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A SPATIAL HISTORY OF ICARIAN COMMUNISM

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT
A SPATIAL HISTORY OF ICARIAN COMMUNISM

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Prior to the 1848 Revolution in France, a democrat and communist named Étienne Cabet organized one of the largest worker's movements in Europe. Called "Icarians," members of this party ascribed to the social philosophy and utopian vision outlined in Cabet's 1840 novel, *Voyage en Icarie*, written while in exile. This thesis analyzes the conception of space developed in Cabet's book, and tracks the group's actual spatial practice over the next seventeen years. During this period, thousands of Icarians led by Cabet attempted to establish an actual colony in the wilderness of the United States. Eventually settling in the recently abandoned Mormon enclave of Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1849, Cabet and the Icarians struggled to find meaning in the existing architecture and design of the city. This work describes the spatial artifact that they inherited, and recounts how the Icarians modified and used the existing space for their purposes. The thesis concludes that they were not ultimately successful in reconciling their philosophy with the urban form of Nauvoo, and posits a spatial cause for the demise of their colony.

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

The Myth of Icarus as Flight from the City

Poets and artists have often celebrated the flight of Icarus as a triumph of human spirit, representing man's limitless imagination and soaring aspiration. Moralists, conversely, focus on the transgression of the boy, suggesting a cautionary tale of disobedience to the father, or ambition beyond one's means. These common renderings of the myth, however, forget that when Icarus first flew with his father, it was not whimsy, nor teenage frolic; it was a frantic escape attempt. Icarus had been languishing in the Minoan *daedal*, a massive and twisting prison constructed by his father's own hands; only wings and sudden flight could deliver him from the sacrificial Labyrinth.¹ Urbanists and anthropologists, therefore, might recognize a less airy and more weighty spatial interpretation for the fable, an interpretation that appreciates the principal motivation for an enterprise as desperate as flight: Emancipation from the City.

Re-grounding the myth of Icarus in the city is not a huge conceptual leap. The Western tradition has long associated the labyrinth with its own European urban spaces, especially Paris. The kinship seems immediately obvious: even as a *daedal* is an overbearing, constructed environment of innumerable degenerate itineraries, so too, "[t]he true Paris is by nature a dark, miry, malodorous city, confined within narrow lanes, . . . swarming blind alleys, culs-de-sac, and mysterious passages, with labyrinths that lead you to the devil."²

¹ See generally JENNY MARCH, CASSELL'S DICTIONARY OF CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY 415 (Cassell 2001).

² PAUL-ERNEST DE RATTIER, PARIS N'EXISTE PAS 12 (Paris 1857).

Authors have frequently appropriated this image to suggest the danger of being disoriented in the apparently irrational spaces of Paris.³ But even beyond the obvious physical similarities, the metaphor can be richly extended to describe many other dimensions of *citadin* life. Indeed, cities also house a dizzying matrix of human connections, competing hierarchies, and symbolic systems constantly issuing from the social and cultural life of its inhabitants. The labyrinth, then, also serves as a spatial representation for the intense cognitive and emotional anxiety of navigating the dominant orders of the city, which often operate according to their own, internal logic.

In the nineteenth century city, writers and philosophers saw these material and social conditions coming together in Paris as never before. In writing moral topographies of the city, they saw in its arcades, alleyways, and metro tunnels,⁴ as well as in its “murders, rebellions and bloody knots,”⁵ the very mythic construction of Paris. These manifold dimensions of the city are seamlessly merged in the figure of the labyrinth, wherein hapless victims are doomed to monotonous wanderings, both physical and psychological.⁶ For

³ See, e.g., VICTOR HUGO, *NOTRE DAME DE PARIS* 65-66 (Bookings Int'l 1993) (“Comme il se préparait à traverser la place du Palais pour gagner le tortueux labyrinthe de la Cité . . . les rues cependant devenaient à tout moment plus noires et plus désertes . . . Gringoire s'était engagé, à la suite de l'égyptienne, dans ce dédale inextricable de ruelles, de carrefours et de cul-de-sac, qui environne l'ancien sépulcre des Saints Innocents, et qui ressemble à un écheveau de fil brouillé par un chat. —Voilà des rues qui ont bien peu de logique! disait Gringoire, perdu dans ces mille circuits qui revenaient sans cesse sur eux mêmes.”).

⁴ See WALTER BENJAMIN, *THE ARCADES PROJECT* 84 (The Belknap Press 1999) (“One knew of places in ancient Greece where the way led down into the underworld. . . . [A]nother system of galleries runs underground through Paris: the Métro, where at dusk glowing red lights point the way into the underworld . . . This labyrinth harbors in its interior not one but a dozen blind raging bulls, into whose jaws not one Theban virgin once a year but thousands of anemic young dressmakers and drowsy clerks every morning must hurl themselves.”).

⁵ See *id.* at 83 (“Balzac has secured the mythic constitution of his world through precise topographic contours. Paris is the breeding ground of his mythology . . . To construct the city topographically—tenfold and a hundredfold—from out of its arcades and its gateways, its cemeteries and bordellos, [and] its railroad stations . . . just as formerly it was defined by its churches and its markets. And the more secret, more deeply embedded figures of the city: murderers and rebellions, the bloody knots in the network of the streets, lairs of love, and conflagrations.”).

⁶ See *id.* at 519 (“The way brings with it the terrors of wandering, some reverberation of which must have struck the leaders of nomadic tribes. In the incalculable turnings and resolutions of the way, there is even today, for the solitary

Icarus, then, it was not a flight of fancy finally rising above the horizon of stone that had been his existence; it was flight from the very material and mental conditions that had long constrained him.

It was, perhaps, this type of spatial interpretation that first attracted Étienne Cabet, the visionary French democrat and communist, to the name of “Icarus.” No overt reference to the myth is made, but his literary opus, *Voyage en Icarie*,⁷ enigmatically bore the name of the winged boy, as did the wilderness Utopia that Cabet established in the mid-nineteenth century.⁸ The masses of Parisian artisans, workers, and urban poor to whom Cabet appealed were perfectly typified by Icarus, whose mother was a lowly slave-girl, and whose father was the archetypal Architect in Antiquity;⁹ in Icarus, ironically, is found the coupling of the low-born plebs and the built-up, urban landscape that imprisons them. Perhaps it was Cabet’s thinking, conscious or not, that since the labyrinth of the city served to perpetuate repressive conditions, then a mythic champion that famously transcended similar barriers could serve as the namesake for a new and enlightened community.¹⁰ Perhaps more importantly, the flight of Icarus provided the pattern for escape: leave behind the corrupting cities of Europe, permanently and unconditionally.

wanderer, a detectable trace of the power of ancient directives over wandering hordes. But the person who travels a *street*, it would seem, has no need of any waywise guiding hand. It is not in wandering that man takes to the street, but rather in submitting to the monotonous, fascinating, constantly unrolling band of asphalt. *The synthesis of these twin terrors, however—monotonous wandering—is represented in the labyrinth.*”) (emphasis added).

⁷ See *infra* notes, 80, 88 and accompanying text.

⁸ See *infra* Chapters 4 to 7.

⁹ MARCH, *supra* note 1, at 415.

¹⁰ Theseus as a namesake would be entirely inapposite to Cabet’s philosophy. While the heroic son of Athenian royalty indeed slew the horrible beast lurking within the Labyrinth, he left the super-structure itself untouched, free to “devour” again. Theseus, then, is more of a nineteenth-century bourgeois type *par excellence*, actively riding the city streets of their monstrous vice, crime, and disease, but leaving the larger system intact. See *infra* note 163 and accompanying text.

When thousands of Icarians led by Cabet attempted to establish an actual colony on the frontier of the United States, they necessarily confronted new spaces. Eventually settling in the recently abandoned Mormon enclave of Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1849, Cabet and the Icarians struggled to understand the logic of the empty city. They modified the space to suit their purposes and find meaning in the architecture and urban design; but a subtle disconnect between their communist philosophy and their spatial practice led to strife, infighting, and discord. This thesis thus posits a spatial cause for the ultimate demise of the Icarian colony, especially in how they mismanaged private and public space.

The argument precedes as follows: Chapter one recounts the early personal history of Étienne Cabet, describing his important connection to nearly every major republican conspiracy and revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century; chapter two is an exposé of the major philosophic trends underlying the Icarian movement, including the basis for Cabet's particular brand of communism; chapter three analyzes the Icarian conception of space as developed in *Voyage en Icarie*; chapter four demonstrates the prodigious rise and fall of Icarianism in France, and follows the colony to the United States as they found their utopia; chapter five examines the origins, development, and nature of the spatial artifact that the Icarians inherited from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo; chapter six tracks the Icarian use of space in Nauvoo, especially in their efforts to overwrite the space of the city to correspond with their own philosophy; chapter seven concludes that they were not ultimately successful in reconciling their philosophy with the urban form of Nauvoo, leading them to install tyrannical spatial practices, and reveals how this mismanagement of space brought about the end of Icaria.

Chapter 1

REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS

Early Years & Education

Étienne Cabet was born on New Year's Day, 1788, in Dijon. His father, Claude Cabet, was a master cooper with a thriving operation supplying barrels for Burgundy's robust wine industry.¹¹ Cabet's parents were ardent republicans and they firmly instilled in him the values of the recent Revolution.¹² Étienne Cabet later called his father a veritable "ouvrier patriote."¹³ As "ouvrier," Claude had likely seen the substantial worker unrest in Dijon as regional journeymen sought to redefine the terms and conditions of their labor within the guilds.¹⁴ As "patriote," Claude openly sang "la Carmagnole" upon the execution of local Girondin leaders. That the young Étienne inherited similar political fervor is unsurprising given his family's working vocation and the strength of the Jacobin club in the region.¹⁵

¹¹ JULES PRUDHOMMEAUX, *ICARIE ET SON FONDATEUR ÉTIENNE CABET* 1 (Porcupine Press Inc. 1972) (1907).

¹² See CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON, *UTOPIAN COMMUNISM IN FRANCE: CABET AND THE ICARIANS* 21 (Cornell University Press 1974).

¹³ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 1 (quoting ACTIONNAIRES DU POPULAIRE, *BIOGRAPHIE DE M. CABET, ANCIEN PROCURER GENERAL, ANCIEN DEPUTE, DIRECTEUR DU "POPULAIRE," ET REPOSE AUX ENNEMIS DU COMMUNISME* 1 (Bureau du Populaire 1846) (this work is essentially autobiographical owing to Cabet's free hand in editing)).

¹⁴ See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 21 ("[W]e cannot forget that Dijon was the scene of considerable journeyman-master conflict among joiners [a trade closely allied with coopering] in the years before the Revolution. In such an atmosphere the common corporate status of Étienne's father and godfather perhaps had greater significance."); see generally HENRI HAUSER, *LES COMPAGNONNAGES D'ARTS ET MÉTIERS À DIJON AU XVIIIE ET XVIIIIE SIÈCLES* 67 (Paris 1907).

¹⁵ See PIERRE ANGRAND, *ÉTIENNE CABET ET LA REPUBLIQUE DE 1848* 8 (Presses Universitaires de France 1948) ("Cabet eut l'exemple dès son jeune âge d'un labeur d'association et celui du patriotisme plébéien; car son père adhéra avec ferveur

His father also took great republican pride in enrolling his gifted son in the École Centrale de Dijon,¹⁶ thrilled to see him rise in society based solely on merit.¹⁷ The young Cabet seemed to blossom under the progressive methods of teacher Joseph Jcotot,¹⁸ who became a close friend of his star pupil.¹⁹ Jcotot is credited with giving the impressionable youth his “first lesson in communism,” introducing him to Fénelon’s *le Télémaque*.²⁰ Cabet moved on to university, initially to study medicine,²¹ but settling on law because it was a less expensive course of study. Legal studies suited him fine, however, given his interest in the politics of the lower class,²² and the mentoring of the “célèbre et vénérable [Victor] Proudhon.”²³ Cabet distinguished himself again, graduating at twenty-four with a doctorate in law, and standing for the Dijon bar in 1812.

But these were treacherous times to begin a legal career, especially as the *protégé* of such outspoken liberals as Jcotot and Proudhon. Both scholars were condemned to exile during

à la Révolution, dans cette ville où le club jacobin déploya une sensible activité.”); *see generally* A. KLEINCLAUZ, HISTOIRE DE BOURGOGNE 372-86 (Paris 1909) (describing the vitality of the Jacobin movement in and around Dijon).

¹⁶ No less an intellect than J.-J. Rousseau had been discovered by this institution, crowning the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* the winner of its 1750 competition. Burgundians, especially of the political persuasion of Claude Cabet, must have been keenly aware of such credentials.

¹⁷ *See* PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 2.

¹⁸ *See generally* E. Méssine, *Un Pédagogue Bourguignon: Joseph Jcotot (1770-1844)*, XXVI ANNALES DE BOURGOGNE 5 (1964).

¹⁹ *See* PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 2 (citing HENRY CARLE & J.P. BELUZE, BIOGRAPHIE D’ÉTIENNE CABET 10 (Paris 1861)).

²⁰ *See id.* at 3 (“Avec joie il découvrit dans les simples et vertueux habitants de la Bétique des hommes selon son coeur : ‘Comme ils ne faisaient aucun commerce au dehors, ils n’avaient besoin d’aucune monnaie . . . Ils vivent tous ensemble sans partager les terres . . . Ils sont tous libres et égaux.’”).

²¹ *See* FELIX BONNAUD, CABET ET SON OEUVRE: APPEL A TOUS LES SOCIALISTES 6 (Société Libre d’Éditions des Gens de Lettres 1900) (“[I] se décida d’abord pour la médecine, plein d’admiration pour l’art de soulager et de guérir l’humanité.”).

²² *Id.* (“Il résolut alors d’étudier la législation . . . excité par l’espérance de faire triompher la vérité et la justice, en se consacrant à la défense de l’opprimé.”).

²³ ACTIONNAIRES DU POPULAIRE, BIOGRAPHIE DE M. CABET, *supra* note 13, at 3.

the “white terror” that followed the botched return of Napoleon in 1815.²⁴ During this period of monarchist retribution, Cabet bravely accepted the defense of General Vaux, the Napoleonic military commander for Burgundy,²⁵ and obtained his full acquittal against overwhelming odds.²⁶ His success in such high profile patriot defenses, however, enraged conservative elements in Dijon, and he became the target of punitive and baseless attorney malpractice charges. They summarily disqualified him from the bar for a whole year.²⁷

Conspiracy & Revolution

Cabet seemed to accept his 1821 disbarment with grace, and went to Paris. He was enthralled with the social and political scene there, and frequented the city’s most liberal salons, including Lafayette’s.²⁸ He met many of Paris’s older liberal luminaries,²⁹ but also many of the younger radicals and reformers now converging on Paris. This rising

²⁴ See generally Colette Sadowsky, *La Crise et le Relèvement des Collèges en Côte d’Or sous la Restauration*, XXXII ANNALS DE BOURGOGNE 37 (1960) (explaining that the “white terror” also sought to purge civic institutions, including schools, of their left-leaning elements by forcing many republicans into exile); PIERRE MIQUEL, HISTOIRE DE LA FRANCE 324-325 (Marabout 1976) (“La restauration manquée de 1814 serait suivie d’une restauration réussie. Le sexagénaire [Louis XVIII] malaisément assis sur son trône laissait s’accomplir la ‘terreur blanche’. . . . [D]es fers, des bourreaux, des supplices’ pour tous les ennemis de l’Ancien Régime.”).

²⁵ BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 9-10 (“Tous les accusés, à l’exception du general, choisirent des avocats royalists pour se rendre les jurés favorables. Le général seul . . . voulut avoir un défenseur patriote. Cabet eut le périlleux honneur de ce choix.”).

²⁶ Cabet later described the significance of the feat:

Je parus donc, encore seul avocat patriote au milieu d’une nuée d’avocats royalists . . . [J]e défendis seul les principes sans rompre d’une semelle . . . J’arrachai des larmes à l’auditoire, aux jurés, aux magistrates, aux gendarmes eux-mêmes. Enfin, j’eus le bonheur de contribuer à l’acquittement de tous . . . Ce fut un beau jour pour mon pays, un beau jour pour moi.

ÉTIENNE CABET, LE NATIONAL TRADUIT DEVANT LE TRIBUNAL DE L’OPINION PUBLIQUE 39-40 (Paris 1841).

²⁷ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 12.

²⁸ *Id.* at 14-15 (“Le salon de Lafayette lui offrit le milieu qu’il cherchait . . . A l’ombre de son grand nom s’étaient groupés la plupart de ceux qui, ayant assisté aux premières journées de la Révolution, en avaient gardé pour les principes de 1789 un culte que tous les excès de la Terreur n’avaient pas pu abolir.”).

²⁹ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 13-23 (mentioning early contact with la Comtesse de Chastenay, Barrot, Crémieux, Barthe, Marie, Isambert, Dalloz, Manuel, Dupont de l’Eure, Laffitte, de Corcelle, Teste, d’Argenson, and, of course, Lafayette).

generation contained the “*enfants du siècle*—born during the Directory or under Napoleon, educated under the Bourbon Restoration, and entering public life around 1830 . . . They believed that their great task was to reconstruct social and intellectual order in a world turned upside down by the Revolution.”³⁰

Unsurprisingly, Cabet was quickly inducted into the secret society *la Charbonnerie*,³¹ a republican conspiracy organized in 1820, swearing to overthrow the Bourbons and restore democratic rights. This brotherhood promoted a strange blend of Christian mysticism and militant activism, drawing heavily from well-intentioned bourgeoisie³² and the *Polytechniciens*.³³ Even with an illustrious membership, Cabet rose quickly in the secret society; within a year of its founding, Cabet was introduced, with no less than nine French deputies,³⁴ into the *Vente Suprême*, the highest rank in the order. As of 1821, Cabet was a

³⁰ JONATHAN BEECHER, *VICTOR CONSIDÉRANT AND THE RISE AND FALL OF FRENCH ROMANTIC SOCIALISM* 3-4 (University of California Press 2001); see also PAUL JOHNSON, *THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN* 147 (Phoenix 1991) (“Indeed during the 1820s, the romantics carried all before them . . . The romantics came from the decade 1795-1805. The historian F.-A. Mignet had been born in 1796, the poet Alfred de Vigny in 1797, the historian Jules Michelet in 1798, the novelist Honoré de Balzac in 1799, the novelist Prosper Mérimée and the historian Edgar Quinet in 1803, Georges Sand in 1804. The year 1802 had been a particularly fertile one in letters, seeing the births of J.-B.-H. Lacordaire, the novelist Alexandre Dumas and Victor Hugo. These young people were ‘the generation of Empire’—they had as Alfred de Musset put it, been ‘conceived between battles, attended school to the rolling of drums.’”).

³¹ Originally, the *Carbonari* was a band of Italian republican conspirators, so called because they met secretly in the hut of a local charcoal vendor. *La Charbonnerie* in France was also a republican movement, organized by a merchant, Dugied, who had lived in Naples, and Bazard, a student. “Every member was required to contribute one franc a month, to possess a gun and fifty bullets, and to swear to carry out blindly the orders of his superiors. The Charbonnerie recruited among students and soldiers in particular; it ended up numbering 2,000 sections and 40,000 adherents.” A. MALET & P. GRILLET, *XIXE SIÈCLE* 29 (Paris 1919); see generally ALAN SPITZER, *OLD HATREDS AND YOUNG HOPES: THE FRENCH CARBONARI AGAINST THE BOURBONS RESTORATION* (Cambridge 1971).

³² The general membership roster of *la Charbonnerie* included a veritable “who’s who” of mid-nineteenth century republicanism and socialism: Lafayette, Carnot, Flottard, Guinard, Cariol, Sautélet, Chevalier, Raspail, Buchez, Blanqui, Cousin, Vernet and Leroux. PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 23.

³³ By the end of the Bourbon Restoration, the *École Polytechnique* was teeming with liberals, and more than sixty students from the school were instrumental in the July Revolution. See generally G. PINET, *HISTOIRE DE L’ÉCOLE POLYTECHIQUE* (Paris 1887).

³⁴ BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 13 (“Dans le Comité directeur, M. de Schonen et lui se trouvaient être les seuls qui ne fissent pas partie de la Chambre des députés.”).

principal leader in the movement, and highly esteemed for his work as an intelligence and propaganda officer.³⁵

Ultimately, however, *la Chabonnerie* proved to be more smoke than fire when no less than nine different plots failed from 1822 to 1823. The military wing of the order duly disbanded, but served as an important proving ground for the eventual leaders of the July Revolution.³⁶ For Cabet personally, the years in the movement were invaluable: he learned organizational and leadership skills;³⁷ he rooted himself firmly within the politics of opposition;³⁸ he mastered use of the press for political purposes; and ironically, he developed a lasting distrust of secret societies generally.³⁹ His contemporaries note that in those years, Cabet's private life was "honorable and pure," demonstrating the austere republican virtues of Cato:

Evidently very poor, with bread and a bowl of milk in the morning and in the evening [he ate] in some little out-of-the-way restaurant like a simple worker, a veritable political ascetic, he was always working, running to the four corners

³⁵ *Id.*; see Paul-Francois Dubois, *Étienne Cabet*, REVUE BLEUE 322 (1908) ("[W]ith regard to the arrangement of meeting places, precautions to foil the police, guards to establish the means of flight or defense in case of attack, he excelled, and everyone rendered homage to his services . . .").

³⁶ See BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 14 ("Cependant, la terreur que la Charbonnerie avait inspirée à la Restauration la poussa aux mesures extrêmes et précipita la Révolution. D'ailleurs, en Juillet 1830, les éléments dispersés se retrouvèrent sur le champ de bataille pour vaincre l'ennemi commun dans un dernier combat."). Many splinter societies formed after the decline of *la Charbonnerie*, most notably: *Ordre et Progrès*, *Union des Condamnés Politiques*, *Réclamants de Juillet*, *Francs Régénérés*, *Société des Amis du Peuple*, *Société des Familles*, and the infamous *Aide Toi et le Ciel t'Aidera* and *Société des Droits de l'Homme*.

³⁷ See 1 PIERRE LEROUX, LA GRÈVE DE SAMAREZ 364 (Paris 1863) (noting that Cabet's public personae and political acumen made him more important to the movement than even founding member, Philippe Bazard, with whom a low-grade rivalry had developed).

³⁸ BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 26 ("Broadly viewed, Cabet's activities during the twenties secured his position as one of the lesser lights of the group surrounding the far left in the Chamber of Deputies and established associations that would be professionally rewarding in the future.").

³⁹ See *infra* notes 212 to 215 and accompanying text.

of Paris, to the suburbs, and even farther . . . in a word, indefatigable.⁴⁰

Despite being plucked from the rank and file of the working class at a fairly young age, Cabet retained many of the routines of his former station. This gave him great credibility with the masses throughout his career, an advantage not enjoyed by many of his peers from the petty bourgeoisie, or even the intellectual proletariat.

Immediately before the 1830 Revolution, Cabet began writing prolifically, drafting erudite legal treatises on the constitution and codes of France⁴¹ and other political pamphlets expressing his own ideology. These early writings reveal that while Cabet still adhered to the revolutionary notion that sovereignty belongs to the nation, he had come to accept that a brief interlude would be required wherein a progressive monarch would ease the transition into an elected constituent assembly. When Charles X finally became intolerable in late July, fighting broke out in the streets; Cabet did not actually appear on the barricades, but he was a dangerously visible member of the Insurrection Committee.⁴² Throughout all of these events, Cabet remained in close contact with his endorsee for monarch, Louis-Philippe, believing that the once the noble-born Duke of Orleans was adequately reformed into a democratic patriot, the very hero of Jemmapes.⁴³ In a private audience on August 1, 1830, the prince assured Cabet that he was indeed a committed republican.⁴⁴ While

⁴⁰ Dubois, *supra* note 35, at 321-23.

⁴¹ ÉTIENNE CABET, *L'ANALYSE ET L'ESPRIT DE NOS DIVERSES CONSTITUTIONS ET DE NOS CODES* (Paris 1829).

⁴² BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 17 (“Il fit en compagnie de ses collègues une proclamation qui fut placardée avec leurs signatures, fait qui, en cas de défaite, compromettrait leurs têtes.”).

⁴³ “Le duc d’Orléans était à Jemmapes, le duc d’Orléans a porté au feu les couleurs tricolores. Le duc d’Orléans peut seul les porter encore . . . C’est du peuple français qu’il tiendra la couronne.” MIQUEL, *supra* note 24, at 334 (quoting LE NATIONAL, July 30, 1830).

⁴⁴ See ÉTIENNE CABET, *CORRESPONDANCE AVEC SA MAJESTE LOUIS-PHILIPPE 2* (Paris 1840) (describing a meeting between Cabet and Louis-Philippe, wherein the Prince declared : *Je suis républicain.*).

crowning Louis-Philippe represented yet another betrayal for many, Cabet was instrumental in talking-down these most radical republican elements from a new round of revolution.⁴⁵

The Betrayal of July

Backing the winning candidate rewarded Cabet with the position of Procureur-Général for Corsica. Though in a distant outpost, perhaps to remove the noted conspirator from the centers of power in Paris,⁴⁶ Cabet welcomed his new patronage assignment warmly, apparently believing it would further his “one serious ambition” of eventually becoming a deputy.⁴⁷ But, while still satisfied with the new constitutional order, the subsequent months proved that the “Citizen-King” was too much the latter, and not enough the former. It became quickly apparent to Cabet, even in isolated Bastia, that he could not serve this master. Cabet resigned his post, and defected to the loyal opposition, easily winning the Dijonnais seat to the Chamber of Deputies in 1831, by crushing an incumbent marquis named Chauvelin.

None of the social transformations and democratic reforms the left had expected in 1830 ever materialized. Feeling duped and abandoned by Louis-Philippe after manning the barricades on his behalf, they yearned now for true, social and political change, not just a re-shuffling of the face cards in the deck. This ‘betrayal of July’ invigorated the base of the

⁴⁵ See PAUL CARRE, *CABET: DE LA DEMOCRATIE AU COMMUNISME* 13 (Bigot Frères 1903) (“Lorsque le duc d’Orléans fut proclamé lieutenant general du Royaume, les plus [républicains] entre eux proposèrent de remonter sur les barricades; ce fut Cabet qui les en détourna.”).

⁴⁶ See MARK HOLLOWAY, *HEAVENS ON EARTH: UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA* 198 (Dover 1966) (suggesting that Cabet’s appointment was “to remove a dangerous democrat from further revolutionary activity”).

⁴⁷ See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 29 (quoting letter from Cabet to Nicod (Nov. 20, 1830) (on file with Archief Cabet, International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam)).

republican movement, consolidated its scattered remnants, and re-awakened them to their social purpose.⁴⁸ Riding the crest of this movement, Deputy Cabet founded several very successful educational, legal, and medical programs for the poor and disenfranchised of Paris.⁴⁹ The working class was receptive to Cabet's message of unity as he emphasized the need for solidarity among the diverse instantiations of republicanism.⁵⁰ He thrived in this environment, and grew in fame: "Cabet's influence in large measure resulted from the fact that he could function as a liaison between these elements, both because of his personal contacts and because of his middle-ground ideological stance . . . He showed himself to be a remarkable organizer and propagandist. He could speak to the working man at his own level while simultaneously relating to 'respectable' society."⁵¹

Adding to this influence by 1832, Cabet published his first major book, a five-hundred page book entitled *Révolution de 1830 et Situation Présente Expliquées et Éclairées par les Révolutions de 1789, 1792, 1799, 1804 et par la Restauration* ("Révolution de 1830").⁵²

⁴⁸ See BEECHER, *supra* note 30, at 43 ("This awakening . . . was marked by the revival of republicanism as a significant force in French political life, by a new radical consciousness among French industrial workers, and by the emergence among the urban bourgeoisie of a new consciousness of the social problems caused by industrialization and rapid urban growth. Together these developments provided the context for a variety of new social movements, all seeking to define and resolve the problems caused by the rise of the new industrial society."); see generally CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON, *THE REGENERATION OF FRENCH SOCIAL REPUBLICANISM 1830-1832* (University of Wisconsin 1962);

⁴⁹ See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 36 ("In line with Cabet's vow of action to promote the material well-being of the people, a commission of doctors and lawyers was created in each arrondissement to assist members and nonmembers alike free of charge. They would also attempt to find work and provide short-term relief for the unemployed."). He was the Secretary General of a monumental operation, the *Association Libre pour l'Éducation du Peuple*, which offered education in over 50 course subjects to over 2,500 underprivileged workers, at a meager cost of 25 centimes per week. More than 3,000 contributors and volunteers, many coming from the École Polytechnique, made these classes possible.

⁵⁰ *Id.* at 33 ("[Cabet's] general political strategy was one of republican unity. The range of republican opinion in 1832-1833 was wide, stretching from the Babouvist communism of Filippo Buonarroti on the left to simple belief in expanded suffrage and a republican constitution . . . The central issue dividing the various factions was the relationship between the constitutional and socio-economic structures of their projected republics. On the practical level, the dividing line came between those who incorporated the Jacobin heritage into their vision . . . and those who did not.")

⁵¹ *Id.* at 33, 43.

⁵² ÉTIENNE CABET, *REVOLUTION DE 1830 ET SITUATION PRESENTE EXPLIQUEES ET ÉCLAIREES PAR LES REVOLUTIONS DE 1789, 1792, 1799, 1804 ET PAR LA RESTAURATION* (Paris 1832).

This was an unyielding diatribe against Louis-Philippe wherein Cabet brazenly called for a return to the principles of 1789, though he carefully steered clear of endorsing radical Jacobinism. The book was a hit. Liberal newspapers called it “a manual for patriots,” and it sold out its first printing of 20,000 almost immediately.⁵³ Ever the cunning publicist, Deputy Cabet vowed to contribute every *sous* of his profit to “political prisoners.”

Cabet himself risked joining the ranks of his favorite charity mentioned above. In 1833, the Procureur du Roi, Persil, mined the pages of the controversial work to find twenty-three alleged “press offenses,” essentially the crime of seditious libel. Cabet endured impeachment proceedings before the Périer-controlled Chamber, which unsurprisingly was not sympathetic towards the leftist deputy. On appeal he was boldly defended by the pre-eminent liberal attorney Marie, who skillfully won his acquittal on all charges.⁵⁴

Cabet would not be silenced in the press. That very year, trading on the fame of his book and trial, Cabet disseminated the first issue of *le Populaire*. The stated goal of this newspaper was to be an advocate of the people, who “ought to participate in all social rights, [and] in all benefits of civilization.”⁵⁵ Thus, his paper would champion a progressive social agenda of humanitarianism, universal suffrage, education, unionism, self-help, and industry. The republican weekly quickly lived up to its name, with a circulation of 27,000 by only its eighth issue,⁵⁶ making it by far “the most widely circulated

⁵³ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 49-53.

⁵⁴ *Id.* at 55-56 (“[M]arie sut adroitement mettre en relief les convictions démocratiques de son client, sa sincérité, son patriotisme, et de haute lutte, emporta l’acquittement.”); ANGRAND, *supra* note 15, at 12.

⁵⁵ Étienne Cabet, LE POPULAIRE, June 24, 1833.

⁵⁶ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 86.

sheet of the era.”⁵⁷ Cabet was wildly popular as well: “On crie *Vive Cabet* presque autant que *Vive Lafayette* . . . À cette époque, son ascendant et son influence sont tels qu’il pourrait exciter ou empêcher un grand mouvement.”⁵⁸

Cabet had learned, however, to avoid incendiary speech that would alarm the bourgeoisie and aristocrats. Instead, *le Populaire* emphasized the betterment of society through class cooperation, tolerance, and work:

Nous voulons, non que le riche soit dépouillé, mais que le pauvre puisse acquérir l’aisance et s’enrichir en travaillant. Nous voulons, non que la classe jusqu’ici dominante soit rabaissée et humiliée, mais que le peuple soit relevé à la hauteur qu’exige la dignité de l’homme et du citoyen. Nous voulons améliorer matériellement son sort, lui faire reconquérir ses droits, non tout d’un coup par la violence, mais par la discussion, par la persuasion, par la conviction, par la puissance de l’opinion publique.⁵⁹

Regardless of the conciliatory tone, the substance of the republican paper was threatening to the reigning elite. *Le Populaire* dared to say what others newspapers were too timid to say, a propensity that quickly drew the ire of government officials.⁶⁰ Cabet was again brought to trial for suggesting that the repressions of the monarchy would lead again to revolution,⁶¹ and that the government would be capable of shooting people down in the

⁵⁷ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 37.

⁵⁸ BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 42.

⁵⁹ Étienne Cabet, *Avis au Lecteur*, LE POPULAIRE, Sept. 1833.

⁶⁰ See CHARLES ROBIN, LOUIS BLANC: SA VIE ET SES OEUVRES 16-17 (Paris 1851) (“Parmi les journaux consacrés à la propagande des idées démocratiques, *le Populaire* et *le Bon Sens* étaient particulièrement menacés par le nouveau système de persécutions que la police avait adopté. Rédigé avec beaucoup de hardiesse et de verdeur par M. Cabet, *le Populaire* agissait puissamment sur la partie vive de la nation. *Le Bon Sens* était plus timide . . .”).

⁶¹ Étienne Cabet, *La République et dans le Chambre*, LE POPULAIRE, Jan. 12, 1834.

streets.⁶² With liberals already reeling from a spate of other high-profile arrests, they were unable to mount a sufficient defense for Cabet, and he was finally convicted in February, 1834.

Rather than submit to incarceration, Cabet opted for five years of exile. In addition, he paid a fine and endured four years of “civil death,” an unheard of sentence for a mere journalist. Supporters lamented his fate as a virtual martyrdom, the swan song of a “true patriot, courageous republican, zealous defender of the rights of the people, prosecuted by the king, the ministers, and the potbellied deputies, for a press offense.”⁶³ Together they raised 20,000 francs as a pension for his time abroad, and struck a medal in his honor.⁶⁴ At his lowest point, leaving for Belgium, then London, in May of 1834, his entire career seemed to be at a premature end; Cabet had no way of knowing that he would return a devoted communist, and more popular than ever.

⁶² Étienne Cabet, *Crimes des Rois Contre l'Humanité*, LE POPULAIRE, Jan. 19, 1834 (“[L]e gouvernement fusillerait et mitraillerait s’il se trouvait encore dans la nécessité de le faire pour se sauver.”).

⁶³ JEAN BRIQUET, AGRICOLE PERDIGUIER: COMPAGNON DU TOUR DE FRANCE 126-27 (Paris 1955) (quoting Agricole Perdiguier, noted reformer of the guild system and *compagnonnage* journeyings).

⁶⁴ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 98 n.1 (mentioning that the pension was not forwarded to Cabet regularly, and in the last year of his exile he had to borrow money from his brother, Louis, a reasonably successful Dijonnais businessman).

Chapter 2

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ORIGINS OF ICARIAN COMMUNISM

Exile & Transformation

Cabet's time in London is mostly a black box; as if by magic, he went in a republican and democrat, and emerged a communist and utopian. While not an unimaginable transformation, it was certainly unanticipated. Prior to 1834, Cabet had not yet moved beyond a hope that the system could be changed from within. Even as late as 1832, in *Révolution de 1830*, Cabet had clung to a belief that private property was a natural right, that Jacobinism was far too radical, and that reform was still possible in the social and material conditions of France. London unequivocally changed all that.

