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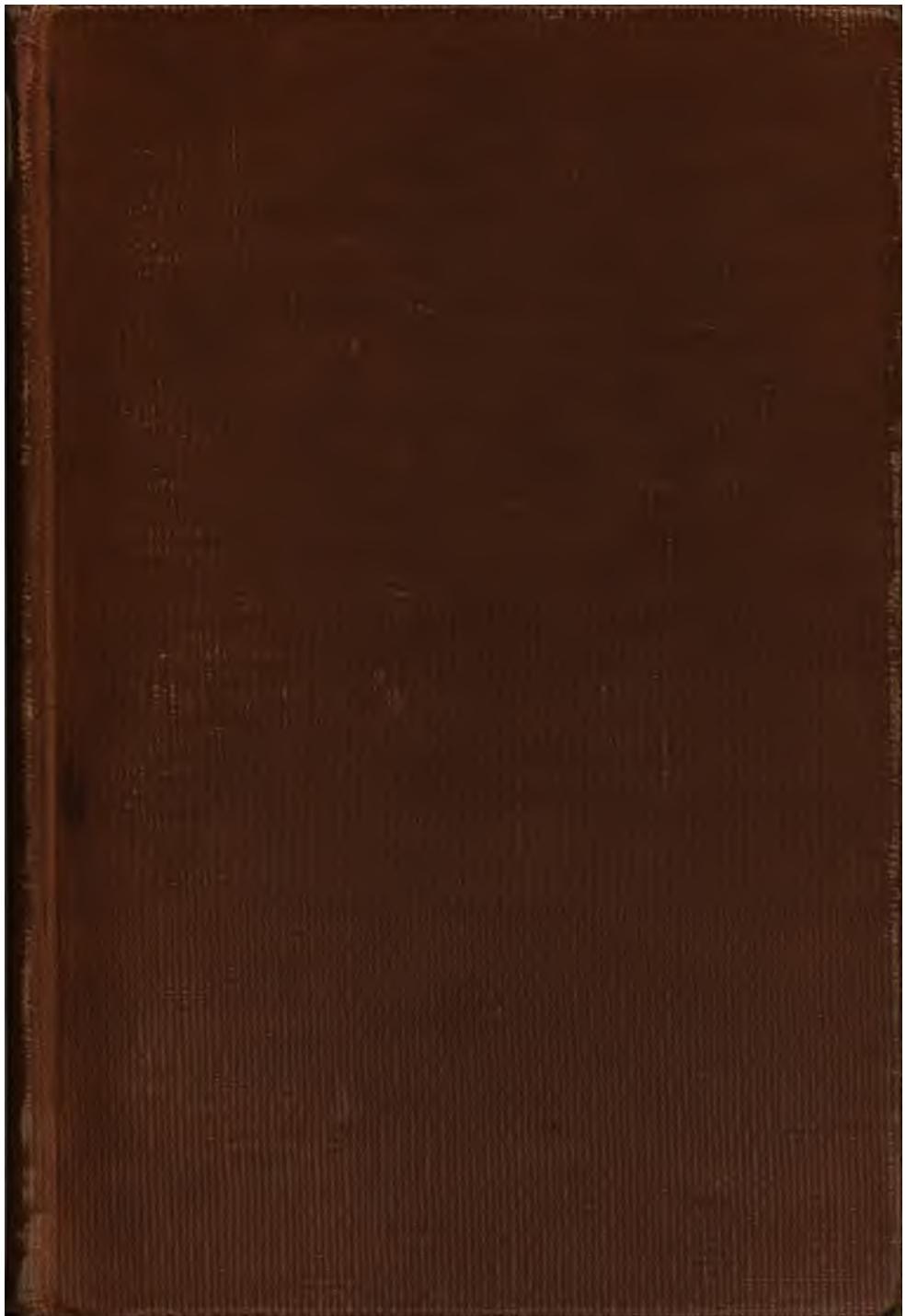
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THE LIFE  
OR  
CHARLES FOURIER.

**"JUSTUM ET TENACEM PROPOSITI VIRUM."**

THE LIFE  
OR  
**CHARLES FOURIER.**

BY CH. PELLARIN, M.D.

SECOND EDITION,  
WITH AN APPENDIX.

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TRANSLATED BY  
**FRANCIS GEO. SHAW.**

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**NEW YORK:**  
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1848.

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## CHARLES FOURIER.

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“ He judged men according to their nature, and of all the strings which vibrate in the soul, he cut not one, but made them all accord.”

JEAN PAUL RICHTER.—*Twan.*

“ I speak decidedly with regard to my own science, and I yield precedence in every other.”

FOURIER.

To pay our debt to the memory of CHARLES FOURIER ; to retrace as faithfully as possible all that relates to the person and the life of the discoverer of the Social Science : this is what we shall attempt in the following work.

The task is not only a great, but moreover, and we do not deceive ourselves, a delicate one, insomuch as it has reference to a man whose high worth is not yet generally recognised. If, therefore, in speaking of such a man, we should listen only to the dictates of enthusiastic admiration we experience for him, we should hardly find in all our readers dispositions in harmony with our language ; and the transports of the disciple, far from contributing to the fame of the Master, would perhaps excite additional prejudices against the solidity and the legitimacy of his titles to glory.

It is nevertheless the fact that, since the author of the Societary Theory has descended into the tomb, distinguished homage has been paid to his genius by those very persons from whom the sublime old man had become accustomed to expect only detraction and sarcasms. In fact, if we, who partake the confidence of the inventor in the future application of his discoveries, who believe in that brilliant social future which he has, not dreamed of, but

calculated and mathematically demonstrated, if we needed voices from abroad to encourage us, to authorize us in some sort to express all our enthusiasm respecting our Master, those voices have not been wanting since his death ; and the admiration of his disciples hardly surpasses that which the sceptics themselves have loudly testified for that prodigious intellect which grappled with and solved the most arduous problems ever proposed to the human mind.<sup>1</sup>

Some men act directly upon the world by the part they take in the events of their epoch. Others are contented to leave to it their thought, a power in the germ, long imperceptible to the eyes of the crowd, but which must nevertheless exert in after ages, upon the destinies of Humanity, a very different influence from that exerted by all the noisy activity of the first,—an activity which is always confined in quite narrow limits by the conditions of space and time, according to which it is enabled to act. Consider, in this double connexion, the most vast career that can be imagined : what is, after all, the duration of the life of a man ? what the extent of an empire ? if we compare the one and the other, either with the existence of Humanity or with the entire surface of the Globe.

To the first category belong, for example, the public men, the great ministers, the great princes, who, during their life, or so long, at least, as their power subsists, possess a high importance, and fill almost alone the hundred mouths of fame : we might connect with them, in this latter respect especially, the writers whose talent is exercised upon received ideas, and who, if they know how to make a brilliant use of the data furnished by the spirit of the age, and not to shock its intellectual habits, quickly attain an elevated place in public opinion. At our epoch, moreover, the two classes of this first category are often mingled ; thus, among us, the Chateaubriands, the Guizots, the Thiers, the Villemains, have been at the same time the representatives of literary genius and the depositaries of governmental power.

To the second category belong the really original thinkers,

<sup>1</sup> We refer to the articles published by most of the journals respecting Fourier, at the time of his death.

whose ideas the future only can adopt and apply ; these are especially the *inventors*, persons often obscure during their life, but whose glory afterwards goes on increasing incessantly, because their labors and their discoveries benefit all ages and all nations. What sovereign of the XIII. or of the XV. century could pride himself on having cast into the balance of the destinies of Europe a weight equal to that thrown therein by the inventors of gunpowder and of printing ?—men unknown in their time, and whose names posterity has had a difficulty in ascertaining, that it might honor them, that it might bestow upon them the glory of the immense results of these two prodigious forces which they bequeathed to it.

We intentionally mention these instances, because they prove that the judgment of contemporaries is not always the measure of the celebrity to which a man is entitled and which is reserved for him by the more enlightened justice of succeeding ages.

We have thought it appropriate to prefix these remarks to what we are about to say of Fourier. For if there ever was any one who, by the nature and object of his labors, by the form which he has given to them, has placed himself in the position not to be appreciated by the society in which he lived, it is assuredly the extraordinary man to whom this notice is devoted. Living always in thought in that harmonic world, the laws of which he discovered, the author of the Societary Theory never mingled in any manner in the things of his time. And how could he have done so, seeing them, judging them, as he did, from the height of his magnificent utopia ? People are astonished that there were not, as in certain personages doubly illustrious, both by their rank in the world and by their writings, such as Moore and Fenelon, whose minds were also applied to depicting social arrangements different from those which they saw adopted ; people are astonished, I say, that there were not two men in Fourier : one of real life, another of the system ; one employing a portion of his eminent faculties in obtaining a position that should correspond to them ; the other applying himself to the system, taking delight in it as in an agreeable distraction. But, for this, it would have been necessary that, like the writers I have mentioned, Fourier should have seen in his system only a play of the imagination,

and, on the contrary, he had an absolute faith in it : it was to him a positive science, in the constitution of which he advanced only by rigorous calculations ; and we may say that never did an accountant, in the proving of his figures, discover a quarter part of the scruples which Fourier displayed in the mathematical determination of the conditions of the social order of which he traced the plan.

