold.

IX.—THE OHIO GROUP

NOYES records the history of five Phalanxes in the State of Ohio. Of these the most important seems to have been the

TRUMBULL PHALANX, in Trumbull County. This Phalanx was founded in the early part of 1844, and lasted until the fall of 1847.

The domain of the Association consisted of about 1,500 acres of land, partly purchased by the founders of the Phalanx, and partly contributed by some neighboring farmers in exchange for the Association's stock.

The land was swampy and bred ague and a variety of other diseases; the accommodations consisted of but a few

insignificant dwelling-houses overcrowded to the utmost capacity, and the luxuries and comforts indulged in by the members can be easily inferred from the fact that the average cost of living was estimated at forty cents per week for every member.

Under these adverse circumstances 250 men, women, and children, most of whom had given up comfortable homes, struggled on for over three and a half years with an energy and self-abnegation which excited the admiration of their contemporaries.

But the hopelessness of struggle at last dawned upon the most sanguine of them, and reluctantly they abandoned the enterprise from which they had hoped so much and for which they had sacrificed so much.

The OHIO PHALANX was ushered in with much flourish of trumpets, and at one time the Associationists expected great things from it. Among its founders were E. P. Grant, Van Amringe, and other lights of Fourierism, and \$100,000 was pledged for its support at an enthusiastic mass convention at which its organization was decided upon.

The Association was founded in March, 1844, on a domain of about 2,000 acres of land, near Wheeling, in the county of Belmont, Ohio.

It seems to have suffered from a superabundance of theoretical lore and from a proportionate lack of practical experience. During the short period of its existence it had many discussions, several splits of a more or less grave character, and one radical reorganization. It was finally dissolved in June, 1845.

The CLERMONT PHALANX and the INTEGRAL PHALANX both originated in Cincinnati, and were located within short distances from that city. Both experiments were conducted with the capital of their founders, and both experiments were failures. The Integral Phalanx published a magazine under the title of *Plowshare and Pruning-Hook*. The magazine was devoted to the teachings of Fourier in general, and to

the interests of the Phalanx in particular; it was to appear biweekly, but only two numbers of it seem to have been printed.

The COLUMBIAN PHALANX is the name of another Fourierist experiment in the State of Ohio. But no particulars about the existence of that Association have become public, save that it was located in Franklin County and was organized in 1845.

X.—OTHER FOURIERIST EXPERIMENTS

OF other Phalanxes whose records have been transmitted to us, four were located in Michigan, and several in Iowa and Illinois. Of these, the ALPHADELPHIA PHALANX, in Michigan, was the most important. It lasted over a year, and published a magazine under the title of *Tocsin*. Its leading spirit was one Dr. Schetterly, a disciple of Brisbane.

All told, Noyes collected data of no less than forty-one Phalanxes, of which he found accounts or mention in McDonald's collection,* or in the files of the *Phalanx* and *Harbinger*, and many more probably existed of which no record was left. To appreciate the full extent of the movement, we must bear in mind that in all France, the home of Fourierism, no more than two Phalanxes were ever attempted, and only one of them in the lifetime of Fourier.

*McDonald was the first historian of American Communities. He visited most of the communistic societies in person, and wrote down the results of his investigations and observations. After his death Noyes secured the manuscripts. His "History of American Socialisms" is largely based on the accounts of McDonald.