Exile is a crucible for any man. Cabet's response to this ordeal ranged from listlessness and melancholy, to anger and belligerence.⁶⁵ Yet estranged from everything he had ever worked for only introspection remained. The French Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, and the July Monarchy were only recent history, and he now took the opportunity to ponder their meaning.⁶⁶ He poured over the British Museum and London

⁶⁵ During his time in exile, he did finally marry his long time partner, Delphine Lesage, who had previously borne Cabet's only child, Céline. *See id.* at 98-99 n.3. Nevertheless, he justifiably describes London as a giant cage, *see CABET, supra* note 26, at 71, and his mood bordered on depression in his first two years of exile. In a letter to Nicod in 1836, he confesses that "*J'ai trop de noir dans l'âme* to speak of anything else." Cabet to Nicod, Jan. 16, 1836, quoted in JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 44 n.69.

⁶⁶ *See PRUDHOMMEUX, supra* note 11, at 108 ("L'exil a affranchi a Cabet des mille servitudes qui ôtent à un personnage politique la possibilité de s'appartenir moralement ; il y a gagné deux biens précieux : le loisir de penser et la liberté de proclamer sans réticence sa pensée.").

Library, reading eighteen hours a day,⁶⁷ and devouring anything that would give him insight into why revolution had twice failed in his lifetime, most recently under the candidate of his choice.

His answer was as simple as it was simplistic: Material inequity. Despite successfully deposing the monarch each time, the successors chosen by the bourgeoisie had been no different; they would still enact any law, quiet any press, suppress any worker, and deny any vote to those that might compromise their new found prosperity. Accumulating and protecting wealth lead to repression, and as long as inequality remained the predominant condition in France, revolutionary principles would be chronically ignored once the next propertied class seizes power. Cabet came to understand that the specific leaders were not at fault, then, so much as the systems under which they labored, which in every case predetermined the failed outcome. “In a way private property replaced Louis-Philippe as the source of all evil and Cabet moved, possibly overnight, through the entire range of republican opinion . . . through the entire spectrum of social theories founded upon varying degrees of property rights limitation—and became a communist.”⁶⁸ Cabet, in his own words, explained why he believed that overhauling the property system to abolish private ownership would lead to a society free of strife:

[J]e restai convaincu que l'inégalité était la véritable cause originelle et primordiale de tous les vices et de tous les malheurs de toutes les sociétés depuis le commencement du monde; que cette cause était essentiellement fatale, c'est-à-dire qu'elle produirait nécessairement, inévitablement, les mêmes vices et les mêmes malheurs tant qu'elle subsisterait,

⁶⁷ See ACTIONNAIRES DU POPULAIRE, *supra* note 13, at 14.

⁶⁸ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 46.

et jusqu'à la fin du monde, si on laissait subsister toujours ;
*que par conséquent le remède était la suppression de cette
inégalité et la reconstruction de la société sur la base de
l'Égalité.*⁶⁹

Cabet was bold here, but did not claim to be original; in his view it was merely a re-discovery of an unfulfilled revolutionary aspiration. Apparently, Maximilien Robespierre himself had been moving in direction of statist communism before being thwarted on the 9th of Thermidor.⁷⁰ “Nous avons vu le Comité de Salut public et la Convention, avant le 9 thermidor, marcher tous les jours à l'établissement de l'égalité de fortune, même à la communauté des biens par l'établissement d'un immense domaine national”⁷¹ In sum, Cabet came to believe fervently that he had finally discerned the true nature of the Jacobin revolution—like a prodigal son returning to his fathers—abolish private property in favor of a massive communist state.

Pre-Marxist Communism and Utopian Socialism

“Communism,” broadly speaking, has come to be thought of as primarily an economic system in our day. In Cabet's time, barely a generation removed from dismantling l'Ancien Régime, “communism” meant much more than stripping private ownership of

⁶⁹ ÉTIENNE CABET, COMMENT JE SUIS COMMUNISTE ET MON CREDO COMMUNISTE 3-5 (Paris 1845) (emphasis added).

⁷⁰ See 4 ÉTIENNE CABET, HISTOIRE POPULAIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE DE 1789 À 1830 136-37 (Paris 1839) (“Far from being fortunate, the catastrophe of 9 Thermidor is perhaps the most unfortunate thing that could have occurred for France and for the world . . . The day of justice will not fail to arrive . . . for the martyr of 9 Thermidor; and, we are profoundly convinced, his disinterestedness, his love of the People, and his devotion to Humanity, finally recognized, will give to him a lofty place in the gratitude and the esteem of Peoples.”). This four volume work, which is an extended apology of “l'Incorruptible,” was very readable by the masses, and also garnered considerable praise among the liberal intelligentsia of the era. According to one noted Jacobin scholar, “Cabet is the author of a history of the French Revolution in which the facts are always perfectly appreciated. Others have narrated the events of the period in a more brilliant style, but none has better judged them.” ANGE GUÉPIN, PHILOSOPHIE DU SOCIALISME 599 (Paris 1850).

⁷¹ See 4 CABET, *supra* note 70, at 338-39 (citing, in support of this proposition, many specific examples of the Jacobins drive towards a communist state, such as the state expropriation of clergy and Émigré properties, progressive taxation, forced borrowing from the rich, the construction of immense national workshops, concentration of work, common distribution of rations to citizens in besieged cities, the elimination of begging, promises to give confiscated land to soldiers, and adoption of the principle that no citizen should be without property).

real property—it was literally about forming “community.” Caught in the throes of revolution, foreign war, industrialization, secularization, and urbanization, France was witnessing the aborning catastrophes of modernity. Concerned at the costs of such upheaval, Cabet and others “were writing out of a broader sense of social and moral disintegration. They believed that the French Revolution and early industrialization had produced a break-down of traditional associations and group ties, [and] that individuals were becoming increasingly detached from any corporate structure”⁷²

In Cabet and his fellows, then, there was a strange dualism. At once forward thinking and progressive in their human sentimentality, having benefited enormously from the democratization of the Revolution and other Napoleonic reforms in education; yet at the same time, perhaps due to the chaos of their formative years, they were somewhat reactionary, longing for bygone associative bonds, paternal order, and conservative morality, often incorporating a healthy respect for authority into their visions of community.⁷³ Communism and socialism in the first half of nineteenth century, therefore, can be seen not only as a reaction to capitalism, but more profoundly as a direct response to declining social capital. “Early socialists were convinced that association was the answer

⁷² BEECHER, *supra* note 30, at 2, 3. In this vein, Pierre Leroux, mystic and mentor to Georges Sand, credits himself with inventing the word “socialism” in 1834. “I am the first to have made use of the word SOCIALISM,” he later claimed, “[i]t was a neologism then, a necessary neologism. I invented the word as a contrast to ‘individualism,’ which was beginning to be widely used.” *Id.* at 1-2.

⁷³ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 31 (“En somme, il semble bien qu’un révolutionnaire et un homme d’ordre ont grandi côte à côte chez Cabet, l’emportant chacun à leur heure jusqu’au jour où ces deux frères ennemis se sont comme fondus et réconciliés dans le communis[me] . . .”).

to the social question. Association is the overarching theme in early socialism, linking all aspects of religion, education and work.”⁷⁴

It was this totalizing impulse to link and organize every facet of human life around more enduring bonds that prompted the likes of Fourier,⁷⁵ Saint-Simon,⁷⁶ and Owen⁷⁷ to design experimental communes “for the institution of a society which would overcome the manifest evils of poverty and degradation that characterized early industrial[ization]”⁷⁸

While others had been content to criticize the existing system, these early “utopian socialists” possessed the daring not only to denounce social ills, but to create *ex nihilo* a

⁷⁴ PAMELA PILBEAM, *FRENCH SOCIALISTS BEFORE MARX* 107 (McGill Press 2000).

⁷⁵ Charles Fourier (1772-1837) “théoricien socialiste français. Il préconisa une organisation sociale fondée sur des petites unités autonomes, les phalanstères.” *LE PETIT LAROUSSE* 2003 1340 (Larousse 2002). “Agriculture, or rather horticulture, would form the basis both of the individual phalanxes and of the entire society of the future . . . Fourier’s fascination with rural life is all the more striking because it is so entirely one sided: there is no counterbalancing enthusiasm for industry, urban life or technology.” NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY, *THE TEACHINGS OF CHARLES FOURIER* 196, 200 (University of Cal. Press 1969). Despite already being somewhat outmoded even by the mid-nineteenth century, Fourier’s notions swept through France, making him the most widely-known figure of this genre; this is in part due to Zola’s later writings about a working phalanstery. According to one flattering analysis: “The ideas of Fourier have remained fully alive in our country; it can be said that out of every ten Frenchmen concerned with social questions, nine are incomplete or illogical Fourierists.” CHARLES GIDE, *FOURIER, PRÉCURSOR DE LA COOPERATION* 149 (Paris 1928). Fourier believed that the ills of society came from suppressing man’s instincts and natural personality. His pseudo-science identified three hundred different ‘human passions’ that formed the basis of personality, varying according to each individual’s specific combination. The phalanstère life-style was allegedly designed to exalt, rather than frustrate these varied humors, though many found the notion nonsensical. See PILBEAM, *supra* note 74, at 130.

⁷⁶ Claude Henri de Saint Simon (1760-1825) “philosophe et économiste français. Il prit part à la guerre de l’Indépendance américaine et, dès le début de la Révolution française, rompit avec son état nobiliaire. Se fondant sur une religion de la science et la constitution d’une nouvelle classe d’industriels, il chercha à définir un socialisme planificateur et technocratique (*le Catéchisme des industriels*, 1823-1824)” *LE PETIT LAROUSSE* 2003, *supra* note 75, at 1676. “Although Fourierists gained some artisan support in towns such as Lyon, they failed to capture the worker base that the Saint-Simoniens had exploited.” PILBEAM, *supra* note 74, at 314. The Saint-Simoniens were also known for their austere religiosity: “For conservative thinkers, society could be kept whole only if the religion inherited from the past was preserved intact. For progressive thinkers, creating the society of the future required conceiving programs for change as themselves imbued with profound religious content. Saint-Simon called his last major work *The New Christianity* (1825), and his followers explicitly adopted some of the monastic and hierarchical customs of the Catholic Church. Social problems demanded social solutions, and religion was the model of choice for uniting people in an effective totality.” Sandy Petrey, *Romanticism and Social Vision*, in *A NEW HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE* 664 (Denis Hollier et al., eds., Harvard 1994).

⁷⁷ Robert Owen (1771-1858) “théoricien socialiste britannique. Riche manufacturier, il créa les premiers coopératives de consommation et s’intéressa au trade-unionisme naissant.” *LE PETIT LAROUSSE* 2003, *supra* note 75, at 1588; see *infra* notes 84 to 87 and accompanying text.

⁷⁸ RUTH LEVITAS, *THE CONCEPT OF UTOPIA* 36 (Philip Allan 1990).

whole new order to replace that which had been irretrievably lost: “Utopian socialists consciously invented a perfect universe to reassure themselves and others that the social and moral collapse could be reversed.”⁷⁹ If man’s nature is essentially good, they reasoned, but only corrupted by the flawed institutions which promote inequality,⁸⁰ then, through the steady application of science and rationality a new cooperative order could be devised to achieve man’s potential.⁸¹ This basic premise, rooted firmly in environmental determinism, drove these thinkers to completely restructure all dimensions of human interaction, including politics, economics, religion, and even family life.

Voyage en Icarie

During his cold London exile, Cabet too started toying with the possibility of transposing his new understanding of democracy and equality into a comprehensive model for a perfect society.⁸² He later unveiled his logic:

Je pris donc la plume pour rédiger un *programme*, un *plan*, comme le mathématicien pour résoudre un problème. Je me supposai chargé d’organiser une grande société sur la base de l’égalité et j’écrivais mon *plan* pour voir si et comment la base de l’égalité dans l’éducation, dans la nourriture, dans le

⁷⁹ PILBEAM, *supra* note 74, at 126.

⁸⁰ See ÉTIENNE CABET, *VOYAGE EN ICARIE* i (Sentry Press 1973) (1840) (“[S]i ces vices et malheurs ne sont pas l’effet de la volonté de Nature, il faut donc en chercher la *cause* ailleurs. Cette cause n’est-elle pas dans la *mauvaise organisation* de la Société? Et le vice radical de cette organisation n’est-il pas l’*Inégalité*, qui lui sert de base?”); see also Petrey, *supra* note 76, at 662-63 (discussing the world view of Romantic authors, particularly Hugo, whose novel *Claude Gueux* (1834) “assertively announces that this theft did not originate in the moral laxity of an individual but in the unjust organization of a society . . . In a challenge to the ideology of the individual central both to the rising bourgeois order and to the founding principles of Romantic expression, *Claude Gueux* comes close to assigning responsibility for human development to the collectivity in which it occurs”).

⁸¹ See PILBEAM, *supra* note 74, at 126 (“[A]ll emphasized the importance of cooperation, association and harmony—and all justified their schemes in terms of their basis in a scientific understanding of human nature.”).

⁸² See BONNAUD, *supra* note 21, at 46-47 (“Il veut en tirer une conséquence utile en rédigeant le PLAN d’une véritable *Démocratie* ou d’une grande organisation sociale démocratique. Mais en voulant réaliser la *Démocratie*, il arrive à la *Communauté*.”).

vêtement, dans le logement, dans l'ameublement, dans le travail, dans les charges de tout genre et dans les jouissances de toute nature.

Je vis bientôt que l'égalité exigeait une étendue de production agricole et manufacturière, une économie, un ordre, une distribution intelligente et raisonnée, qui n'existe pas et qui ne peuvent pas exister aujourd'hui. Bientôt je fus conduit à l'éducation en commun, au travail en commun, à la nécessité de la concentration dans d'immenses ateliers et dans d'immenses magasins, à la multiplication illimitée des machines, à l'exploitation du territoire en commun, au partage des fruits et des produits, en un mot à la communauté.⁸³

Cabet was unimpressed by the works of Saint Simon and Fourier,⁸⁴ perhaps finding the former too monastic, and the latter too fantastic. Robert Owen, on the other hand, was conveniently residing in London. During exile, Cabet developed a deep personal relationship with the renowned English communitarian, gleaning a treasure trove of practical wisdom from their numerous encounters over the next fifteen years. In Owen, English and ever pragmatic, Cabet found sufficient concern for workers, but also a penchant for modern industry; he modeled his community similarly.⁸⁵ Cabet too welcomed technological and industrial advancements, and like Owen, thought that productive use of

⁸³ CABET, *supra* note 69, at 3-5 (emphasis in original).

⁸⁴ See 1 LEROUX, *supra* note 37, at 379 ("La grandeur de quelques idées émises par Saint-Simon ne l'a jamais frappé; il n'a jamais étudié le travail considérable qui s'est fait chez ceux qui se sont dits les disciples de ce grand homme. Il a tout rejeté de cette école; il la jalouse. L'originalité et la hardiesse des erreurs de Fourier lui sont également à peu près inconnues. Il ferme volontiers les yeux . . ."); see also PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 139 n.1 ("Cabet est allé droit au communisme sans se laisser distraire par les autres écoles socialistes. Il n'a pris souci de leur existence et il n'a polémique contre elles que lorsqu'il s'est aperçu qu'elles entravaient sur le marché des idées l'expansion de son communisme icarien."). Furthermore, though Saint-Simon and Fourier were earlier thinkers, it was really only after their deaths in 1825 and 1837, respectively, that their disciples developed coherent doctrines for widespread application, and only then did their movements grow in popularity. Fourier, for example, never actually set-up or lived in a celebrated *phalanstère*, and his movement was left to others to realize, notably Victor Considérant. See generally BEECHER, *supra* note 30, at 38-58.

⁸⁵ See Étienne Cabet, 8e Discours à la Société Fraternelle Centrale (April 10, 1848) ("Le système socialiste de Robert Owen se rapproche tellement du nôtre qu'on pourrait dire qu'il se confond avec lui.").

machines would ease the burden of the laborer.⁸⁶ Cabet was also a learned disciple of Adam Smith, seeing the virtue of specialized and mass production,⁸⁷ and the necessity for widespread exchange, trading for that which is more efficiently produced elsewhere.

But when it came time for Cabet to express his own vision of a perfect society, only one mentor was irreplaceable. Cabet cleverly crafted his masterpiece of social and political theory, *Voyage en Icarie*,⁸⁸ into a novel; in form and in substance it partakes openly of the great *Utopia*,⁸⁹ by Sir Thomas More. Cabet revered this author and humanist above almost all others,⁹⁰ and fully credited him as a primary inspiration.⁹¹

Cabet's finished product was a noteworthy contribution to utopian literature. *Voyage en Icarie* recounts in about 600 pages the journey of a nineteenth century English gentleman to the fictional Republic of Icaria. There, he is treated to an in-depth tour of the young

⁸⁶ See CABET, *supra* note 80, at 101 (describing with enthusiasm the great boon the industrial age is for the worker: “[L]es machines sont multipliées sans limites . . . et ce sont elles qui exécutent tous les travaux périlleux, ou fatigants, ou insalubres, ou malpropres et dégoûtants.”).

⁸⁷ *Id.* at 100 (“[C]haque atelier doit avoir une spécialité, réunir tous les ouvriers du même genre et produire chaque objet par masse énorme.”).

⁸⁸ See *supra* note 80. Only the earliest edition bears the longer title *Voyage et Aventures de Lord William Carisdall en Icarie*.

⁸⁹ THOMAS MORE, *UTOPIA* (Richard Marius ed., Everyman 1994) (1516). More was born in London in 1478, and was educated at Canterbury College, Oxford. He studied law at the Inns of Court, and was known for brilliant oration. He quickly rose to prominence after entering Parliament in 1504, and became Speaker of the House in 1523, and Lord Chancellor in 1532. More wrote *Utopia* in 1515 while in the Burgundian Netherlands as a diplomat. In 1534, More would not approve of King Henry VIII's divorce from Rome, and was imprisoned in the Tower, then beheaded. Given some of the biographical similarities—both lawyers, both elevated to legislative prominence, both wrote their masterworks while abroad in the other's homeland, both challenged the king and were severely punished—it is easy to see why Cabet felt a tender kinship with the famed Lord Chancellor.

⁹⁰ See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 48 (“In [Cabet's] view, among the great harbingers of communism, only Jesus Christ and Sir Thomas More rank on the same level [as Robespierre].”).

⁹¹ ÉTIENNE CABET, *TOUTE LA VERITE AU PEUPLE OU REFUTATION D'UN PAMPHLET CALOMNIATEUR* 93 (Paris 1847) (“Ce fut l'*Utopie* de Thomas Morus, que je voulais lire en anglais, qui me détermina à étudier le système communautaire. Ce système me frappe tellement dès les premières lignes que je fermai le livre pour m'enfoncer dans mes propres méditations qui me conduisirent à la conviction la plus complète.”). Cabet's insistence on reading the book in English is perhaps misplaced, since Thomas More wrote the original text in Latin, and did not participate in its later translation into English.

nation, and through discourse and dialogue with its inhabitants, learns about its unique utopian order. The narrator discovers with wonderment the rich pageantry of life in a perfect society, including: matters of domestic interest, such as marriage,⁹² clothing,⁹³ cuisine,⁹⁴ hygiene,⁹⁵ housing,⁹⁶ restaurants,⁹⁷ and furnishings;⁹⁸ matters of community interest, such as law,⁹⁹ government,¹⁰⁰ education,¹⁰¹ industry,¹⁰² work,¹⁰³ health,¹⁰⁴ press,¹⁰⁵ and festivals;¹⁰⁶ and matters of metaphysical pursuit, such as morals,¹⁰⁷ as art,¹⁰⁸ and

⁹² CABET, *supra* note 80, at 141 (“[L]e mariage et la fidélité conjugale [sont considérés] comme la base de l’ordre dans les familles et dans la nation, donnant à chacun une excellente éducation, une existence assurée pour sa famille.”).

⁹³ *Id.* at 56 (“Tout ce que je t’ai dit de la nourriture . . . s’applique au vêtement : c’est la loi qui a tout réglé, sur l’indication d’un comité . . . qui a indiqué ceux à proscrire, et qui les a classés suivant leur nécessité, leur utilité ou leur agrément.”).

⁹⁴ *Id.* at 52 (“Un comité de savants, institué par la représentation nationale . . . a fait la liste de tous les aliments connus, en indiquant les bons et les mauvais, les bonnes ou mauvaises qualités de chacun.”).

⁹⁵ *Id.* at 40-45.

⁹⁶ *Id.* at 67 (“Voilà une maison d’Icarie ! Et toutes les maisons des villes sont absolument les mêmes à l’intérieur, toutes habitées chacune par une seule famille.”).

⁹⁷ *Id.* at 53 (“[T]ous les habitants de la même rue prennent ensemble dans leur restaurant républicain un dîner préparé par un des restaurateurs de la République.”).

⁹⁸ *Id.* at 68 (“Les mêmes règles à l’ameublement: tout le nécessaire, tout l’utile connu (ce que nous appelons le confortable), et l’agréable autant que possible ; toujours la prévoyance et la raison . . . [P]artout les meubles ferment si hermétiquement que la poussière ne peut y pénétrer . . .”).

⁹⁹ *Id.* at 126-134.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.* at 37-38, 176-197, 305-336.

¹⁰¹ *Id.* at 74 (“Tous les Icaréens, sans distinction de sexes et de professions, reçoivent la même éducation générale ou élémentaire, qui embrasse les éléments de toutes les connaissances humaines . . . dans les écoles nationales.”).

¹⁰² *Id.* at 99-100 (“[N]ous vivons en communauté de biens et de travaux . . . Nous n’avons ni propriété, ni monnaie, ni vente, ni achat. Nous sommes égaux en tout, à moins d’une impossibilité absolue. Nous travaillons tous également pour la République ou la Communauté. C’est elle qui recueille tous les produits de la terre et de l’industrie, et qui les partage également entre nous ; c’est elle qui nous nourrit, nous vêt, nous loge, nous instruit, et nous fournit également à tous tout ce qui est nécessaire . . . Tout le monde est ouvrier national et travaille pour la République. Tout le monde, hommes et femmes, sans exception, exerce l’un des métiers . . .”).

¹⁰³ *Id.* at 103 (“La durée du travail . . . est aujourd’hui fixée à sept heures en été et six heures en hiver . . . On la diminuera encore et tant qu’on pourra, si de nouvelles machines viennent à remplacer des ouvriers.”).

¹⁰⁴ *Id.* at 109-123.

¹⁰⁵ *Id.* at 197.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* at 254-267.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.* at 87.

¹⁰⁸ *Id.* at 205, 219.

religion.¹⁰⁹ Most stunning to the Englishman, is that there is no money,¹¹⁰ freehold or private property, and every asset belongs equally to the Icarian Republic, and thus to the people in pure community of goods.¹¹¹ Citizens are equal in every way, economically and politically.¹¹² There is no need for jails,¹¹³ as the highest standards of morality are upheld by all.¹¹⁴ The nation operates by representative democracy,¹¹⁵ elected through universal suffrage, though all important decisions are approved by national referendum.¹¹⁶ The oft repeated mantra is “Premier droit, vivre; premier devoir, travailler,” and indeed, all are ‘workers.’ Everything, down to the very perfume worn by Icarian women,¹¹⁷ is entirely administered, regulated, and distributed by the great Icarian State.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁹ *Id.* at 170 (“La loi ne permet ni aux parents ni aux étrangers de les influencés [les enfants] avant l’âge de raison. Ce n’est qu’à cet âge, à seize ou dix-sept ans . . . que le professeur de philosophie, et non le prêtre, leur expose, pendant un an, tous les systèmes religieux et toutes les opinions religieuses sans exception . . . [C]hacun adopte, en parfaite connaissance de cause, l’opinion qui lui parait la meilleure . . . Quelle que soit sa croyance, on la respecte ; quel que soit son culte, on le lui permet ; et dès qu’une secte est assez nombreuse pour avoir un temple et un prêtre, la République lui donne l’un et l’autre.”).

¹¹⁰ *Id.* at 6, 490 (“L’usage de la monnaie est interdit aux individus . . . [L’argent est le] source de corruption, récompense du vice et du crime.”).

¹¹¹ *Id.* at 35 (“[V]ous allez voir l’égalité sociale la plus complète . . . Ce domaine social et ce capital social appartiennent indivisément au Peuple, qui les cultive et les exploite en commun, qui les administre par lui-même ou par ses mandataires [dans l’Assemblée], et qui partage ensuite également tous les produits . . . [C]’est donc la COMMUNAUTE DE BIENS !”) (emphasis in the original).

¹¹² *Id.* at 99-100.

¹¹³ *Id.* at 131.

¹¹⁴ *Id.* at 107.

¹¹⁵ *Id.* at 201 (describing all Representatives as “[m]andataires de leurs concitoyens,” perfectly responsive to the will of their constituency, which decides issues in advance in local plebiscites)

¹¹⁶ *Id.* at 38 (“Notre organisation politique est donc une République démocratique et même une démocratie presque pure.”).

¹¹⁷ *Id.* at 58 (“Aussi, tu te croirais transporté dans le palais d’une fée si tu voyais une parfumerie républicaine !”).

¹¹⁸ *Id.* at 100 (“C’est la République ou la Communauté qui, chaque année, détermine tous les objets qu’il est nécessaire de produire ou de fabriquer pour la nourriture, le vêtement, le logement, et l’ameublement du Peuple . . . [C]’est elle qui instruit ses nombreux ouvriers, qui leurs fournit les matières premières et les outils et qui leur distribue le travail, le divisant entre eux de la manière la plus productive . . . [C]’est elle enfin qui reçoit tous les objets manufacturés et qui les dépose dans les immenses magasins pour partager ensuite entre tous les travailleurs ou plutôt tous ses enfants.”).

The novel is thorough analysis of every element of society, sparing no detail. But undergirding the economic and social commentary, there is also a particular emphasis throughout the novel, albeit sometimes subtle, on space in its many forms. Ranging from geography, to architecture, to urban design, to cartography, to environment, to housing, to monuments, to infrastructure, to landscape, to floor plans, to traffic flows, to topography, to zoning, to neighborhoods, to cities, to villages, and everything literally in between, there is a compulsion with the spatial in *Voyage en Icarie*. The following chapter analyzes several of these most important elements, and establishes the theoretical practice of space for the Icarian movement.

Chapter 3

TOPOGRAPHIES OF *VOYAGE EN ICARIE*

The Spatial Ambition of Utopian Socialists

From the very infancy of the Industrial Revolution, the Utopian Socialists had discerned some sort of spatial pathology in society. Though they didn't perhaps grasp the full scope and depth of the contagion at play in capitalist body, they understood viscerally, but no less astutely, that wealth disparity, class antagonism, wage labor, worker alienation, product commodification, and the creation of the proletarian class were somehow perpetuated spatially. They prescribed an aggressive and holistic remedy by consciously inventing new social spaces. The French Utopian socialists proposed an interesting experiment: Places which are first dreamed and then created, rather than the other way. Their pre-occupation with space and urban design demonstrates an appreciation for the power of well-managed space to draw individuals together in healthy mutualism, human bonding, and natural affection. "Physical environments, including built environments, are not mere empty stages for social dramas. Physical surroundings are themselves sources of cultural meanings that convey unstated and often implicit messages to actors."¹¹⁹ Recognizing the performative power of space, they hoped to actually install their particular communitarian ideology by projecting it onto the urban environment, such that bold new designs and configurations would instigate an improved social order. These thinkers, "conceptualized

¹¹⁹ Lucy Jayne Kamau, *The Anthropology of Space in Harmonist and Owenite New Harmony*, 22 COMMUNAL STUDIES 68, 68 (1994).

space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent—all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.”¹²⁰ The utopian socialists realized then what is only now being re-articulated. Henri Lefebvre, an influential French scholar credited with initiating a modern “spatial turn” in critical studies,¹²¹ explained that all space is necessarily political and laden with agendas: “Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic. . . . [S]pace has been shaped and moulded from historical and natural element, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product filled with ideologies.”¹²²

What is more, even depictions of space deployed through text are extremely potent. Language, as will be seen below, is particularly rife with nascent spatiality. Though not capable of rendering the contours of space visual, it is nonetheless adept at ordering the world by fashioning cognitive spatial categories, and infusing those categories with highly charged cultural meanings¹²³ This phenomenon is due to

¹²⁰ HENRI LEFEBVRE, *THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE* 38 (Paris 1974).

¹²¹ See PHILLIP E. WEGNER, *IMAGINARY COMMUNITIES: UTOPIA, THE NATION, AND THE SPATIAL HISTORIES OF MODERNITY* 11 (University of California Press 2002) (“[A]n interdisciplinary research project that includes some key recent work . . . by, among others, Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, David Harvey, Meaghan Morris, Edward Soja, Anthony Giddens, Mike Davis, Paul Rabinow, Kristin Ross, Allen Feldman, Rem Koolhaas, Manfredo Tafuri, Bernard Tschumi, Paul Carter, Walter Benjamin, Elisabeth Grosz, Edward Said, Edward S. Casey, Smith, Williams and Jameson.”). To this list could be added other important thinkers with an important spatial bent, such as Bauman, Marin, Sennett, La Drière, Simmel, Deleuze, Suvin, Barthes, Levinas, Bhabha, Irigaray, Bloch, de Man, Bakhtin, Chakrabarty, Mannheim and Ricoeur; a veritable ‘who’s who’ of cultural, philosophical and social studies.

¹²² Henri Lefebvre, *Reflections on the Politics of Space*, 8(2) *ANTIPODE* 29, 30-37 (1979).

¹²³ See *id.* at 29 (“[In] using spatial metaphors . . . of geographic space, sites become associated with particular values, historical events, and feelings. Often, elements of imaginary geographies are used interchangeably as metaphors for more abstract distinctions. Sites become symbols (of good, evil, or nationalistic events), and in tandem with other sites can be taken up in metaphors to express (gendered) states of mind, of affairs and different value positions (for example ‘It will be his Waterloo’). . . These metaphors are central to the folk wisdom of even the most rationalized era.”).

the text's power of composing and distributing places, its ability to be a narrative of space, and the necessity for it to define its relation to what it treats On the one hand, the text accomplishes a spatializing operation which results in the determination or displacement of the boundaries delimiting cultural fields (the familiar vs. the strange). In addition, it reworks the spatial divisions which underlie and organize a culture.¹²⁴

Given the prevalence of overt planning and design in utopian socialism generally, and the power of text specifically, a spatial study of *Voyage en Icarie* is fruitful. Using space as a primary tool of analysis, one can read Cabet's work emphasizing the very fixation that so profoundly marked this brand of socialism.

Voyage en Icarie as Travel Writing

The choice to use a narrative to express his utopian vision, rather than a treatise or an essay, is significant. Its teachings are a little more than mere art, but also a little less than heavy-handed theory. "Thus, in a very real way, first mapping the terrain that will be inhabited by literary art and theory, the narrative utopia serves as an in-between form that mediates and binds together these other representational acts."¹²⁵ As a "speaking picture," at once didactic and esthetic, "the narrative utopia generates the cognitive space around which new kinds of lived experiences and theoretical perceptions form."¹²⁶

Voyage en Icarie openly employs the tropes of classical travel writing, perhaps the most obvious example of space in literature. Travel writing is a spatial exercise that "render[s] in words the strange, the exotic, the dangerous and the inexplicable; they convey

¹²⁴ MICHEL DE CERTEAU, *HETEROLOGIES: DISCOURSE ON THE OTHER*, 67-68 (University of Minnesota Press 2000) (1986).

¹²⁵ WEGNER, *supra* note 121, at xviii.

¹²⁶ *Id.* at xx.

information about geography as well as human nature [T]he travel writer's desire [is] to mediate between things foreign and things familiar, to help us understand that world which is other to us."¹²⁷ Such writing deploys itineraries of discovery to far-flung places, "tracing an exploratory trajectory, a narrative line that, as it unfolds, quite literally engenders something new in the world."¹²⁸ The account in *Voyage en Icarie* begins in this fashion, with the introduction of a reputable world traveler whose eye-witness account conveys the reader to a new and mysterious continent far away: "Mais quel est donc ce pays, l'*Icarie*? . . . [C]'est un pays inconnu jusqu'à présent, et qui vient d'être découvert tout récemment; c'est un espèce de Nouveau Monde."¹²⁹ The word play is significant: while More's *Utopia* coincided with the earliest expeditions to the Americas, or the New World of his day, the "new world" described here could alternatively be understood as within the social and political sphere—even the brave new world of statist communism, "recently discovered" by Cabet in his substantial writing on the French Revolution.¹³⁰

By employing a travel narrative the larger architecture of the novel exploits proximity and distance to construct the strangeness of Icarian identity. Michel de Certeau, another spatial theorist, remarked of Montaigne's classic essay, *Des Cannibales*, that it

develops in three stages, which give it the structure of a travel account. First comes the outbound journey: the search for the strange, which is presumed to be different from the place assigned it in the beginning by the discourse of culture.

¹²⁷ CASEY BLANTON, *TRAVEL WRITING: THE SELF AND THE WORLD 2*, (Routledge 2002); *see generally* Patrick HOLLAND & GRAHAM HUGGAN, *TOURISTS WITH TYPEWRITERS: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON CONTEMPORARY TRAVEL WRITING* (University of Michigan Press 1998).

¹²⁸ WEGNER, *supra* note 121, at xix.

¹²⁹ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 2.

¹³⁰ *See supra* note 66 to 71 and accompanying text..

This *a priori* of difference, the postulate of the voyage, results in a rhetoric of distance in travel accounts.¹³¹

Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* fashions a similar narrative world. By imposing a distinct "rhetoric of distance," Cabet makes difference a function of space. That is to say, his initial descriptions of physical distance are a metric for conveying the radical dissimilarity of the "Other." Icarians in the novel, thus, become inseparably linked to a spatial relation, wherein geographic distance is directly correlated with cognitive distance, or how far one must go to 'think' this perfect world. In the novel, the Englishman proposes a year long trip, divided equally among the outbound journey, touring the Icarian homeland, and the return to Britain. "Quatre mois pour aller, quatre mois pour parcourir le pays, quatre mois pour revenir"¹³² Consider the thousands of miles implicit in this plan to examine the strange! In everyway possible, physical and cognitive, it is a long way from England to Icaria.

But it is also the trying ordeal of the journey itself that contributes to cognitive distancing in traditional travel accounts. The outbound voyage is necessarily depicted as long and arduous, fraught with ever increasing danger as the author moves from the locus of his civilization to the uncharted periphery. Readers intuitively understand this phantasmagorical voyage "illustrated by a series of surprises and intervals (monsters, storms, lapses of time, etc.) . . . [to] substantiate the alterity of the savage."¹³³ The outbound trip to Icaria, overland then by sea, was depicted in the novel as a hellish descent

¹³¹ DE CERTEAU, *supra* note 124, at 69 (emphasis added).

¹³² CABET, *supra* note 80, at 4.