Thus, after having, in some degree at first sight, perceived the radical, constitutional, irremediable vice of civilization ; holding himself completely aloof from everything that civilization could offer to him, Fourier, during his whole life, applied his intellect solely to the determination of a social order the inverse of that which exists, and which is admitted, so to speak, as the only one possible, so generally are we the slaves of routine in this respect. Finally, Fourier could not, during his life, obtain for his theory that trial which was the object of all his wishes, the aim of all his efforts, and which alone would have been conclusive in the eyes of the greater number. We must not, therefore, be astonished that he died almost unknown by name to the crowd who can appreciate only accomplished facts. But it is for those who, by the earnest study of his works, have followed this innovating genius in the brilliant paths which he has opened to Humanity, and which he has marked out with so much certainty and precision ; it is for these, I say, to anticipate the judgment of posterity respecting him ; it is for these to prelude the acclamations which, from all parts of the globe, happy and gloriously transformed by the word of Fourier, will one day salute him as the social redeemer ! the greatest name which it is permitted to inscribe upon the annals of the earth.

Another duty also is imposed upon us, upon us especially, who are writing upon the very spot where Fourier was born. It is our duty, not only to claim for his native city the honor of having given him birth, but also to collect and to make known the details which particularly relate to the person and to the family of the great man.

The history of Fourier would be very short and of small interest doubtless, if, without referring to his intellectual labors, it were limited to the outward events of his life, obscurely passed in

subaltern occupations, or in the silence of study and meditation. Nevertheless, looking at it only in this light and as an expression of manners, what piquant traits of originality would it present, what curious anecdotes, depicting, some the pre-occupation of the mind of the *Demi-Orgos* of the societary world, others the character of the man, a character entirely peculiar, entirely exceptional; several also the native goodness of his heart; the greater part, finally, his unalterable benevolence for individuals, in the midst of his systematic prejudices, too well founded, alas! against the *civilizes*, prejudices which he carried even to misanthropy. But no one should allow himself to be deceived respecting the heart of Fourier by this last mentioned trait. Never, in fact, has the desire of seeing the whole human race happy been manifested in a broader or more decided manner, than in him who employed his whole life in searching out and in combining the means of universal happiness. And must not that which took the form of his system have first proceeded from his heart, from a heart animated in the highest degree with the love of men?

Unfortunately, we know but little of what concerns Fourier personally, in consequence of his habit of never speaking of himself. If he sometimes related one of the incidents of his life, it was solely with the object of supporting by a fact such or such of his theoretic views respecting the nature of Man and respecting Society. So great was his disinclination to speak to others of himself, that I, who passed six months, in 1833, side by side with Fourier in the office of the first phalansterian journal, "la Reforme industrielle," who have been living for four years in intimacy with M. Just Muiron, the oldest disciple, the one who deserved and constantly possessed the first place in the friendship and confidence of the Master, I learnt only a few days since,<sup>1</sup> and as it were by chance, from a friend of Fourier's youth, now one of the most respected men of our city,<sup>2</sup> how Fourier himself had lost his patrimony at the siege of Lyons in 1793. This circumstance, which had a great influence upon the unpleasant course of life which Fourier was obliged to lead, so contrary to his tastes,

<sup>1</sup> I wrote this at Besançon, about the close of 1837, a short time after Fourier's death.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. J. Ordinaire. See p. 10, et seq.

and upon the state of pecuniary embarrassment in which he lived, but with so much dignity, until the end of his days ; this circumstance, which would have been to most men a source of bitter and interminable regrets, was unknown to Muiron, and probably also to Madame Vigoureux, to M. Considerant, to all those persons, in fine, who took the most lively interest in Fourier. This unaffectedly stoical man did not even think to speak to them of the primary cause of the life full of privations and constraint, which he led ; he, the prophet of the era of abundance and liberty, of the advent of comfort and luxury for all, of the reign of the law of attraction upon earth !

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FRANÇOIS-MARIE-CHARLES FOURIER, the son of Charles and of Marie Muguet, was born at Besançon, on the 7th April, 1772, at six o'clock in the morning.<sup>1</sup> His father was a merchant in comfortable circumstances, and carried on a business in cloths, in the house of Grande-rue, which makes the east angle with rue-Baron, now rue-Moncey.<sup>2</sup> He enjoyed quite a good reputation, since he was chosen first consular judge for the year 1776, and was sworn into that office on the 11th May of the same year, by M. Perreney de Grosbois, first president of the parliament of Franche-Comté. The office with which M. Fourrier, the father, was invested, corresponds to that of the president of the Tribunal of Commerce. The author of the Societary Theory was the fourth and last child of his parents ; the three others were daughters. (See Appendix, A.)

One of Fourier's sisters, Madame Clerc, a widow, still lives at

<sup>1</sup> Fourier's father, and the other members of the family, signed *Fourrier* with two *r*'s. As for himself, when 18 years old, he dropped one *r* from his name, and he always dropped it afterwards ; we do not know the reason.

<sup>2</sup> This house was demolished in 1841 to make space for the fine broad street which has replaced the narrow, dirty, little rue-Baron. Desirous of preserving a memorial of everything relating to the life of the founder of the Societary School, one of those who do most honor to that school, my friend Captain Hip. Renaud, the author of "Solidarité," draughted the plan, and made a sketch of the front of the house in which Fourier was born.

Besançon.<sup>1</sup> It is to her kindness that we owe the greater part of our information respecting Fourier's childhood. The two other sisters, Mesdames de Rubat and Parrat-Brillat, married in the department of L'Ain, have each had a numerous family. Madame de Rubat died some years since ; Madame Parrat-Brillat is still living. I do not know that there ever were at Besançon, or that there are now anywhere, any relatives of Fourier on the side of his father, who came from Dampierre-sur-Salon, a court-town situated three leagues from the city of Gray.

His mother's family, Muguet, was in 1789 the first commercial family at Besançon. M. François Muguet, one of Mme. Fourier's brothers, led the way in great commercial operations ; from him, in some degree, dates the importance of Besançon, in this respect. He purchased letters of nobility in 1780, and at his death left a fortune of two millions of francs. One of the sons of this latter, M. Muguet de Nantoux, was a member of the Constituent Assembly ; two others, MM. Félix and Denis-Louis Muguet, have presided over the Tribunal of Commerce and the Chamber of Commerce at Besançon, and had a kind of celebrity in the country for the extent and variety of their knowledge, for their integrity and firmness of character, not exempt, however, from certain peculiarities.

These particulars may seem very minute, but, writing in Fourier's native city, it was our duty, as we have already remarked, to collect everything relating to his family. He was generally thought to be of a poorer and more humble origin than was really the case. Fourier's father, who died on the 21st July, 1781, left an estate valued at 200,000 francs, after deducting all liabilities and doubtful debts. By will he made his son Charles heir to two-fifths of his estate, and gave one-fifth to each of his daughters, the mother having a life interest. (B.)

From his earliest years, Fourier showed that decided will, that unconquerable reason, which never bowed before any social pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Note of 2d Edition.*—She died there 12th June, 1842. She left two daughters, both of whom have taken the veil. One of them, Mademoiselle Corneille, is at the head of a school for young girls which she has founded at New Orleans. She is a woman of high intellect and noble character, and was a great favorite with her uncle.

judice. In order to recall a trait which was characteristic in this respect, we copy some of the words recently pronounced by our friend, M. Victor Considerant, over the grave of Fourier:

" . . . We must go back to the age of five years, in order to find in his brain the origin of the great revelation which he made to the world, the developments of which were the labor of his whole life. We have often heard him relate that, struck with the falseness of commercial relations, on an occasion when he was punished by his parents *for having told the TRUTH*, he took, at five years old, against commerce, the *oath of Hannibal*. Any one well acquainted with FOURIER's genius and character, finds them already developed at that early age.

" That oath, which he kept so well, was the origin of his discovery; for it was in searching for the means of introducing *truth* and *loyalty* into the mercantile system, that he afterwards arrived at *Agricultural Associations*, at the grand *Serial Law*, at the immortal theorem of *Attractions proportional to Destinies*.<sup>1</sup>"

Another inclination, which was likewise manifested in Fourier during his childhood, was a hatred of all injustice, of all oppression. If a dispute, a quarrel, arose among his little comrades, Fourier could not help taking part with the right and with the weak. This irresistible tendency to constitute himself a redresser of wrongs and a protector of the smaller against the larger, brought him more than once into difficulties which failed to correct him. However, he was neither wicked nor quarrelsome, and he fought only to defend his comrades. His constitution was rather weak than robust; nevertheless, as he made up for want of strength by ardor and resolution, he was feared even by those who were stouter and older than himself. Fourier's obstinacy, when he thought himself in the right, was invincible. A difference having one day occurred between him and one of his best friends in the class, they went to settle it at the bottom of the promenade of Chamars, near the city rampart. Fourier, the weaker, was thrown down under his adversary, and the two champions, still holding each other by the hair, thus continued the fight. Fourier's friend, who had the advantage, knocked his head upon the ground,

<sup>1</sup> *Phalange*, October, 1837.

saying to him : " Acknowledge that you are wrong, and beg my pardon." But Fourier always answered : " I shall do nothing of the kind ;" and the conqueror, worn out, was at last obliged to let alone the invincible conquered one, from whom he could not force a single word of submission. We have this trait from the mouth of the very person who was Fourier's antagonist on that occasion. It is needless to say that the two champions were reconciled, and were none the less good friends afterwards ; for Fourier, according to the same authority, was an excellent comrade, and very affectionate.

Already imbued with that spirit of investigation and calculation which was the instrument of his great discoveries, Fourier passed a reflective childhood, without merriment, but diligent and studious.

Far before attaining the age of reason, he wished to account for everything he saw or heard, and never, perhaps, did a child show himself less disposed to admit anything upon word. But among the lessons which our young years receive, there are some, the foundation of which we are forbidden, under the most frightful penalties, to dare to examine or suspect, even supposing that such a thought might be awakened. Of this class is that one which consists in depicting God as a jealous and cruel tyrant; punishing by horrible and endless sufferings the smallest faults of men. The imagination of Fourier when a child was worked upon by this monstrous dogma ; he was strongly affected by religious terrors, and himself related that, under the influence of those terrors, he was led, at seven years old, to make the strangest possible confession for a penitent of that age. (C.)

Here is a fact which shows the precocity of his intellect. When about eight or nine years old, Fourier was grieved by the death of a neighboring pastrycook, whose productions he highly esteemed. Immediately the child felt himself an author, and, inspired by gratitude, made the apotheosis of the worthy servant of Comus, in a half serious, half jesting little piece, in verse, or in prose, for on this point I am not certain. This production fell into the hands of the professors of the school, who, astonished at the ideas it contained, were unwilling to believe they could have come from the brain of a child.

Fourier, whose facility for everything was very great, pursued his studies with great honor at the college of Besançon. We read in an old Register of that city for 1786, the only one of that time which mentions the college prizes, that in 1785 he obtained the two highest prizes for composition and Latin poetry in the third class. The two other laureats of his class, the only ones mentioned with him, were M. J. B. Couchery, who was recording secretary of the Chamber of Deputies in the first years of the restoration, and M. J. J. Ordinaire, now rector of the Academy at Besançon (1838).

We see by a letter from a M. Martinon, a friend of the family, dated at Paris, 21 October, 1785, and addressed to Mdme. Fourier, then a widow, that she had consulted him respecting a plan of sending her son to finish his studies at Paris. The correspondent expresses an opposing opinion, based upon the dangers to which young persons are exposed in the capital. He had been informed of the earnest desire testified by young Charles to go through a course of logic and natural philosophy ; to which M. Martinon replied that this was not necessary for a merchant. But he added : " You think that your son has a taste for business, I fear the contrary." He also very wisely advised Mme. Fourier not to force her son's will in the choice of a profession. (D.)

The study for which Fourier showed the greatest inclination from his earliest years was geography. The money given him for his little pleasures was used to buy maps and atlases, over which he spent whole nights.

Another taste which was developed at the same time in Fourier, was that for the cultivation of flowers. But it was necessary he should have all the varieties of the species he cultivated, and should try all the modes of culture of which they were susceptible. He usually had but one free path in his chamber, in the middle, from the door to the window ; all the rest was filled with his flower-pots, themselves presenting a graduated series of sizes, of forms, and even of qualities ; he had some of common earth, some of Chinese porcelain. One day one of his comrades happened to break one of his pots, and thus destroyed the beautiful arrangement. At the sight of the damage occasioned, Fourier became furious, and rushed upon the awkward blunderer.

Music was also one of Fourier's partialities, and he learnt it almost alone and without masters. Not only did he play upon several instruments, but he also composed ; he was especially a complete master of the theory of music. His most intimate college friend was M. J. J. Ordinaire, and this friendship lasted a long while. The latter played upon the guitar, and Fourier, whose voice, without being remarkable, was true, and who read the most complicated music at first sight, very frequently came to his schoolfellow, requesting him to play the accompaniment for such or such a favorite air, which he began to sing. Any one who doubts Fourier's wonderful aptitude for the arts and sciences, and his astonishing intellectual capacity, can ask of his old comrade in youth and college what he was in this respect. The testimony of the rector of the Academy will be less suspected on this point, because, far from being a partisan of Fourier's system, he always rejected it as folly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We think we cannot do better than introduce in this place Beranger's admirable song *les Fous*, a master-piece, no less of reason than of poetry.

Vieux soldats de plomb que nous sommes,  
 Au cordeau nous alignant tous,  
 Si des rangs sortent quelques hommes,  
 Nous crions tous : A bas les fous !  
 On les persecute, on les tue,  
 Sauf, après un lent examen,  
 A leur dresser une statue  
 Pour la gloire du genre humain.

Fourier nous dit : Sors de la fange,  
 Peuple en proie aux deceptions,  
 Travaille, groupé par phalange,  
 Dans un cercle d'attractions ;  
 La terre, après tant de desastres,  
 Forme avec le ciel un hymen,  
 Et la loi qui régit les astres  
 Donne la paix au genre humain.

Qui découvrit un nouveau monde ?  
 Un fou qu'on railloit en tout lieu ;  
 Sur la croix que son sang innonde,  
 Un fou qui meurt nous légue un Dieu.

It was indeed (without there being any rupture between the two friends on this account) from the moment when his conception became the absorbing thought of Fourier's mind, that their intimacy was weakened, until at last it almost entirely ceased.

The latter had moreover neglected nothing to gain his old schoolfellow over to his ideas. In 1808 he sent to him the "Theory of the four Movements," at the time of its publication. One or two years later, having again seen his friend on a journey he made to Besançon, and finding him much more disposed to laugh at some of the details of the work than to judge seriously of its depth and aggregate, Fourier besought him to listen to a complete exposition of his views, in order that they might afterwards discuss them understandingly. But all was useless : M. J. J. Ordinaire replied to reasonings by wit and jesting. His younger brother, doctor Désiré Ordinaire, who has been rector of the Academy of Strasburg and director of the Royal Institute of the deaf and dumb at Paris, was, as a compensation, one of the first who appreciated the solid foundation, the immense elevation of the Societary Theory. His testimony is one of those which we consider ourselves most happy in being able to record in favor of the so much calumniated work of our Master. Although two years younger than Fourier, M. D. Ordinaire had known him at college and afterwards ; to his kind communications we owe some of the information embodied in this work.

But let us return once more to the earlier youth of Fourier, in order to relate a trait which will perhaps reveal to us one of the two sources of his discovery, one of the two primary causes of the direction which all his ideas afterwards took. One of these causes, we have seen, was in that hatred of falsehood, which showed itself in him with so much force at five years old, and which led him afterwards to the calculation of the truth possible in social relations. The other cause, in our opinion, must be found in his sympathy for the unfortunate, which, instead of remaining in Fourier in the condition of inactive sentimentality,

Si demain, oubliant d'éclore,  
Le jour manquait, eh bien, demain  
Quelque fou trouverait encore  
Un flambeau pour le genre humain.

assumed the systematic character appropriate to his genius, and was changed into a positive science, giving the means of abolishing suffering from the earth, so far as is in the power of man.

During a part of his student's life, Fourier became accustomed to start for school, carrying in one of his pockets the bread provided for his breakfast, and he was careful to take a large piece, although not much of an eater. He added to it, when he had the opportunity, a piece of cold meat wrapt up in paper, or some other equally portable food. It did not appear strange to the family that he should make his morning's meal in a manner different from the rest, especially as this was not the only singularity observed in his actions. But, one fine day, when he had left Besançon for the first time, a poor, infirm man, who had his station at some distance from the abode of Fourier's parents, came to their house to seek for the *little gentleman*, and to inquire if he was ill or absent. When they knew that he referred to young Charles, they told him that he had gone. Thereupon the poor man began to lament. Alas! his daily breakfast had departed with the *little gentleman*. The family undertook to continue the beneficence thus revealed to them.

On leaving his classical studies, young Fourier went into the cloth business. As we have already said, he had lost his father several years before, and his mother, remaining a widow, had entered into partnership with M. Antoine Pion, her brother-in-law, in whose hands she placed all her own fortune and that of her children. This partnership, dissolved in 1784, was prejudicial to the interests of the Fourier family, whom Pion reimbursed long after in assignats, at a time when this paper money had already fallen into discredit. A suit for a proper settlement was afterwards instituted by the children, acting in unison with their mother. Their claim, thrown out by the civil tribunal of Doubs, received by the tribunal of appeal of Besançon, finally failed before that of Dijon, to which it had been referred by decision of the court of cassation on the 17th Messidor, year XI.