¹³³ DE CERTEAU, *supra* note 124, at 69.

into maelstrom, serving as an intellectual shorthand for imagining the stunning difference of a truly peaceful society:

Je ne raconterai pas les mille accidents qui m'arrivèrent pendant la route : volé dans presque toutes les auberges ; presque empoisonné dans une autre ; persécuté par les gendarmes ou les autorités ; vexés et outragé par les douanes ; arrêté et emprisonné plusieurs jours pour avoir repoussé l'insolence d'un douanier ; menacé souvent d'être brisé avec la voiture sur d'épouvantes chemins ; miraculeusement sauvé d'un précipice où nous jeta un misérable conducteur aveuglé par l'ivresse ; presque enseveli dans la neige puis dans les sables ; trois fois attaqué par des brigands ; blessé entre deux voyageurs qui furent tués à mes côtés ; je n'en ressentais que mieux l'inexprimable bonheur d'apercevoir enfin le terme de mon voyage.¹³⁴

Adding a final, terrible storm off the shores of Icaria, this tragic list serves as a catalog of ills in modernity. Very subtly, then, the hazards of passing through time and space emphasize how far we must go, how long we must endure, how brave we must be to finally comprehend the vast gulf between chaotic Europe and peaceful Icaria.¹³⁵

This initial voyage, however, is only the first phase of the travel narrative, according to de Certeau. "Next comes the depiction of savage society, as seen by the 'true' witness. Beyond words and systems of discourse, appears the savage 'body,' a beautiful and natural

¹³⁴ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 4.

¹³⁵ In a similar project, openly appropriated by Cabet, Thomas More plainly expresses this parallel:

But as for monsters, because they be no news, of them we were nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found than be barking Scyllas, revening Celaenos, and Laestrygons, devourers of people, and suchlike great and incredible monsters. *But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome law, that is an exceedingly rare and hard thing.*

MORE, *supra* note 89, at 18 (emphasis added).

organicity”¹³⁶ Europe had long been enthralled by such ethnological descriptions. Marco Polo revealed the customs of far-off Cathay; the Portuguese related tales from their African trading posts; Columbus and Vespucci told of indigenous peoples in the Americas. Early contact with these new societies fascinated scholars and common folk alike. The whole Second Book of *Utopia* employs this descriptive style, recounting every detail of geography, government, science, art, and social life. Cabet follows suit in his own utopian narrative. After being driven forward, incessantly over sixteen weeks, the narrative reaches stasis, a place frozen in time. De Certeau explains that an “ethnological depiction lies at the center, between accounts of the outward journey and of the return. An ahistorical image, the picture of the new body, is framed by two histories (the departure and the return) In travel accounts, this historical “frame” . . . is necessary to assure the strangeness of the picture.”¹³⁷

So Icaria, already a strange and distant *utopia*, is simultaneously transformed into a *uchronia* as well—a picture-perfect image that transcends both time and space. *Voyage en Icarie*, indeed, aspires to be a universal model, depicting a society where “[t]ime’s arrow, ‘the great principle of history,’ is excluded in favor of perpetuating a happy stationary state. No future needs to be envisaged because the desired state is already achieved.”¹³⁸ Thus, Cabet, in effect, takes the reader to the “end of history”:¹³⁹ a perfect nation where

¹³⁶ DE CERTEAU, *supra* note 124, at 69.

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ DAVID HARVEY, *SPACES OF HOPE* 160 (University of California Press 2000).

¹³⁹ The notion of history being at the end of ideological conflict is not new, and has passed from Hegel, to Marx, to Kojève. In recent years, the argument has been made again, not about historical materialism, but capitalism. See Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History?*, *THE NATIONAL INTEREST* (Summer 1989) (“What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that

ideologies, races, religions, factions, and classes no longer compete for a place in world, writing bloody chapters along the way. Time appears suspended in Icaria, because everything and everyone has an immutable place calculated to ensure harmony. David Harvey calls this a “‘Utopia of spatial form’ since the temporality of the social process, the dialectics of social change—real history—are excluded, while social stability is assured by a fixed spatial form.”¹⁴⁰ History simply recedes from view in the ahistorical frame, and in so doing, thrusts space noticeably into the foreground. It is through this exaggerated spatial relief of the Model City, by fixing, standardizing, ordering, and regimenting, that the perfect moral order is dictated. This was the very essence of the Utopian Socialist ambition described above, now skillfully expressed in the narrative of *Voyage en Icarie*.

Hygiene and Idleness in the Model City

City planning follows social planning in Cabet’s Icaria. At one point in the narrative, a letter is read to Lord Carisdall, the Englishman, from a very zealous Icarian, describing their “model city”:

Déchire tes plans de Ville, mon pauvre Camille, et cependant réjouis-toi, car je t’envoie, pour le remplacer, le plan d’une *ville-modèle*, que tu désirais depuis longtemps . . . Tu concevras une ville plus belle que toutes celles qui l’ont précédée ; tu pourras de suite avoir une première idée d’Icara, surtout si tu n’oublies pas que tous les citoyens sont égaux, que c’est la république qui fait tout, et que le règle invariablement suivi en tout, c’est : *d’abord le nécessaire, puis l’utile, enfin l’agréable*.¹⁴¹

is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”).

¹⁴⁰ HARVEY, *supra* note 138, at 160-61.

¹⁴¹ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 41.

Here there is an admission of, or rather reveling in, the overt planning of the city and the direct link to the social purpose it accomplishes. In the model city, that which is necessary is given first priority. In nineteenth century urban planning, nothing was more necessary than public hygiene, and Cabet insisted on it in his model cities.

Hygienism was a movement begun in earnest the late-eighteenth century and continued strong for well over a century, involving prominent personalities and thinkers.¹⁴² In viewing the condition of Europe's major cities, many were appalled at the stagnation, congestion, purification, and infection, especially in the squalor inhabited by the working poor:

Previous generations have bequeathed us a difficult mission: the reformation of cities that matured in ignorance and without concern for principles of public health. Streets unusable as thoroughfares, misshapen constructions, poorly selected building sites, damp and dark hovels that impede the public way, shoddy paving, defective systems for distribution and drainage of water: these are the vices of most of the old cities.¹⁴³

¹⁴² According to Denis Hollier, a prominent French literature scholar:

Naturalism as [Zola] conceived of it was first of all the celebration—aesthetic if not moral—of the Paris created by the Second Empire, with its stations, its department stores, its exhibition halls, and especially its great boulevards. And the first real naturalist manifesto, Zola's 1872 novel *Le Ventre de Paris*, is primarily an anti-*Notre-Dame de Paris* directed against the romantics like Hugo who yearned for the unhealthiness of the old Paris.

DENIS HOLLIER, *AGAINST ARCHITECTURE: THE WRITINGS OF GEORGES BATAILLE* xvi (Betsy Wing trans., The MIT Press 1989).

¹⁴³ 2 M. LEVY, *TRAITE D'HYGIENE PUBLIQUE ET PRIVEE* 414 (Paris 1869) (quoted in J.B. FONSSAGRIVES, *HYGIENE ET ASSAINEMENT DES VILLES* 516 (J.B. Bailliere & Fils 1874)).

In fictional Icara, there are extensive “measures taken to promote good health, to assure the free circulation of *pure air*, to decontaminate it if required.”¹⁴⁴ Cabet, earlier than most, enumerates several specific steps. For example, he advocated the straightening and paving of all streets for facility in daily sweeping, washing, and drainage to underground sewers.¹⁴⁵ “Everything is so arranged, so that the streets are easy to clean, not misused, and easy to tidy up.”¹⁴⁶ Fountains are on every street corner, there is running water into homes, cupboards are hermetically sealed, waste removal is steady, sidewalks are covered, and traffic through the city is heavily regulated to ban riding horses. He also aggressively removed all cemeteries from within the city, as well as hospitals, noxious industries, and stables, suggesting instead that these should be on the outskirts, in aerated spaces, near rapidly flowing streams or in the countryside.¹⁴⁷ By meticulously practicing separation, isolation, and ventilation, the city would not choke on its own poisonous miasmas.

The compulsion with hygiene may seem reasonable, even commonplace by today’s standards, but in this early form of urban planning there was also a heavy moral component. Alongside “those who call[ed] themselves hygienists blithely array[ed] under their banner subjects that ha[d] more to do with architecture and social reform than with health problems,”¹⁴⁸ and many depicted the two evils as inseparably intertwined. Unknotting imbroglios in the slums was indeed an overtly spatial task, but also directly

¹⁴⁴ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 41

¹⁴⁵ *Id.* at 42 (“Que les trottoirs soient balayés et laves tous les matins, et toujours parfaitement propres, c’est tout simple : mais les rues sont tellement pavées ou construites que les eaux . . . trouvant à chaque pas des ouvertures pour s’échapper dans les *canaux souterrains*.”).

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.* at 41-42.

¹⁴⁸ Didier Gille, *Maceration & Purification*, in *ZONE 229* (Johns Hopkins University Press 1986).

challenged the confusion of certain proletarian norms. For example, it was suggested by a Belgian hygiene commission that “Whenever possible, every working family should have a separate place to live . . . Their quarters should be designed so that parents and children of a certain age are completely separated, as well as girls and boys of a certain age.”¹⁴⁹ Straitening space meant straightening lives. The rhetoric of draining, circulating, and sluicing was well-understood code for cleansing moral contagion from the city.¹⁵⁰ Unwholesome activities, violence, and vice must be purged from the interior, forced outwards through channels that flow with useless filth. Cabet is one of many who

approve[d] of straightening things out in the name of an aesthetic of cleanliness: straight avenues are essential against stagnant humors. Blood is aerated in large arteries. In the modern city, the capital of the world of work, everyone is busy. Everything found there has its function, a physiological justification . . . [T]he modern city’s beauty comes from its being a space in which whatever has no use has no place . . . There is nothing as beautiful as a city at work, but also a city is only beautiful when it is at work.¹⁵¹

For Cabet that which had no positive uplift or beneficial use might eventually lead to indolence, laziness, and idleness; this is dangerous surplussage and must be excised from the urban body. Remember, the code for the model city is clear: *d’abord le nécessaire, puis l’utile, enfin l’agréable*. Cabet thus proscribed all spaces contrary to public morality and the gospel of work from Icaria:

¹⁴⁹ *Id.* at 229 (quoting 4 *Annales du Conseil Central de Salubrité Publique de Bruxelles* 34 (1836-1857)).

¹⁵⁰ *Cf. id.* at 235 (“Obviously, appealing to the problem of hygiene was a guarantee for being heard since there were serious sanitation problems in the cities of the 19th century which threatened the survival of the working class: this is a nearly obligatory discursive prerequisite . . . Hygienism is a ritual style which means that statements must first be cast in its form in order to be understood.”).

¹⁵¹ HOLLIER, *supra* note 142, at xvi.

Tu ne verrais ici ni *cabarets* ni guinguettes, ni *cafés*, ni estaminets, ni bourse, ni maison de jeux ou de loteries, ni réceptacles pour de honteux ou coupables plaisirs, ni casernes et corps de garde, ni gendarmes et mouchards, comme point de filles publiques, ni de filous, point d'ivrognes ni de mendiants ; mais en place tu découvrirais partout des INDISPENSABLES, aussi élégants que propres et commodes, les uns pour les femmes, les autres pour les hommes, où la pudeur peut entrer un moment, sans rien craindre ni pour elle-même ni pour la décence publique.

Tes regards ne seraient jamais offensés de tous ces *crayonnages*, de tous ces dessins, de toutes ces écritures qui salissent les murs de nos villes, en même temps qu'ils font baiser les yeux ; car les enfants sont habitués à ne jamais gêner ou salir, comme à rougir de tout ce qui peut être indécent ou malhonnête.¹⁵²

Space essentially comes to dictate virtue and modesty, modifying behavior by commanding the places it can, or cannot occupy within the city.

Yet it is not as though all wholesome leisure was to be banned from Icaria entirely—it just had to be taken outside the city. Like the later Zola, Cabet is not “opposed to stopping work (workers have a right to recreation, but he is opposed to this happening in the city. If one is not working one should leave. Expenditure is uplifted by means of centripetal movement that carries it out . . . into the undergrowth *extra muros*.”¹⁵³ So even as Parisian workers in the 1880s were wont to spend their downtime in the horizontal pastures and wide-open spaces of Saint-Ouen, away from the mechanical and industrial grind of their urban existence, so too were Icarian workers encouraged to take their day off in the countryside. “Next to the sight of a city at work, there is no more beautiful spectacle . . . than discharged laborers spending their sabbath, workers relaxing, their after-work

¹⁵² CABET, *supra* note 80, at 45 (emphasis in the original).

¹⁵³ HOLLIER, *supra* note 142, at xvi.

release.” But this was to be a structured and salubrious release, properly bounded and in its proper sphere. Cabet describes weekly ritual of spending time in the countryside:

C’était un jour de repos, dimanche d’Icarie, ou plutôt dixième jour de la semaine icarienne . . . et nous allâmes à une fontaine charmante et célèbre, qui se trouve à deux lieues d’Icara, sur le penchant délicieux coteau qui domine la ville . . . Corilla nous fit brièvement la description de vingt ou trente promenades champêtres où population d’Icara se rend ordinairement les jours de fêtes et de repos.¹⁵⁴

What is more, the government itself takes extensive measures in Icaria to promote daytrips, hiking, and pick-nicking away from the city.¹⁵⁵ Each Icarian family, for example, has weekly access to a state-owned horse in the country to experience the healthy joys of rural riding.¹⁵⁶ The result is that everyone participates in an orderly exodus from the city, using the ample conduits and parkways for egress to leisurely activities out in the country:

Je ne pourrais dire de quel spectacle offrait la route, couverte de voitures, de chevaux, d’ânes, de mulets, de chiens, de promeneurs et de provisions, qui se rendaient au même lieu ; je ne pourrais non plus décrire ni la ravissante beauté de la vue des gazons, des bosquets et de la fontaine où l’art et la nature avaient prodigué tous leurs embellissements, ni les délicieux tableaux que présentaient des centaines des groupes dînant sur l’herbe, chantant, riant, sautant, courant, dansant et jouant à mille jeux.¹⁵⁷

How intoxicating this idyll would have been to the working poor reading this account! Cabet knew all too well that there were hundreds of thousands of that era literally trapped

¹⁵⁴ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 51.

¹⁵⁵ *Id.* (“Je raconterai plus tard les moyens imaginés et pratiqués par la République pour faciliter ces excursions et ces dîners champêtres, dont les Icaréens sont très-avides, [sic] depuis le printemps jusqu’en automne.”).

¹⁵⁶ *Id.* at 50.

¹⁵⁷ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 51.

inside Paris with no infrastructure or means for hebdomadal escape. “When poor people are having fun poverty vanishes from the earth . . . Real pleasures cannot be bought: reserved for those who have no possessions, these are clean treats that do not pollute; they can be had for nothing extra and are consumed without leaving waste.”¹⁵⁸

More than mere recreation, a deeper spatial discourse was in operation here. In Icaria, there was to be a bright-line demarcation between the urban and the suburban, between the space inside the city, and country outside. They have different functions, and are thus kept entirely separate since they rely on their opposite to define what activities are proper in each space: “It is rooted in the need to sort expenses, to separate good spending, which is rural, and bad spending, which is urban, and results from the need to reserve some exteriority into which the urban fabric will be able to spill, pouring out its idleness: workers must not be allowed to rest in the city.”¹⁵⁹ While absentminded leisure must occur outside the city, since they are essentially waste, there must conversely be a ritualized procession back to the center of civic and social life. Spiritual communion with the whole must be accomplished back in the city.

Of Museums and Slaughterhouses

According to Bataille, modern, rational society has purged from the city space the ritual sacrifices of ancient religion, due to their graphic and unsavory elements. Like everything that is waste, it is pushed out. Says Bataille:

¹⁵⁸ HOLLIER, *supra* note 142, at xvii.

¹⁵⁹ *Id.* at xvii.

The slaughterhouse relates to religion in the sense that temples of times past . . . had two purposes, serving simultaneously for prayers and for slaughter. . . . Nowadays the slaughterhouse is cursed and quarantined like a boat with cholera aboard. . . . The victims of this curse are neither the butchers nor the animals, but those fine folk who have reached the point of not being able to stand their own unseemliness, an unseemliness corresponding in fact to a pathological need for cleanliness.¹⁶⁰

Icaria is indeed imagined as the great secular society, where religion exists, but is properly constrained from its most visceral and powerful impulses. While such rituals are still necessary on an anthropological level, the sacrifices are now sublimated, hidden, and moved to peripheral slaughterhouses this spares the placid *citadins* the sight of ugliness welling-up within themselves. Cabet, writing almost one hundred years before Bataille, explicitly pre-figures this notion by imagining a city space that attenuates sacrificial urges:

[O]n ne voit jamais des troupeaux de *boeufs* et de *moutons* comme ceux qui encombrant et déshonorent les rues de Londres, y causant mille accidents, y répandant l'inquiétude et souvent la terreur et la mort, en même temps qu'ils habituent le peuple à l'idée de l'égorgeage; car ici; les *abattoirs* et les boucheries sont dehors, sans que les bestiaux pénètrent jamais dans la ville, sans qu'on y voie jamais ni *sang*, ni *cadavres*, ni *d'animaux*, et même sans qu'un grand nombre de *bouchers* s'habituent à voir sans effroi des boucheries humaines, à force de tremper leurs couteaux et leurs couteaux et leurs mains dans le sang d'autres victimes.¹⁶¹

From this chilling description, it is clear that Cabet abhors “les chairs saignantes.”¹⁶² Not only do they pollute the center, they have a deleterious moral influence by habituating

¹⁶⁰ *Id.* at xii-xiii.

¹⁶¹ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 43-44 (emphasis in original).

¹⁶² *Id.* at 101.

Innocents to violence. He thus establishes the negative pole, that of repulsion and sacred horror in the face of ritual slaughter, by forcing it far outside. Butchers, the bloody high priests, have been expunged and exiled to marginal spaces, left alone to conduct their unseemly business well beyond the average citizen's sensibilities. "[W]hat we have is a deserted, unconscious religion: no one ever attends the sacrifice."¹⁶³

Yet the opposite polarity must exist as well, a positive force drawing the movement and the mind of the inhabitants back to the moral center. The centripetal force of attraction offers "those who could not bear the image of decomposition reflected to them by the slaughterhouses" an equally compelling place to gather in Icaria.¹⁶⁴ They are drawn to the Center. Bataille notes that in Paris "On Sundays at five o'clock, at the exit of the Louvre, it is interesting to admire the stream of visitors A museum is like the lungs of a great city: the crowd floods into the museum every Sunday like blood and it leaves purified and fresh."¹⁶⁵ In Icaria, the city itself becomes the "museum," an assemblage of monuments, gardens, and public buildings that inspire pilgrimages to the most breathtaking core:

This island is a place, the center place, planted with trees, in the middle of which rises a palace which surrounds a vast and superb garden, in the center of which there is an immense column with a colossal statue on top, dominating all other edifices. On each side of the river, there are long quays, bordered by other public monuments.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ HOLLIER, *supra* note 142, at xii. ("Whereas the killing of the Minotaur is usually presented as a humanizing exploit by means of which a hero frees the city from whatever is archaic and monstrous, bringing society out of the labyrinthine age, for Bataille the sacrifice functions in an opposite manner: striking a blow at the organic imago, it opens the labyrinth up again."). See *supra* note 10 and accompanying text.

¹⁶⁴ *Id.* at xiii.

¹⁶⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶⁶ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 20-21.

* * * Nowhere would you see more paintings, sculptures, statues than here in the monuments, on the squares, along the promenades, and in the public gardens; for, while elsewhere these works of art are hidden in the palaces of kings and rich men, while in London the museums, shut on Sundays, are never open to the People, who cannot leave their work to visit them during the week, here all the curios exist only for the People and are displayed only in the spots frequented by them.¹⁶⁷

Thus, the desire to be re-invigorated drives the Icarian people to the center place, a circular island in a circular city, to a spot marked by a magnificent monument and surrounded by beautiful gardens with art everywhere on display. The interior of the perfect city itself becomes the “the sacred nucleus” set in opposition to the repulsive slaughterhouse.

The Redemption of the Rural

The larger shape of the perfect nation is also discussed at length. The Icarian nation is perfectly metric, subdivided into one hundred provinces, roughly equal in area, and population:

Voici maintenant la *carte d'une province* ! Vous voyez qu'elle se partage en dix communes à peu près égales ; que la ville provinciale est à peu près au centre de sa province, et chaque *ville communale* est au centre de sa commune.

A présent, voici la *carte d'une commune* ! Vous voyez qu'outre la ville communale, elle contient huit villages et beaucoup de fermes, régulièrement dispersées sur son territoire.¹⁶⁸

This ordering, of course, is reminiscent of the departmental divisions established in France, each with their seat roughly in the middle, and no more than a day's ride from the outer edge. “The elegance and precision of the decimal system has overlaid the facts of

¹⁶⁷ *Id.* at 47.

¹⁶⁸ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 20.

geography and as one looks over the map of the imaginary country one recalls that the way in which the French revolution [sic] divided France into arbitrary administrative areas called departments, upsetting those ancient regional groupings”¹⁶⁹ Cabet goes a step further to regularize even the space within each province, putting ten communes in each, totaling one thousand nationally. Each commune is further subdivided into villages and regularly distributed farmland. Thus, every inch of the Icarian homeland is mapped and accounted for rationally and mathematically such that even the most isolated villages and farms still exert a presence on the national landscape. In Icaria, the countryside is still full and still counts.

This perspective on rurality was certainly waning by the 1840s. It was already well-theorized, as David Harvey points out, that “[t]he accumulation of capital has always been a profoundly geographical affair . . . Urbanization concentrates productive forces as well as labor power in space, transforming scattered populations and decentralized systems of property rights into massive concentrations of political and economic power.”¹⁷⁰ Marx’s *Manifesto* of 1848 plainly argues that the bourgeoisie had already gutted the country-side and points to the mass-migration to major cities as an essential pre-condition to the coming proletarian revolution.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has

¹⁶⁹ LEWIS MUMFORD, *THE STORY OF UTOPIAS* 152 (Boni & Liveright 1922). Even as the landscape was sanitized of its idiosyncrasies through national administration, the notion of “le terroir” represented identity and landed stability during the Counter-revolution. It is interesting to note that the first French laws to seriously protect “les produits du terroir” came in 1824 at the height of the Bourbon Restoration, a particularly romantic, conservative, and reactionary era.

¹⁷⁰ HARVEY, *supra* note 138, at 23, 25.

thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life . . . The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands.¹⁷¹

Though this analysis tracking bourgeois capital would not be published for eight more years, Cabet's description of the country in Icaria attempts to redeem the rural from such notions. Rather than allowing farmers to pine away in their "idiocy" and feudal backwardness, Cabet would systematize even the countryside. Through the organizational power of the centralized government, even remote areas could be saved from their idiosyncracies by leveling all accidents of geography which lead to underdevelopment. Regular distribution of farmland across space and an efficient infrastructure linking them together¹⁷² permits the *compagnard* to resist urbanization, while yet fully participating in the in the economics of the nation. Cabet seems to suggest, however, that only in a fictionalized state already owning all means of production could the countryside survive, and even thrive on its own terms. By the sheer force of its communist will, the Icarian state was imagined capable of unrolling and nailing down the edges of capital, so to speak, to stretch it evenly across the entire nation. Thus, populations could similarly be locked in place, distributed uniformly through space. Only this arrangement could slow the rapid bourgeois accumulation of capital and uneven wealth distribution so problematized by Marx. This question of socio-economic development is fundamentally a spatial concern,

¹⁷¹ KARL MARX & FRIEDRICH ENGELS, THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO 84-85 (Penguin Classics 1985) (1848).

¹⁷² CABET, *supra* note 80, at 20 ("Voyez ! voilà les grands chemins de fer . . . les canaux, grands et petit, toutes les rivières navigables ou canalisées . . . Et dites-moi maintenant s'il est possible de voir des communications plus multipliées et plus faciles !").

and Cabet anticipates a solution to the rural crisis in *Voyages en Icarie* before Marx even raises the question.

Icarus as Voyeur

The form of the narrative is again significant in these introductory passages describing the physical and political contours of Icaria. The narrator guides the visitor through a viewing of a series of maps, beginning with the largest features, and working down to the smallest. The entire nation is surveyed first (“Jetons d’abord . . . un coup d’oeil sur cette *carte d’Icarie*”); followed by a map of a provincial sub-unit (“Voici maintenant la *carte d’une province !*”); followed by the map of an individual county (“A présent, voici la *carte d’une commune !*”); followed by a map of a major city (“Nous examinâmes ensuite un magnifique *plan d’Icara*”); and lastly, a map of a *quartier* within the city (“Voyons le plan d’un de ces *quartiers!*”).¹⁷³ Rather than standing around a cartographer’s table, the scopic effect is more akin to flight.

Cabet’s incorporation of diverse maps into the account is itself a clever spatial conceit, beginning with a bird’s-eye view at the macro-level, then progressively focusing attention downward.¹⁷⁴ This cartographic impulse creates a “totalizing eye,” richly described by de Certeau, who “wonder[s] what is the source of this pleasure of ‘seeing the whole,’ of looking down,” of rising “out of the city’s grasp.”¹⁷⁵ In the early nineteenth century, this

¹⁷³ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 19, 20.

¹⁷⁴ See, e.g., HUGO, *supra* note 3, at 123 (appropriately entitling an introductory chapter in *Notre-Dame de Paris* by the descriptive name ‘Paris à Vol de Oiseau.’).

¹⁷⁵ MICHEL DE CERTEAU, *THE PRACTICE OF EVERYDAY LIFE* 92 (Steven Rendall trans., Univ. of California Press 1988) (1984).

all-encompassing perspective from on high, this spatial knowledge that dared climb higher than the towers of Notre-Dame, this enraptured “desire to see the city preceded the means of satisfying it.”¹⁷⁶ Perhaps Cabet’s most stunning fiction, then, was the dizzying height to which he flew in the opening passages of *Voyage en Icarie*:

When one goes up there, he leaves behind the mass that carries off and mixes up in itself any identity of authors or spectators. An Icarus flying above these waters, he can ignore the devices of Daedalus in mobile and endless labyrinths far below. His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was ‘possessed’ into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god. The exaltation of a scopic and gnostic drive: the fiction of knowledge is related to this lust to be a viewpoint and nothing more.¹⁷⁷

This passage powerfully discloses yet another spatial interpretation to the myth of Icarus, and though de Certeau’s description of this phenomenon is general, it applies with special force to Cabet’s novel title. Escaping the gravity of capitalism and industrialization, Cabet too proposes an impossible view of a seemingly impossible world; a territory perfectly divided and managed by an “all-seeing” communist state.

It must be remembered that Cabet was among the first to propose wide-scale statist communism. While some of his predecessors advocated limited experiments abolishing property in smaller communes, Icaria was conceived as a fully-formed nation, springing from Cabet’s head with a full measure of Westphalian sovereignty. Nation-states had grown immeasurably in power and authority by the end of the eighteenth century; he had been a first-hand witness to the

¹⁷⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

spectacle of a nationalized church and a nationalized system of education, extending their ministrations to the smallest commune through a vast system of bureaucracy . . . Cabet consciously, or unconsciously idealized the Napoleonic tradition; and in Icaria he consummated it . . . [H]is Icaria was a national state, with all its pomp and dignity and splendor”¹⁷⁸

This same centralized and administrative state of the Empire would come to definitively install modern surveillance society for Foucault: “The emperor is the universal eye observing the entire expanse of society, an eye assisted by a series of gazes, arrayed in the form of a pyramid starting from the imperial eye, and watching over the whole society.”¹⁷⁹

This is a scopic regime by very definition, and though by our day we are suspicious of the ‘totalizing eye’ too easily becoming ‘totalitarian surveillance,’ Cabet blissfully depicts his state as always benevolent and benign. Himself no stranger to a prosecutorial gaze run amok, Cabet assures us that Icarian observation would be different. Inspired by concern for the worker, tempered by republican principles, and constrained by democratic checks, the whole governmental apparatus would be objectively trained on society to install its communistic program, evenly, efficiently, dispassionately, and for the good of the People.

Cabet expressed this governmental prerogative to plan and manage through his fixation on maps—a device capable of expressing the “erotics of knowledge” inherent in the social and spatial organization.¹⁸⁰ But in due time the map play comes to an end, and the narrator and

¹⁷⁸ MUMFORD, *supra* note 169, at 151-52.

¹⁷⁹ 3 MICHEL FOUCAULT, *POWER: ESSENTIAL WORKS OF FOUCAULT 1954-1984*, 73 (Paul Ranibow & James Faubion eds., The New Press 1994).

¹⁸⁰ DE CERTEAU, *supra* note 175, at 92.

his distinguished visitor, Carisdall, eventually come back to earth, “[a]n Icarian fall,”¹⁸¹ if you will, and begin a walking tour of the city, its *quartiers*, streets, and homes.

The Shape of the City: Capital and Metropolis

For all its good will towards the country, *Voyage en Icarie* is a celebration of cities. We learn early on that the city of Icara, the largest city in Icaria, has several distinctive features:

Voyez ! la ville, presque circulaire, est partagée en deux parties à peu près égales par le Tair (ou le *Majestueux*), dont le cours a été redressé et enfermé entre deux murs en ligne presque droite, et dont le lit a été creusé pour recevoir les vaisseaux arrivant de la mer . . . Vous voyez qu’au milieu de la ville, la rivière se divise en deux bras, qui s’élignent, se rapprochent et se réunissent de nouveau dans la direction primitive, de manière de former une île circulaire assez vaste.¹⁸²

In its *perfect* regularity, Icara is unlike any European city. Yet several commentators have noted that Cabet’s fantasy seems somehow familiar, too: “Icara is a reconstructed Paris, built on a reconstructed Seine.”¹⁸³ Perfectly circular with a large circular island, Icara is the stylized image of Paris, the quintessential capital city. Its concentric circles symbolically pull the nation inwards, like a target, or vortex, and geographically expresses its centrality to the Icarian people. Like other capitals, Icara *is* a center of identity and culture, representing the common heritage; Icara “*is* a center which accumulates and/or consumes the national wealth”;¹⁸⁴ Icara *is* a center “represent[ing] the political power by which it has

¹⁸¹ *Id.*

¹⁸² CABET, *supra* note 80, at 20.

¹⁸³ MUMFORD, *supra* note 169, at 152.

¹⁸⁴ Anne Querrien, *The Metropolis and the Capital*, in *ZONE*, *supra* note 148, at 220.

subjugated its territory.”¹⁸⁵ Icara’s centrality is unquestionable to Icaria, and its prominent position is reflected by its very topography.

Even the streets, rationalized into a grid, signify the wider influence of the capital. “Voyez les rues, toutes droites et larges ! Et voilà cinquante grandes qui traversent la ville parallèlement à la rivière, et cinquante qui la traversent perpendiculairement.”¹⁸⁶ The layout here reminds of the uniform provincial and communal subdivisions that overlay the nation, though now at the level of the city. From this place, creeping out across the entire country, a wider grid similarly extends Icara’s reason and subjugating influence. “[T]he capital tends to demand a new layout of roads in order to ensure its own central position.”¹⁸⁷ Paris, of course, could not implement this perfectly grided street layout by the time it developed into a capital. But there was a similar sentiment expressed when, under Henri IV, there were plans for a Parisian *quartier* wherein all streets were named after distant provinces, like Normandy, or Aquitaine. The *place* where these streets converged was to be dedicated to France.¹⁸⁸ The *logos-topos* connection is obvious as disparate entities are brought into line, so to speak, under a higher system or logic. Symbolically gathering and arrogating disconnected and marginalized spaces by representing them elsewhere as a unified whole is a classic strategy of capital cities. For all that is typical of

¹⁸⁵ *Id.* at 219.

¹⁸⁶ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 20.

¹⁸⁷ Querrien, *supra* note 184, at 220.

¹⁸⁸ HONORE DE BALZAC, *LE COUSIN PONS* 66 (Éditions Gallimard 1973) (“Les maisons datent de l’époque où, sous Henri IV, on entreprit un quartier dont chaque rue portât le nom d’une province, et au centre duquel devait se trouver une belle place dédiée à la France. L’idée du quartier de l’Europe fut la répétition de ce plan. Le monde se répète en toutes choses partout, même en speculation.”).

capital cities, however, Icara's shape reveals a true *metropolis* as well. According to Querrien,

the metropolis is not a center and has no center The social ideal of the metropolis is a democracy in which citizens of various origins stand at an equal distance from one another and enjoy equal rights . . . Unlike the capital, the metropolis has no identity to preserve: it is only concerned with promoting certain proportional relations . . . The center of the capital represents the political power by which it has subjugated its territory. This center, sporadically alive with the comings and goings of representatives, is often apparently vacant, especially at night: it is never the heart of metropolitan life. The metropolis meanwhile is the place where people congregate.¹⁸⁹

These important social and democratic ideals are expressed in the space of Icara as well. In one of the most curious features of the city, Cabet envisions sixty different *quartiers*, all roughly equal in size and population, each bearing the name of a major international city, past and present. What is more, Cabet proposes that the architectural style native to those foreign nations should prevail in that district, such that homes, stores, and monuments are all replicas of the exotic locales. “Vous trouvez donc les quartiers de Pékin, Jérusalem, et Constantinople, comme ceux de Rome, Paris et Londres ; en sorte qu’Icara est réellement l’abrégé de l’univers terrestre.”¹⁹⁰ The universal ambition of Cabet is hardly disguised: when combined with its circular shape, Icara essentially becomes the world in miniature. Such urban planning not only suggests openness to all humanity, but also imagines Icara as its spatial fulfillment or completion. It is as though Cabet has surveyed the scope of mankind, abridging and combining what is best in order to make the world anew. Though

¹⁸⁹ Querrien, *supra* note 184, at 219, 220, 221.

¹⁹⁰ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 21.

we might doubt the aesthetic wisdom of incorporating such eclectic architectures into a unified whole, it must be acknowledged such a design would constitute the ultimate physical expression of a metropolitan philosophy.

In his strange *quartiers*, there is a mixed spatial practice at work, combining elements of synecdoche and asyndeton: synecdoche is the use of part to stand in for the whole that it includes, such as when one asks for “a hand”; asyndeton is the omission of that which normally links and holds together, such as conjunctions in a grammatical sentence. When walking through the steets of Icara, the spatial effect of both tropes would be apparent, and contradictory. On the one hand, great and recognizable monuments would have been selected as representative of all that is best from an entire civilization; on the other hand, moving from neighborhood to neighborhood, there would be a sense of incredible spatial compression, as the world is truncated to eliminate the superfluous. “Synecdoche makes more dense; it amplifies the detail and miniaturizes the whole. Asyndeton cuts out: it undoes continuity and undercuts its plausibility.”¹⁹¹ Perhaps no better description is available of Cabet’s own political theory in *Voyages en Icarie*, freely borrowing major elements from Jacobinism, democratic-republicanism, constitutionalism, liberalism, positivism, socialism, industrialism, capitalism, communism, utopianism, and Christianity; while omitting other troublesome issues of class, wealth, race, rank, culture, politics, history, and religion. Cabet knew how to effectively convey his message to the masses—

¹⁹¹ DE CERTEAU, *supra* note 175, at 101.

“simplify” and “condense.”¹⁹² In this sense, and for the benefit of the working class, *Voyage en Icarie* practiced perfect synecdoche and asyndeton, in form and substance.