By entering into business, Fourier, agreeably to the before mentioned remark of one of his mother's friends, did not choose the career most conformable to his tastes. There was another which pleased him more, and for which he experienced a real

passion. This was a vocation resulting from his taste for geographical studies. But the body into which Fourier wished to obtain admittance, that of the military engineers, then required conditions of birth which the young candidate did not present. He was obliged to renounce the hope he had for some time cherished of entering the school at Mézières, and it was not without deep regret. (E.)

When, much later, towards the end of his life, Fourier spoke of this circumstance, he congratulated himself on not having been able to embrace the profession of engineer, as he so much desired. It would have absorbed him, he said, and consequently turned him from studies upon the social mechanism, which led to his discovery, so valuable to Humanity.

Fourier was sent to Lyons to perform his apprenticeship to business. We see, however, by two letters from him in 1790, that during this year he visited Paris and resided at Rouen. He had, as travelling companions, in his journey to the capital, M. Rubat, his brother-in-law, and the future author of "la Physiologie du Goût," the witty Brillat-Savarin. The impression made upon Fourier by the sight of Paris, we find mentioned in one of the letters we have referred to. He was writing to his mother, on the 8th January, 1790, at which period he was not yet eighteen.

"You ask me if I like Paris. Without doubt; and I, who am not easily astonished, was struck with wonder at the sight of the Palais-Royal." . . . (F.)

The other letter from Fourier, written some days previous to the one, the first lines of which we have quoted, informs us that he was placed with a merchant of Rouen, M. Cardon. But his abode in that city, which he found disagreeable, was of short duration. In 1791, we find him again at Lyons, and he had already been there long enough for his qualities to be appreciated, and for his master to give the most flattering testimony respecting him. (G.)

Fourier's taste for travelling made him seize every opportunity that presented itself to change the sedentary life of the counting-house for one which gave more food to his curious and observing mind.

At the period of which we speak, travelling-clerks were not to be met with everywhere, as they are now. We did not see those clouds of pattern-carriers, which commerce has since spread over the country, and which are one of the symptoms of the abusive complication of mercantile relations. It was then a mark of great confidence on the part of the masters towards a young man, to send him on a mission to a distance from their establishment.

Possessed moreover, in the highest degree, with a passion for travelling, Fourier was not satisfied with making journeys for commercial purposes and for the benefit of others. The resources he could draw from his family permitted him to visit at his will the greater part of the cities, not only of France, but also of Germany, of the Low Countries, of Holland, and to stop in those places which interested him. In consequence of the same desire of seeing and knowing everything, he often changed the house and even the branch of business in which he was engaged, in spite of the advantageous propositions made to him by several of his employers, in order to induce him to remain with them. Thus we find him alternately employed at Rouen, at Lyons, at Marseilles, at Bordeaux.

From these journeys he retained the most minute knowledge of the greater part of the localities. Climate, culture, inhabitants, public and private edifices, nothing escaped his observation. Everything found a place in his prodigious memory, never to leave it. How many times, when we were with him in the office of the "Reforme industrielle," have we known him to astonish persons who came to visit him, by recalling to them the most minute peculiarities of their country, of the place of their birth or of their abode! Sometimes it was only a hamlet; no matter, Fourier told them, with an exactness which they themselves were often far from possessing, its topography, population, the names of the principal streets, and the favorable or unfavorable arrangements of the latter.

Was this taste for geographical knowledge connected in Fourier with the mission Providence had assigned to him, of discovering the social order appropriate to the nature of man and destined to be established over the whole surface of the globe? was it also in view of the same end that he took so much interest in architectural arrangements, and that he could not see an edifice or ever

house, in any degree remarkable, without studying all its proportions and distribution ? There was hardly a public building at Paris, or even in any one of the principal cities of France, the different dimensions of which Fourier could not give at once, from memory. In his promenades, he was sometimes seen busy measuring, either with his marked cane or by paces, the façade of some edifice, the side of a public square, garden, &c.

As much as was permitted by the occupations necessary for his livelihood, from which he was never in a situation to be completely freed after the loss of his property in the disasters of Lyons under the reign of Terror, Fourier cultivated all kinds of knowledge. The study of languages is the only one which appears never to have had any attraction for him. He regarded their diversity as a sign of the state of social incoherence of our Globe, as one of the numerous indications, as one of the proofs that the human race had not yet conformed thereon to its true social destiny. His theory, which he ought to have called, he said, the *Theory of Universal Unity*, promises, as one of the first general results it is to have, the establishment of unity of language over the whole earth. Rationally, we must in fact acknowledge that it is to be regretted that men of different countries should be compelled to lose so much time in a study which is, so to speak, purely mechanical and without intrinsic value, before they can succeed in communicating together by speech, for which, nevertheless, they all have the same organic apparatus. The reason is that all which is the work of nature bears the divine character of unity, which, however, does not exclude variety, and has nothing in common with uniformity and monotony ; while duplicity, wherever it is found, is only the fact of man falsified by societies radically false, arbitrary, and directly opposed to the views of God, as well as to the lights of reason, that other emanation of the Divine spirit, corresponding to the *mathematical* or *neuter* principle of the universe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nature is composed of three eternal, uncreate, and indestructible principles :

1st. *God or Spirit (the Soul)*, active and moving principle.

2d. *Matter*, passive or moved principle.

3d. *Justice or Mathematics*, regulating principle of the movement.

(FOURIER — *Theory of the four movements.*)

Fourier, on the contrary, attached great value to the study of the true sciences, which interrogate nature, instead of dictating to her (as does moral philosophy for example), pretended laws at which she has laughed for thousands of years. Thus Fourier applied himself, as far as his position allowed, to anatomy, natural history, physics ; and feeling what he wanted in this respect, testified his regret at not having been able to give more time to the cultivation of these sciences, as well as to the study of chemistry and astronomy, which correspond in all their data with the social science, and might have supplied him with confirmations upon very many points. There is, as he expressed it, a harmony of all the true sciences among themselves, while those which have hitherto remained in false paths (moralism, economism, philosophy, politics), contradict each other at every step, and could not bear the application of the vigorous methods which serve as a means of advancement and of proof to the first.

From the moment when Fourier entered upon any subject of study, he became completely absorbed in it. It was to him a fixed idea from which nothing could distract him, and which allowed him no rest or truce until he had examined it under all its relations and found its last limit in every direction. Never perhaps did any man possess in a higher degree the faculty of concentrating his attention. Thus he could have replied, as did Newton, to those who asked how he had made his discovery, that it was by thinking of it.

The genius of invention, moreover, was early manifested in him. At nineteen, Fourier had an idea of the mode of locomotion which railroads have since realized to the great admiration of the XIX. century. But the engineers to whom the young man communicated his ideas and his plan, told him that it *was impossible*, and he yielded. On mentioning this fact a few years before his death, Fourier added : At nineteen, it is still allowable for one to be disconcerted in an invention by *impossibilities* ; but later in life it is quite another thing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to a memorandum made by my friend, M. Wladimir Gagneur, of a conversation with Fourier, it was from seeing a cabriolet roll rapidly, with almost no effort of traction, upon the perfectly sanded alley of a garden, that the latter imagined smooth rails of wood, and afterwards of

The idea of the social order also germinated in Fourier's brain long before he thought of making an application of it to social matters. We have seen with reference to his taste for flowers, that he wished to have, not only a series of species, but even all the varieties of the species he cultivated. Towards the end of his school-studies, he bought a box of colors, and applied himself, for several months, to study all the scales of shades which he could produce by means of their different combinations. He succeeded in obtaining a sufficiently great variety to enable him to draw up a plan by which each of the regiments of the army could be distinguished by the color of the lace alone.

We will also mention among the number of the inventions made by Fourier, that of a new method of musical notation, which singularly facilitates the reading of music and suppresses the complication resulting from the plurality of keys. This system is considered by many competent persons as a great improvement. (H.)

After some years of absence, Fourier returned to Besançon about the beginning of 1793.

What were the impressions produced in him by the spectacle of the hideous saturnalia of that epoch of blood and misery? This we cannot say. But there remained to him of the misfortunes of that time a most deep and vivid antipathy for every species of pedagogical attempt; and nothing excited him more than to hear attributed to his Theory the least affinity with the projects and the doctrines of the republicans. You should have seen with what heat, with what indignation he repelled every comparison of this nature, however well intentioned it might be, and though made by men of democratic sympathies. I can still hear that no so accented and so energetic, by which, at the first word

iron, with towing cables, intended to regulate the speed in ascents and descents. "The gentleman," said Fourier, "to whom I spoke of this idea, laughed at me a great deal."

With reference to Newton's apple, Fourier also said that he likewise had been impelled by an apple to his discovery of the Theory of Association. He came from a country where eight apples were sold for one sou. At Paris, he found the same apples selling at ten sous apiece. From this he concluded that there was some radical vice in the distribution of the products of the earth.

uttered with reference to this subject, he cut short the person who was speaking : " No, no," repeated he more and more strongly, " a thousand times, no ! my doctrine has nothing in common with the reveries of those people, nor with their projects of disturbance." As soon as this chord was touched, it was impossible to make him admit the smallest remark ; all was said. That he should be taken for a republican, was what displeased him most, sometimes even exasperated him ; and he would have rejected these qualifications, whether he was in a club of the Society of the Rights of Man, or in the midst of the Academy of Moral Science.

What is very certain, as to that period of the life of Fourier which corresponds to the revolutionary hurricane, is, that he kept himself entirely aloof from all parties, and never deceived himself as to the nullity of this great movement, accompanied by so many disasters, as regarded a decisive amelioration in the lot of the masses.

Perhaps the crimes of that bloody epoch astonished him less than many others, since, notwithstanding his extreme youth, he had already reflected profoundly upon the antagonism of all interests in the bosom of our society, and had foreseen what hatred and desire of vengeance might be excited, what envy and base and wicked passions might be awakened in the hearts of men, by the hostility of the different classes to each other, by oppression, by the prolonged humiliation of some by the others, finally by the shocking contrasts of the enjoyments of the rich with the absolute destitution of the poor. We may at least affirm that Fourier never thought of attributing the horrors and calamities of that period of our history to the perversity of some few men, borne to power by the wave of the Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

For the honor of the future Socialist we must state that, while he sympathized strongly with all the principles of equality, with

<sup>1</sup> An explanation almost as ingenious as that I once heard given by an honest woman of Lower Brittany, who, relating to her children the misfortunes of that epoch, after having made a horrible picture of the accoutrement of the subaltern agents in the reign of Terror, added : " At that time we saw men appear, whom nobody knew where they came from, nor that they did not come from hell ; what is certain is, that they had never been seen upon earth before, and that they have not been seen since."

all the generous ideas, under the inspiration of which civil and political reforms were undertaken in 1789, he never assented to any of the excesses of reaction against the past, of which there were so many deplorable examples. On the contrary, he openly reproved everything of this character. One day some of his comrades, with whom he was walking, perpetrated an act of ignoble profanation in a church. Far from imitating them, Fourier showed himself indignant at their conduct. Those very men, who, in '93, could stain the stone of the altar, were seen, twenty-five years afterwards, bearing the cords of the canopy in processions, as extravagant in their fervor of devout reaction as they had been in their cynicism of revolutionary impiety.

Fourier again left Besançon after an abode of one or two months, carrying with him his patrimony which he had realized, and which amounted to between forty and fifty thousand francs. (I.) He went to Lyons, and purchased colonial produce to the full amount of the money he possessed. Nearly the whole had been sent to him from Marseilles, when the city of Lyons, indignant at the excesses of the demagogical tyranny which reigned sovereign at Paris, and thence spread terror and mourning over the whole of France, wished to shake off the yoke of the capital, and rose in insurrection against the Convention. We know the results of that attempt,—the blockade, the siege, the capture of the insurgent city, after a terrible bombardment and a long resistance,—finally, its demolition, which was about to be consummated ; but, fortunately for it, time was wanting to the implacable men, Vandals from patriotic fanaticism, who then governed France.

In this disaster of the city of Lyons, Fourier's property, inherited from the paternal side, was mostly destroyed. We will here add, that, to complete his misfortune, the remainder was lost at sea in the shipwreck of a Leghorn vessel, a short time afterwards.

His bales of cotton were used to protect the works of defence ; the rest of his merchandise, such as rice, sugar, and coffee, was taken for the use of the hospitals and to feed the besieged. He himself was obliged, moreover, during the whole of the siege, to bear arms and do the duty of a soldier. His life was exposed in more than one action ; he especially incurred the greatest danger

in a sortie, when the little column of which he formed a part was cut in pieces and almost entirely destroyed by the cavalry of the besiegers. He escaped the carnage, and, with a very few of his companions, succeeded in re-entering the city.

When Lyons fell into the power of the Conventional forces, which took place only in the month of October, 1793, after a siege of more than sixty days, Fourier, far from obtaining from the victorious party any indemnity for his consumed or destroyed merchandise, was very near paying with his head for the more or less voluntary part he had taken in the previous events. He was imprisoned, and only by the greatest good luck escaped the scaffold, or the volley, which had been substituted in his case as more expeditious. Who does not remember, in fact, how the pitiless proconsuls, sent by the Convention, undertook to exercise upon the Lyonnese population what they called vengeance and even national justice?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some readers of the first edition have blamed us for the tone of our remarks respecting the most stormy phase of the revolutionary period, and respecting the men who led the grand crisis of 1793.

We admire, as much as any other, the energy of the efforts which at that epoch preserved the national unity and repelled foreign invasion. But when men attribute the honor of this double result to the regime and the agents of the Terror, we believe, in spite of opposing judgments which enjoy a certain credit, we believe, we say, that they are completely wrong.

It was not the cutthroats of Paris, of Lyons, or of Nantz, it was not the brawlers of the clubs, who had the merit of saving France in 1793. On the contrary, the Republic suffered reverses wherever the influence of those people was predominant. Was it the undisciplined bands of Rossignol and of Ronsin, the two heroes of the popular societies of the capital, who triumphed in La Vendée? No, it was some of the élite of the old troops, such as the heroic garrison of Mayence, led by the Klebers and Marceaus. Was it the Jacobins and the Cordeliers who drove back the armies of the coalition at the North and at the South? No, it was brave soldiers who had never frequented the clubs, and who experienced only disgust for all that emanated from them.

Let those who, on the faith of some historians, receive an opinion contrary to ours, inquire of the old soldiers who served at the period of which we are speaking, either in La Vendée or on the frontiers, and they will hear testimony not very favorable to the apologists of the Terror. As for ourselves, we think that a man may very well respect, love, and admire the Revolution for the general principles of equity which it proclaimed to the world, and for some of its results, without being held inconsistent

Several times in the same day Fourier was on the point of being included in one of those convoys of prisoners which were sent to receive death en masse. He was saved by a lie, as he liked to relate ; and he added that he had never felt the slightest scruple about that lie, in spite of all that certain rigid moralists may have advanced to the purpose that the smallest falsehood is in no case allowable, even if entirely innocent and uttered with the best intentions. (J.)

Once released from the hands of those who had arrested him, Fourier found himself again seized and again dismissed several times in the course of the following days, and he remained thus for some weeks, under constant threats of death. He underwent as many as four domiciliatory visits in one day, and at each of them was obliged to make a sacrifice of some one of the articles remaining in his possession, to the agents of tyranny, men not less grasping than sanguinary. It was thus he was compelled even to give up his watch, and at last a beautiful collection of geographical charts, which he valued very highly. He finally succeeded in escaping from the persecutions of the terrorist inquisitors, and gained the country, where he kept himself concealed for some time ; then, believing, with reason, that he was not very safe at Lyons or in its neighborhood, he returned to Besançon, to his family.

He had suffered much during the siege and during the month which followed the capture of Lyons. His health was somewhat impaired. As to vexation for the pecuniary losses he had undergone, he never showed himself in the least troubled.

On his return to his native city, he thought he could dispense with the prudence which had led him to keep concealed so long as he had been in Lyons and its vicinity. In spite of the advice of his relatives and friends, he indemnified himself for the con-

if he does not also respect, love, and admire the Fouquier-Tainvilles and the Héberts, the Carrieres and the Lebas, the Collot d'Herbois and the Fouchés. These two last, with their colleague Maribon-Montaut, were the members of the Convention who were commissioned to chastise the conquered Lyonnese, and they acquitted themselves of their task with a luxury of cruelty which will remain eternally and justly odious.

straint he had undergone, and which, on account of his tastes, had been so painful to him, by going freely everywhere, and showing himself without precaution in public.

This conduct caused him to be arrested anew, on the ground of having left Lyons without regular papers. He obtained his liberty through the credit of a person who was then very influential, his brother-in-law, M. Léger-Clerc, one of the most dreaded men of the revolutionary committee of Besançon.

Let no one imagine, however, that Fourier was in haste to recur to the intervention of his family or of his friends. Fearing on the one hand to compromise those to whom he might apply, and on the other to alarm his mother, he refrained from giving notice to those who could relieve him from his unpleasant position. His family were informed by the wife of the keeper of the prison, without Fourier's knowledge. He had remained a week under bolt and bar, passing the time, without too much ennui, playing upon the violin or touching the guitar.

He was released ; but he was not considered absolutely free, and was obliged to enter the service. He was, in fact, under the operation of the great requisition, and in the category of those who were called upon to march first : a category including, as is known, all the men then in France from 18 to 25 years old.<sup>1</sup> A magnificent crop of seven years, if there ever was one, and in

<sup>1</sup> Decree of the National Convention of the 25th August, 1793. It is curious to read the terms of the decree which ordained this measure, almost unique in the history of a great nation :

“ Article 1. From this moment until that when the enemy shall be driven from the territory of the republic, all Frenchmen are in permanent requisition for the service of the armies.”

“ The young men will go to battle ; the married men will forge arms and transport provisions ; the women will make tents, clothes, and will serve in the hospitals ; the children will scrape old linen for lint ; the old men will cause themselves to be carried to the public squares, in order to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the hatred of kings and the unity of the republic.

“ Art. 2. The national buildings shall be converted into barracks, the public squares into armories ; the soil of cellars shall be leached in order to extract saltpetre.