Return from the Labyrinth

Having endured the outbound voyage, and experienced the ecstasy of Icaria in its ahistorical frame, the “return” is the final step of a traditional travel narrative, according to De Certeau (discussed at length in the second subsection above).¹⁹³ The tripartite structure of the travel narrative thus mirrors experience within the mythological labyrinth. Labyrinths have been used for millennia as a metaphor for life, representing a spatial and spiritual journey. Unlike a maze, which can have dead-ends, multiple routes, and false paths, the labyrinth is just a line. It may intricately twist and meander, but the thread if followed eventually leads to a center point. According to one scholar, “To walk a labyrinth is to walk a ritual, requiring the three steps of (1) purgation (emptying and letting go), (2) illumination (reaching clarity—the center) and (3) unification (the way out—transcending the ego).”¹⁹⁴ Thus the hero willing to brave the labyrinth must be willing to endure suffering in order to achieve that precious moment of candid realization. From that point, the enlightened travel returns from whence he came, equipped with new understandings.

¹⁹² Étienne Cabet, *Propagande Communiste ou Questions à Discuter et à Soutenir ou à Écarter* 7-8 (April 1842). Perhaps envisioning *Voyage en Icarie*, Cabet also shared his strategy for communication with the working classes in *Le Populaire*, July 13, 1845:

In general, the worker lacks the primary instruction necessary to read fruitfully. Moreover he has little time to give to reading . . . It is better to give him only a small number of simple, clear, and essential books; he can study them carefully and therefore understand them. Let us first make many communists with a small number of essential ideas; all delicate questions will be discussed and decided upon in common later.

¹⁹³ See DE CERTEAU, *supra* note 124, at 69.

¹⁹⁴ Marjorie M. Kaminski Battaglia, *A Hermeneutic Historical Study of Kazimierz Dabrowski and His Theory of Positive Disintegration* 42 (March 20, 2002) (Ph.D. dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute) (quoting Vicky Moyle, *The International Dabrowski Conf.* (Summer 2007)).

The creation of *Voyage en Icarie* can clearly be seen as a labyrinthine journey. In his solitude, suffering, and study in England, Cabet, too, found himself walking the sacrificial path to enlightenment. Having at last arrived at the center of knowledge, he was ready to retrace his steps and return to France; he would engage his people once more, but this time, on the wings of Icarus.

Chapter 4

ICARUS RISING

The Communist Divide

Voyage en Icarie was clearly not high literature. Still, it was predominantly a novel of ideas, and for what it lacked in eloquence it made up for by speaking to the people in the language of the people. One modern critic frankly describes the attributes of *Voyage en Icarie* in the following terms:

Cabet's book is one of the dullest of its kind. Beneath a sugar-coating of fiction that is transparently thin lies the same old communist aperient It was flavored, however, with a tincture of political gall—an ingredient scarce between the revolutions of 1830-1848. Saint-Simon and Fourier offered drugs to dream upon: Cabet appeared to offer more fundamental medicine. His book . . . contained a scathing criticism of the existing social order. It was probably the later ingredient that secured for it a popularity that was quite unexpected. It quickly became a best-seller, of which almost every working man in France had heard even if he had not read.¹⁹⁵

Perhaps no higher compliment could have been paid to Cabet than to have his novel widely read and praised among his beloved working class and its leaders. The great Louis Blanc, for example, raved that “This book, the author of which has nobly and courageously marked his place in the ranks of the democratic party, treats . . . those questions most worthy of the attention of serious minds and people of good will. It is worth reading with

¹⁹⁵ HOLLOWAY, *supra* note 46, at 199.

care”¹⁹⁶ A Lyonnais factory worker and organizer summed up the feeling of tens of thousands of others: “The *Voyage en Icarie* especially was then a true *sun* enlightening the people and turned many to communism.”¹⁹⁷ Despite early difficulties finding a publisher, *Voyage en Icarie* was a best-seller beginning in 1840, appearing in five new editions over the next 10 years.

Cabet’s novel couldn’t have come at a more opportune time. Communism as a self-conscious and viable political movement exploded onto the scene in 1840.¹⁹⁸ For the first time, the broad contours of a new philosophy were beginning to be articulated competently.¹⁹⁹ But despite a common concern for the worker and misgivings about private property, this was an amorphous collection arising out of disparate communistic trends.²⁰⁰ It would be anachronistic to ascribe to the communism of the 1840s some cogent and unified form. Rather, according to Engels, “[i]t was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctual sort of communism; still it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough

¹⁹⁶ Louis Blanc, *REVUE DE PROGRÈS*, Oct. 1, 1840.

¹⁹⁷ Letter from Antoine Coignet to Cabet (Sept. 27, 1842) (quoted in JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 119).

¹⁹⁸ See Robert Bezucha, *Discourses on Misery*, in *A NEW HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE*, *supra* note 76, at 687-92.

¹⁹⁹ Other communist works included: Pierre Joseph Proudhon’s *Qu’est-ce que la Propriété?* which decried private property as a form of stealing, Louis Blanc’s *Organization du Travail* demanding a right to work and social workshops, Pierre Leroux’s *De l’Humanité*, Flora Tristan’s *Promenade Dans Londres*, Georges Sand’s *Le Compagnon du Tour de France*, Frégier’s *Des Classes Dangereuses de la Population des Grandes Villes*, and Villermé’s *Tableau de l’État Physique et Moral des Ouvriers*; other influential works, such as Villermé’s *le Livre du Compagnonnage*, Esquiro’s *l’Évangile du Peuple*, Pillot’s *Ni Chateaux, Ni Chaumières*, and Constant’s *La Bible de la Liberté* were also widely disseminated and read.

²⁰⁰ A scholar from the mid-nineteenth century commented on the futility of defining “communism”:

Even at present, communism, growing in strength and scope, has no specific doctrine; all the individual trends and systems have little or no power at all over the communism as a whole Therefore it is useless to attempt a doctrinaire definition of communism. Communism is a phenomenon and a trend in the contemporary world, which has drawn attention to the contradictions within industrial society and which has made both major classes aware of this contradiction. It has not developed logically, but grown historically; it is not a teaching, rather it is a condition.

LORENZ VON STEIN, II *THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN FRANCE, 1789-1850* 282-83 (Bedminster Press 1964).

among the working classes to produce the Utopian communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling.²⁰¹

By 1839, on the heels of a serious economic crisis throughout Europe and America, conditions were ripe for renewed working-class agitation.²⁰² Paris was bursting at the seams, approaching a million inhabitants.²⁰³ In 1840, Parisian factories saw a massive walkout that amounted to a general strike, provoking violent clashes throughout the city;²⁰⁴ there was an attempt to assassinate the king; and Belleville hosted the first ever “communist banquet” attended by over 1,200 organizers and workers.²⁰⁵

The Belleville banquet was instrumental in bringing the broad rubric of “communism” into French public consciousness, but Cabet, one of its most revered champions, refused to appear at the event. He had been invited, of course, but his very public decision to forego the banquet underscored a major divide in communist theories of the day. Their polemic centered principally on the means by which the communist vision should be installed—

²⁰¹ Friedrich Engels, *Preface to the English Edition of the Communist Manifesto of 1888* 62 (Penguin 1985) (1967).

²⁰² On the social and economic condition just prior to 1840, see generally Octave Festy, *Le Mouvement Ouvrier à Paris en 1840*, 30 REV. DES SCIENCES POL. 68 (1913).

²⁰³ Bezucha, *supra* note 198, at 688. Paris’s population, according to Richard Sennett, was in crisis:

To imagine the experience of population growth within Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century, one would have to think of a box filled with glass; more and more glass is stuffed into the box, the pieces of glass themselves begin to break under the pressure, yet the sides of the box hold. By 1850, nothing more can be added; the box is not broken apart, but entirely remade along larger, though equally rigid, lines. The pressure begins the process again. Paris was not a city of sprawl, as was London; it was a city in which urban form was always strained to the limit by population growth. The box that contained Paris throughout its history was its wall.

RICHARD SENNETT, *THE FALL OF PUBLIC MAN* 134 (Alfred Knopf 1977).

²⁰⁴ See generally J.-P. AUGET, *LES GREVES SOUS LA MONARCHIE DE JUILLET 194-225* (Geneva 1954).

²⁰⁵ See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 73-74 (“At six o’clock on this balmy summer evening some 1,200 workers and sympathizing publicists were called to order by the provisional presidents of the banquet, Pillot and Homberg . . . In the toasts and orations that ensued many of the ideals and values, resentments and frustrations that made up the working-class mentality of the 1840s were in evidence.”).

either through abrupt class antagonism, or through steady class cooperation. Pillot and Dézamy, the organizers of the Belleville banquet, were among the most outspoken leaders of renewed revolutionary radicalism in the tradition of Babeuf. Cabet was certainly not ready to break bread with the feral neo-Bavouist disciples of the 1830s and 1840s and would not even be seen with such bellicose company.²⁰⁶ Besides, he reasoned, the banquet would be too divisive even from within, marked by “the spirit of contradiction, of rivalry, of hostility between certain communists and the reformists and not the reflective and prudent concern for the Community.”²⁰⁷

The depth of their disagreement was exposed at the high-profile trial of a clumsy communist assassin several months later. In the *Affair Darmès*, one witness testified that there were presently “two branches of the communists, one of which he did not think was in favor of violent means, the other, the *communistes immédiats*, who wished to overthrow the present government by any means,” including secret conspiracies.²⁰⁸ Unfortunately for pacific Icarian communists, the alleged assassin’s own clan, *Les Travailleurs Égalitaires*, “also called itself simply *les Communistes*, and thus the association of communism with conspiratorial activity and violence was more or less fixed.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Chateaubriand describes the neo-bavouist adherents of the 1830s, recruited from among the fierce convicts of Sainte-Pélagie: “jeunes et ardents révolutionnaires à moustaches, à barbes, au cheveux longs, aux bonnets teutons ou grecs, au visage pâle, au regards âpres, à l’aspect menaçant.” See VI RENE DE CHATEAUBRIAND, *MEMOIRES D’OUTRE-TOMBE* 309 (Editions Garnier 1861) (1848).

²⁰⁷ CABET, *supra* note 91, at 38.

²⁰⁸ Aimée Borel, Cour des Pairs, *Attentat de 15 octobre*, 33 (1841). Secret left-wing conspiracies and militant popular movements were once again in vogue, with partisans everywhere demanding an immediate end to the exploitation of the working poor. This was the age of secret conspiracies, and among the most active were: *la Société de Droits de l’Homme*, *la Légion Révolutionnaire*, *la Famille*, *les Phalanges Démocratiques*, *les Saisons*, *la Fédération des Bannis*, and Darmès own clan, *les Travailleurs Égalitaires*.

²⁰⁹ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 75 (emphasis added).

But bloody revolution could not have been farther from Cabet's mind by 1840: "If I held revolution in my hand, I would keep it closed even though I should die in exile."²¹⁰ Unlike younger political rivals, Cabet's aging contemporaries remembered the unsavory elements of the French Revolution, and had lost their taste for violence.²¹¹ Perhaps, too, Cabet's own experiences and training helped him root his social projects in legalism and order rather than general mayhem. Besides, even the most popular conspiracies, like the *Charbonnerie*, had proven woefully ineffective.²¹²

In a brochure following the notorious assassination attempt, Cabet describes his lawful, non-violent, plans for converting France to communism. In *Ma Ligne Droite, ou le Vrai Chemin du Salut pour le Peuple*, he rails on his radical colleagues for their bloodlust: "Do you not see the enormous, incalculable evil that such useless acts of violence create for the cause of the people by giving its enemies a pretext to rant about risings, pillages, murders, to make searches, arrests, and seizures, to frighten the Bourgeoisie, strangle the press, etc., etc.?"²¹³ Rather, Cabet came to firmly believe that only broad-based consensus and legitimate, albeit incremental, internal reforms would effect a lasting, meaningful transformation of society.²¹⁴ So Cabet essentially advocated revolution by the least

²¹⁰ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 564.

²¹¹ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 119 ("Les hommes de l'âge de Cabet, c'est-à-dire ceux dont la vie se partage entre deux siècles, s'efforcent de résoudre le problème social qui s'impose à eux avec les solutions que leur suggère leur éducation révolutionnaire complétée par l'enseignement des survivants de la grande époque.").

²¹² See ÉTIENNE CABET, *MA LIGNE DROITE OU LE VRAI CHEMIN DU SALUT POUR LE PEUPLE* 16 (Paris 1841). ("[Les sociétés secrètes] portent naturellement à l'impatience, à la précipitation, à la témérité parce que, dès que quelques hommes courageux se trouvent réunis ils se croient nombreux et invincibles . . . [T]out peut être compromis par un seul.").

²¹³ *Id.* at 17. Indeed, the government had increased its anti-conspiratorial repressions. For example, "[a] Ministry of Justice report of early 1842 listed thirteen separate prosecutions. Of 187 individuals accused, 137 were condemned for conspiracy." JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 79.

²¹⁴ See CABET, *supra* note 80, at 564-65 ("Et quelque lentement que l'opinion publique amène son triomphe, elle l'amènera toujours plus promptement et plus solidement que ne le ferait la violence.").

means—a gradual transition period, of say, thirty years, wherein progressive education and social reforms spanning multiple generations would lead to an inevitable leveling of power and property.²¹⁵ This new era would be brought about not by secret plotting, but by open discussion, persuasion, and the preaching of the converted. Cabet pleads for peace in the final pages of *Voyage en Icarie*:

À l'oeuvre donc, vous tous, riches et pauvres qui vous trouver convertis à la communauté. Discutez, prêchez, convertissez, propagez ! Recueillez toutes les opinions et toutes les preuves qui peuvent faciliter la conversion des autres. J'ai commencé : d'autres peuvent faire mieux. Et point de conspirations, points d'associations conspiratrices toujours exposées à l'impatience et la désunion ! Point d'arrière-pensées ! Seulement de la discussion !²¹⁶

Serving as the voice of reason, pacifism and inclusion suited Cabet well. He styled himself a wizened and kindly figure, a “fatherly *bonhomme* who grandly linked all classes . . . [as] the apostle of panhuman fraternity.”²¹⁷ Thus, far from provoking the bourgeoisie, he carried their essential support by “claim[ing] to be in pursuit of harmony, association and mutualism, all to be gained through cooperation, not conflict . . . The plan was gradually to make France anew, commune by commune.”²¹⁸

This conciliatory tone was heresy to many. Cabet's reliance on the good will of the bourgeoisie seemed impossibly naïve, and the militants reserved their most trenchant

²¹⁵ See generally *id.* at 357-71 (detailing an elaborate ‘régime transitoire,’ which included some of what is considered typical wealth-redistribution in the 20th century: mandatory public education, property taxes, and progressive income taxation; it also included, however, an abolishment of all inheritances, and its assignment to the state upon an owner's death).

²¹⁶ *Id.* at 564-65.

²¹⁷ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 61.

²¹⁸ PILBEAM, *supra* note 74, at 115.

attacks for “M. Cabet et ses Cabêteses.”²¹⁹ In the 1848 *Communist Manifesto*, Marx himself, who elsewhere praised Cabet for his hands-on dedication,²²⁰ leveled an acerbic criticism of any “utopian” approach, and singled-out the Icarians by name:

Socialists of this kind consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference to the ruling class. For [in their thinking] how can people, once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary, action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavour, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel. . . .

Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. *They, therefore, endeavour, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realizations of their social Utopias, of founding isolated ‘phalanstères’, of establishing ‘Home Colonies’, of setting up a ‘Little Icaria’—duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem—and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois.*²²¹

²¹⁹ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 197.

²²⁰ See ANGRAND, *supra* note 15, at 29 (“La critique la plus exacte du ‘grand projet’—est formulée à Londres—par de jeunes hommes qui naguère avaient connu Cabet à Paris et qui l’estimaient : Marx et Engels.”).

²²¹ MARX & ENGELS, *supra* note 116-17 (emphasis added).

By Marx's 1848 publication there had already been a veritable sea change towards favoring violent overthrow of the ruling class as an indispensable first step.²²² But even a decade earlier, this was still up for grabs, and it was by no means certain that fomenting revolution would be necessary, or even supported by a majority of workers. It was in this uncertain context that Étienne Cabet built-up Icarianism as the single-most important alternative, doctrinally and numerically, to the rising tide of militancy within the larger communist ranks.

The Heights of French Icarianism

As described above, French communism throughout the 1840s was remarkably polarized. There was apparently a sizable population of workers craving a legal form of communism, operating respectably and respectfully in the light of day. Icarianism thus became a rallying point for adherents of pacific, cooperative, and cross-class social reformation in that era.

Cabet set to work to win the hearts and minds of the French citizenry the only way he knew how—publishing and organizing—often one in the same activity. In March of 1841, at the urging of new-found disciples, he breathed new life into his beloved newspaper *le Populaire* (it having waned while he was in exile). Within months it again had over two thousand subscribers, and by 1846, there were upwards of five thousand.²²³ It was estimated that this subscription rate represented a total readership of twenty-five times

²²² See *id.* at 120 (“In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of thing . . . They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communistic revolution.”)

²²³ See ANGRAND, *supra* note 15, at 24.

more, owing to the practice of passing sheets along.²²⁴ Cabet also began publishing a wildly successful *Icarian Almanach*, essentially a practical guide to communism, selling over 10,000 copies with the 1844 edition alone.²²⁵

Cabet's publication efforts simultaneously marked the birth of Icarianism as an actual social movement. Because he felt that the proletarian class as a whole would best be served if the various left-wing factions would work in concert, Cabet's activities were initially directed towards promoting unity.²²⁶ He forcefully extended an olive branch, suggesting that "in order not to be conquered, crushed, *union* is the first of our necessities. Reformists, communists, democrats, patriots, let us not be foolish enough to lose our cause by vain discussions! Close your ranks! *Union! Union!*"²²⁷ By 'union,' however, Cabet meant to consolidate the whole of the communist movement in France around him, and worked tirelessly to bring these various factions under his control.

But many would not be so easily led. Only weeks after the highly anticipated rebirth of *le Populaire*, néo-bavouist Richard Lahautière, a former Cabet lieutenant, founded *Fraternité* specifically to destroy him. Another former apprentice, Théodore Dézamy, initiated *l'Égalitaire*. The ensuing battles with Dézamy were particularly acrimonious, quickly devolving from needless doctrinal debates into the most stinging personal attacks

²²⁴ See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 146 ("As for the actual ratio between the number of papers sold and the number of adherents, we can only make rough estimates. Cabet set the figure at about one to 25; late in 1843 he declared that with a total circulation of 1,900 he had 50,000 reader-followers. This may not have been unduly optimistic.")

²²⁵ *See id.* at 103.

²²⁶ *See, e.g.*, CABET, SALUT PAR L'UNION OU RUINE PAR LA DIVISION : LA PAIX OU LA GUERRE ENTRE LE POPULAIRE ET LA REFORME 56 (Paris 1845).

²²⁷ Étienne Cabet, LE POPULAIRE, May 20, 1841.

imaginable.²²⁸ Still other papers mobilized to discredit Cabet, such as the ultra-anarchist *l'Humanitaire*, or Cavignac's *Journal du Peuple*; all were arrayed in various degrees against the passive Icarian position. Over the next eight years, thousands and thousands of pages issued forth from the offices of *le Populaire*, all expounding the virtues of Icarianism, and defending it against calumny from all sides.²²⁹ Cabet was as caustic as he was effective in his apologies of Icarianism, and always gave as good as he got. Perhaps a little too good. By 1847, the vast majority of these other journals had already been silenced (some by the government, some for lack of interest), whereas *le Populaire* out-lived and out-sold every other popular sheet of its day.

Thanks to relentless propaganda efforts, loyal partisans flocked to Cabet, at first in Paris, then throughout the country. After eight Icarians were acquitted of highly-publicized conspiracy charges in Toulouse, the fame of the movement spread: "These persecutions only increased the number of the Icarian communists. In 1847 there were hundreds of thousands in France, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, England, and other countries."²³⁰ Best-selling author Eugène Sue surmised that among the French working class, only the venerable Louis Blanc was as popular as Cabet; and Karl Grün admitted that "Cabet had

²²⁸ See, e.g., THÉODORE DEZAMY, CALOMNIES ET POLITIQUE DE M. CABET : REFUTATION PAR DES FAITS ET PAR SA BIOGRAPHIE (Paris 1842). Cabet was also fighting on another front: while Icarianism enraged many of the proletarian class with its apparent moderation, at the other end of the spectrum, Icarianism frightened many of the propertied class with its progressive reform agenda. The republican and even conservative publications, such as Lammenais's *le National*, Buchez's *l'Atelier*, and Ledru-Rollin's *la Réforme*, each vehemently attacked Cabet in turn.

²²⁹ See, e.g., ÉTIENNE CABET, REPOSE DE M. CABET A LA DECLARATION DE GUERRE DE L'ÉCOLE PHALANSTÉRIENNE (Paris 1847); ÉTIENNE CABET, LE GANT JETÉ AU COMMUNISME PAR UN RICHE JÉSUITÉ, ACADEMICIEN A LYON, RAMASSÉ PAR M. CABET (Paris 1844); CABET, DOUZE LETTRES D'UN COMMUNISTE A UN RÉFORMISTE SUR LA COMMUNAUTÉ 166 (Paris 1842); Étienne Cabet, *Inconséquences de M. de Lamennais* (Paris 1844); Étienne Cabet, *Réfutation des Doctrines de l'Atelier* (Paris 1842); Étienne Cabet, *Réfutation des Trois Ouvrages de L'Abbé Constant* (Paris 1841); Étienne Cabet, *Réfutation de l'Humanitaire Demandant l'Abolition du Mariage et de la Famille* (Paris 1841); Étienne Cabet, *Nouvelle Réponse de M. Cabet aux Nouvelles Attaques du National* (Paris 1841)

²³⁰ WILLIAM ALFRED HINDS, AMERICAN COMMUNITIES 364 (Charles Kerr & Co. 1908) (quoting E. PERON, BRIEF HISTORY OF ICARIA (1890)).

already amassed the largest active backing of any contemporary European theorist.”²³¹ The number of Icarians by 1847, exceeded all Bavouists, Fourierists, Saint-Simoniens, and Montagnards, Blanquists, and was easily the largest single communist school in France, according to an influential republican newspaper.²³² While these rival groups had more of the intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie, Cabet, to his great delight, had resonated overwhelmingly with the larger body of the proletarian class.²³³ The movement thus reached its high-water mark in the mid to late 1840s, conservatively counting 100,000 devoted members, with some estimates reaching as high as 400,000.²³⁴

Even in its own phenomenal success, however, lay the seeds of its undoing. In order for Cabet to attract that many adherents, he exposed several weaknesses that his enemies would soon exploit. First, he demanded complete orthodoxy from his followers, and did not tolerate opposition, or even meaningful contributions from within. He alone sought to guide the shape and content of communism in France, and found himself increasingly marginalized by other intellectuals. Even amid its meteoric rise in membership, key defections weakened the party.

Second, he trended more and more towards a benign Christian spiritualism to undergird his communism. This was certainly in vogue among many of his generation, to wit, Saint-Simon, and was a recognizable and ready-made discourse that leant itself well to

²³¹ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 145.

²³² *Id.*

²³³ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 198 (“Alors que les écoles saint-simonienne et phalanstérienne ont attiré à elles une élite de penseurs, le communisme icarien a toujours représenté une armée nombreuse, mais anonyme.”).

²³⁴ HOLLOWAY, *supra* note 46, at 199 (“Between 1840 and 1847 he devoted *Le Populaire* and a new publication, *L’Almanach Icarienne*, to the propagation of his communistic views, and by the end of the latter year was said to have built up a following of 400,000.”).

communist reinterpretation. While Cabet's religiosity was incidental to his ideology, *le Vrai Christianisme*,²³⁵ published in 1847, was a work very dear to Cabet.²³⁶ He analogized that "Jesus Christ undertook, against Roman and Jewish aristocracy, the greatest reforms or revolutions: the abolition of slavery, the equality and Fraternity of men and peoples, the freeing of women, the abolition of opulence and misery, the destruction of sacerdotal power, and, finally, the community of goods."²³⁷ But this shift in mode and expression was widely criticized on the left as an example of catering to bourgeois religious tastes. "That the sectarianization of Icarian communism destroyed its viability as an influential movement is beyond doubt."²³⁸

Third, yet another round of government recriminations weighed heavily on the party. Cabet began criticizing the government again, claiming that the monarchy had infected France with "egotism and political indifference."²³⁹ By this point, Cabet was already seen by police as the leader of the communists, and they singled him out for abuses; he was arrested and spent three days in jail in January of 1848.²⁴⁰ For the right, the entire far-left

²³⁵ CABET, *LE VRAI CHRISTIANISME SUIVANT JESUS-CHRIST* (Paris 1847).

²³⁶ See PAUL CARRE, *CABET : DE LA DEMOCRATIE AU COMMUNISME* 15 ("Il consacra un volume—*Le Vrai Christianisme*—à une these qui lui était chère, d'après laquelle le communisme ne serait que la restauration du Christianisme dans sa pureté primitive.").

²³⁷ Étienne Cabet, *LE POPULAIRE*, Sept. 11, 1842.

²³⁸ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 259.

²³⁹ ROBERT SUTTON, *COMMUNAL UTOPIAS AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: SECULAR COMMUNITIES, 1824-2000*, 55 (Praeger 2004).

²⁴⁰ JEAN FRANÇOIS CRETINON, *VOYAGE EN ICARIE : DEUX OUVRIERS VIENNOIS AUX ÉTATS-UNIS* 23 (Presses Universitaires de France 1952).

was a violent and unknown quantity; they naturally saw all groups desiring an end to their property rights as a monolithic danger.²⁴¹

Lastly, times simply had changed. On the eve of the 1848 revolutions across Europe, the people had grown incredibly restless. A series of bad harvests, excessively cold winters, industrial setbacks, and lay-offs, pushed *les classes souffrantes* to desperate acts.²⁴² Suddenly, *les classes dangereuses* were demanding to be heard, rendering Icarian passivism and reconciliation less enticing as the general militancy on the streets was increasing.²⁴³ These four factors contributed to an eventual decline in the political capital of Icarianism in France. Though their numbers remained relatively steady, many outsiders began to perceive the movement as increasingly obscure, and possibly obsolete due to shifting political winds.²⁴⁴

“Allons En Icarie !”

Perhaps most intriguing by 1847, is that Cabet seemed blissfully unaware, or more likely, unconcerned, about his political troubles in France. He had already diverted his attentions elsewhere. It is not certain when Cabet began imagining the possibility of an emigration to

²⁴¹ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 200 (“L’opinion publique, toujours simpliste, englobe le communisme tout entier dans l’horreur que lui inspirent les excès de quelques furieux. Cette hostilité poursuivra l’École icarienne . . .”).

²⁴² See generally MIQUEL, *supra* note 24, at 348-50.

²⁴³ See *id.* at 349 (“Commencée en effet aux cris de “vive la Réforme!” la Révolution de 1848 allait rapidement devenir, sous l’action des républicains et des socialistes, une révolution contre la société de l’argent..”).

²⁴⁴ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 143 (“[E]ven in 1845 a shadow was being cast across the Icarian movement. While Cabet’s general strategy of left-wing unity and personal control within the communist camp seemed to be producing results, the growing rigidity of the Icarian party and the noticeable defections of loyalists already anticipated a problem that would reveal how unrealistic it was. Events later that year would show that the social-republican left could not abide communism; shortly thereafter the depression of 1846 would revitalize the revolutionary communists. Cabet and his party would ultimately find themselves isolated. Instead of a communist mass movement fortifying the far left of a unified social republican opposition in France, Icarian communism evolved into a semi-religious sect.”).

recreate his novel, “[b]ut hunted on all sides, a hundred times challenged to prove the practicability of his system, he resolved to silence his adversaries by the establishment of a vast experimental colony”²⁴⁵ The cunning politician, he capitalized on the groundswell of enthusiasm and support, recognizing the makings of a comeback. In May, 1847 he sent up a clarion cry in the pages of *le Populaire*: ALLONS EN ICARIE !

Many on the outside took this audacious project as yet another indication of Cabet’s folly, definitively sealing the irrelevance of a once grand movement. But for the embattled Icarians, having endured intense persecutions of late, the call to flee and establish a place of refuge sounded with amazing clarity. They had been brought into the party through the charms of *Voyage en Icarie*, imbibing the novel over a decade until they were absolutely convinced of its possibility. The long-awaited realization of this vision seemed a natural next step. Indeed, his call was strong medicine:

The cry was not: Let us emigrate to America, and there with utmost exertion, found a colony in the wilderness. . . . Rather, Cabet was saying: ‘Let us go to Icaria!’ . . . Let us enter boldly into this novel, let us give life to Icaria, let us free ourselves from all privations . . . ! Every article in his newspaper would refer henceforth to Icaria; this went so far that he would describe, for example, how several workers were injured by the explosion of a steam engine in La Villette and conclude his account with the words, ‘Let us go to Icaria!’”²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ See HINDS, *supra* note 230, at 365.

²⁴⁶ 2 SIGMUND ENGLÄNDER, GESCHICHTE DER FRANZÖSISCHEN ARBEITER-ASSOCIATIONEN 93-94 (Hamburg 1864) (quoted in BENJAMIN, *supra* note 4, at 623).

The “*pûr et dure*” of the Icarian school responded to Cabet’s plan with unprecedented enthusiasm, volunteerism, and donations.²⁴⁷ The Lyonnais Icarians, for example, pledged huge sums of money and more than 11,000 interested colonists.²⁴⁸ Cabet, based on such favorable showings, stated that he had “no doubt of being able to unite more than a million of co-operators.”²⁴⁹ It was not to be an immediate mass migration recklessly undertaken without proper planning or funding, however.²⁵⁰ Rather, it would be a meticulous and gradual experiment, merely a colony at first, or “*avant-garde*” as it was styled. Since literally “[t]housands of Icarians claimed the honor of being the first colonists,” a special committee winnowed the number down, “selecting sixty-nine of [Cabet’s] most devoted disciples, all young and vigorous men able to stand the fatigues and privations which awaited them.”²⁵¹

But they still didn’t know exactly *where* Icaria would be. It was quickly established that they would find the most available land in America, ostensibly on the Western frontier. Cabet took six months to work out the details, traveling to London to counsel with his longtime friend and mentor, Robert Owen, who had a wealth of practical experience establishing communities in the Americas.²⁵² When his own New Harmony, Indiana,

²⁴⁷ HINDS, *supra* note 230, at 365 (“The effect of this call was indescribable. Thousands of congratulations came to him from all parts. His scheme was the topic of all the journals. Some supported it, others denounced or ridiculed it, but the greater number favored it.”).

²⁴⁸ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 206.

²⁴⁹ HINDS, *supra* note 230, at 365.

²⁵⁰ I ÉTIENNE CABET, REALISATION DE LA COMMUNAUTE D’ICARIE 44 (Paris 1847) (“Ce ne sera pas une cohue d’hommes sans idée . . . : nous aurons un plan discuté, adopté d’avance, et là-bas, en Icarie, avec nos principes icariens, que de prodiges et merveilles !”).

²⁵¹ HINDS, *supra* note 230, at 366 (quoting ARSENE SAUVA, THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST (1878)).

²⁵² See Étienne Cabet, LE POPULAIRE, Aug. 1, 1847. (“Robert Owen, le grand socialiste et communiste anglais et américain, vient d’arriver d’Amérique à Londres. Nos amis apprendront avec plaisir qu’il approuve notre projet d’émigration et qu’il l’appuiera de toute son influence. Il nous a déjà communiqué très précieux renseignements.”).

experiment ended in failure by the 1830s, Owen “continued to nurse the dream of a Texas community and apparently communicated it to Étienne Cabet.”²⁵³ Owens introduced Cabet to a land agent from the Peters Company, based in Cincinnati, but representing the government from the State of Texas.

The details of the transaction with the land speculator, William Smalling Peters, are uncertain. Apparently, Cabet acquired for free hundreds of non-contiguous plots in a grid, totaling 100,000 acres near Denton, Texas (just 40 miles northwest of modern Dallas). According to their deal, the title to every second square in a chess-board pattern would be given to Icarians as freehold property, on condition that they build and occupy a farmstead on each 320-acre section by July of 1848.²⁵⁴ The intervening parcels would still belong to the Peters Company. This arrangement set Peters up for a windfall profit later on, anticipating that the Icarians would eventually try to purchase the rest of land to create an unbroken territory for their communitarian ambitions.²⁵⁵ “[H]ow could they set up an efficient communist colony when each section was isolated from its neighbors? . . . But with that mirage of Icarian bliss always before their eyes . . . [q]uixotically, they decided to make the best of a wretched contract.”²⁵⁶ Effectively fracturing the community would be the first, but certainly not the last mistake for the new colony. For the time being, however,

²⁵³ See BEECHER, *supra* note 30, at 327.

²⁵⁴ See Jane Dupree Begos, *Icaria, a Footnote to the Peters Colony*, COMMUNAL SOCIETIES 6 (1986) (reproducing the entire contract between Peters and Cabet, entered into on January 3, 1848); see generally SEYMOUR CONNOR, THE PETERS COLONY OF TEXAS: A HISTORY AND BIOLOGICAL SKETCHES OF THE EARLY SETTLERS (The Texas State Historical Assoc. 1959).

²⁵⁵ Jonathan Beecher, *Building Utopia in the Promised Land: Icarians and Fourierists in Texas*, in THE FRENCH IN TEXAS 200 (Francois Lagarde ed., University of Texas Press 2003) (“[T]he Peters Company retained the rights to parcels of 320 acres alongside the parcels developed by the Icarians. What this meant was that in order to lay claim to an unbroken tract of land and thus to create a true community, the Icarians would at some point have to make huge payments to both the Peters Land Company and the state of Texas.”).

²⁵⁶ HOLLOWAY, *supra* note 46, at 202.

Cabet was exuberant, and with characteristic fanfare announced the prospective location of the new Icarian homeland on November 17th, 1847:

C'EST AU TEXAS ! Après avoir examiné tous les pays convenables pour une grande émigration, nous avons choisi le Texas, dans sa partie nord-ouest, comme celui qui présente le plus d'avantages sous le rapport de la salubrité, du climat tempéré, de la fertilité du sol, de son étendue, etc. . . . Nous avons déjà plus d'un million d'acres de terre le long de la Rivière-Rouge, beau fleuve navigable jusqu'à notre établissement et nous pouvons nous étendre indéfiniment.²⁵⁷

Most were quite unsurprised that it should be in Texas, a region already of romantic mystique in the French psyche.²⁵⁸ From its earliest exploration by La Salle, to the refuge of indomitable Napoleonic generals,²⁵⁹ “Texas had long been a focal point for the hopes and dreams of restless, dissatisfied, or simply ambitious Europeans.”²⁶⁰ Beecher adds of Texas that, “for many of them, it was a *palimpsest* in which they could find the realization of their own dreams and longings.”²⁶¹

The image of the palimpsest is apt, simultaneously suggesting both spatial and narrative dimensions. In medieval times, due to a scarcity of paper, a sheep's skin was often written

²⁵⁷ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 212.

²⁵⁸ See generally RENE REMOND, LES ÉTATS-UNIS DEVANT L'OPINION FRANÇAISE 1815-1852, 31-99 (Paris 1963).

²⁵⁹ It is a well-known and much publicized incident in Texas lore that

[i]n 1817 the Napoleonic general Charles Lallemand brought two boatloads of retired soldiers to Galveston Island in hopes of creating a sanctuary where veterans of the Grand Army might find a new life as *soldat-laboureurs*. “Le Champ d’Asile,” as it was called, never amounted to much, but thanks to the poetry of Béranger, the fiction of Balzac, and the works of many other novelists, poets, and painters, a legend was created that continued to haunt the French imagination twenty years later.

BEECHER, *supra* note 20, at 326.

²⁶⁰ *Id.*

²⁶¹ Beecher, *supra* note 255, at 197 (emphasis added).

upon. When the old text was no longer relevant, they would raze the skin, stripping it of its upper surface and eliminating the writing. The scrivener was then able to use the same space again, *over-writing* it with a new narrative. So too, as Philippe Hamon theorizes, can space and architecture be over-written with new meaning and cultural significance:

Just as the literary text is generally a rewriting of other texts, a palimpsest, the writer often perceives the city or the house [or other spaces] as the visible stratification, or as a “reuse” . . . of other constructions, in other words, as the reabsorption of a diachrony into a more or less homogenous or disparate synchrony.²⁶²

America, for these utopian socialists, was thus seen as a space easily capable of being over-written with their socialist ideology. But the very prospect of establishing a new, better city contained certain controversial assumptions about the plight of the working class. While the most militant socialists could not conceptually separate the proletarians from in their immediate urban context, Cabet now talked freely of flight from Paris. “In contrast to Cabet . . . Blanqui can only be imagined in Paris. Moreover, he represents himself and his work as belonging only in Paris.”²⁶³ Similarly, Marx thought that the fight needed to be waged and won in the very heart of industrial Europe, not in “isolated” rural communes, or “castles in the air.”²⁶⁴ Marx, in fact, wrote a passionate appeal “to confront a growing belief within the workers’ movement that escape to some promised land through emigration was the answer to their ills.”²⁶⁵ In a now forgotten open letter to the Icarians, Marx “argue[d] that any new foundation for social organization must be laid in place, in

²⁶² See PHILIPPE HAMON, *EXPOSITIONS: LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE* 35 (Katia Sainson-Frank & Lisa Maguire trans., University of California Press 1992).

²⁶³ BENJAMIN, *supra* note 4, at 380.

²⁶⁴ See MARX & ENGELS, *supra* note 171, at 117.

²⁶⁵ HARVEY, *supra* note 138, at 30.

Europe . . . For the workers, utopian longings may have been understandable, but there was no real way that a spatial fix could work for them”²⁶⁶ Cabet was quickly decried as a coward who had given up on the working folk because of his desire to escape.²⁶⁷ Despite his own mixed feelings, Cabet was now indeed advocating finding a new space, a *tabula rasa* in some remote wilderness. There they would found and sustain a community according to Icarian principles, becoming a beacon to the rest of humanity still mired in the mud of Paris. Icarians powerfully suggested that until the spatial and material conditions surrounding workers was set right, they were doomed to languish.

After two months of intense planning, wherein Cabet oversaw every element of the preparations, a small band of sixty-nine was on a midnight train heading for the seaport of Le Havre. There, this First Advance Guard would board the *Rome*, a ship destined for New Orleans. Any passerby on the docks in early morning hours of February 3, 1848, would have witnessed a spectacle, both strange and electric: Five hundred Icarians cheering for a company of strong, bearded men, identically dressed in black tunics and grey felt caps, standing at attention on the ship’s deck. As they left port, this strange little army raised their voices in a powerful chorus, singing their *Chant de Départ* to the tune of *la Marseillaise*:

*Arise, workers stooped in the dust,
The hour of wakening has sounded.
To American shores the banner is going to wave,
The banner of the holy community.*

²⁶⁶ *Id.*

²⁶⁷ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 216 n.3 (quoting LA FRATERNITE, July 18, 1847 (“Allons en Icarie! Une cri de découragement et de désespoir, un sauve qui peut !”)).

*No more vices, no more suffering,
No more crime, no more pain.
The August of equality advances itself:
Proletariat, dry your tears,
Let us found our Icaria,
Soldiers of Fraternity,
Let us go to found Icaria,
The happiness of Humanity!*²⁶⁸

Cabet, present in the crowd, was predictably ecstatic. The first wave of his migration had triumphantly departed, and many thousands more were clamoring to eventually join them.

In *le Populaire* he wrote that

the third of February, 1848, will be an epoch-making date, for on that date one of the grandest events in the history of the human race was accomplished—the advance guard departing on the ship the ‘Roma,’ has left for Icaria . . . May the winds and waves be propitious to you, soldiers of humanity! And we Icarians who remain, let us prepare without loss of time to rejoin our friends and brothers.²⁶⁹

He had no idea that within three weeks, the entire plan would be nearly washed away in the largest wave of revolutions ever to sweep Europe.

From February 22 to 24, 1848, Paris erupted into revolution. Worker manifestations forced Guizot to resign. Then, fierce fighting on the barricades and the storming of the Tuilleries lead to the abdication of Louis-Philippe. Finally, under the leadership of a provisional cross-party government led by Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Dupont de l’Eure, Garnier-Pagès,

²⁶⁸ CABET, ALMANACH ICARIEN 210 (Paris 1848) (translation in SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 55-56).

²⁶⁹ Étienne Cabet, LE POPULAIRE, Feb. 1848 (quoted in ERNEST G. FISCHER, MARXISTS AND UTOPIAS IN TEXAS 126 (Eakin Press 1980).

and, of course, Louis Blanc, the Second Republic was proclaimed.²⁷⁰ Everything that Cabet and his fellows had ever desired suddenly seemed realizable, and France itself could become the Icaria dreamed of.

The Revolution of 1848 was the rock on which the great Icarian school split. Part of the society advocated the recall of the advance guard, the abandonment of the emigration scheme, and the concentration of every effort for the success of the new Republic. This party hoped for the gradual transformation of France into an Icarian homeland.²⁷¹

Initially, Cabet set about frantically to claim his place in the new republic, and presented himself as a candidate for the upcoming elections in April. But the ideological tide had turned yet again to the bourgeois liberalism of Lamartine, Lammenais, and Arago, and just prior to the elections the “long-knives” came out to ensure that no dramatic change in the social order would occur. Beginning in April 1848, there was a widespread backlash against all communists in general, and their would-be leader, Cabet, in particular. In a series of intrigues surrounding Blanqui, a brutal “anti-communist drive” arose throughout Paris, spreading panic everywhere and threatening the life of Cabet and all Icarians.²⁷²

Ses affiches sont lacérées et ses afficheurs menacés ou maltraités. Lui-même doit se cacher; des groupes viennent proférer des cris de mort devant son domicile . . . Une campagne systématique menée contre lui, Cabet et ses disciples—qui rêvent d’une communauté idéale et

²⁷⁰ See MIQUEL, *supra* note 24, at 348-50.

²⁷¹ ALBERT SHAW, *ICARIA: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF COMMUNISM* 29 (New York 1884).

²⁷² See JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 280-81 (“At that point the anticommunist storm was already of significant proportions . . . His aid would link him to Blanqui and in all likelihood explode whatever chances he had of withstanding the growing anticommunist drive. He went ahead anyway, and . . . this event was clearly the catalyst that destroyed forever the hope of building Icaria in France. The denouement was rapid. On April 16, Cabet was observed riding a white horse beside Blanqui (in reality, he was nowhere in sight); that night his house, where his wife and daughter crouched in terror, was besieged by screaming members of the National Guard. The lives of Icarians were threatened in the streets.”).

fraternelle, ne se comprendrait en rien, s'il ne s'agissait—par la peur suscitée par le mot 'communisme' d'atteindre et de blesser à mort le régime républicain . . . Cabet avait donc raison; la réaction avait englobé tous les démocrates, tous les républicains dans les mêmes calomnies, dans le même anathème jeté contre 'le communisme.'²⁷³

The backlash, while violent, was mostly felt at the polls. All prominent, communists, socialists, and republicans alike, save Blanc alone, were excluded from election to the Assembly.²⁷⁴ Tasting defeat along with Cabet that day were such luminaries as Victor Hugo, Pierre Leroux, Barbès, Raspail, Eugène Sue, Victor Considérant, David d'Angiers, Blanqui and Proudhon. The humanitarian and social side of the revolution would apparently go unrealized. Icarians, dejected, "had nothing to hope from a government controlled by Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and others hostile to the Communistic cause."²⁷⁵

With their leader defeated²⁷⁶ and the workers betrayed, loyal Icarians everywhere again turned their focus to America.²⁷⁷ A great number of them, however, were now content to remain in France, and distanced themselves from the movement; "[t]here can be no doubt that the Icarian communist movement in France died during the summer of 1848."²⁷⁸

Cabet, for his part, having lived a veritable nightmare, was himself ready to follow his

²⁷³ ANGRAND, *supra* note 15, at 58-59, 62.

²⁷⁴ *See id.* at 60 ("Aucun 'socialist' n'est élu, sinon Louis Blanc et Albert, membres du gouvernement. Pas un ouvrier du Luxembourg n'a obtenu de mandat.").

²⁷⁵ SHAW, *supra* note 271, at 29.

²⁷⁶ In a second round of elections in early June, Cabet again presented himself for election to the National Assembly, and he was again rebuffed, garnering only 68,000 votes.

²⁷⁷ Consider the letter of Parisian worker Julian Lecerf to Cabet: "All the hopes that the revolution of February had awakened in me have fallen one by one. I had dared to hope that through truly democratic institutions, we could one day arrive at the realization of Community in France . . . [But] only Icaria holds out any hope." Letter from Lecerf to Cabet (Aug. 22, 1848) (quoted in JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 282-83).

²⁷⁸ JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 282-83 ("The new call for emigration found few takers. A list of those from Nantes willing to emigrate is poignant evidence of what happened all over France; of the hundreds who had followed Cabet's banner during the forties, ten indicated in August 1848 that they would like to join the emigration.").

dream, declaring that henceforth “[w]e shall therefore occupy ourselves only with our emigration and, in order the better to prepare it . . . we will no longer have political discussion.”²⁷⁹ They had better places to go, or so they thought.

Au Texas

While France was in chaos, the ‘avant-garde’ aboard the *Rome* enjoyed smooth sailing. They were in such high spirits and so thoroughly convinced of their purpose, that when they heard a cannon salute upon their arrival in the port of New Orleans, they honestly assumed it was to welcome them. In fact, it was to celebrate the announcement of the Second French Republic. This news, received on March 27, 1848, sent shockwaves through the bewildered “Soldiers of Humanity.” They hotly debated whether to proceed, or to return immediately. Five did sail home despite the best efforts of Adolphe Gouhenant, their field leader.²⁸⁰ Having received no word from Cabet,²⁸¹ they decided to press on, but the entire way was not navigable by river as they had been promised. Instead, once in Shreveport, they were forced to disembark and faced a 250 mile overland journey to their lands.²⁸² “Strangers in a strange land, unable to speak English, ignorant of almost everything which a pioneer should know, their hardships were only exceeded by their

²⁷⁹ Étienne Cabet, *Dixième Discours du Citoyen Cabet* 12 (Paris 1848) (quoted in JOHNSON, *supra* note 12, at 282); *see also* Étienne Cabet, *LE POPULAIRE*, June 11, 1848 (“Je puis, je dois, et je veux me consacrer entièrement, désormais, à la propagande de nos doctrines icariennes ou socialistes et à la continuation de notre grande émigration.”).

²⁸⁰ Gouhenant, a 43 year-old with striking blond, curly hair and beard, was a long time disciple of Cabet, and something of a rising star in the community. He had been a sign painter and among the Icarians acquitted of conspiracy charges in Toulouse in 1843. After these infamous events, he rose quickly through the ranks. Gouhenant became a close associate of Cabet, trusted enough to lead his precious expedition to the New World. *See* PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 217.

²⁸¹ Several writers note with interest that if the party’s departure had been delayed even by three weeks, they likely would not have embarked at all owing to the Revolution at home. *See id.* at 219.

²⁸² SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 56.

fortitude and good cheer.”²⁸³ They were clearly ill-equipped to face the rigors of the infamous Bonham Road, which was little more than an oft-disappearing path cut through Comanche territory.²⁸⁴ From this point their trials only multiplied in frequency and severity, reaching almost unheard of proportions:

Within days their wagons broke down. They slept without tents and were devoured by mosquitoes. They had to plod through swamps and trudge across deserted prairie. Finally, on April 21 they arrived at their destination . . . Then disaster hit. The temperature rose to over 100° F and the place became an inferno. Malaria swept through the encampment, then cholera. Four men died. Everyone was dehydrated from dysentery and vomiting. Their physician went insane and wandered off. They discovered that Gouhenant was a spy for the French secret police, shaved off his hair and beard and expelled him.

Exhausted by the end of the summer, they broke up into groups of four, distributed what food they had, and headed back to Shreveport. The trek was a nightmare. Four more men died. By mid October the motley refugees, half starved and shaking with fever, trickled into town. By the end of the month they found passage back to New Orleans.²⁸⁵

When the beleaguered survivors finally contacted the next wave of five hundred reinforcements just arriving from France,²⁸⁶ their accounts were not of a land flowing with milk and honey. It had been a brutal wilderness in need of substantial taming, and the would-be homesteaders were mostly city-dwelling, manufacturing types. There was a paucity of *défricheurs*, frontiersmen, hunters, and farmers, which had simply not been

²⁸³ SHAW, *supra* note 271, at 36.

²⁸⁴ See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 223 (“A défaut du bateau à vapeur promis, les Icaris pouvaient-ils du moins compter sur ‘la route nationale de Bonham’? Hélas! à cette époque, les habitants de cette partie de Texas ne connaissaient d’autres routes que celles qu’ils se frayaient eux-mêmes par la hache ou par le feu.”).

²⁸⁵ SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 56; see also PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 224-33.

²⁸⁶ In all, there were seven waves over the course of 1848, bringing a total of 259 men, 125 women, and 101 children. When the eleven New Orleanians converts were added, there was a grand total of 496 that year.

recruited. For all of their dedication, they lacked the basic know-how;²⁸⁷ for example, they broke both their plows when they set them too deep for the tough prairie sod.²⁸⁸ They had found themselves alone on isolated plots, building rudimentary shelters by their mid-summer deadline, but far from founding a community.²⁸⁹ Perhaps the strangest portent of all—one of them had even been killed by lightning!²⁹⁰

So it appeared that they had been taken by Peters, and Cabet decided to forever abandon the concession, given the absence of navigable rivers and decent roads.²⁹¹ Additionally, “[i]t needs no argument to show that a colony intending to live grouped in a village, with a unitary *cuisine* and dining-hall and a cooperative system of agriculture and industry, must have its land in a compact body.”²⁹²

Hearing these calamities, the new-arrivals were disheartened and disillusioned.²⁹³ With nowhere to go, the entire operation entirely stalled in New Orleans for three desperate

²⁸⁷ See JOHN W. FRIESEN & VIRGINIA LYONS, *THE PALGRAVE COMPANION TO NORTH AMERICAN UTOPIAS* 138 (Palgrave Macmillan 2004)

²⁸⁸ SHAW, *supra* note 271, at 47 (“A plow had been purchased, and they set about ‘breaking’ the prairie. But alas! they knew not how. In turning the matted virgin sod of the prairie for the first time, the Western farmer never sinks his plow-share deeper than two or three inches; but these young tailors and shoemakers knew nothing about Western farming, and drove the plow in clear to the beam . . . They broke their plow very promptly, but they never ‘broke’ any Texas prairie.”).

²⁸⁹ *Cf.* Letter from Gouhenant to Cabet, July 12, 1848 (published in *LE POPULAIRE*, Oct. 1, 1848) (“Enfin, nous avons 32 sections, Icarie est fondée! C’est de quoi nourrir quinze à vingt mille personnes.”). With this output, they were legally able to lay claim to about 10,000 acres, according to the terms of their contract. See BEECHER, *supra* note 255, at 203.

²⁹⁰ FISCHER, *supra* note 269, at 129.

²⁹¹ BEECHER, *supra* note 255, at 203.

²⁹² SHAW, *supra* note 271, at 48.

²⁹³ FISCHER, *supra* note 269, at 131. This is was not uncommon according to historian, Virginia Taylor:

Many of the French were disappointed in Texas. It was not the Utopian country they had been led to expect. France was [now] a republic, the French loved her soil, revered her memories, and gloried in her past and present greatness; in general they did not wish to leave their native country.

Id. at 132 (quoting VIRGINIA H. TAYLOR, *THE FRANCO-TEXAN LAND COMPANY* (University of Texas Press 1969)).

months. They elected an interim leader named Pédron (to replace the “traitor” Gouhenant),²⁹⁴ hoping to hold the splintering group together until Cabet could personally deliver them.²⁹⁵ Cabet finally did arrive in late January, 1849, with dozens of new settlers in tow. They found a truly wretched scene in the two cramped townhouses rented on St. Ferdinand Street: they were sick, hungry, bickering, and almost out of money.²⁹⁶ He was, predictably, greeted as a deliverer.²⁹⁷

Then, drawing on decades of experience as a leader, Cabet acted decisively to restore order and hope. Holding an emergency meeting, he asked for a vote of re-affirmation as their leader, and subsequently excommunicated several unruly agitators. A minority also freely chose to leave at that time, but the vast majority confirmed their undying commitment to the cause of humanity.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Cabet had become convinced that his former disciple was, in fact, a Judas, bought by the Jesuits and charged with sabotaging the founding of the colony.

[U]n fait immense s’est découvert contre Gouhenant, délégué pour diriger la première avant garde, et ce fait, c’est qu’on trouve à la prefecture de Toulouse des lettres par lesquelles ce Gouhenant, à l’époque du procès de Toulouse en 1843, offrait au préfet de se vendre pour 200.000 francs. C’était un traître, chargé peut-être de l’infame mission de faire échouer l’entreprise la plus utile à l’Humanité . . . On croit l’argent des Jésuites.

Cabet, *LE POPULAIRE*, Dec. 20, 1848 (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 233-34). But there is no way to know if these claims are legitimate, or if Gouhenant was merely an unfortunate scapegoat for the botched expedition. Gouhenant stayed in Texas, and eventually joined Victor Considérant in 1854; the Fourierist believed his side of the story, and published a defense of “brave” Gouhenant. See VICTOR CONSIDÉRANT, *AU TEXAS: RAPPORT A MES AMIS* 42, 190 (Paris 1854).

²⁹⁵ See Letter from New Orleans, Nov. 13, 1848 (referenced in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 240 n.1 (“Réunis en assemblée générale dans les premiers jours de novembre 1848, ils avaient désigné Pédron comme président, avec mission de maintenir l’unité jusqu’à l’arrivée du fondateur-gérant.”)).

²⁹⁶ See SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 57.

²⁹⁷ *Id.* (“Bourg was ecstatic. ‘For us it was heaven,’ he wrote, and everyone ‘embraced him and shed tears of joy and tears of shock that bathed the face of our venerable Messiah.’”).

²⁹⁸ *Id.* (“According to Cabet’s account, published later in the New Orleans newspaper *l’Abeille*, a ‘feeble minority’ responded ‘no’ but a ‘great majority’ responded ‘yes.’”).

Having purged the Icarian body of its contagion,²⁹⁹ Cabet set about to cure its most obvious deficiency. He quickly dispatched emissaries to find an alternative location for the Icarian homeland. Only a week later, on February 5, they returned word of a most curious and fortuitous find: an empty city.

²⁹⁹ Cabet wrote following those defections that “the sick and the discouraged have gone. We gave each of them 200 francs, or 15,000 francs in all. We still have 60,000 francs on hand.” PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 243 n.1.

Chapter 5

AMERICAN ZION

The Origins of Mormon Urbanism

By 1849, the City of Nauvoo, Illinois, was a virtual ghost-town whereas just a few years prior, it had been a boom-town. In its heyday there were well over 15,000 inhabitants, almost twice the size of contemporary Chicago, and one of fifteen largest in the United States by 1842.³⁰⁰ The city occupied a prominent place on the Mississippi, benefiting from a robust river trade, also serving as an important westward frontier stop. This ideal location made Nauvoo an impressive hub, inter-mingling a wealth of goods, valuable information, and diverse peoples.

But even this thriving metropolis had not been long in existence. In the winter of 1838-39, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called “Mormons,” emerged from the woods of Missouri and crossed the frozen river eastward into Illinois. These destitute refugees, having been expelled by force from their former homes,³⁰¹ then moved up-river from Quincy to a swampy peninsula where a village of less than a hundred,

³⁰⁰ DAVID E. MILLER & DELLA S. MILLER, *NAUVOO: THE CITY OF JOSEPH* 76 (Peregrine Smith, Inc. 1974) (emphasis added).

³⁰¹ The infamous “extermination” order was issued by Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs on October 28, 1838, and was directed to General John B. Clark of the state militia:

Your orders are therefore to hasten your operation with all possible speed. *The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description.* If you can increase your force you are authorized to do so to any extent you may consider necessary.

Quoted in *id.* at 15. (emphasis added).

Commerce, had been incorporated in 1834.³⁰² They continued to come by the tens of thousands, led by their prophet, Joseph Smith, many having begun their odyssey half a continent away in upstate New York. “These Yankee Mormons combined a tradition of religious fervor and an ancestry rooted in the Puritan Commonwealth of New England where another generation had made a solemn attempt to bring God’s Kingdom to fruition.”³⁰³

As suggested above, Mormon spatial practices grew out of a particular socio-cultural context,³⁰⁴ informed greatly by the American colonial experience. “The City on the Hill” leitmotif was particularly well known, especially in the northern-most colonies, merging the body politic and the body of Christ. Seventeenth-century New Englanders developed ‘covenant’ communities wherein religion dictated the everyday experience of the inhabitants. But while covenant theory explains the sacred purpose of communal life, it did little to expound its physical form.

³⁰² ROBERT BRUCE FLANDERS, *NAUVOO: KINGDOM ON THE MISSISSIPPI* 1 (University of Illinois Press 1965). Flanders describes the physical features of the area:

The site of the city of Nauvoo was directly across the river from Montrose, Iowa, about 12 miles by river north of Keokuk, 15 from Warsaw, Illinois, 53 from Quincy, and 191 from St. Louis. There is at that point a bend in the river that makes a long smooth arc pointing towards the west and leaving a big bulge of bottom land on the Illinois side jutting into Iowa. Since the river flows on the north, west, and south, the bulge is a kind of peninsula shaped like a half-ellipse, two miles long from north to south and a mile wide. A line of broken bluffs runs north and south along the east or land side of the peninsula, meeting the river on the north at the beginning of its bend and again on the south at the completion of its bend. The peninsula, which is low and flat, is separated by the bluffs from the higher prairie which stretches eastward from their top. The peninsula, the bluffs, and a considerable area of adjacent prairie were all to be included in the City of Nauvoo. There were few inhabitants in the region before the Mormons.

Id. at 39.

³⁰³ *Id.* at 2.

³⁰⁴ See EPHRAIM ERICKSEN, *THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF MORMON GROUP LIFE* 8 (The University of Chicago Press 1922) (“[I]t is the ideals and sentiments resulting from experiences themselves which reveal the true life of a people. . . . They develop out of the social intercourse which takes place in connection with the larger economic, social, and religious problems of the community.”).

A competing strand in colonial urban planning during the eighteenth century was rooted in the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Under Descartes and Kant, space was mathematized and sanitized of its contingencies.³⁰⁵ Overlaying the landscape with a comprehensive grid system not only helped survey the new nation, as mandated by the Land Ordinance of 1785, but rationalized the uncultivated continent into “a smooth space of uncoded and de-territorialized flows.”³⁰⁶ Under this grid system, land could be transacted seamlessly, and property could be developed more efficiently.³⁰⁷ “In the new republic, Thomas Jefferson was the eloquent spokesman for those who saw four-square cities an ideal pattern for an expanding nation. His influence in the western territories gave rise to many cities laid out geographically to symbolize the American dream.”³⁰⁸ The grid system and the four-square city, in the minds of many, facilitated the inculcation of important democratic virtues such as egalitarianism, self-sufficiency, transparency, and integrity. Jefferson had always frowned on the vices associated with federalized urbanism and mercantilism,³⁰⁹ and instead privileged a local ethic of yeoman agrarianism and independent freehold farming.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ See PLACE/CULTURE/REPRESENTATION 41 (James Duncan, & David Ley eds., Routledge 1993) (stating that the Cartesian Plan revolutionized art and philosophy through “[t]he mathematization of space . . . [and] promised a systematic means of producing a mimetic reproduction of the material world. . . . [S]uch claims rapidly spread from the world of art to other knowledge systems within Europe and became a new ‘scopic regime.’”).

³⁰⁶ JORGEN BAERENHOLDT AND KIRSTEN SIMONSEN, SPACE ODYSSEYS: SPATIALITY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY 205 (Ashgate 2004). “Pursuant to the Land Ordinance of 1785,” authored by Thomas Jefferson, “the United States was responsible for extinguishing any Indian title to the land, surveying the land, offering the land at auction, and granting title to the land by deed.” Carolyn M. Landever, *Whose Home of the Range? Equal Footing, the New Federalism and State Jurisdiction on Public Lands*, 47 FLA. L. REV. 557, 568 n.61 (1995).

³⁰⁷ See generally Robert C. Ellickson, *Property in Land*, 102 YALE L.J. 1315 (1993).

³⁰⁸ GLEN M. LEONARD, NAUVOO: A PLACE OF PEACE, A PEOPLE OF PROMISE 6 (Deseret Book 2002).

³⁰⁹ Cf. MONA OZOUF, FESTIVALS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 126-57 (Harvard University Press 1988) (describing the popular festivals following the French Revolution, and noting that they were set outside of urban areas, in pastoral settings). One scholar adds, and Jefferson would likely have concurred, that

To the heirs of the French Revolution, horizontality was privileged, and horizontal open spaces signified universality, liberty, and the leveling of the social order. Such spaces systematically signified a cultural ideal in which social

This urban skepticism influenced the later Jacksonians, who sought “[t]o counter the image of European cities of sin and degradation . . . [by] establishing dwelling places imbued with the virtues of rural, agricultural, and small-town life.”³¹¹ The Jacksonian period of the 1820s and 1830s was also world famous for inventing new structures and institutions thought capable of reforming behavior, such as asylums and penitentiaries. They reasoned that in the *moral sciences*

There are principles in architecture, by the observance of which great moral changes can be more easily produced among the most abandoned of our race. . . . *There is such a thing as architecture adapted to morals*; that other things being equal, the prospect of improvement, in morals, depends, in some degree, upon the construction of buildings.³¹²

These distinct trends seemed to combine in the colonial and early republican conception of the city and architecture, and in turn heavily influenced Mormon spatial practice.³¹³ Thus, well before arriving in Commerce, the Mormon faithful had “a tradition of planning the places they wanted to live in”³¹⁴ and were well versed in American urban design theory, having already constructed several cities themselves. While their

distinctions were to be abolished, in which all segments of society were to be spontaneously united, and in which there were to be no vertical partitions to serve as hiding places for political intrigue.

Lucy Jayne Kamau, *The Anthropology of Space in Harmonist and Owenite New Harmony*, 22 COMMUNAL STUDIES 68, 68-69 (1994).

³¹⁰ See DELORES HAYDEN, SEVEN AMERICAN UTOPIAS 118 (MIT Press 1976).

³¹¹ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 6.

³¹² DAVID J. ROTHMAN, THE DISCOVERY OF THE ASYLUM: SOCIAL ORDER AND DISORDER IN THE NEW REPUBLIC 83-84 (Little Brown & Co. 1971) (quoting the Boston Prison Discipline Society, *Fourth Annual Report* 54-55 (1834)).

³¹³ See generally LOWRY NELSON, THE MORMON VILLAGE (Salt Lake City 1952); PARLEY P. PRATT, A VOICE OF WARNING AND INSTRUCTION TO ALL PEOPLE (New York 1837).

³¹⁴ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 7.

conception of urban ecology was pre-industrial, oversimplified, and fraught with unforeseen or poorly understood difficulties, Mormon town building was orderly and industrious.³¹⁵

As early as March, 1831, they had been directed to build a holy city, even Zion, the New Jerusalem.³¹⁶ In 1833, Joseph Smith gave the young Church detailed instructions on its layout. Historian Richard Bushman remarks that these sacred spatial directives from the Prophet constituted a lasting and potent legacy: “One of his most powerful acts was to create a conception of space that governed the movement of tens of thousands of people for decades.”³¹⁷ This is hardly an exaggeration, since all subsequent Mormon cities were to be built in Zion’s likeness,³¹⁸ and well over four hundred cities were eventually established.³¹⁹ So it is entirely conceivable that ever since, the inhabitants of these cities have been channeled in “those ritualized processions and movements of social life” insofar as a city’s shape necessarily “opens or obstructs and distinguishes between what it joined and what is disjunct; it welcomes, rejects, or filters while partitioning, distributing, straightening,

³¹⁵ FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 24.

³¹⁶ In a revelation to Joseph Smith communicated to the Church, the city building mandate became clear:

Wherefore I, the Lord, have said, . . . go ye forth into the western countries, . . . and build up churches unto me. And with one heart and with one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase and inheritance which shall thereafter be appointed unto you. And it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the most High God; and the glory of the Lord shall be there, . . . and it shall be called Zion.

JOSEPH SMITH, JR., THE DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS 45:64-67 (1835) (hereinafter “D&C”). The site of this city was to be near Independence, Missouri. *See id.* at 57:2-3; 82:13-14.

³¹⁷ Richard Lyman Bushman, *Making Space for the Mormons*, Leonard J. Arrington Mormon History Lecture Series, No. 2, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

³¹⁸ 1 JOSEPH SMITH, JR., HISTORY OF THE CHURCH 358 (Deseret Book 1980) (1951) (“When this square is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days; and let every man live in the city, for this is the city of Zion.”).

³¹⁹ *See* HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 105.

classifying, and separating objects from subjects.”³²⁰ Joseph Smith as urbanist is a dramatically underappreciated dimension of his ministry.

Joseph Smith’s sketch of “the Plat of the City of Zion” was a pattern not entirely dissimilar to others of the day, but had certain features unique to Mormon doctrine and practice.³²¹ “The American landscape dispersed religious energy widely throughout society into thousands of churches; Joseph’s city plat concentrated holiness in one place, in a sacred city and its temple, where religion absorbed everything.”³²² The following presents its main features, since they represented an ideal in the Mormon mind, a standard by which later cities, including Nauvoo, would be judged.

Zion would accommodate roughly 15,000 inhabitants, which was apparently quite large for its day.³²³ It was four-square with length equaling width, according to Scripture.³²⁴ The quadrangular plan was filled with ten acre blocks, each subdivided again into twenty half-acre lots. The streets, all at perfect right angles, were 132 feet across (a few downtown were wider), with many bearing the names of other holy locales, suggesting universality and the aggregation of sacrality.³²⁵ Schematizing the city according to the grid was no doubt helpful for their cities being built west of the Alleghenies, piggy-backing off of the

³²⁰ HAMON, *supra* note 262, at 27-28, 32.

³²¹ See RICHARD LYMAN BUSHMAN, *JOSEPH SMITH: ROUGH STONE ROLLING* 219 (Vintage 2005).

³²² *Id.* at 220.

³²³ Bushman notes that a population of this size would have made Zion one of the 15 largest cities in the United States in 1830, dwarfing any other city west of the Mississippi. “Joseph wanted everyone, including farmers with lands outside the plotted area, to live in a city. Contrary to his own upbringing, he would urbanize society.” *Id.* at 221.

³²⁴ See *Revelation* 21:16 (King James) (“And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth . . .”).

³²⁵ See LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 6-8, *see also supra* note 190 and accompanying text.

existing Land Ordinance requirements; from a spiritual perspective, it also potently suggested moral rectitude in its geometric precision.

Houses were to be arranged in a cross-hatched fashion, such that on alternating blocks they faced north/south, then east/west respectively. “Consequently, houses did not look across the street at other house fronts, but into the long back gardens of the lots across the street.”³²⁶ Such a layout would have had the effect of creating a heterogeneous field of vision: “Walking down the street, residents would see house fronts on one side and gardens on the other.”³²⁷ This plan, though never put into effect, would have fostered a certain degree of privacy within the city. Yet the overall beautification of the city would have been something of a collective endeavor, since the landscaping efforts of one’s neighbor would directly benefit others.

Common farms, stables, and work areas would be located on the periphery of the city, far from the interior. Inhabitants were commanded to live within the city, thereby promoting communitarianism, friendly association, and collective identity. “Living together as a community rather than in isolated farmhouses allowed Latter-day Saints to implement the social aspects of a shared destiny.”³²⁸ The limits of community are thus clearly delineated, physically and symbolically: “The boundary around the City of Zion was distinct—from

³²⁶ BUSHMAN, *supra* note 321, at 219.

³²⁷ *Id.* at 220.

³²⁸ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 9.

the first, a strong insider/outsider consciousness dictated every building enterprise. Zion was to be a city . . . for the faithful not one welcoming or embracing the world.”³²⁹

Most notably, public squares, gardens, and twenty-four enormous edifices also occupy the center of the grid on two sixteen-acre blocks, greatly resembling a New England town surrounding a public green were it not for the surrounding streets at right angles.³³⁰

Temples dot this interior, and since “[t]he city was the center of the gathering, and the temple was the beginning of the city—the center of the center—this connect[ed] the temple to the whole world.”³³¹ Zones of secrecy and sanctity create an unmistakable pull from the profane to the sacred: “For Smith, space was a funnel that collected people from the widest possible periphery and drew them like gravity into a central point.”³³² Thus, facilitating the gathering from the world at large, these temples were the epicenter, and “formed a pattern of movement and preparation in a distinctive Mormon geography.”³³³

Temples stood side-by-side administrative structures on the plat such that no functional difference is made between the worship of the people and the governance of the people. No apparent planning exists for areas of industry and commerce in the city. “Stores lined the main streets of most American towns, surrounding a courthouse or jail at the center.

³²⁹ Martha Bradley, *Building Community: The Fundamentalist Mormon Concept of Space*, 21 COMMUNAL STUDIES 1, 5 (2001); see also Hastings Donnan, BORDERS, 24, (Berg 1999) (quoting A. P. Cohen in, SYMBOLISING BOUNDARIES: IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY IN BRITISH CULTURES, 2 (Manchester University Press 1986)) (“A community exists . . . only by virtue of its opposition to another community [T]he symbolic marking of community boundaries has become increasingly important as the significance of the structural parameters of community have weakened or disappeared Consequently, it is in the symbolism, rather than in structure, that we must ‘seek the boundaries of their worlds of identity”).

³³⁰ BUSHMAN, *supra* note 321, at 220.

³³¹ Bushman, *supra* note 317, at 12.

³³² Bradley, *supra* note 329, at 3 (internal quotations omitted).

³³³ Bushman, *supra* note 317, at 12; see also FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 69.