“ Art. 7. The levy shall be general. Unmarried citizens, and widowers

which were included so many persons destined to become illustrious in every department.

Fourier, who was for so long a time to await his celebrity, a celebrity dearly bought, but not ephemeral, destined to be impressed upon the globe in characters as durable as the globe itself; Fourier, we say, was incorporated in the chasseurs à cheval, 8th regiment. The colonel of that regiment was a M. Brincour, who had married a Miss Pion, a cousin of Fourier; and it was this circumstance that made the latter enter the light horse. Strange freak of destiny! Imagine the man of the Social Science, the author of the *New Industrial World*, in the dress of a chasseur à cheval. It was so, nevertheless, and there is a portrait of Fourier which represents him in his military uniform. As it is the part of the man of genius to take advantage, for the superior object he has in view, of circumstances the most common and even sometimes apparently the most opposed to that object, may we not think that the organizer of the Phalanstery derived from his chasseur remembrances some of the arrangements which he afterwards applied to his *Little Horde*, to that corporation of children which plays so fine a part in the harmonian system?

But as the profession of arms had but little attraction for our thinker, and was less favorable than any other to his studies and meditations, he returned to civil life as soon as he could. A discharge, based upon the opinion of the council of health at Besançon, was granted to him on the 3d Pluviose, year IV., at Vesoul, where was the dépôt of his regiment, which formed a part of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. He had entered that body on the 22d Prairial, year II. (K.)

It appears that, about this period, Fourier's genius was also exercised upon the means of securing to our country the advantage in the struggle in which she was engaged against Europe.

without children, from 18 to 25 years old, will march first; they will go without delay to the chief town of their districts, where they will be exercised every day in the management of arms, while awaiting the hour of departure.

"Art. 18. This decree shall be carried to the departments by extraordinary couriers."

We have before us a letter signed Carnot, dated 10th Messidor, year IV., and containing the following :

" THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY to citizen Fourier, at Besançon, department of Doubs :

" The Directors have received, citizen, your letter of 3d Messidor.

" They acknowledge with gratitude the important observations contained therein respecting the speed which may be given to the march of the republican troops for their passage from the Rhine to the Alps, and from the Alps to the Rhine. Those observations have received their particular attention."

The projects which then occupied Fourier's mind were not limited, if we are to believe the testimony of one of his friends, to the special object treated of in his letter of the 3d Messidor, to the Directory. They included everything having reference to the subsistence, and even to the organization of the army, at the expense of which such large fortunes were so scandalously acquired.

Fourier went to Paris, in 1797, in order to have his projects examined.

It appears that the plans then conceived by him tended to nothing less than a social reform, the scientific process of which he was not, however, yet acquainted with, though he discovered it only two years later. What makes us judge thus of the extent of his projects, is the fact that the deputy to whom he applied, in order to have them presented to the government, excused himself from moving actively in their favor, for the reason that they were too much opposed to generally received ideas, and to the data of the established order. This deputy, M. Briot, of Besançon, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, was moreover too much absorbed in his daily legislative task and in the political interests of the moment, to study deeply the plans of Fourier. He did not absolutely misconceive their value, but could not see that they would be applicable except in a distant future.

Repelled at last by the uselessness of his exertions to procure a proper examination of his views, Fourier left the capital, after an abode of some months, and resumed his occupation as a commercial traveller.

At the beginning of 1799, we find him at Marseilles, charged by the house in which he was employed, with a commission which had a decisive influence upon his discovery. He was obliged to have secretly cast into the sea a cargo of rice which his employers, in an odious speculation, had allowed to rot, rather than bring into the market during a preceding famine ; having purchased almost all the grain which supplied the country, they had thought it for their interest to keep up the price by this means.

From this year, 1799, dates Fourier's principal discovery, the magnificent crown of the humanitarian work of the XVIII. century. He made it while seeking for the combinations requisite to put an end to the crimes of commerce against society, and capable of introducing truth into this important branch of the social mechanism. But we shall return hereafter to Fourier's labors as a reformer and a socialist. We continue the sketch of his life.

Fourier made yet another journey to Paris in the year 1800, as we learn by two notes subscribed by him, one dated 19th Thermidor, year VII., the other on the 5th complementary day of the same year. He returned to live at Lyons the following years.

In order to have more liberty and more time for his researches, he made himself a *courtier-marron*, that is a broker without legal patent or security ; a profession more common then than it has since been, on account of the more and more strict prohibitions to which it has been subjected, but which still exists, nevertheless, in all the large centres of trade ; it is secretly favored by the merchants, who are pleased to be able thus to save themselves from the exactions of the official brokers. This occupation, without requiring too much of his time, gave to Fourier emoluments sufficient for his support.

Either desiring to secure for himself a more regular position, or having principally in view the formation of a useful institution, Fourier addressed to the Prefect of the Rhone, a memorial, requesting the establishment, at Lyons, of special brokers for the transportation service, and he desired to have his name included in the list which should be drawn up for this purpose. This memorial bears date 30th January, 1808, and is signed "Charles

Fourier, commercial traveller, at Lyons, rue St. Come, No. 74." The author therein states : " That article 82 of the commercial code establishes an incompatibility between the functions of *brokers of merchandise* and *brokers for transportation by land and water*; that, both these functions being exercised by the public brokers of Lyons, there was room for the establishment of special agents for transportation." Fourier goes on to develop the reasons which militate in favor of his proposition, such as the immensity of the carriage and transit of which Lyons is the centre, especially in the time of maritime war; the impossibility that the ten brokers commissioned for merchandise can attend to the negotiations for transportation, less lucrative and more laborious than those in which they are engaged. In order to prove the actual necessity for the class of agents which he desires should be appointed, the petitioner mentions the changes which have taken place in the machinery of trade, since the revolution, in consequence of the multiplicity of agents and the subdivision of business, circumstances which require new means of regular information.

The memorial of which we are speaking is a model of the clear and concise style which is proper for business, although it also reveals, in more than one feature, the profound observer of the social movement. It does not appear, however, that any action was afterwards taken by the administration in consequence of Fourier's proposition.

It was at this period, that is about the thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year of his age, that Fourier first published his ideas in the form of a system of doctrines. Until then only some newspaper articles of his had appeared, having reference generally to special questions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. O. Barbier, sub-librarian of the royal Library at Paris, has found in a collection of Lyonnese Journals of the times of the consulate and the empire, a number of articles signed with the name of Fourier, or with his initials C. F., and even some pieces in verse. We will here copy what the *Journal des Débats* said (12 December, 1837), respecting one of these articles : (See a letter of M. Ballanche, L.)

" In 1803, Fourier, still a merchant's-clerk, published in the *Bulletin de Lyon* of the 17 December (25 Frimaire, year XII.) quite a short article entitled : *Continental Triumvirate and Perpetual Peace within thirty years.*

In 1808, he caused to be printed at Lyons, the "Theory of the four movements and of the general destinies," a work which he put forth solely as an announcement and prospectus of his discovery.<sup>1</sup>

Europe, in his opinion, approached a great catastrophe, after which perpetual peace must be established. The following is the manner in which it would take place : there are on the continent only four great powers, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. This last, as the weakest and least protected, would be the victim of a triumvirate formed by the three others. Then, as every triumvirate is composed of a dupe and two rivals who destroy each other, Austria would in its turn be subdued by the two others who would dispute for empire over her dead body. The conqueror would in fact be master of the world ; for, in presence of such a colossus, England would be nothing. India would be taken from her, her commercial monopoly destroyed, and peace forcibly established under the empire of a single master. Then follows advice to France : 'France, instead of wearing herself out in colonial and mercantile struggles, ought to take her measures to hold the balance in the triumvirate of which the formation is near and inevitable. But if France halts much longer in commercial chimeras, she will be attacked by Russia, who will realize Montesquieu's prediction within thirty years.'

"This article, remarkable for its foresight of the humiliation of Prussia and Austria, and the definitive rivalry of France and Russia, is written without preamble, and in the clear and decided tone of a man sure of the facts. Some days after the publication of the article, the first consul caused inquiries to be made of M. Dubois, the secretary of police at Lyons, as to the author of this article, which, it appears, had drawn his attention. M. Dubois, who did not know Fourier, made inquiries of the printer of the journal. The printer replied that the author was a young merchant's-clerk who took no interest in politics, but who was favorably known among his associates for his great geographical acquirements, and there the matter ended.

"This printer, whom no one knew any better at that period, was no other than M. Ballanche.

"This idea of the progress and ascendancy of Russia reappears for a moment in 1808, in the *Theorie des quatre mouvements*, where, with reference to the dangers which incessantly menace our short-sighted Civilization, we read the following passage : 'In our day it (Civilization) has been within two steps of ruin : the war of the revolution might have occasioned the invasion and dismemberment of France, after which Austria and Russia would have shared Europe between them ; and in their succeeding quarrels, Russia (who has means unknown to all the world and to herself) might have crushed Austria and Civilization.'

<sup>1</sup> *Theorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales. Prospectus et Annonce de la Découverte.*—A Leipsic, 1808. This false

This first of Fourier's works is perhaps the one which is read with the greatest delight. It is less didactic than those which followed it. It breathes all the confidence of youth. Fourier, when he wrote it, had faith in the good sense of men. He looked upon his discovery as sure of being received with the earnestness and enthusiasm which one so great and so fortunate deserved. The simplicity of his assurance is really curious. It is recorded in the last pages of this work of 1808, where we find a chapter headed: *Advice to the Civilized relative to the coming social metamorphosis.* "Do not build any house," advises the author, "the arrangement of civilized buildings is not compatible with the habits of the combined order." . . . "In buying country estates, select in preference woods of large growth and quarries: many new edifices will have to be built all at once." . . . "Form no remote establishment; do not think of leaving your country, for the purpose of making your fortune; every one will be happy in his own father-land." "Have children; there will be nothing more precious, at the commencement of the combined order, than little children of three years old and under, because, not being spoiled by a civilized education, they will be able to gather all the fruits of the natural education, and be elevated to perfection of body and mind. Consequently, a child two years old will be much more valuable than one of ten."<sup>1</sup>

imprint shows what freedom the press enjoyed under the imperial regime. The work was printed at Lyons. Only one journal of the time, the *Gazette de France*, referred to it in its numbers of the 1, 4, 9, and 14 December, 1808.

<sup>1</sup> We should, nevertheless, fear that we communicated a false idea of Fourier's opinion as to the probable reception of his Theory, if we limited ourselves to the above quotations. Here is a second, likewise extracted from his first work, which shows that he in a manner shut his eyes upon the prejudices which the announcement of his discovery would encounter:

"When I bring to light the invention which will deliver the human race from the civilized, barbarian, and savage chaos, which will assure to it more happiness than it has dared to hope for, and open to it the whole domain of the mysteries of nature, from which it thought itself for ever excluded, the multitude will not fail to accuse me of charlatanery, and wise men will think they display moderation by simply treating me as a visionary. . . ."

"I have mentioned the prejudices which general unhappiness and sci-

In the quotation I have just made, I do not conceal from myself that any poor joker might find an excellent subject on which to exercise his wit. I shall take no pains to forestall railleries, which, as is said, prove nothing, frequently not even the opinion of him who utters them. There is no need henceforth, in my opinion, of defending Fourier against attacks of this nature.

Moreover, what does the illusion which the discoverer entertained respecting the proximate, or rather, the immediate realization of his social views testify ? It testifies that he was sure of the result of his combinations ; that he felt himself prepared from that moment for putting his Theory into practice ; and that he judged men to be endowed with good sense enough not to neglect an attempt which would cost nothing in comparison with the gigantic efforts accompanied by so much suffering and disaster, in comparison with the enormous sacrifices then recently made by the civilized nations, and especially by France, for the purpose of a pretended amelioration in the social condition of the masses, an amelioration vainly sought, alas ! through all the scourges of war and revolutions ; in comparison with all the destruction occasioned, each year, by those struggles which exhausted Europe of its blood and wealth. By the side of those levies of men and money incessantly raised solely to be destroyed, what was required for the attempt of peaceful organization proposed by the inventor of the societary process was surely a small thing : and yet this attempt, even in the supposition of a partial success, presented to men more good than any one of them, before Fourier, had ever dared to hope for his kind.

tific pride will excite against me ; I thereby wished to forewarn the reader against the sarcasms of that multitude who pronounce decidedly against things of which they are ignorant, and who reply to reasonings by ridicule, the practice of which has extended even to the smallest people and has diffused everywhere the habit of bantering. When the proofs of my discovery shall be given and men see approach the time for gathering its fruit ; when men see universal unity ready to rise upon the ruins of Barbarism and Civilization, the critics will pass suddenly from disdain to enthusiasm ; they will wish to elevate the discoverer into a demi-god, and will debase themselves anew by excess of admiration, as they will first debase themselves by inconsiderate ridicule. As to the impartial men, who compose the smallest number, I like their mistrust, and I provoke it . . . ”

I ask, then, on which side was there want of reason? on that of Fourier, persuading himself that the idea of a simple trial upon a small agricultural township would be readily received, since it promised all the social advantages which had been so unsuccessfully sought in the great political experiments applied to a whole people; or on the side of his contemporaries, of his compatriots, who preferred to trust anew, with what success we all know, to the chance of political vicissitudes? We must say, that an individual who should manage his business as nations in general manage theirs, when innovations are to be introduced, would rightly be considered as crazy. Suppose an agriculturist, for example: if he wishes to make an experiment in cultivation, would he, unless evidently devoid of sense, apply it to the whole of his estate at once? The nations do this, however; they stake their fortune upon a single throw in the game of revolutions. The social experiments which they try are null, because they are neither methodical nor complete, because they are usually applied to the administrative order alone, which is but one of the wheels of the machinery, and perhaps the least imperfect; they are enormously burdensome, because they are tried at once upon 33 millions of men, upon 28,000 square leagues of territory. If experimental chemistry should proceed in this manner, it would every day run the risk of blowing up our cities. And can we think that politicians are better acquainted with the elements on which they work, than chemists are with the objects of their experiments?

To conclude this digression, which is indeed of some importance, since the question is the same to-day as it was in 1808, let us remark that if Fourier be the boldest of all reformers, he is of all, likewise, the most prudent; he whose system, were it erroneous on every point, can be tried with the least inconvenience, and without any danger to the fortune of the nations and the kings, so frequently compromised in our days by revolutions.

On announcing his discovery, Fourier did not neglect to make an appeal to Napoleon, whom all then saluted as the man of the age, the arbiter of the destinies of the world. After having vividly depicted the symptoms preclusive of the social metamorphosis, the author, in a piece in which his strong thought assumes an almost lyric measure, entones the hymn of hope, destined to

console the nations everywhere groaning under the burden of misfortune. This piece, one of the most magnificent that ever issued from the pen of Fourier, is too long to find place here ; we refer the reader to the Appendix (M.)

The *Theory of the four movements*, admirable for its style in many passages, admirable for its thought from the beginning to the end, presents a strong criticism on present society, a criticism which has not since been surpassed, either in power or in depth. It is there, to the first pages of this book, that we go to seek the secret of Fourier's method, the principle of all the judgments he utters, some of which may appear strange, if the reader have not ascended with him to his point of departure. Thus nothing is more common than to hear persons exclaim at first against Fourier's language with regard to philosophers and Civilization. In order to prevent any mistake on this subject, they must permit him to give them their departure. Now, the following is the compass which, at his very opening, Fourier places in the hands of his readers :

"Under the name of *philosophers*, I include," he says, "only the authors of the uncertain sciences, politicians, moralists, economists, and others, whose theories are incompatible with experience, and have for rule only the fancy of their authors. It must therefore be remembered, that, when I shall speak of *philosophers*, I shall mean only those of the uncertain class, and not those of the fixed sciences." (*Theorie des quatre mouvements*. Prel. Mem.)

Having, in consequence of the reasons he mentions, adopted as a rule in his search after the means of remedying social misery, *absolute doubt and absolute departure* (from received ideas), he has, as he expresses it, applied doubt to *civilization*, a society which carries in its train all calamities, indigence, want of work, trickery, war, &c. "What is more doubtful," says he, "than the necessity and permanence of this civilization ? Is it not probable that it is only a step in the social career?" (*Ibid.*)

But our object is not now to give an analysis of the *Theory of the four movements*, nor of the phalansterian or societary system, more completely developed in the subsequent publications of the author. We conclude by saying, that this first work already contains all Fourier's doctrine upon the fundamental properties

of Passional Attraction, and gives a glimpse of all the splendors of the future order. Combination of the labors of the household, of cultivation and manufacturing, organization of the workmen by *groups* and *series*, or, as the author then called them by *Progressive Sects*, constitute the practical basis of the "Theory of the four movements," as well as of Fourier's other writings. This is the book which will be most liked, in some of its parts, by the majority of readers. The first edition, which had long remained in the back part of a bookseller's store at Lyons, was exhausted in 1834.

A second was published in 1841, with corrections indicated by Fourier himself, and with notes upon some points with regard to which he had afterwards modified his Theory. These modifications do not, however, bear upon the fundamental principles, which have always remained the same. (N.)

In spite of the bad reception given to his ideas, the grandeur of which was considered madness even by the men most favorably disposed towards the author, the latter persevered none the less in silently elaborating all the parts of the new science, the basis of which he had discovered.

Fourier made a journey into Switzerland in the course of 1809. (O.) But he continued to reside habitually at Lyons. We learn by some of his letters, written in 1812 and 1813, that he lodged in that city rue Clermont, No. 27, afterwards No. 15.

In the early part of May, 1812, Fourier lost his mother, who died at Besançon, where she had always resided. Being of a scrupulous and not very enlightened piety, Madame Fourier had not seen without alarm the tendency of her son's ideas. The publication of his first work, of which she was informed, not by him, but by strangers, was a source of trouble and anxiety to her. Nevertheless she always retained her affection for her Charles, and at her death left him a proof of her tender solicitude. Knowing how thoughtless he was respecting his own interests and all that concerned himself personally, Fourier's mother bequeathed to him, besides his share in her estate, a life pension of 900 francs annually, payable by her three other children conjointly. It was, perhaps, to this anxious foresight of her maternal heart that the inventor of the social science owed his escape from the attacks of

poverty, and his power to accomplish the sublime task imposed on him by his genius.