But neither commerce nor civil government is given architectural form in the City of Zion.”³³⁴ Instead, bishop’s storehouses, the principle mode of common-stock distribution, were to be located at the center. Ecclesiastical government was embodied in the urban planning itself. A leading scholar notes that:

Latter-day Saint cities focused on religious worship with an educational emphasis and a Christian caring for the poor. These purposes were expressed architecturally in the public spaces, where the Prophet eliminated the traditional grand courthouse of city hall and substituted the House of the Lord, headquarters for the millennial King whose rule would preempt civil government in that long-anticipated Christian era of global peace. For the intended world capital at Zion, not just one religious structure appeared on the plat but a complex of twenty-four temples situated on two sixteen-acre blocks. Plans of these projected meetinghouse-office buildings resembled the first Mormon temple at Kirtland. Joseph Smith intended them as administrative centers for presiding quorums and councils as well as halls for worship, religious observance, and schools. A third central block adjacent to the temple squares was reserved for storehouses for the goods donated as tithes and offerings. From this block, the bishop was to dispense needed resources to the poor and provide for general church needs.³³⁵

In the ideal Mormon city, therefore, the material expression follows the spiritual program. This is very literally “the shape of content.”³³⁶ Nowhere was this tight nexus more apparent than in the Church’s early communitarian efforts. Along with the urban design, Joseph Smith had been articulating the law of consecration and stewardship,³³⁷ which was to be Zion’s economic system. Since there were many of this particular epoch from across the ideological spectrum advocating an end to private property as a means of combating

³³⁴ BUSHMAN, *supra* note 321, at 220.

³³⁵ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 8.

³³⁶ *See generally* BEN SHANN, *THE SHAPE OF CONTENT* (Harvard University Press 1957).

³³⁷ *See, e.g.*, D&C 38; 42; 72; 78; and 104.

poverty, it is interesting to explore how Mormonism framed this issue, especially with reference to the city.

Mormon Communitarianism

Less than a year after the founding of the Church, Joseph Smith was facing a humanitarian crisis in the gathering city of Kirtland, Ohio. The poor arriving daily were being absorbed into their already thin ranks, and the young leader needed to organize incoming and outgoing resources if the new members were to survive. The answer was to institute a new incarnation of an old doctrine: the New Testament teaching of having “all things common” as in Acts 2:44. The Doctrine of Covenants revisits this doctrine, though in substance it differed very “little from other religious communities of the day, all based in the requirement of consecrating all of one’s possessions to a common fund for the purpose of eliminating poverty.”³³⁸ In fact, many early Mormon converts had already been part of other collectivist projects, including the Shakers, the Owenites, and the Campbellites. Joseph Smith was innovative, however, in that he infused the common stock principle with accountability. His system “combin[ed] individualism with collectivism; it contained elements of communitarianism as well as capitalism.”³³⁹ Though, technically, all private property was abolished since the Bishop owned everything, “everyman [was] a steward” over what he had been given.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ LYNDON W. COOK, *JOSEPH SMITH AND THE LAW OF CONSECRATION* 8 (Provo 1985).

³³⁹ *Id.*

³⁴⁰ D&C 42:32.

Legal troubles quickly derailed this version of Mormon consecration in early 1833. A member of the Church named Bates became dissatisfied with the community after having consecrated all his possessions. Since he had legally deeded over his property to Bishop Edward Partridge, he brought suit claiming that the terms of the contract were unconscionable, and should thus be voided. The frontier court in Independence found for the plaintiff, holding in equity that “it was contrary to the standards of fairness for the Mormon Church to require its members to deed over all their possessions to remain in good standing.”³⁴¹

So Joseph Smith adapted the next phase of consecration to conform to this ruling; stewards as of 1833 would consecrate, then have their portion legally deeded back to them such that they retained title to their own property. Effectively, only the surplus generated from the personal property was sent to the Bishop for distribution. These modifications were ingenious, but suffered from some practical limitations, especially when the Latter-day Saints were scattered hither and yon due to mob violence. Without steady and functioning communities, and proper storehouses to safely gather in surplus, formal and widespread consecration lapsed. (Though many small scale communitarian arrangements were entered into due to the chronic indebtedness of the Church and its leaders.)³⁴²

By the time of the 1838 Extermination Order in Missouri, the Latter-day Saints had evolved in their notions of consecration. As they fled the state, Joseph Smith pleaded with

³⁴¹ COOK, *supra* note 338, at 23.

³⁴² The Kirtland Camp (immigration aid), the Literary Firm (publication expenses), the Kirtland Safety Society (credit and liquidity), the Agricultural Company (farm purchases), and the United Order (which was an isolated program, but has come to characterize the whole law) all emerged with varying degrees of success. None of them, however, reached scope and depth of earlier consecration efforts.

the membership to be generous with one another, invoking the true essence, perhaps, of consecration: “Now for a man to consecrate his property. . . is nothing more nor less than to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the widow and the fatherless, the sick and the afflicted, and do all he can to administer to their relief in their afflictions”³⁴³ It is evident from the above admonition that Mormon consecration had matured beyond the regimented collection of deeds by Bishops, to a more nuanced, personal, and decentralized form of charity towards one’s brother. They were not applying the *law* of consecration in a strict common stock sense, but they were still fully expected to consecrate.

In 1838, recognizing the unique circumstances of the members, Joseph Smith again changed the nature of the financial obligation to the Church. The Doctrine & Covenants section 119 institutes a biblical system of mandatory, ten percent “tithes” (whereas before a 1/50th (2%) donation was only recommended as a free-will offering). Collecting ten percent of all income immediately increased the Church’s liquidity, and decoupled its wealth from a heavy reliance on group subsistence farming. Now the standardized law was flexible and easily applicable to all, regardless of their surroundings in the dispersed Church. It also, importantly, better implicated a growing mercantile and professional class. The law of tithing, then, appeared to be a natural and seamless transition for most within the Church,³⁴⁴ not replacing consecration, but becoming an integral part of it, especially when temple worship was introduced alongside.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ JOSEPH SMITH, SCRIPTURAL TEACHINGS OF THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH 145-46 (Joseph Fielding Smith ed. Deseret Book 1993) (1924).

³⁴⁴ See COOK, *supra* note 338, at 77 (“There is no evidence that Mormon leaders or members perceived the economic plan embodied in section 119 to be an ‘inferior law’ of Church economics. On the contrary, the 1838 program was viewed

From his earliest teachings, Joseph Smith had wanted to end poverty and create an egalitarian society, writing even that “if ye are not equal in earthly things, ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things.”³⁴⁶ But by the Nauvoo era (1839-1844), though Joseph Smith remained absolutely committed to social welfare, his economic policies reflected a cautious free-market optimism. On one occasion in Nauvoo, ever-curious Joseph Smith had a disciple of Robert Owen come to speak. Apparently he listened attentively, but some “weeks later Joseph preached on the ‘folly of common stock,’ the idea of the communal sharing or property much discussed in that decade.”³⁴⁷ He had clearly come to believe that equality would be best achieved through private property and individual enterprise, selflessly reinvested and redistributed to improve the lives of others. Thus, “[p]rofits were secondary to creating jobs . . . He practiced capitalism without the spirit of capitalism.”³⁴⁸

This digression into the history of Mormon consecration is important because the emergence of tithing corresponds roughly with the move to, and development of, the City of Nauvoo. Tithing as the principle form of Church economics was more easily accepted by non-Mormon neighbors in the state; the Nauvoo Charter was granted by the state legislature in part because tithing assuaged fears of common-stock ownership yielding huge

by the Saints simply as a new phase of consecration . . . [and] significantly, the equalizing effect of the 1838 plan on the members was identical to earlier programs.”)

³⁴⁵ The last phase of Mormon consecration depended on sacred covenants made by members qualifying to enter temples. Again, this follows the trend of an increasingly personal commitment. According to Cook:

This then was the last and perhaps most lofty, phase of the consecration outlined by Joseph Smith. It elevated the concept of consecration from the agrarianism and legalism of western Missouri to the free agency and deep spiritual commitment of a mature, endowed steward.

Id. at 92.

³⁴⁶ D&C 78:6.

³⁴⁷ BUSHMAN, *supra* note 321, at 502.

³⁴⁸ *Id.* at 503.

advantages to Mormon businesses. Even more significant, perhaps, is the way in which money and property came to be viewed in Nauvoo, and how this shaped the physical development of the city, sometimes in ways divergent from their ideal of Zion which was conceived under an entirely different economic plan. Difference between the city's design and the underlying ideologies of the group, however, can be extremely problematic, even fatal to a community. Much of the strife in Nauvoo came from ugly religious bigotry, to be sure, but there was also a strain of discord resulting from the spatial mismanagement of the city, especially in how it failed to express the metaphysical assumptions of the majority of its inhabitants.

The City as Ideogram

Roland Barthes, in *The Empire of Signs*,³⁴⁹ describes such a spatial malaise. As a semiotician writing in the post-modern era, Barthes believes that all cities are *ideograms*, a complex network of symbols arranged such that the very physical layout of the city can powerfully express the metaphysical notions of its inhabitants.³⁵⁰ “Man dwells when he can orient himself with and identify himself with an environment or in short, when experiencing the environment as meaningful.”³⁵¹ But where there is serious incongruence between expression of space and the inhabitant's underlying philosophy, occupants tend to grow uneasy; the physical “map” has no cognitive, symbolic, or imaginative backing.

³⁴⁹ ROLAND BARTHES, *THE EMPIRE OF SIGNS* (Hill & Wang 1982).

³⁵⁰ For other semiotic analyses of space, see generally GASTON BACHELARD, *THE POETICS OF SPACE* (M. Jolas trans., Beacon Press 1969); DENIS BERTRAND, *L'ESPACE ET LE SENS* (Hadès-Benjamins 1985); PIERRE BOUDON, *INTRODUCTION À UNE SÉMIOLOGIE DES LIEUX* (Presses de l'Université de Montréal-Klincksieck 1981); CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS, *STRUCTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY* (Claire Jacobsen trans., Basic Books 1968) (analyzing the structural significance of the Bororo village).

³⁵¹ CHRISTIAN NORBERG-SHULTZ, *TOWARDS A PHENOMENOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE 5* (Rizzoli 1979).

Barthes comments specifically on the physical presentation of many American cities, which appear in tension with their inhabitants' core beliefs:

Quadrangular, reticulated cities (Los Angeles, for instance) are said to produce a profound uneasiness: they offend our synesthetic sentiment of the City, which requires that any urban space have a center to go to, to return from, a complete site to dream of and in relation to which to advance or retreat; in a word, to invest oneself. For many reasons (historical, economic, religious, military), the West has understood this law only too well: all its cities are concentric; but also in accord with the very movement of Western metaphysics, for which every center is the site of truth, the center of our cities is always full: a marked site, it is here that the values of civilization are gathered and condensed: spiritually (churches), power (offices), money (banks), merchandise (department stores), language (agoras, cafés and promenades): to go downtown or to enter the city-center is to participate in the proud plenitude of reality.³⁵²

Thus, when a city is properly conceived for a people, ideology naturally aligns with urban design. When one's model of the metaphysical is violated, however, there is a sense of confusion and disorder. For example, if the raw bearing of the city is decentralized, and the people have more centered notions of good and truth, then unsatisfying cognitive dissonance will prevail as denizens navigate the city. (Conversely, an individual socialized in a polycentric, relativistic world may, in fact, connect harmoniously with Los Angeles and its many poles.) Thus, "success in using a map is in large measure determined by the congruence of the map with the user," suggesting that the 'logic' of a city does not exist *a priori*, but is rather a process of integration, incorporation and interpretation for every group or person occupying space.³⁵³ But it is also a reciprocal relationship: Urban design

³⁵² BARTHES, *supra* note 349, at 30.

³⁵³ MICHAEL SOUTHWORTH, MAPS 112 (Little Brown & Co. 1982).

not only represents and supports the values of society, it actually influences and becomes that ideal. “Social order is taught through the environment.”³⁵⁴ Because the spatial orientation of the city, far from being an inert and passive host, itself exerts a profound constitutive influence; it is “operative in the transformation of individuals: it is not just a simple container, but . . . has a performative action that works on its occupants.”³⁵⁵ This dynamic exchange is summed-up by a pre-eminent ‘spatial’ theorist, Edward Soja, explaining that “social life is both space forming and space contingent.”³⁵⁶

From the earliest days of the Mormon Church, the cities that the membership established clearly had religious significance, and were very specific ideograms. “During the 1830s, the Latter-day Saints exerted a concerted effort to realize the dream of an ideal City of Zion . . . *Implicit in the plan for the city of Zion were the values encouraged by the ideal covenant community.*”³⁵⁷ It seems, in fact, that they grew so highly attuned to the expression of their faith in their urban design, that they feared losing divine favor when space was mismanaged, or even altered. Their previous ‘inheritances,’ land in Missouri, had been defiled by their greed and avarice³⁵⁸ because in

Independence, a few outspoken church leaders and members had expressed concern about ecclesiastical management of their property under the economic program of consecration.

³⁵⁴ Bradley, *supra* note 329, at 1.

³⁵⁵ HOLLIER, *supra* note 141, at x.

³⁵⁶ Edward Soja, *The Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Retheorization*, 1985, quoted in THE LEGAL GEOGRAPHIES READER, xvi (Nicholas Blomley, David Delaney, Richard T. Ford eds. 2001.)

³⁵⁷ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 8, 9 (emphasis added).

³⁵⁸ D&C 105:2-5 (“Behold, I say unto you, were it not for the transgressions of my people . . . they might have been redeemed even now. But behold, they have not learned to be obedient to the things which I required at their hands, but are full of all manner of evil, and do not impart of their substance, as becometh saints, to the poor and afflicted among them; And are not united according to the union required by the law of the celestial kingdom; And Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom; otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself.”).

At Far West, the Prophet began the shift away from Zion's economic plan. In this city of three thousand people, no one was asked to consecrate property to the church. Most of the land was privately owned and operated.³⁵⁹

The very shape of Mormon cities had simultaneously begun to change as well, mirroring the evolution of their financial programs from common-stock distribution literally at the center, to a decentralized system relying on individual properties and tithes. "Plans for temples at Independence, Far West and Adam-ondi-Amon were abandoned because of . . . internal challenges to the economic order taught by Joseph Smith."³⁶⁰ But it is difficult to tell which phenomenon precipitated the change in the other. As the Latter-day Saints were pressed into the vast and empty tracts of the American West,³⁶¹ Joseph Smith progressively tweaked the programs with increasing ownership rights, believing that their best chance at success in such conditions would be achieved through widespread propertization.

Many still believed, however, that had they properly centered their communities, they would not have been scattered. After the Missouri expulsion, some of the Brethren surmised that their recent *hegira* had, in fact, been "in consequence of not building cities according to the pattern" prescribed in the Plat of Zion.³⁶² This anxiety suggests that the Saints suspected a spatial cause for Church's recent troubles, reflecting the degree to which the early Mormons had come to view their cities as intrinsically connected with morality;

³⁵⁹ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 11.

³⁶⁰ *Id.*

³⁶¹ *Cf.* FRIESEN & LYONS, *supra* note 287, at 22 ("In other instances where utopian experiments failed, the cause may have been that they were originally begun as planned vehicles to tame the frontier. When that challenge had abated and the prospects of individual riches rose (Zoar, for example), communalism as a way of life seemed much less attractive.").

³⁶² *See* 3 SMITH, *supra* note 318, at 260-61 (quoting Minutes of a Conference of the Church held at Quincy, Illinois).

offending the spatial order could very well offend God. Wandering, as it had for Ancient Israel, conflated the physical and the spiritual absolutely, and their confidence was shaken.

The Growth and Form of Nauvoo

Joseph Smith had always believed in the value of gathering into communities. “By a concentration of action, and a unity of effort, we can accomplish the great work of the last days, which we could not do in our remote and scattered condition.”³⁶³ His people had been driven from pillar to post by mobs and were languishing in temporary quarters near Quincy, Illinois. If they intended on initiating a new round of gathering, they would need an appropriate space to hold them together. Joseph Smith, as “founder and chief proprietor of Nauvoo . . . chose the site, determined the name of the city and its form, and became its leading citizen and promoter.”³⁶⁴ At this point, city planning certainly wasn’t a new to the Mormon leader, but in Illinois

[t]he open landscape unleashed Joseph’s imagination . . . American conditions allowed him to move beyond the organization of a church towards the creation of a society. Rather than establishing beachheads in the form of a church, he took over a complete city, occupying all its space, consecrating every activity to God.³⁶⁵

The Brethren acted quickly to secure a tract of land in and around the existing village of Commerce, over which a new Mormon city, governed by Mormon principles, would be raised up. Yet “[t]he conception of a church of cities rather than a church of congregations

³⁶³ Joseph Smith, *TIMES & SEASONS*, Jan. 15, 1841.

³⁶⁴ FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 4.

³⁶⁵ BUSHMAN, *supra* note 321, at 221.

had wide-reaching—and disastrous—implications for the Mormons. Even in America, the scheme was doomed. No American community was ready for that degree of religious rejuvenation.”³⁶⁶

Like their previous settlements “[c]ommunity building in Nauvoo was a confused mixture of religious and secular, public and private enterprise”³⁶⁷ and several curious features emerged. On a micro level, for example, no specific architectural design was ever mandated for the individual properties in Nauvoo, reflecting the value of privacy and family life. For the hundreds of lots, the only mandate was general—improve and beautify. After draining the unhealthy swamps, they began building their domestic dreams, and two thousand private homes were eventually constructed. To increase the value of the community, all who were able were encouraged to build in brick, and some 500-600 such homes were completed over the next five years, constituting the finer neighborhoods of Nauvoo.³⁶⁸ Using this material had a double-effect, especially on the transient western frontier: it tied the members to the settlement financially, and created something of a Mormon “intentional vernacular,” important in establishing unity and identity. Stepped gables typically rose up beyond the roof making the façade appear larger. Eventually, this idiosyncratic construction style using more permanent brick became the expression of commitment to the Mormon community:

Despite the odd mixture of design sources, the self-conscious communitarian struggle to unite social and architectural ideals made rapid fusion possible . . . No

³⁶⁶ *Id.*

³⁶⁷ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 117.

³⁶⁸ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 130-31 (claiming that there were 2,000 homes total in the city, with another 500 nearby).

vernacular style can survive unless it is clearly accepted by members of a culture as essential to their way of life . . . The physical process of building was identified with the process of spiritual and social development of the community.³⁶⁹

In a related trend by 1842, beautifully manicured gardens became symbols of moral significance, imitating Edenic order and ease. In the *Times and Seasons*, an important religious publication, this association was made explicit: “Let the division fences be lined with peach and mulberry trees . . . and the houses surrounded with roses and prairie flowers, and their porches covered with grape vines, and we shall soon have formed, and we shall soon have formed some idea of how Eden looked.”³⁷⁰ For a people used to Spartan frontier life, having been driven mercilessly of late (and from Missouri at that!), such imagery suggestive of redemption from the Fall would constitute powerful symbolism. In sum, home and hearth eventually carried the unstated implications of divine approbation as “distinctive brick dwellings built by the more prosperous converts stood surrounded by gardens, expressive of Mormon determination to unite earthly and heavenly rewards.”³⁷¹

Indeed, life seemed truly “beautiful” in Nauvoo, and city itself expressed the right balance many of the agrarian Saints had desired from urban living:

The City of Nauvoo blended gradually into the woodlands and then into the farmlands on the east, and residents brought the country into the city in order ways. . . . When summer corn grew ten to twelve feet high on large city lots, it dominated the landscape. The city looked like a garden. More importantly, the Saints imported the values of agrarian

³⁶⁹ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 49.

³⁷⁰ Ebenezer Robinson, *TIMES AND SEASONS*, Feb. 1, 1842.

³⁷¹ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 188.

life into the city. In this way, they found rural Eden in a city purified from the sins of Babylon because it was a holy place. The Latter-day Saints sought for the best of both the agrarian and the urban worlds—the virtues of being close to God’s natural world and in the companionship of the community of Saints in the Lord’s holy city.³⁷²

This describes a city of very permeable borders, not intent on absolutely separating absolutely the urban from the rural, as had been done by other theorists, but rather seeing the merger as morally desirable. As mentioned above, this blending carried with it significant social implications, allowing the citizen the salubrious benefits of the country to temper the harness of city-life, while yet escaping the lonely anti-sociality of rural existence. This practice of bringing the organic and untamed back inside the city is significant, blurring the old antinomies between nature and culture. In the case of the Latter-day Saints, they apparently saw no contradiction between Nature’s God and Zion’s God, and gave place to both aspects in the same space. In an era pre-dating the City-Beautiful Movement, abundant municipal parks and green spaces were rare in many old cities, so this spontaneous beautification of Nauvoo through rural activities transported into the urban sphere was likely appreciated, spiritually and aesthetically.

Thus, in Nauvoo, the Latter-day Saints appeared quite happy with their surroundings. Though most were still relatively poor, it was far cry from their misery in Ohio and Missouri, and many among them had even shown a propensity for actual prosperity; “success everywhere made the world appear happier. They no longer wanted an immediate

³⁷² LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 132-33. On the meaning of “Nauvoo,” Joseph Smith explained that “The name of our City is of Hebrew origin, and signifies a beautiful situation, or place, carrying with it, also, the idea of rest; and is truly descriptive of this most delightful situation.” Joseph Smith, First Presidency to the Saints Scattered Abroad, January 15, 1841 (quoted in SMITH, *supra* note 343, at 206).

end to the wicked world. Joseph spoke of the Second Coming as further in the future.”³⁷³ Indeed, many appeared very content in their present circumstances; in these favorable conditions, one’s single acre plot could itself become a discrete utopia, a place of refuge that when serialized and aggregated formed a peaceable community of self-interest.³⁷⁴

The rectangular grid system of land surveying established by the Land Ordinance of 1785 has been described as the ‘blueprint for an agrarian equalitarian society’ reflecting the Jeffersonian social ideal of a democracy of small independent land owners. In Nauvoo, the Mormons tried to elevate their portion of the national grid system to a more transcendent level by gardens and family homes. The grid was an egalitarian framework.³⁷⁵

Nauvoo, in essence, became a *sui generis* capitalist utopia³⁷⁶ especially facilitated by the layout of the city. Each individual’s freehold property, differentiated and marked by grided borders, could be efficiently monitored, developed, and sustained by the occupant; one’s neighbor would do the same; and again; and again, *ad infinitum*, thus satisfying the egalitarian aspiration. One contemporary visitor to Nauvoo remarked that: “There was not a large or imposing house in the town. Everything seemed to be on a dead level of equality in this city of the Saints which looked like a large communistic establishment.”³⁷⁷

³⁷³ BUSHMAN, *supra* note 321, at 415.

³⁷⁴ See HARVEY, *supra* note 138, at 139 (describing the modern American “bourgeois utopia” wherein “desire to secure isolated and protected comforts the effect of propertied individualism has been to create a remarkably repetitive landscape of low-density sprawl”).

³⁷⁵ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, 118.

³⁷⁶ See generally HARVEY, *supra* note 138, at 175-79 (describing the ‘utopianism of process’ propounded in Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*). The term “capitalist utopia” has been employed to describe Frank Lloyd Wright’s 20th century design for Broadacre City, where he “proposed an alternative organization of space that permitted much greater degrees of personal independence while retaining communicative connections.” *Id.* at 167.

³⁷⁷ EDWIN DE LEON, THIRTY YEARS OF MY LIFE ON THREE CONTINENTS 50 (London 1890).

Spatial Disconnect in Nauvoo

But such a system is was not without its contradictions in time and space. Barthes's notion of a centered city is clearly present in "the Plat of the City of Zion"—indeed, it is hard to imagine a city-center invested with more significance for a people. Yet when Joseph Smith sketched the contours for the new city of Nauvoo, "no special blocks were set aside for public buildings," and incredibly, "there was no temple block in the original Nauvoo plat."³⁷⁸ Unquestionably, Joseph Smith intended to eventually put a temple on the prominent bluffs, but it was conspicuously absent on the original gridiron for Nauvoo. There was simply no distinct center place initially provided for, which was odd considering the intense focalization commanded in earlier Mormon urbanism.

The city thus materialized in a decentralized fashion over the next several years, infused with frenetic work and constant immigration.³⁷⁹ Apparently, there was no zoning in the city, so no specific industrial areas, or dedicated business areas were established.³⁸⁰ There were fine homes and many businesses along Main Street on the river flats, including Joseph Smith's own Mansion House and store, but the vast majority of the 200 developable blocks

³⁷⁸ FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 42-43.

³⁷⁹ The *Times and Seasons*, April 1, 1841, describes the activity in Nauvoo during this period of growth:

Business begins to assume a cheering aspect in our city. Everywhere we see men of industry with countenances beaming with cheerful content hurrying to their various occupations and scenes of labor. The sound of the axe, the hammer, and the saw, greet the ear in every direction . . . Habitations are reared for miles in every direction, and others are springing up, and, ere we are aware of their existence, are filled with happy occupants. . . . Though emigrants are flocking in in multitudes, and have their homes and their wants to be supplied, yet all things move in their accustomed order and with accelerating force. Hundreds of houses, shops, mills, etc., are expected to go up in the course of the summer, when our city will present a scene of industry, beauty, comfort, hardly equaled . . . in our country.

³⁸⁰ MILLER & MILLER, *supra* note 300, at 82 ("During the Mormon era, Nauvoo developed no business district—there seems to have been no zoning."); *see supra* note 372 and accompanying text.

lay at quite a distance to the north and east. So instead of concentrating the economic activity to this area, all types of businesses and diverse activities sprouted in every quarter, with workshops and stores often sharing part of the home of the owner.³⁸¹ Eventually there would be “grist mills, lumber mills, potteries, tanneries, foundries, bakeries, a slaughter house, comb factory, match factory, dozens of shops and stores and other enterprises,”³⁸² but still, there was no underlying logic to their location.

Even the decidedly domestic areas started to feel the strain of over-population and misuse of land: “Many homes had gardens, chickens, and a few animals on the property, as Joseph Smith had planned. Every space was soon swallowed up in the tide of immigrants, but the idea of combining city advantages with food-raising persisted.”³⁸³ Despite the beautification accomplished by bringing the rural inside the city, this type of mixed land use is only possible in a neighborhood where there is no real demand for typically urban uses of space; entire city blocks cannot be dedicated to crops where population density grows too significant in a particular area.

While the first families were situated in the few richest blocks on the southern end of the peninsula, this was a limited space cabined on three sides by the river. Soon an uncontrolled sprawl spread out in all directions, but especially to the east, climbing the bluffs, and continuing across the plateau and into the prairie. Parley P. Pratt observed that

³⁸¹ *Id.*

³⁸² JANATH R. CANNON, NAUVOO PANORAMA 28 (Nauvoo Restoration Inc., 1991).

³⁸³ *Id.*; cf. LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 132 (“The urban environment they built up lacked crowding and held at bay many illnesses, and with their religiously motivated desire to work and live Christian lives, they eliminated much of the poverty and wickedness they identified with the old cities. Abundant land and hard work, they believed, would put an end to poverty.”).

“the hills had been leveled, [so that] blocks, streets, houses, shops, gardens and enclosures were now extending in every direction”; this rapid expansion was due principally to mass immigration, including 5,000 converts from England, which placed unheard of demands on infrastructure.³⁸⁴ The rush of newcomers fed the organic advance of the city with no official direction or planning, and short-term solutions to the influx only worsened the situation, undermining some of the most basic tenants of the community. In time, even with all the distant and outlying suburb space, “[d]isorderly rows of shacks built by the poor lined the streets of the worst sections, a challenge to the Eden of privacy and private property”³⁸⁵

Settlers were encouraged to acquire their own plot as a new inheritance, and they moved further and further away to find lower and lower prices. This continual creep was fed by rampant land speculation, which was extremely lucrative in Nauvoo. The speculation phenomenon also involved many members of the Church, who had acquired the land benevolently for the Gathering, and were now responsible for recouping their investment.³⁸⁶ Unfortunately,

[t]he acquiring, promoting, dividing, and selling of land
were necessary ingredients in the gathering of “modern

³⁸⁴ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 130; FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 58 (“Under direction of the Twelve, 17,849 persons, mostly English, were baptized in the British Mission during its first decade; of these 4,733 gathered, primarily to Nauvoo.”).

³⁸⁵ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 120; *see also* MILLER & MILLER, *supra* note 300, at 77 (quoting W. Aitken saying that “We came to the English portion of the city which consisted of huts of the meanest description and in the wet weather the place must be complete swamp.”).

³⁸⁶ *See* HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 117; (“As Trustee-in Trust of the Mormon Church, Smith bought land on credit and sold it to converts arriving in the city; all of Smith’s speculation was compounded by that of other residents.”); FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 119 (“Since the Church was the largest purchaser of land in Nauvoo, it also became the biggest land jobber. In the beginning there were a variety of *ad hoc* agencies dealing for the Church—bishop, various officials, and individuals, including Joseph Smith himself.”).

Israel” to their latter-day land of promise. But the purity of Christian motive, where it existed in the endeavor, was tarnished by swindlers, speculation, inexperience, bad management, and the heavy wear and tear of “temporal affairs . . . The land distribution was not a failure, but neither was it an unqualified success, bringing as it did oversanguine expectations, high costs, frequent losses, and individual and corporate disappointments.³⁸⁷

As the community spread out across four square miles, over-spilling any discernible boundaries, aspirations for a recognizable center were diluted, and all but abandoned.³⁸⁸ Such a city “has no clear boundaries; it includes discordant rural, urban, and suburban elements Consequently, [it] lacks any recognizable center to give meaning to the whole. Major civic institutions seem scattered at random over an undifferentiated landscape.”³⁸⁹ This was indeed the case in Nauvoo, as the quadrangular reticulated sprawl created an uncertain polarity in the community, and scattered forces emerged to compete for social and financial dominance. The tension was palpable according to one scholar:

Such a large place had no strongly defined center and no limits. Lack of a center caused rival factions to develop within the city, competing for commercial locations. Lack of boundaries aggravated the lack of a center and worried neighboring non-Mormons, who feared the rapid expansion of Nauvoo. The grid, for all its paradisiacal infill, demanded limits in time and space.³⁹⁰

The entire settlement was disrupted and ultimately fractured by the absence of a center to the city; infighting and rivalry ensued, straining relations across the community. For such

³⁸⁷ FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 142-43.

³⁸⁸ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 117.

³⁸⁹ ROBERT FISHMAN, *BOURGEOIS UTOPIAS: THE RISE AND FALL OF SUBURBIA* 203 (Basic Books 1987).

³⁹⁰ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 120.

devoted religionists, having no central point offended their synesthetic expectations of the city, and no longer expressed their metaphysical assumptions like the Plat of Zion had. This extreme incongruence left Nauvoo void of meaning as an ideogram, and ultimately undermined Joseph Smith's own authority: "The locational conflicts created by uneven topography in the centerless city contributed to the development of an anti-Smith faction within the church."³⁹¹

Worried about the rising prominence of Mulholland Street on the bluffs overlooking the original flats, where much of the leadership and had homes and financial interests, Joseph Smith remarked that "the upper part of the town has no right to rival those [sic] on the river."³⁹² This area on the bluffs quickly outpaced the commerce in the flats, and Joseph Smith was gradually pushed out his retail business; further, Church properties near the river would not sell.³⁹³ Fanning the fire, several merchants on the bluffs who were not Latter-day Saints openly "sympathized with Joseph Smith's detractors," fancying themselves the "secular business district."³⁹⁴

It was more than just business, however. Enemies of the Church and Smith eventually began plotting in this district. "By 1844 the Prophet was feuding bitterly with many of the promoters on the 'hill,' an enmity which finally led to his death. The commercial character of Mulholland Street has survived to the present, while that of Main Street has entirely

³⁹¹ *Id.* at 124.

³⁹² FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 188.

³⁹³ *Id.*

³⁹⁴ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 147.

disappeared.”³⁹⁵ As one might suspect when such a close identity is held between the spatial significance of the city and the religious implications invested into that space, Joseph Smith was being discredited in the eyes of certain deadly enemies, and “faced a challenge to his authority.”³⁹⁶

The Temple as a Spatial Fix

The announcement and actual groundbreaking for the Nauvoo Temple in 1841, then, had incredible tactical significance. Such monumental undertakings³⁹⁷ had long been part of the program in the Church, and its religious importance cannot be overstated. But the timing and location of this particular edifice can, at least in part, be seen as an attempt to steady a floundering city by re-asserting a true city center. Joseph Smith, in fact, chose the heart of the rival district for his emblematic center-piece, shifting the focus from the homes on the flats to up the hill.

The Temple Block was, according to any map, the dead center of town, on the corner of Mulholland and Wells. Of course, this was a natural emplacement, high above the Mississippi, and literally the center point of the city, but it was also a symbolic means of inserting the Church’s authority into what was already on its way to becoming a renegade district. Erecting such an edifice, there in that space, had significant political and moral overtones: Bataille said that “Architecture is the expression of every society’s very being . .

³⁹⁵ FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 189.

³⁹⁶ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 124.

³⁹⁷ The Temple was indeed grand: 128 feet long, 88 feet wide, and rising to a dizzying 165 feet at its spire—a truly singular edifice on the Western Frontier. It was mainly polished limestone, white, quarried not far from the city.

. Thus great monuments rise up like levees, opposing the logic of majesty and authority to any confusion: Church and State in the form of cathedrals and palaces speak to the multitudes, or silence them.”³⁹⁸ Clearly, then, the Temple project cannot be seen as aloof from the social and economic conditions of the city, but must be “understood in the context of the larger city building process of which it was a part.”³⁹⁹

Construction on the Temple brought an influx of faithful members to the literal center of the city from 1841 to 1846, marshalling the city’s resources, labor, and imagination.⁴⁰⁰ Their movement and devotion was funneled towards the new sacred block allowing Joseph Smith to consolidate his spiritual and social capital among the members. With this project, many estranged and disenfranchised parties were reconciled, because “[u]nlike residential buildings in Nauvoo, which sparked competition for land among residents, religious building inspired almost unanimous support.”⁴⁰¹ Building efforts became a daily affirmation of faith, and allowed more fully for the consecration they craved.⁴⁰² Members were constantly donating monies and labor, working one day in ten as a tithe on the structure. For the faithful, the construction itself carried religious significance, and “came to symbolize the process and progress of ‘building up’ the Kingdom.”⁴⁰³

³⁹⁸ HOLLIER, *supra* note 141, at ix.

³⁹⁹ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 130.

⁴⁰⁰ See COKE NEWELL, LATTER DAYS 101 (St. Martin’s Griffin 2001) (“With all else that would happen in Nauvoo, however, it can be appropriately said that the temple occupied the central position in the contemplation and effort of the American Latter-day Saints in the first half of the 1840s.”).

⁴⁰¹ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 125.

⁴⁰² *Id.* at 125 (“The design and construction of Nauvoo’s monuments provided the chance for daily commitment to millennial ideas.”).

⁴⁰³ FLANDERS, *supra* note 302, at 179.

But there was also spatial significance as an effective ideogram. Nauvoo had come unhinged partially because of a subtle disconnect between the dominant philosophy and the physical presentation of the city. For the first time, Nauvoo would have a true, physical center as the manifestation of its metaphysical character. The symbolic value of a place such as the Temple was immeasurable to the Latter-day Saints. Not only was Zion “the center stake” relative to the whole world, but the temple complex at *its* core was the *axis mundi*—literally the point at which worlds are joined in Mormon cosmology. It was through this edifice that faithful Latter-day Saints expected to learn what would be necessary to pass prepared into the celestial and eternal worlds. The decorative elements of the finished Temple reflected this notion:

From a distance, Nauvoo’s most important building impressed all who saw it. Closer by, a finely detailed architectural message confronted the viewer. Each of the thirty pilasters had decorations that resembled no traditional Greek design. At the base, as directed by the Prophet, Weeks had placed a moon in a quarter phase facing downward, with an image of a face carved into the curved edge. Capping each pilaster was a stone carved to resemble the face of a rising sun, with a second stone above it portraying a pair of hands holding trumpets. Above that, around the frieze, five-pointed stars appeared as a final decorative element . . . Whatever their intended meaning or meanings, the astronomical symbols on the Nauvoo Temple certainly were intended to point Latter-day Saints towards the sacred purposes of the House of the Lord and its role in offering salvation to a religious people in the last days.⁴⁰⁴

Finally, the Latter-day Saints would have a structure suitable to contain the scope and depth of their doctrines developed since their arrival in Nauvoo.⁴⁰⁵ The construction of the

⁴⁰⁴ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 244-45.

⁴⁰⁵ The doctrinal developments in Nauvoo were stunning, and

Temple was an act of urban redemption in a place that has so long transgressed its inhabitants' cognitive understanding of the city, the world, and even the Universe.

The Fall of Mormon Nauvoo

These measures, however, were perhaps too late to put an end to conspiracy threatening the life of Joseph Smith. Enemies of the Prophet already had a strong influence in the heart of the community, unchecked in their plotting for years. Thomas Sharp, and anti-Mormon publisher, John C. Bennett, former Mayor and confidante to Joseph Smith, and William Law, previously Joseph Smith's Second Counselor, were among the voices calling for the life of the Latter-day Saint prophet.⁴⁰⁶ The *Expositor Affair*, the destruction of a libelous press on the bluff pursuant to the Nauvoo Charter's nuisance provisions, gave the secret group of two hundred an excuse to have Joseph Smith and his brother arrested, jailed, and eventually murdered by a lawless mob in Carthage.

In the weeks and months following this martyrdom, the Latter-day Saints mourned greatly, and endured schisms that tore the Church apart. In those trying times, Brigham Young also was able to inspire faith, engender loyalty, and hold power by relying on the monumental significance of unfinished Temple. Under Brigham, "[t]he Temple became the

include some of Mormonism's most central doctrines and practices: celestial marriage, the familial relationship of God the Father and of his Son Jesus Christ to humanity, the character of God, the materiality of spirit, a more comprehensive understanding of the keys of the priesthood, premortal existence, the plurality of gods, ordinances for the dead, and the endowment. These precepts represent Joseph Smith's key Nauvoo teachings, the list of which reads like a summary of the most distinctive aspects of Latter-day Saint religion.

Larry C. Porter & Milton C. Backman, *Doctrine and the Temple in Nauvoo*, 32 *BYU STUDIES* 41, 41 (1992).

⁴⁰⁶ A popular and influential anti-Mormon paper warned that "Joe Smith is not safe in Nauvoo, and we would not be surprised to hear of his death by violent means in a short time. He has deadly enemies—men whose wrongs have maddened them. . . . The feeling of this country is now lashed to its utmost pitch, and will break forth in fury upon the slightest provocation." *The Warsaw Signal*, May 29, 1844 (quoted in CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 33).

unchallenged center of Nauvoo.”⁴⁰⁷ With the remaining Apostles, he emphasized a moral “retrenchment from what they judged a slackening of standards in the City of Righteousness. Within days after the burial of the martyrs, the saints returned to work on the temple and pushed it forward at a rapid pace.”⁴⁰⁸ Thus, Brigham Young assertively moved to occupy the Center, still regarding the Temple as essential to the moral and material life of the Saints, and indeed, the seat of power able to eclipse all rivals.

This rhetoric resonated with the people and response to the renewed building project was overwhelming. So engaged, there was a strange period of respite across the city. According to Elder John Taylor, “There never was so great union in the city before; with a few exceptions the whole population are saints, and are governed as easy as a ‘gentle hand would lead an elephant by a hair.’”⁴⁰⁹ During this peaceable interlude, Brigham Young began to articulate his own economic policies, similar to Joseph’s, which would feature a community wide-open approach to industry, manufacture, and trade.⁴¹⁰ “Young also urged the suppression of grogshops, gambling houses, and other houses or proceedings of disorder.”⁴¹¹ Barely a year after the death of the Prophet, Brigham Young surveyed the newly renamed city (itself a masterful use of spatial constructs), and noted with satisfaction that

⁴⁰⁷ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 131.

⁴⁰⁸ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 475.

⁴⁰⁹ *Id.* at 473 (quoting John Taylor, *TIMES & SEASONS*, April 1, 1845).

⁴¹⁰ *See* Brigham Young, *TIMES & SEASONS*, October 1, 1844 (“Not only must farms be cultivated, homes built, and mills erected to grind the corn, but there must be something produced by industry, to send off to market in exchange for cash, and for such other articles as we need. This must be produced not by singing, or praying, or going to meeting, or visiting, or friendly greetings, or conversation, BUT, BY THE UNITED INDUSTRY, SKILL, AND ECONOMY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE. Men, women, and children must be well, and constantly employed. In order the more effectually to do this, we must turn our attention to the erection of work-shops for the manufacture of every useful article; and wares thus manufactured must find a market, not in Nauvoo alone but in all the wide country, and in cities and towns abroad.”).

⁴¹¹ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 504.

Nauvoo, or more properly, the “City of Joseph,” looks like a paradise. All the lots and land, which have heretofore been vacant and unoccupied, were *enclosed* in the spring, and planted with grain and vegetables, which makes it look more like a garden of gardens than a city . . . Hundreds of acres of prairie land have also been enclosed, and are now under good cultivation, blooming with corn, wheat, potatoes, and other necessities of life.”⁴¹²

Turmoil soon returned to the region, though. Anti-Mormon factions pressed for the final expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from Illinois. Vigilante groups, such as the ‘Fire and Sword,’ hounded the outlying Mormon farmsteads, burning homes and crops. Skirmishing in the Nauvoo hinterlands grew in frequency and intensity. “Over two hundred farm

⁴¹² 7 SMITH, *supra* note 318, at 431 (emphasis added). It is interesting to note that their great drive towards physical and spiritual well-being included extensive “enclosure” efforts. This concept of enclosure is significant, and Young’s choice of verbiage may be telling. Using a spatial metaphor himself, he exposes the modern trend of transferring publicly managed resources into the hands of a single owner, resembling the great enclosures of common land in England from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. While very unpopular with the peasantry, this English Enclosure movement has been recognized as an overwhelming economic success, allowing private owners to better manage the use of land for the raising of sheep to supply England’s burgeoning textile industry. According to legal scholar James Boyle:

The big point about the enclosure movement is that it worked; this innovation in property systems allowed an unparalleled expansion of productive possibilities. By transferring inefficiently managed common land into the hands of a single owner, enclosure escaped the aptly named “tragedy of the commons.” It gave incentives for large-scale investment, allowed control over exploitation, and, in general, ensured that resources could be put to their most efficient use. Before the enclosure movement, the feudal lord would not invest in drainage systems, sheep purchases, or crop rotation that might increase yields from the common - he knew all too well that the fruits of his labor could be appropriated by others. The strong private property rights and single entity control that were introduced in the enclosure movement avoid the tragedies of overuse and underinvestment: More grain will be grown, more sheep raised; consumers will benefit; and fewer people will starve in the long run. If the price of this social gain is a greater concentration of economic power, or the introduction of market forces into areas where they previously had not been so obvious, or the disruption of a *modus vivendi* with the environment - then, enclosure’s defenders say, so be it. In their view, the agricultural surplus produced by enclosure helped to save a society devastated by the mass deaths of the sixteenth century. Those who weep tears about the terrible effects of private property should realize that it literally saves lives.

James Boyle, *The Second Enclosure Movement and the Construction of the Public Domain*, 66 LAW & CONTEMP. PROBS. 33, 35 (2003) (arguing persuasively further on that certain cultural inheritances in the public domain should nevertheless escape a strict market logic, and be protected from relentless enclosure due to the social costs involved); *see also* Garrett Hardin, *The Tragedy of the Commons*, SCIENCE, Dec. 13, 1968, at 1243. Thus, enclosure to single, private owners allowed for diligent monitoring of boundaries, efficient property development under a unified actor, and preservation of important resources from collective misuse. Whether the ever-practical Brigham Young explicitly recognized the phenomenon of “enclosure” is uncertain, but he does seem to suggest a specific and powerful spatial practice inherently linked to economic efficiency and productivity. *See supra* note 307; *infra* note 491 and accompanying text.

buildings were burned. Men were beaten, women and children terrorized. Brigham Young sent word for them to come into Nauvoo for protection”⁴¹³ Facing all out war and pressure from Governor Ford, Brigham Young agreed on October 1, 1848 to lead the entire community of Saints into the West by the next spring. John Taylor, an Englishman by birth, mourned that “The continued abuses, persecutions, murders, and robberies practiced upon us, . . . in a Christian republic and land of liberty, have brought us to the solemn conclusion that our exit from the United States is the only alternative”⁴¹⁴ He added, “We are making all the preparation in our power to leave the United States next spring, because we are compelled by mobocracy. . . . We will suffer wrong rather than do wrong.”⁴¹⁵ The Church’s historian put a decidedly spatial spin on the evacuation, suggesting that their prosperity and legacy in the city could only have been the fruit of their sanctity:

Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, mills, public halls, magnificent Temple, and other public improvements we leave as a monument of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose, and integrity of heart; as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the Constitution of our country, idleness and dishonesty.⁴¹⁶

Yet even knowing of their pending evacuation, they frantically rushed to finish work on the Temple, dedicating the structure on the very date they were slated to leave the state.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 42.

⁴¹⁴ John Taylor, *TIMES AND SEASONS* 6, Nov. 1, 1845.

⁴¹⁵ John Taylor, *NAUVOO NEIGHBOR*, Oct. 29 1845.

⁴¹⁶ William Appleby, quoted in 7 SMITH, *supra* note 318, at 603.

⁴¹⁷ “Two daguerrotypes and a contemporary print show competent construction and suggest that the building was a success in terms of conception, siting, and overall massing.” HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 131. This would have come as no

“The Saints wanted to fulfill the 1841 revelation and avoid its warning: If they failed to complete the temple, the Lord would withhold promised blessings.”⁴¹⁸ Ordinances were performed around the clock; then, when all the faithful had attended, the Saints simply turned their backs on civilization and began an Exodus into the uncharted wilderness of the Rocky Mountains.⁴¹⁹

Back in Nauvoo, the Temple stood like a lonely sentinel over a vast city, emptied of almost everyone who held it dear. “Nauvoo became a monument in a funerary sense, a tomb.”⁴²⁰ Those who remained in the region, now unbothered by the presence of actual Mormons, directed their splenetic ire against the formidable symbol they had left behind. “It is obvious that monuments inspire social good behavior in societies and often even real fear.

surprise to Smith, who noted that it was “built according to the pattern shown” him in a vision. 6 SMITH, *supra* note 318, at 196-97.

⁴¹⁸ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 588.

⁴¹⁹ As an interesting post-script, the lessons learned in Nauvoo are perhaps best illustrated by the actions of Brigham Young upon arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. “For Brigham Young, the prophetic contributions of Joseph Smith that culminated at Nauvoo could best be preserved in a new and isolated gathering place. Relocation . . . offered a fresh beginning under new leaders to accomplish a divinely established plan . . . A new prophet and a new gathering place defined the changes.” LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 624. Hundreds of cities were established by the Mormons across the west, but none ever again resembled the Nauvoo episode in form or process. Land speculation was strictly prohibited and parceled land was given away to eliminate competition. Urban areas were always immediately established around temples, tabernacles, or other church buildings in the center block. Streets radiate outwards from that point in a grid such that one’s position or address is always calculated as a relation to the spiritual center. Utah’s four gothic-styled temples denote permanence and stability for God’s Kingdom; not merely an urban afterthought, but the very purpose and pillar of the community. Significantly, there was also a return to a wider communitarian vision, displayed through cooperatives and welfare programs, and more centralized controls over material, stock, and, of course, water. This return is certainly due to basic survival needs in the harsh climate, but there are intangible reasons as well. Even after coming west, many Latter-day Saints whispered that they felt Nauvoo had strayed from its spiritual roots, and that they were ultimately expelled for not living a perfect order in a perfect space. “Many of them recalled Joseph Smith’s earliest teachings and treasured what they termed ‘original Mormonism.’” *Id.* at 623. Believing themselves punished for the crimes brought on by degenerative city planning, the old-timers would not make the mistakes again in Deseret, where design would convey the proper moral order. Even today, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been recently involved in the renovation and regentrification of the downtown core of Salt Lake City. While there are clearly aesthetic and economic reasons for their actions, a spatial analysis in the light of the above discussion is very compelling, and could add an interesting chapter in the spatial history of the Church.

⁴²⁰ *Id.* at 143.

The storming of the Bastille is symbolic of this state of affairs: it is hard to explain this mass movement other than the people's animosity (*animus*) against the monuments that are its real masters."⁴²¹ This edifice would be similarly stormed in the fall of 1846. State militias were told to forcibly expulse the remainder of Nauvoo's Mormon inhabitants. These were generally the poorest of the poor who had not been able to flee with the body of the Saints earlier in the year, and were now driven by the lash like cattle.⁴²² At their first opportunity, hundreds of these anti-Mormon militiamen rushed the Temple, defiling its most sacred precincts, vandalizing its inner accoutrements, and looting anything of value.⁴²³ One eye-witness recounted that "The mob kept up one continual stream thro' the Temple, and up to the top of the tower, ringing the bell, shouting and halloing. Some enquired 'who is the keeper of the Lord's House now?'"⁴²⁴ In a final example of "revolt of the mob against the monuments,"⁴²⁵ an arsonist was paid hundreds of dollars to set fire to the interior woodwork and roof timbers of the Temple in 1848.

The temple's superstructure, however, remained intact. Agents of the Church who had been charged with selling the Church's possessions in the city simply reduced the Temple's price yet again, hoping to salvage even pennies on the dollar. The actual cost of the building had been well over one million dollars, and they were initially optimistic they

⁴²¹ HOLLIER, *supra* note 141, at ix-x.

⁴²² LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 613 ("The militia seized fleeing citizens at random and threw them into the river, shouting obscenities at some in mock baptisms. They held courts-martial for others, condemned them to die, and then expelled them from the city.")

⁴²³ *See id.* at 616 ("Vandals cut holes in the temple floors, disfigured the stone oxen in the basement, and chiseled names in the wood. Stealing from abandoned homes and shops was commonplace.")

⁴²⁴ Letter from Thomas Bullock to Franklin D. Richards, quoted in MILLER & MILLER, *supra* note 300, at 203.

⁴²⁵ HOLLIER, *supra* note 141, at xi.

could recoup a substantial portion of their investment. But after unsuccessful negotiations with the Catholic Church in St. Louis and Chicago for a sale at \$75,000.00,⁴²⁶ they placed the following advertisement in regional newspapers:

TEMPLE FOR SALE.

THE UNDERSIGNED TRUSTEES OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS PROPOSE TO SELL THE TEMPLE ON VERY LOW TERMS, IF AN EARLY APPLICATION IS MADE. THE TEMPLE IS ADMIRABLY DESIGNED FOR LITERARY OR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES. ADDRESS THE UNDERSIGNED TRUSTEES,

ALMON W. BABBITT,
JOSEPH L. HEYWOOD,
JOHN S. FULLMER.

NAUVOO, MAY 13, 1846.⁴²⁷

Few responded, even though it was a buyer's market. The Trustees were offering handsome limestone and brick structures at a mere twenty to forty percent of their value, including the Masonic Hall, the Concert Hall, and the Arsenal, as well as 200 hundred private homes. "By late spring, when it became apparent that properties might soon be had for the taking, buyers were scarce at any price. The elegant, three-story Masonic Hall would be sold at sheriff's auction in 1853 for four dollars and forty-seven cents."⁴²⁸ After several years of searching in vain, and with their wares only depreciating in value, all that could be salvaged of their beloved Temple was \$2,000, the agreed minimum possible.

⁴²⁶ LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 561.

⁴²⁷ *See id.* at 594.

⁴²⁸ CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 46.

In February of 1849, Agents for the Church were suddenly approached by several Frenchmen, seemingly as desperate to purchase as they were to sell. A tentative deal was struck for the burned out Temple, abandoned homes were purchased for back taxes, and eight hundred acres were leased for farming. Thus, this unique spatial artifact, a dead city, passed into the hands of Étienne Cabet. The place formerly known as Commerce, and recently known as Nauvoo and the City of Joseph, would now come to be called Icaria.

Chapter 6

THE NAUVOO PALIMPSEST

Icarian Acquisition and Transition

When Cabet and 280 Icarians stalwarts boarded the riverboat *American Eagle* in New Orleans on March 1, 1849, they were in high spirits, borne on wings, as it were, to their new home. They sang Icarian hymns, read Icarian literature, and expounded Icarian doctrine, but mostly exulted in being free of their deplorable circumstances in Texas and Louisiana. While a leisurely two-week stroll up the Mississippi in spring might have been truly pleasant for any other group, the ill-fated Icarians again met with disaster when a cholera outbreak aboard the ship literally decimated their company with twenty more deaths *en route*.⁴²⁹ Still, the curious little group attracted favorable notice during their voyage; a brief stop in Quincy elicited the following review:

The American Eagle landed at our wharf on Tuesday of last week, having on board 281 [sic] French Communists, who are on their way to Nauvoo with a view of making a permanent [sic] location. They are composed mostly of Mechanics and farmers, having with them their implements of husbandry and a variety of tools suited to their several trades. The officers of the Marshal Ney and the American Eagle are of the opinion that they are the most orderly, cleanly and industrious emigrants they have ever met. The religion they profess is very similar to that of the Unitarians, and their manner of living much like the Socialists; though unlike many of the French and English Socialists, they are

⁴²⁹ See HINDS, *supra* note 230, at 369.

scrupulously strict in the preservation of the virtue of their domestic circle.⁴³⁰

The travelers finally arrived at their final destination on March 15th, 1849. It must have been an other-worldly experience walking through the empty streets of the river-flats that first evening. One Englishman who saw the desolation on a previous occasion, commented: “When this city was in its glory, every dwelling was surrounded with a garden . . . but now all the fences are in ruin, and lately crowded streets actually rank with vegetation. Of the houses left standing, not more than one out of ten was occupied, except by the spider and the toad.”⁴³¹ Just days after the Mormon expulsion, attorney Thomas Kane described the state in which the city was left, a condition relatively undisturbed until the Icarian arrival: “I went into empty workshops, ropewalks, and smithies. The spinner’s wheel was idle; the carpenter had gone from his workbench and shavings The blacksmith’s shop was cold; but his coal heap, and ladling pool, and crooked water horn were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday.”⁴³²

While they indeed found things eerily quiet, tidy, and utterly empty, almost like a museum, or a scene of rapture, this was not exactly a blank slate or a virgin wilderness in which to build their dream from the ground up. This was a unique situation where an established utopian dogma would be completely transposed onto a foreign spatial and cultural framework. They had a pre-existing, built-up environment to contend with, vastly different

⁴³⁰ THE QUINCY WHIG, March 20, 1849 (quoted in CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 55).

⁴³¹ CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 51.

⁴³² Thomas Kane, quoted in MILLER & MILLER, *supra* note 300, at 206-08.

from what they had imagined Icara would be. There seemed to be plenty of space, but would they fit?

[W]hether the container and the contained fit each other, depends on the cultural actors with whose thought we are concerned. The meaning of objects and their arrangement in space can vary cross-culturally, so that an identical spatial arrangement may be interpreted differently by members of different cultures, who may consequently perform quite different actions in that same space. A given space may be good to think in one case and not in another.⁴³³

Thus, despite being in the self-same space, it was not a given that the Icarians would employ space in the same way as the Latter-day Saints had; in fact, it was almost certain that they would not. The Icarians now needed to take stock of their surroundings, and try to successfully adapt them to their own purposes. They were immediately struck by several overbearing features of the city itself, wondering how they could over-write this unique palimpsest⁴³⁴ with their own spatial narratives.

Overwriting Monuments

Clearly the most stunning feature on Nauvoo horizon was the Mormon Temple. The Icarians, predictably, were immediately impressed; its sheer magnitude, apparently rising out of the prairie bluffs, must have filled them with awe as they stepped onto the quays of the “upper-landing.” Pierre Bourg, ever the optimist, notes his first reactions in a letter back to France:

⁴³³ Kamau, *supra* note 309, at 69 (citing CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS, *TOTEMISM* 89 (Rodney Needham trans., Beacon Press 1962)).

⁴³⁴ See *supra* note 261 to 262 and accompanying text.

La plus gigantesque de nos possessions, l'un des plus fameux monuments de l'Amérique, le ci-devant temple des Mormons enfin, maintenant propriété icarienne . . . Sachez seulement que son extérieure est en magnifique pierres de taille, que son architecture emblématique avec soleil, lune, etc., est d'un effet étrange, quoi que simple et de bon goût. Son ensemble enfin est grandiose. Il est bâti sur la meilleure position de Nauvoo, qu'il domine de tous ses côtés.⁴³⁵

Though sincere, this comment seems only to reflect a superficial curiosity, like a tourist gazing at the Taj Mahal. The Temple's size and elegance would not be sufficient, without more, to connect it meaningfully to the Icarian community. If the Temple was to be truly appreciated by these French communists as a centerpiece in their community, it would have to be overwritten with a suitable narrative, beyond its original Mormon religiosity. Hamon explains the constant necessity of this process with regard to monuments:

Any edifice, even one that has been designated a monument, is by nature forgetful (innumerable religious edifices have been converted to other uses; the most notorious example in the nineteenth century being the Pantheon in Paris). The era to which the edifice refers back becomes unrecognizable, its interior and exterior space become dilapidated . . . [I]n order for it to reacquire meaning through its location in a specific time and place, the building needs the language of the historian, the discourse of the guidebook or the explanation of plaques.⁴³⁶

Hamon suggests that the meaning of a structure is not passively given to us, but is a discursive effort that must be actively infused into the space for it to be effectively understood by its inhabitants. Thus, "architecture is to space what narrative is to time: a semiotic means of configuration that allows us to think the unthinkable (time and space), which allows us to give shape to the amorphous and to impose discontinuity, plot, and

⁴³⁵ Pierre Bourg, LE POPULAIRE, Oct. 7, 1849.

⁴³⁶ HAMON, *supra* note 262, at 50.

direction on the randomness of the real.”⁴³⁷ In the case of the Icarians, and the peculiar edifice they inherited, they would have the responsibility of inventing and installing a new meaning in the structure, one as central to the tenants of Icarian ideology as it had been to the former inhabitants. For a compelling cognitive justification to be at the center of their community, Cabet relied on his on an almost prophetic passage from *Voyage en Icarie*:

Mais voici l'ÉCOLE du quartier : voyez quel monument, que d'inscriptions, que de statues, quelle magnificence dans l'extérieure ! Voyez aussi que d'espace autour, et quels beaux arbres ! . . . Tout n'annonce-t-il pas ici que la République considère l'Éducation comme le premier des biens, et la jeunesse comme le trésor et l'espérance de la patrie ! Tout ici n'inspire-t-il pas aux enfants une sorte de respect religieux pour l'Éducation et pour la République qui la leur donne !⁴³⁸

Cabet explicitly describes an almost religious importance attached to education in his republic. In an era where illiteracy was the norm, radical notions such as Cabet's universal education and the democratization of schooling seemed utopian, indeed—an idea powerful enough even that one could build community around it. In his new society, if education was indeed the “highest good,” then working such purposes into the architecture of the Nauvoo Temple would be a natural fit. The Temple would simply be shifted in its focus to more “literary purposes” (as the Mormon Trustees suggested in their advertisement, *supra*), which was not a far stretch. “Space and the actions within that space are like the container

⁴³⁷ *Id.* at 34, 35 (“Architecture—be it real or on paper—inasmuch as it is the emitter of categorical imperatives, prescriptions, manipulations, or persuasions which in turn govern social or amorous rituals, local tactics, or global strategies which therefore regulate the sequence of events, the movement of characters, and the story, may well come within the reach of a general poetics of space.”).

⁴³⁸ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 89; see also SEYMOUR KESTEN, *UTOPIAN EPISODES* 117 (Syracuse Univ. Press 1993) (“Situated in a broad open area bordered with beautiful trees, we see a monument of a building, its magnificent exterior festooned with inscriptions. Inside, splendor dazzles the eye. But wait, this is just the school. Yet it tells the world that “the Republic of Icaria considers education the highest good,” and “it inspires in the children a kind of religious respect for Education and for the Republic, which gives it to them.”).

and the contained, but the container is chosen for the appropriateness to that which is to be contained.”⁴³⁹ The juxtaposition was perfectly appropriate, for even as the Mormons had viewed their temple experience as an education, Icarians viewed education as religion. The physical emplacement of the Temple already corresponded to the idyllic text described above; it could now also be justified as to its cognitive centrality, worthy of being the finest “utilitarian monument.” According to *Voyage en Icarie*, these monument should be located in the center of the Icara, and replace other less socially progressive institutions as the focus:

Je viens de te parler de *monuments* : je n’ai pas besoin de te dire que tous les monuments ou établissements *utiles* qu’on trouve ailleurs se trouvent à plus forte raison ici, les écoles, les hospices, les temples, les hôtels consacrés aux magistratures publiques, tous les lieux d’assemblées populaires, même des arènes, des criques, des théâtres, des musées de toute espèce, et tous les établissements que leur agrément a rendus presque nécessaire.

Point d’hôtels aristocratiques comme point d’équipages ; mais point de prisons ni de maisons de mendicité ! Point de palais royaux ou ministériels ; mais les écoles, les hospice, les assemblés populaires sont autant de palais, ou, si tu veux, tous les palais sont consacrés à l’utilité publique !⁴⁴⁰

In the above passage, Cabet twice explicitly mentions schools as worthy of a central place in his new republic. Monuments dedicated to public assembly and education were always essential to the vision of Icaria, and in Nauvoo this ideal could be fully realized in the structure of the Temple. Cabet’s overwriting for this architecture was nearly perfect then, it just needed to be made official: “Nous allons acheter le temple des Mormons avec son

⁴³⁹ Kamau, *supra* note 309, at 69.

⁴⁴⁰ CABET, *supra* note 80, at 46 (emphasis added).

enclos de quatre acres pour y faire une école ou une académie.’’⁴⁴¹ On April 2, 1849, they finally bought the temple block and other structures from David T. LeBaron, the former Trustees having long since departed.⁴⁴²

Their grand plans were not to be realized, however. Even with the advanced architectural expertise of Alfred Piquenard, an Icarian of the avant-guard and personal secretary to Cabet, who later designed both the Iowa and Illinois state capitol buildings,⁴⁴³ they were not able to restore the burned-out temple. The previous conflagration, while destroying the interior lumber, had apparently weakened the whole structure. When major gale force winds blew on June 27, 1850, two walls were toppled and a third was irreparably damaged. Only the west wall remained intact. Many Latter-day Saints saw it as an act of God, but the seven Icarian workmen who were almost buried alive in the rubble saw the tornado merely as further evidence of their terrible luck.⁴⁴⁴ Now the Mormon Temple in Nauvoo was nothing more than an impressive ruin—a vestige of a lost civilization.

Overwriting the Center

From the very beginning Cabet had vehemently criticized the expansive, edgeless layout of Nauvoo. They were appalled by the urban sprawl that seemed to run unchecked on every

⁴⁴¹ Letter from Cabet to Krolikowski (March 25, 1849) (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 247).

⁴⁴² CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 55.

⁴⁴³ See Thomas Teakle, *The Romance in Iowa History*, 2 IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY & POLITICS 14, 163 (1916) (Piquenard was “the brilliant architect of the beautiful capitol at Des Moines. Nurtured beneath the sunny skies of France, Piquenard early espoused the cause of spiritual and intellectual freedom and became a prophet of the Nineteenth Century renaissance. He rapidly rose to fame as an architect. Enduring monuments to his genius stand the capitol buildings in Springfield, Illinois, and in Des Moines, Iowa.”) (quoted in Lillian M. Snyder, *The Contribution of Icarian, Alfred Piquenard, to Architecture in Iowa and Illinois*, COMMUNAL STUDIES 163 (1992) (describing extensively the many major architectural projects completed by Piquenard after his time in the Icarian community)).

⁴⁴⁴ See LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 629.

side. To these staunch communitarians, such directionless development was contrary to their aims and beliefs. The city space was too fractured and individualized according to Cabet, who was unable to fathom how the prior inhabitants had also considered themselves heavily invested in community:

[L]a ville présente l'inconvénient des préjugés et des préventions de la vieille organisation sociale contre la communauté . . . Par ce contact incessant avec le milieu individualiste qui l'entourait, le communisme des Icariens prenait l'air de singularité et comme de provocation ; d'autre part, sous la pression directe de ce milieu, l'unité morale et même matérielle de l'association se trouvait constamment mise en péril.⁴⁴⁵

So the tight spacing practiced by the Icarians was a reaction to the individualism Cabet perceived in the city space. Had he wanted to isolate his people on far-flung parcels of a fixed grid, they could have stayed in Texas on the Peters concession. But the Icarians had firmly rejected this scattered pattern for settlement as anathema to their beliefs about community. Cabet imposed an entirely different order on the space of the city, a conscious reworking which attempted to connect Icarian solidarity, mutuality and communism, with their spatial organization. And so in their decision to anchor themselves centrally together in a city otherwise designed for individual dispersal, the Icarians began manipulating space to suit their communistic projects and aspirations.

Undaunted by the destruction of the Temple, the Icarians salvaged the abundant cut stone from the ground, and began building in the space around the fallen temple. One commentator astutely noted that, “[t]he buildings themselves identified aspects of Icarian

⁴⁴⁵ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 256 (quoting Cabet, *Progrès de la Colonie Icarienne Etablie à Nauvoo* 4 (Paris 1854)).

lifestyle.”⁴⁴⁶ As evidence of their continued commitment to education as the “foundation of society,” they constructed a well-built school in the center block. A guest to the colony described it glowingly:

L’édifice le plus saillant de la colonie était l’école, construite toute entière en pierres de taille avec le débris du Temple mormon. De loin, elle faisait l’effet d’être en marbre blanc. Divisée en deux compartiments, elle contenait 30 à 40 garçons et autant de filles. La salle des classes, suffisamment spacieuse, et les dortoirs, où les lits se trouvaient à leur aise, me frappèrent par leur irréprochable propreté.⁴⁴⁷

While the academy would not be inside the Temple now, most agreed that this was an acceptable and handsome substitute. The school was supplemented by their nearby library, which contained over five thousand volumes, and purported to be the largest in the state.⁴⁴⁸

But their biggest and tallest building on the temple block contained the communal dining hall. The dynamic nucleus of all community interaction, there they shared every meal around two immense pinewood tables. Eating together in vast communal restaurants was a concept that Cabet had proposed in *Voyage en Icarie*,⁴⁴⁹ so its realization in Nauvoo was more than just a matter of frontier convenience; it was literally the fulfillment of their fiction. For Cabet, mealtime became a deeply spiritual affair, necessary to creating affective bonds in the community. Sharing all suppers together as equals in a single locale perfectly marries elements of the social and spatial, creating an almost ritualized

⁴⁴⁶ CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 56.

⁴⁴⁷ M. A. Holynski, *REVUE SOCIALISTE*, Sept. 1892 (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 333).

⁴⁴⁸ CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 56.

⁴⁴⁹ *See supra* note 97.

“communion,” in every sense of the word. Above the dining hall, there were work spaces and living quarters for single women. A description published in the *Populaire* depicts the busy space as almost beehive-like:

Voici maintenant la grande maison commune armée de son *concierge*. Au rez-de-chaussée deux entrepôts de vivres et de marchandises, puis la cuisine où nos fumistes nous ont bâti un fourneau en briques, capables de fricoter pour sept ou huit cents personnes (avis aux Icariens à venir). Au premier plan, le réfectoire servant de salle de réunion, de concert et de cours. Au-dessus sont les ateliers de femmes, repasseuses, tailleuses, etc., et la lingerie et sa direction ; plus les chambres de coucher de nos demoiselles. Les greniers sont destinés au linge sale.⁴⁵⁰

Its initial description as a “large house” is apt, as it became the informal locus of gathering and socializing, as any kitchen and dining hall might be. Its main area was a large, relatively open space, where potentially hundreds could gather indoors. Since they did not have individual homes with separate relaxation and living areas, this space served as the heart and hearth of the community. The building was also called the “women’s workshop,” concentrating many traditionally domestic tasks in one place, now conducted at the level of the community. Even though Cabet had always been in favor of preserving the family unit, communal life necessarily demanded a substantial blurring of the public and private, as this arrangement manifests.

Adjacent to the communal hall, there was an administrative office, and of course, Cabet moved into an existing press to continue publishing various newspapers. They converted several buildings into infirmaries and a pharmacy. Along the western edge of the temple

⁴⁵⁰ Pierre Bourg, *LE POPULAIRE*, Oct. 7, 1849 (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 250 n.1). This structure stood for well over one hundred years in its central location off Mulholland Street, and was later used as a visitors center for tourists to Nauvoo. See CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 66.

block, they had their bakery, blacksmith, locksmith, foundry, butcher, leather works, and harness garage. They also arranged shops on the south side of the temple square, for producing home goods, such as candles, soap, linens, mattresses, clothes, and shoes. There was a clockmaker's shop that doubled as a retail store to sell Icarian wares to the American residents of Nauvoo. On the northeastern corner, they built three, two-story frame apartment buildings, which served as the private residences. Each family was given two rooms in the tenement buildings, and had a bed, table, chair, bookshelf, and chandelier. (Any children over the age of three lived on the second floor of the school, seven nights a week.) Just off the square, bachelors shared rooms in a big brick house.⁴⁵¹

In close proximity to the main square, the Icarians acquired the large Mormon Arsenal. Not uncommon in nineteenth century America, the Mormon citizens of Nauvoo had maintained a vigorous militia, and they were well-armed and frequently drilled. Their impressive Arsenal and the parade grounds nearby were important symbols of their ability to defend themselves on the Frontier. The Icarians had no such propensity; a culture of militarism was non-existent, though Cabet initially suggested storing their hunting arms there.⁴⁵² Shortly thereafter, however, they converted the space into much more familiar surroundings given their industrial backgrounds—work shops for carpentry, cabinetry, and general repairs—uses that squared with their world-view and experience. Further afield, they operated secondary industries that required the river, including a saw mill, flour mill, brewery, and distillery. Communal farming, orchards, and a twenty-acre garden were also

⁴⁵¹ See ÉTIENNE CABET, *COLONIE ICARIENNE AUX ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE*, 15-17 (Paris 1854) (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 248-51); SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 58-59.

⁴⁵² PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 249.

outside the city, but the great bulk of Icarian existence was aggregated in a pronounced center within four square blocks.

They thus naturally gravitated to the center, and in a very short time “town life was almost wholly concentrated on the bluff . . . After the exodus of the Saints, grass and weeds took over Main Street, while Mulholland Street uptown eventually became the main thoroughfare of the surviving community.”⁴⁵³ Cabet and his followers completely eschewed the much finer brick homes on the “river flats,” now a virtual ghost town,⁴⁵⁴ to favor a compact and centralized settlement near the temple block. Fortunately for them, it was all but deserted, and the Icarians had their pick of almost anything they desired. The remaining American denizens, barely a fraction of what it had been only three years prior, keep their distance from these strange new foreigners.⁴⁵⁵

Overwriting the City

In fostering such a centralized organization of space, Cabet was concomitantly directing the flow and traffic of its inhabitants, as the new physical disposition of the Icarian community manipulated the vectors of its citizenry through space. Hamon says that “every building, once completed, concretizes a sort of social and natural proxemics,” which necessarily influences the itineraries and trajectories of the people; like textual narrative, is “a structure

⁴⁵³ CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 51.

⁴⁵⁴ *Cf. id.* at 51 (“A few Latter-day Saints who had not gone west by 1847 remained in their homes on the riverside flat.”).

⁴⁵⁵ *See* LEONARD, *supra* note 308, at 629 (“Not everyone welcomed the Icarians to Nauvoo. For some residents of Illinois, Cabet’s effort to build a self-contained community seemed too much like that of the Latter-day Saints. The legislature rejected the Icarian’s request for a city charter in February 1851. The memory of Mormon Nauvoo was too fresh. A cholera among the new immigrants raised fears in Nauvoo that the Icarians had brought it with them from New Orleans . . . The Icarians buried their [fifty] dead secretly to keep confidential the number of deaths.”); *but see* CANNON, *supra* note 382, at 56 (“The townspeople donated part of the [Temple] purchase price, apparently pleased to have the ‘orderly industrious’ Icarians in their midst.”).

that manipulates the actors of a story.”⁴⁵⁶ It stands to reason that every building, and every aggregation of buildings, has great moral and material significance, actively producing the type of movement and thinking possible in the city. Any construction,

[g]iven its various thresholds, partitions, doors, floors, and discriminating interfaces The building undoubtedly analyzes space and constructs a system of differences, but in producing distinctions between full and empty, opened and closed, movable and immovable, private and social it manifests and reactivates normative notions of prohibited and permitted, of private and public, of sacred and profane, or of mandatory and optional, and thereby manifests and reactivates not just value but meaning itself.⁴⁵⁷

In Icarian Nauvoo, their new design would do no less. Most of their essential structures ringed the temple block, forming a square in the center. The buildings arranged along the perimeter of the temple block were each distinct and separated according to function. So unlike the Mormon usage that allowed for individual parcels of land upon which a great diversity of activities could occur in the same space, Icarians kept their several facets of life absolutely distinct, each reserved to its own place. For example, in Latter-day Saint Nauvoo, it was common for a tradesman to have his own workshop on the exact same property where he lived, ate meals, slept; socialized, or even opened a public store to be operated out of a room in one’s home.⁴⁵⁸ But in Icaria, multiplication of uses in a single space was unheard of, especially where it concerned private quarters. This particular spatial order of maintaining a strict separation according to the activity performed therein mimicked the monastic design described below by Jean Ladrière:

⁴⁵⁶ HAMON, *supra* note 262, at 30, 33.

⁴⁵⁷ *Id.*, at 31-32.

⁴⁵⁸ *See supra* note 381 to 383 and accompanying text.

[I]l y a le réfectoire, il y a des lieux de travail, il y a le lieu où se réunit la communauté, il y a le lieu de la célébration, il y a des lieux pour la solitude, pour la méditation. Mais d'autre part, ces lieux sont extrêmement proches les uns des autres et le cloître est précisément le chemin de circulation qui permet de se rendre très facilement d'un lieu à n'importe quel autre. Nous voyons donc là une certaine conception des lieux qui détermine très profondément un mode de vie.⁴⁵⁹

Indeed, the Icarian use of temple block had the “cloister” feel described above. With the Temple destroyed, its square suddenly became merely a space of displacement, movement, and transition, rather than congregation. Richard Sennett notes that this is “dead space,” where “[n]o diversity of activity” exists, but it’s used “only as a means of passage” from one task to the next.⁴⁶⁰ The temple square thus resembled a public square in form, “but the [limited] function destroys the nature of the public square, which is to intermix persons and diverse activities.”⁴⁶¹

With the spaces so specifically designated and divided according to function, the mode and rhythm of life itself was compartmentalized. The Icarian citizens responded to the sounding of a bugle at six in the morning, announcing their departure from their individual quarters; they gathered for a light meal, and then at the horn proceeded to their day’s work; at eight o’clock, another trumpet sounded and they returned to the communal dining hall for a shared breakfast; at precisely nine o’clock they then dispersed for work again; on the sounding of the horn at one o’clock, they returned to the dining hall for another meal; they then went back out to work at two o’clock; at the six o’clock signal they returned yet again

⁴⁵⁹ Jean Ladrière, *Les Libertés et les Disciplines*, in PENSER LA VILLE 309 (Pierre Ansay & René Schoonbrodt eds., AAM Editions 1989).

⁴⁶⁰ SENNETT, *supra* note 203, at 12.

⁴⁶¹ *Id.*

for supper; they would then return to their private apartments.⁴⁶² While this monastic existence appears temporally driven, following the clock to the very minute, it was also an overt spatial management, too: the ebbs and flows to and from the center, the constant comings and goings across the temple block, and the neatly divided private and work places, all dictated Icarian daily life in spatial terms. In Icaria, quite simply, time, activity, and even being, was structured by structuring space.⁴⁶³ And so “[t]he architectural object” that was Icarian Nauvoo was “not merely a static theater to be viewed, from which one views, or where people view one another. It is also a place that rehearses theories—those ritualized processions and movements of social life.”⁴⁶⁴

Initially, this regimented lifestyle served the Icarians well, and they enjoyed incredible early success. Together they turned an \$11,000.00 debt into a \$64,000.00 surplus in less than two years. They were extremely industrious locally, and even sold their products in a store downriver in St. Louis. Fed by a steady stream of emigrants from France, they also increased their numbers. Roughly 2,000 Icarians eventually passed through the colony over the years, though only about five hundred were ever concurrently present.⁴⁶⁵ But with this number they had a critical mass capable of sustaining the colony, and their life seemed quite pleasant for a couple of years.⁴⁶⁶ Not, perhaps, to the level of *Voyage en Icarie’s*

⁴⁶² See PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 305; SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 59.

⁴⁶³ See Ladrière, *supra* note 459, at 309 (“Et s’il est vrai qu’une forme concrète de vie est essentiellement déterminée par une structuration de temps, l’idée d’induction spatiale devient celle-ci : il y a une induction de la structure du temps par la structure de l’espace.”).

⁴⁶⁴ HAMON, *supra* note 262, at 31.

⁴⁶⁵ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 283 (“On peut évaluer à près de deux mille le total des entrées à la colonie, du mois du mars 1849 au mois de juillet 1855.”).

⁴⁶⁶ CHARLES GIDE, COMMUNIST AND CO-OPERATIVE COLONIES 139 (Harrap & Co. 1930) (“This [glowing] testimony is confirmed by those who went there at about the same time—*i.e.*, in the years 1850-53. They say that the life of the colonists, without being in the least luxurious, was quite pleasant.”).

idealization, but well on its way. Hardworking and determined throughout the week, on Sundays they enjoyed Cabet's lessons in communism and ethics, read in the extensive library, listened to music played by their thirty-six member orchestra, and viewed performances of various plays, often attended by other paying citizens of Nauvoo. Many, including Cabet, became American citizens, and celebrated the national holidays with fervor (alongside Icaria's own, of course). Like in *Voyages en Icarie*, the highlight of the week consisted in leaving the busy city and its tight spatial ordering for group outings in the country. "A special spot for such picnics was in a glen by the river called the Woods of the Young Ladies. Lacour described a pastoral event there where everyone sat on quilts and enjoyed a meal of ham, radishes, and beans along with fresh water from a nearby stream. While the band played and danced."⁴⁶⁷

But this idyll, too, was soon interrupted by dark clouds gathering on the community's horizon. As the final chapter recounts, the practice of space designed by Cabet for his followers was itself fatally flawed, and led to the ultimate demise of the colony in a very short period of time.

⁴⁶⁷ SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 60.

Chapter 7

THE SPATIAL FALL OF ICARIA

The Seeds of Discontent

Throughout much of 1851, Cabet was absent from Nauvoo and the United States. One of the ex-Icarian malcontents from the Texas fiasco made good on his threats, returning to France to file charges of *escroquerie*, fraud, and breach of fiduciary duty in connection with the Peters concession. Cabet was eager to defend himself of the spurious charges for which he had been found guilty *in absentia*, so leaving Prudent in charge of the colony, he made his way back to the old country.

Cabet likely welcomed the trip. He hadn't seen his wife and daughter since the end of 1848. Additionally, at the bureau of *le Populaire*, still publishing monthly and directing the recruitment of colonists, there was also a minor heresy to put down. Louis Bertrand, an editor left in charge of an important column had recently converted to Mormonism; he recounts the experience in his own words:

I was editing the political section of *Le Populaire* at the time the first [M]ormon missionaries came to Paris. . . . From my first meeting with them I was struck by the far reaching importance of the work they were commissioned to introduce in France. My knowledge of English permitted me to initiate myself into the doctrines of the new Church, and I found in their writings . . . the complete demonstrations of the divinity of that work. The two apostles who landed on French soil were Messrs John Taylor and Curtis E. Bolton.

All the questions, all the objections which I raised were answered or explained to my entire satisfaction.⁴⁶⁸

There was thus another unlikely point of attachment between these two fledgling movements. It appears that John Taylor, undoubtedly aware of the new inhabitants in his old Nauvoo, went to their headquarters at 14 rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau to see what else they could share. Louis Bertrand, curious and apparently spiritually inclined, was receptive to his message. Cabet was not so sympathetic. Though there was no religious test for the Icarian membership, he summarily dismissed Bertrand from his editorial post. The long-absent Cabet re-enforced orthodoxy on the Parisian wing of the movement, but for those left behind in Icaria, 3,000 leagues away, it didn't take long to go astray either, testing the rules and relaxing their resolve.

Even before Cabet's departure, many had already started complaining at the harshness of their daily routine. While there was no question that he could organize labor, Cabet had proved somewhat incompetent at managing it. Many thought they were overworked, and too closely supervised in their tasks; Cabet designated foremen in each work station to monitor the workers and regularly report to the *Gérance*. Some believed that they were underemployed, assigned menial manual labor when they were trained professionals elsewhere. Others were upset at the ascetic conditions of their daily existence, including meager diet, harsh discipline, few amenities, prevalent illness, and the fact that they could

⁴⁶⁸ LOUIS A. BERTRAND, *MÉMOIRES D'UN MORMON 2* (Gaston Chappuis trans., Wittersheim 1862). Bertrand was one of the original eight members in the Paris Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and was asked to help Bolton, whose French was mediocre, to complete the first translation of *the Book of Mormon* into that language. Bertrand eventually served as president of the French mission from 1859 to 1864, but in the wake of government repression, was forced to flee to Jersey. While there, he claims to have taught Victor Hugo, a fellow exilee, the fundamentals of Mormon theology. See generally CHRISTIAN EUVRARD, *LOUIS AUGUSTE BERTRAND: JOURNALISTE, SOCIALISTE ET PIONNIER MORMON* (Impri Ouest 2005).

see their children only on Sunday afternoons.⁴⁶⁹ Cabet remained ever the strict disciplinarian and task-master, unyielding, unrelenting, and unsympathetic. It is apparent that the seeds of discontent and rebellion had already been sown months before Cabet was called before the French tribunal.

For the fifteen months of Cabet's absence, many Icarians "regarded themselves as schoolboys on holiday . . . They went hunting and fishing: no one paid any attention to the community, and each making his own little pile."⁴⁷⁰ When Cabet finally returned, acquitted of all charges in Paris (it took less than four hours),⁴⁷¹ he was appalled to find "a great relaxation in the execution of our rules and a great deal of small disorders"⁴⁷² The "small disorders" he was referring to were big problems in a communist system. "He told Beluze that vanity had replaced a commitment to equality and that jealousy threatened harmony."⁴⁷³ Cabet immediately initiated severe retrenchment measures.

He instituted the notorious "Forty-Eight Articles" which were intended to rid the community of the "venomous poisons" it had taken in.⁴⁷⁴ Conditions of membership included some old, but many new requirements: renouncing of all private property, hiding and retaining nothing; forsaking all liquor and tobacco, except medicinal; adopting the Icarian system by banishing individualism and selfishness in favor of community; believing

⁴⁶⁹ See Diana Garno, *Cabet's Recruitment of Women*, 23 COMMUNAL STUDIES 63 (2003); see also DIANE GARNO, GENDERED UTOPIA 500, 513 (finding that the most frequent reason for angry defection from Icarian Nauvoo was due to the mandatory separation of parents and children boarded at the school).

⁴⁷⁰ GIDE, *supra* note 466, at 140.

⁴⁷¹ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 264.

⁴⁷² SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 61 (quoting letter from Cabet to Beluze (Summer 1852)).

⁴⁷³ *Id.*

⁴⁷⁴ GARNO, *supra* note 469, at 584 (quoted in SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 61).

in equality for all and privilege for no one; accepting any task, including working the fields, if necessary; becoming habituated to the inconveniences of communal life; forsaking hunting and fishing for pleasure; loving organization and order; consenting to the community direction one's children; stopping all murmuring about conditions and leaders in Nauvoo.⁴⁷⁵

The Panopticism of Icarian Nauvoo

Though Cabet had officially relinquished some of his executive powers in 1850 to a six-man committee, he was still the president-elect and effective dictator.⁴⁷⁶ He single-mindedly saw to the passage and enforcement of his new conditions. Cabet had earlier placed informants and agents about in the community, and it seemed that no aspect of the colonists' lives could be totally hidden.⁴⁷⁷ He had often said that traditional domestic relations were to be respected in Icaria, promising that "malgré la pauvreté de la colonie, chaque ménage possédait son 'chez soi.'"⁴⁷⁸ But soon it seemed that every place and everything in Icarian Nauvoo was subject to surveillance of some kind:

⁴⁷⁵ Étienne Cabet, *Réception et Admission dans la Communauté Icarienne* (1853) (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 348-61 (noting that these standards applied to those already in the colony as well)).

⁴⁷⁶ One long time critic of the entire movement, and especially its leader, charged that

[t]ous les désordres, tous les vices, toutes les vexations du régime actuel se reproduisant avec une fureur d'aggravation dans la communauté égalitaire et fraternelle d'Icarie : la concentration des pouvoirs, la suppression des libertés, l'intolérance des opinions, le désarmement des citoyens, la violation du domicile, les mensonges officiels, les tripotages administratifs, la délation érigée en système, la censure établie sur les lettres privées, sur les communications domestiques, sur les affections de famille, l'inquisition, enfin l'exploitation gouvernementale

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *VOIX DU PEUPLE*, April 1850.

⁴⁷⁷ FREDERIC OLINET, *VOYAGE D'UN AUTUNOIS EN ICARIE A LA SUITE DE CABET* 130-32 (Dejussieu 1898).

⁴⁷⁸ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 339.

Dès cette époque, il fallait se réunir après la journée finie, à l'écart de toute habitation et dans les ténèbres, si l'on voulait se défendre des oreilles indiscrètes. Les faits de l'ordre le plus délicats, comme les rapports des familles entre elles ou la situation intimes des ménages, n'étaient pas à l'abri des investigations du président et des racontars de ses agents.⁴⁷⁹

Even imagining that spies were everywhere afoot eventually lead to an insufferable climate of suspicion. Mistrust, doubt, and intrigue plagued the citizens while accusations, denunciations, and dissensions intensified. In a plaintive letter back France, some Icarians in Nauvoo desperately confess that

depuis six à sept mois, peut-être depuis plus longtemps, l'esprit démocratique nous avait abandonnés pour faire place à l'anarchie, à la critique secrète des uns contre les autres. Les mécontentements s'aigrissaient sourdement; la méfiance glaçait nos rapports journaliers; notre crédulité accueillait avec empressement toutes les attaques, toutes les calomnies que l'esprit de discorde pouvait suggérer au milieu de nous; en un mot, notre situation nous était devenue intolérable.⁴⁸⁰

Essentially, the citizens were constantly looking over their own shoulders, and over their neighbor's as well. They fought incessantly with one another over the most inconsequential trifles. They hated newcomers and didn't accept them as equals, always suspicious of their motives, and jealous that they would be sharing in an ever shrinking pool of resources. Soon the French Icarians still being recruited began hearing rumors, were scared-off, and refused to emigrate, effectively leaving the colony to rot from within. But beneath all this petty infighting and disharmony, beneath the distrust and anger, there was a subtle, almost imperceptible, spatial complaint gnawing at the very core of the warring community.

⁴⁷⁹ *Id.* at 338 (citing OLINET, *supra* note 477, at 132).

⁴⁸⁰ LE POPULAIRE, Feb. 14, 1854.

Much of this strife resulted from the spatial organization of the community itself. The repressive surveillance that drove them crazy with suspicion was due to the design of work and social spaces. Quite simply, they all constantly labored under one another's gaze: "chacun vi[vai]t en quelque sorte perpétuellement, du matin au soir, dans le champ de visibilité de tous les autres et où, par conséquent, sans qu'il ait nécessairement la contrainte d'un pouvoir étatique, il y a[vait] la contrainte sociale de la présence immédiate."⁴⁸¹ So close were their quarters, their workspaces, their dining hall, and their social areas that rumor and innuendo ran fast and far. In such tight proximity and immediacy where everyone believed, reasonably or not, that official and unofficial reports were being made to *la Gérance*, the spatial conditions yielded near perfect *panopticism*.⁴⁸²

This form of supervision was a principle theme of Foucault. He famously surmised that since the Revolution, Western society had trended towards this mode of power applied to individuals through continuous individual supervision:

The Panopticon . . . must be understood as a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations . . . it is in fact a figure of political technology [that] is polyvalent in its applications; it serves to reform prisoners, but also to treat patients, to instruct schoolchildren, to confine the insane, to supervise workers . . . Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task

⁴⁸¹ Ladrière, *supra* note 459, at 314 ("L'autre extrême serait la dispersion totale, l'isolement, la ville où les chemins ne se croisent pas et où chacun vit à côté des autres en les ignorant.").

⁴⁸² The "Panopticon" was envisioned by Jeremy Bentham in 1787. In his model of a perfect prison, he conceived of a structure that could influence behavior through the illusion of constant surveillance. In the Panopticon, a central tower is occupied by the administrator, who is completely hidden. The cells were arranged in a ring around the tower, open and clearly visible to the administrator. Every prisoner knew that he could be 'supervised' at any moment and thereby begins to internalize the feeling of being constantly observed. This in turn influences behavior and deters misconduct. As knowledge is centralized in one person, dozens of others become the objects of information. The resultant asymmetry of knowledge was a "machine," to arrange, define and amplify productive power.

or particular form of behavior must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used.⁴⁸³

Panoptic supervision depends on visibility and positional superiority. It is fundamentally spatial, especially back in the nineteenth century, in that it relied on unobstructed fields and vantages for constant observation. If *Voyage en Icarie* is indicative, Cabet certainly had faith in the ability of the “totalizing eye”⁴⁸⁴ of government to discern societal ills, and install better moral and economic orders. Whether or not he consciously designed Icarian Nauvoo to aggregate knowledge and improve behavior by panoptic observation, this was the ultimate effect. In larger, modern societies, surveillance structures are usually somewhat removed, sublimated, and invisible, according to Foucault; but in tight-knit Icaria, every glance askew must have felt like a knife.

The Tyranny of Intimacy⁴⁸⁵

Consider the anxiety of sharing three meals a day, work time, social time, and even night time in such spaces, constantly and immediately accessible to everyone. While their space was divided according to function, as described above, within those spaces they were living on top of each other. Cabet had intentionally left the communal dining area and other work areas wholly unobstructed by abolishing internal partitions, breaking down barriers, and erasing separation. This open arrangement, he sincerely thought, could only possibly foster increased intimacy, fraternity, and sense of community they so intensely desired. Superficially, most would agree that “[t]he expectation is that when relations are close, they

⁴⁸³ MICHEL FOUCAULT, *DISCIPLINE AND PUNISH: THE BIRTH OF THE PRISON*, 205, 228 (Alan Sheridan trans., Vintage Books 2d ed. 1995) (1977).

⁴⁸⁴ See *supra* note 174 to 180 and accompanying text.

⁴⁸⁵ SENNETT, *supra* note 203, at 337.

are warm; it is an intense kind of sociability which people seek out in attempting to remove barriers to intimate contact”; but Sennett unpredictably theorizes that “this expectation is defeated by the act. The closer people come, the less sociable, the more painful, the more fratricidal their relations.”⁴⁸⁶

In the foregoing passage, sociologist and psychologist, Richard Sennett, describes an element of human nature that is quite counter-intuitive, but seems to stand up theoretically and anecdotally. He explains that some architects in modernity have experimented with “[t]he design idea of the permeable wall,”⁴⁸⁷ resembling what Cabet essentially had in operation in Nauvoo. “Visual barriers are destroyed by doing away with office walls, so that whole floors will become one vast open space, or there will be a set of private offices on the perimeter with a large open area within.” But the effect of destroying these walls does not concomitantly increase the “openness” of its inhabitants, rather, it has the reverse effect: “[P]eople who are all day long visually exposed to one another . . . *are less likely to gossip and chat, and more likely to keep to themselves. When everyone has each other under surveillance, sociability decreases, silence being the only form of protection.*”⁴⁸⁸ Silence indeed reigned in what was supposed to be the most jovial of utopias; Cabet had unwittingly arranged his commune such that the people would no longer commune.

It is indeed an ironic footnote that Cabet had vehemently renounced the scattered plots of the Peters concession as incompatible with the *esprit de corps* he wished to create by living together; but Sennett warns flatly, “Increase intimate contact and you decrease

⁴⁸⁶ *Id.* at 338.

⁴⁸⁷ *Id.* at 15.

⁴⁸⁸ *Id.* (emphasis added).

sociability.”⁴⁸⁹ So their very aversion to the physical isolation of Texas, perhaps, ultimately held the key to their success. The paradox of visibility and isolation is that “[p]eople are more sociable, the more they have some tangible barriers between them Let us put this another way again: Human beings need to have some distance from intimate observation by others in order to feel sociable.”⁴⁹⁰ So the grid, for all its pernicious individualism in Cabet’s estimation, could have ordered, distinguished, and distanced his people appropriately.⁴⁹¹ From their separate and discrete spaces, they likely would have then sought each other out in friendship and good will, traveling willingly to commune in the public center because they know that they also have a private retreat.

They didn’t have to renounce “communism” *per se*, only the perverse form of spatial communitarianism that kept them forever locked in proximity one with another. Without formal, concretized means of spatial differentiation, like real property enforceable at law, or a pre-determined grid space, or an enclosure known to all, or even inviolable private lodgings, the Icarians were desperate to find informal ways of creating personal space. But even when one of them managed to stake-out the most evanescent of boundaries, he was constantly engaged in the anti-social behavior of defending it, hyper-sensitive at even the slightest encroachment into his illusion of bounded autonomy. As if by fate, they had been given another chance in Nauvoo, a city noted for its crisp lines, demarcations, enclosures and divisions. They could have easily installed themselves with a little more room, a little more separation, and a little more privacy, even as the Latter-day Saints had done.

⁴⁸⁹ *Id.* at 15.

⁴⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁴⁹¹ See Ellickson, *supra* note 307, at 1322-1335.

But they did not. Trapped, as they were, in their tight physical proximity, they began their slow retreat into silence and psychic isolation. In these conditions, the records of impartial witnesses show overwhelmingly that many became introverted, lonely, and depressed. Holynski, an outsider, but a socialist, touring Icarian Nauvoo in the later years, gives this bleak account of the morale of the people:

Dispersés en petits groups, ils causaient peu. Plusieurs étaient couchés. Leurs visages inertes ne reflétaient aucune gaiété intérieure. Les femmes restaient assises à l'écart des hommes, silencieuses, avec des figures mélancoliques et étoilées. J'étais avec Cabet qui me pria de lui donner franchement mon opinion sur Icarie. 'La voici : vous avez fondé un admirable couvent, moins la superstition—Et le mariage en plus.' Je ne fis pas remarquer combien ce mariage me paraissait avoir un caractère triste, monotone et claustral.⁴⁹²

It is interesting that Holynski evokes the image of the convent and employs the word “claustral,” a spatial reference, to characterize the sadness of the Icarian women. Richard Sennett proposes in the final chapter of his book, *The Fall of Public Man*, that this is the first variety of “tyranny of intimacy,” for which Madame Bovary is the tragic emblem: “a catalog of domestic routine soon produces one image of intimate tyranny; it is claustrophobia.”⁴⁹³

As a collateral effect their discontentment, chronic apathy towards the community set in like *rigor mortis* among the Icarians. Feeling disenfranchised and disconnected from the community, the Icarians simply “stopped working, and each of them carved out a piece of

⁴⁹² M.A. Holynski, *REVUE SOCIALISTE*, Sept. 1892 (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 111, at 313).

⁴⁹³ SENNETT, *supra* note 203, at 337.

private property for himself.”⁴⁹⁴ In a very short time, community finances began to plummet; “[a]s a Soviet joke had it, ‘They pretend to pay us; we pretend to work.’ Such attitudes resulted in a progressive alienation of the citizenry from the body politic.”⁴⁹⁵ The same could be said for Icaria. “Rather than devot[ing] themselves 100 percent to the good of all, the vast majority . . . dedicated themselves 100 to their private welfare,” a result observed elsewhere in the annals of communism.⁴⁹⁶ What little private space the couples had was being used to dodge group obligations, engage in activities prohibited by the community, and to accumulate personal wealth: many claimed to be ill so they could return to the privacy of apartments or the infirmary;⁴⁹⁷ some were hiding contraband in the floorboards of their lodgings, often liquor;⁴⁹⁸ most were supplementing their allotted rations with game taken hunting and fishing. They had tried being equally poor together, assiduously spying on one another to make sure that no one defected from their collective misery; now, many of them some sought some form of separation and prosperity in the individualization of private property.

One act especially aggravated Cabet to no end—he was certain that women were secretly retaining their precious jewels and fashions from France, admiring them shamelessly in private quarters: “A plus forte raison a-t-on interdit les bijoux. Quelques *Icariennes* ont gardé les leurs au mépris du règlement qui ordonne de les déposer entre les mains de la

⁴⁹⁴ GIDE, *supra* note 466, at 140.

⁴⁹⁵ Richard Pipes, *Human Nature and the Fall of Communism*, in PERSPECTIVES ON PROPERTY LAW 25 (Robert C. Elickson, Carol M. Rose & Bruce A. Ackerman eds., Aspen 2002).

⁴⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁹⁷ PRUDHOMMEUX, *supra* note 11, at 312 (“Nous savons par le témoignage des Icariens survivants qu’à l’époque où la moisson battait son plein, certains ‘malins’ prenaient volontiers le chemin de l’infirmerie.”).

⁴⁹⁸ GIDE, *supra* note 466, at 140.

gérance. Seulement comme il leur est impossible de les montrer au public, elles en sont réduites à les regarder chez elles, en poussant de gros soupirs.”⁴⁹⁹

To deal with this private transgression, Cabet insisted in the Forty-Eight Articles that husbands begin monitoring their wives at home for violations of rules, finally breaching even the sanctity of the marital suite.⁵⁰⁰ With this decree, Cabet’s spatial conquest of Icaria was complete; an eye to penetrate all.

Intimate tyranny can also stand for a kind of political catastrophe, the police state in which all one’s activities, friends, and beliefs pass through the net of governmental surveillance. This intimate oppression involves the constant fear that one may betray opinions which lead instantly to jail, that one’s children may be indiscreet at school, that one may unwittingly commit crimes against the state which the state makes up as it goes along . . . [T]he Stalinist legend of the good little Communist who turned his errant parents in to the secret police [is] the emblem of the second.⁵⁰¹

Their children had indeed already been sequestered in the boarding school for special instruction, and had been ordered to call Cabet, “Papa.”⁵⁰² Whereas before their panoptic nightmare had some limits in space, now there was absolutely no reserve; the very castle was abruptly violated, and the once placid citizens would not stand for it anymore.

The endgame came played out quickly for the colony at Nauvoo. Jean Baptiste Gérard and Alexis Armel Marchand organized a faction to oppose Cabet in late 1854. They drew away 219 followers, called appropriately ‘the Majority.’ They were incensed at Cabet’s

⁴⁹⁹ PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 324, 325 (citing M.A. Holynski, REVUE SOCIALISTE, Sept. 1892).

⁵⁰⁰ Cabet, *supra* note 475 (quoted in PRUDHOMMEAUX, *supra* note 11, at 359) (Condition #48: “Garantir que sa femme remplit réellement toutes les conditions.”).

⁵⁰¹ SENNETT, *supra* note 203, at 337.

⁵⁰² SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 61.

mishandling of the colony. Conversely, the ‘Cabetists,’ numbering 179 loyalists, remained committed to the Founder, certain in their belief that he had done everything for the good of the collective.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, given the spatial regimes they had been conditioned to, the new power brokers defined themselves by quickly occupying space: The Majority rushed to dominate the center of the main garden directly on the temple block, sealing it off to the others; the Cabetists were resigned to a smaller, peripheral field just off the block, (perhaps the parade ground).⁵⁰³ As everyone shook off the spatial codes that everywhere had bound them, they “ceased to work at their places in shops, fields and mills. For months the party lines had been drawn every-where. In the assembly the opposing factions had occupied opposite sides of the hall; at meals they had taken separate tables; the little children at school had become partisans.”⁵⁰⁴

Their feuding escalated over the course of several months, first in the press, then in the streets. There were raids, brawls, beatings, stranglings, and a burning of “Cabet” in effigy. These incidents, while not taking lives, were numerous and violent enough that the American Sheriff of Hancock County was called in. Cabet was asked by the Americans of Nauvoo to leave the city. By that point, he was ready to be done with the dissenters and accepted exile once more. Gathering his remaining acolytes, still well over one hundred, Cabet went down river to St. Louis in October, 1856. But there was not to be another Icaria on the horizon. “Papa” died ignominiously of a stroke barely two weeks later, at age

⁵⁰³ *Id.* at 62-63.

⁵⁰⁴ HINDS, *supra* note 230, at 373.

sixty-eight. Other “Icarian” remnants persisted for many years, establishing colonies in Missouri, Iowa, and later California, but many would argue that the entire movement was invariably buried in the Old Picker Cemetery in South St. Louis, on a grey November morning in 1856.⁵⁰⁵

That the Icarians took so long to reach this breaking point, or that they ever reached it at all, demonstrates the last insidious, often unnoticed, “tyranny of intimacy” in modernity. The city properly framed, according to Sennett, is supposed to teach its citizens political savvy through impersonality. The lost art of “civility” was the ability to properly navigate complex spaces, situations, and strangers, all at arm’s length. But civility can only exist “when a person does not make himself a burden to others.”⁵⁰⁶ “‘City’ and ‘civility,’” he explains, “have a common root etymologically,”

Civility is treating others as though they were strangers and forging a social bond upon that social distance. The city is that human settlement in which strangers are most likely to meet. The public geography of a city is civility institutionalized . . . To speak of incivility is to speak of reversed terms. It is burdening others with oneself; it is the decrease in sociability with others this burden of personality creates.⁵⁰⁷

Traditional political man of the Ancien Régime, Sennett argues, was able to act impersonally in the public square, accomplishing great civic feats together, without fear or trepidation. After the 1840s, however, “the belief in direct human relations on an intimate scale seduced us from converting our understanding of the realities of power into guides for

⁵⁰⁵ SUTTON, *supra* note 239, at 65.

⁵⁰⁶ *Id.* at 269.

⁵⁰⁷ *Id.* at 264-65.

our own political behavior. The result is that the forces of domination or inequity remain unchallenged.”⁵⁰⁸ The charismatic ruler is often the figure responsible for having rendering intimate every aspect of human existence, confusing his people with their closeness, and depriving them of the ability to act independently in the public sphere. Overwhelmed by the feeling of openness on every side, they predictably retreat into personal seclusion, becoming mere passive observers of public life. Cabet, for all his gifts and sincere dedication to the cause of Icaria, was just such a leader, and actually deployed his tyrannical intimacy through the spaces he conceived, a direct method that most such leaders never have access to:

The modern charismatic leader destroys any distance between his own sentiments and impulses and those of his audience, and so, focusing his followers on his motivations, deflects them from measuring him in terms of his acts. This relationship between politician and followers began in the mid-19th Century in terms of the control of one class by the leader of another . . . It is uncivilized for a society to make its citizens feel a leader is believable because he can dramatize his own motivations. Leadership on these terms is a form of seduction.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ *Id.* at 337.

⁵⁰⁹ *Id.* at 265.

C o n c l u s i o n

The Spatial Incivility of Icaria

Fearing the evils of industrialization and individualization, the Icarians desperately imposed the very closeness and tenderness that eventually drove them asunder. With such a charismatic leader, and in the spaces he designed for the purposes of promoting intimacy, the Icarians folded back on themselves, paralyzed and unable to relate dispassionately with each other. They had thus drawn the other *too* near to effectively act on an impersonal level and challenge Cabot before it was too late. Tensions rose as they were thrust onto one another time and again in the spaces they occupied, first in Texas, then in New Orleans, and lastly in Nauvoo. They thought they desired this proximity, but unable to escape each other's gaze in a poorly arranged city, they grew intolerant, impatient, and insincere. The physical conditions in Nauvoo, grided and expansive, could have potentially mitigated this crisis. Yet Cabot instead "corrected" individualistic Nauvoo, consciously rejecting its prior spatial arrangement, and choosing to group his people together. Icarian spatial practices, therefore, only exacerbated their destructive intimacy, and ultimately led to the downfall of their community.

The degree of their intimacy in Nauvoo, mostly as a result of this dystopic spatial organization, compelled them to live their entire existence in conditions of social immediacy. Thus constrained, they "localized" all their activities, thinking, and behaviors so that everything was focused internally. They became so attuned to the proximate that they eventually sought refuge in the most intimate space available to them: their own needs and wants. Thus the delusion of close association, lodestar of Romantic socialism, caused

them to localized their every human experience in the most narrow terms possible, ending-up invariably in themselves. This narcissistic interiorization of man invariably defeats the communistic impulse, and did so in Icaria because of an acute spatial mismanagement. The community under Cabet's leadership was thus doomed to fail—it was intimate to a fault. His use of space in Nauvoo effectively prevented the Icarian colonists from accepting outsiders, communicating openly, behaving socially, or even civilly. Their supreme incivility eventually erupted, leading to the expulsion from Icaria of the very leader who had conceived her.

The trajectories of Mormon history and Icarian history briefly intersect over a swampy peninsula on the banks of the Mississippi in Illinois. How these vastly different utopian groups negotiated this space and tried to give it meaning is a rich and complex study. Ultimately, their experiences in Nauvoo, were quite contradictory: Latter-day Saints were well partitioned, but desired a true center to gather in; Icarians had their center, but desired some separation and isolation. Neither was fully able to find the balance between dispersion and concentration, between the “sociopetal and sociofugal qualities of spaces.”⁵¹⁰

⁵¹⁰ HAYDEN, *supra* note 310, at 206.