I have no other data respecting the life of Fourier until the period of his connexion with M. Just Murion, in 1816. I know only that, during the Hundred Days, his namesake, count Fourier, appointed prefect of the Rhone by Napoleon on his return from the island of Elba, placed him at the head of the bureau of statistics for that prefecture.

The evils of a double invasion weighed upon France at the period (end of 1815) at which we have arrived in the life of the author of the Societary Theory ; and he who, although he indeed speculated in his labors upon the happiness of the whole of Humanity, was nevertheless animated with a sincere and serious patriotism,—not, in truth, with that miserable party-spirit, a mean sentiment, often opposed to the good of the country itself, and on which this beautiful name of patriotism has too often been lavished in all ages, and especially in our day ;—Fourier, we say, afflicted by the reverses and abasement of France, laments in several parts of his writings with a bitterness which, because it assumed a misanthropical form, discloses none the less a profound love of his country ; Fourier laments that his compatriots had not had the wisdom to withdraw themselves from the calamities with which they were afterwards overwhelmed, by making a trial of his discovery as soon as it was announced to them ; an operation which would have caused the world to enter upon a social state superior to civilization, and would have rendered thenceforth impossible every kind of war, as well international as civil. Here is what the author of the “Theory of the four movements” wrote in 1818, in an Introduction placed by him at the head of a copy of his book, which he, moreover, did not wish to leave in circulation, as he considered it insufficient, incomplete, and even, in some respects, incorrect :

“ I had already solved some of the principal problems, among others that of the formation of the passionnal series and the arrangement of a phalanx of domestic harmony, containing 810 contrasted characters ; I already possessed the secret of the equilibrated division of profits. The world could therefore, from that epoch, have escaped from civilization. The French preferred to

remain in it ; it has since cost them a loss of 1,500,000 heads in battle, humiliations, and spoliations of every nature ; the picture of these disasters is the best reply to their railleries, for which they have been so severely punished."

I know that in the absence of proof of the infallibility of his social combinations, this language on the part of Fourier may seem strange, not to say more. But when one is initiated into the knowledge of all the resources which he has known how to derive from the principle of Association ; when, by examples drawn even from our present society, one can judge of all the wonders which will be produced in the hand of this enchanter by the magic wand of that Attraction which we all obey ; when one sees that, owing to a simple transformation in the conditions of labor, each of our passions, even while seeking simply its own satisfaction, may be made to concur, in proportion to its very intensity, in the work of harmony and social prosperity ; when one has followed the inventor in those minute details of arrangement and calculations in which everything has been foreseen, in which not one of the forces found in Nature and in Humanity has been omitted,—oh ! then the astonishment, or more properly, the stupefaction, still subsists without doubt ; but the possibility of the realization of all these goods appears also, and whoever does not wish to deny his understanding, or allow the voice of his heart and his reason to be stifled beneath the authority of the maxims which for three thousand years have presided over the miseries of the earth, remains convinced that Fourier has really found the laws of the social destiny of Man, and has given to the contemporaneous generation the means of entering upon that happy destiny : a destiny such, in one word, as a supremely good God must have prepared for his children.

These remarks, I know very well, may appear out of place in a Biographical Notice which they perhaps extend to too great a length. But, imbued with Fourier's sublime doctrine respecting human destiny, how can we speak of him without wishing to make the value of his discovery felt by all broad minds and all generous hearts ? by all men, in fine ? for all, without exception, have the same interest as ourselves in the application of this discovery, the interest of collective and individual happiness.

In the winter of 1815 and 1816, Fourier left Lyons and retired to Talissieu, village of Bugey, in the department of L'Ain, to the house of Madame de Rubat's children; his sister's husband had died sub-prefect of Belley. He also lived a part of the time at this latter city, with another sister, Madame Parrat-Brillat; almost all his letters of this period are dated from Belley, where he soon resided exclusively, having quarrelled with the Rubats, whom he ceased visiting. It was there that, during the five succeeding years, Fourier ripened his discovery and elaborated the various branches of his Theory. The greater portion of his manuscripts were written during this interval, as well those which are still unpublished as those which were used in composing the "Treatise on Association."

The year 1816 was an important one for the future dissemination of the Harmonian Doctrine.<sup>1</sup> It brought into connexion with Fourier the man who first comprehended the full value of his conception, and who was to procure for him the means of bringing it to light with the developments which were wanting in the work of 1808. This man was M. Just Muiron, whose merits are well known to all who are interested in the phalansterian doctrines.

Endowed with one of those natures which are *seekers* after truth, as Montaigne says, but dissatisfied with everything he had been able to learn from the books of the savans, of the philosophers, the moralists, the economists, of all those, in one word, who pretend to explain the world and human destiny, M. Just Muiron felt himself about to be attacked by that mortal scepticism, the too common fruit of these fragmentary and contradictory systems, when in 1814 the "Theory of the four movements" fell into his hands. It was to him a ray of light which dissipated the darkness of the philosophical chaos heaped up in his head. He immediately commenced a search for the man who furnished so wonderful a solution of all the social problems, and who gave as proofs of the reality of his discovery, data so comprehensive that it was impossible not to be struck by the, so to speak, divine power

<sup>1</sup> Harmonian Doctrine, Phalansterian System, Societary Theory, are expressions signifying one and the same thing in the language of Fourier and his school.

of his genius. But his search was not an easy one ; since, for all direction, the book said : *Address the author* (CHARLES at Lyons). Nevertheless, the zeal of the adept succeeded in discovering the name and residence of the master, to whom he was enabled to write in 1816, to communicate the impression made upon him by the perusal of his first work, and to ask what further development he had given or proposed to his ideas.

Fourier's reply was simple, polite, kind. He mentioned the obstacles which had prevented or dissuaded him from attempting any publications since that of 1808, adding that he had retired to Belley to employ himself upon a complete treatise on his theory of attraction, which, however, would not appear for two years at soonest.

The correspondence was commenced. Muiron had no inclination to let it stop there, being desirous both to know all the developments given by the inventor to his theory, and to co-operate in the propagation of the latter, and in the preparations for a realization so much to be desired for the good of humanity. This correspondence between Fourier and his first disciple will be one of the most precious documents for the history of the unfolding of the societary idea in the world. When it commenced, Fourier had completely changed the opinion (if he ever held it) that he should easily obtain a general acknowledgment of the truths he had discovered. "Do not believe," he wrote to M. Muiron, quoting from one of the letters of the latter, "*do not believe in the extreme facility with which I shall dissipate all doubts.*" It will be difficult to enlighten even those who, like yourself, possess intelligence and good will ; what will be the case with those who have neither the one nor the other ?" One thing at once strikes the reader in the communications of the Master : it is his pitiless rigor towards all metaphysical subtleties without useful object ; it is his constant determination, his obstinate persistency in always recurring to the practical and important question, that of social happiness, and consequently that of the industrial organization which alone can procure it. (P.)

Fourier had at this time fixed upon the plan of his great work, which was to be in nine volumes. In order to give an idea of the immensity of the field which it embraced, we place be-

the eyes of our readers the following table. It is the arrangement of the work as the author had determined it, and the indication of the subject he intended to treat in each of the nine volumes :

1. *Abstract* doctrine of passionnal attraction. *Mixt* doctrine, association and attraction.
2. Regular synthesis of attraction and of its equilibrium.
3. Analysis of the twelve passions and of the scale of eight hundred and ten characters.
4. Methodical synthesis and transcendent theory.
5. Of lying commerce or complicative competition.
6. Countermarch of the passions. Analysis and synthesis of the subversive movement.
7. Universal analogy and adapted cosmogony.
8. Integral theory of the immortality of the soul.
9. Repertory and dictionary in composite mode.

But if the materials for so immensely vast a subject were immense in the brain and in the manuscripts of the author, his resources by which to meet the expenses of publication were far from corresponding.

It was then (1818) that M. Just Muiron passed some months at Belley, in company with Fourier. He undertook, with the assistance of his friends, to provide the advances necessary for the printing of the work, and he persuaded the author to choose Besançon, the native city of both, as the place where that printing should be executed.

Fourier went to Besançon about the end of December, 1820, for the purpose of making arrangements relative to the proposed publication, and of selling a house which he owned in common with his sisters. During this first visit he lodged with Madame Clerc, one of those sisters, as we know, and abode at Besançon nearly three weeks.

During this time the connexion between him and Muiron became more intimate. It is from this epoch that, when writing to the disciple, the master uses the expression, *my dear friend*.

Even when they were together, their communications were made in writing. Muiron was deaf, in consequence of illness experienced in his youth. This painful circumstance has a very precious advantage : owing to it, the traces of their conversation were fixed and still remain ; we have at least a great part of

Fourier's replies to the questions addressed to him by the young adept, earnest to penetrate still further into the new science and to hasten its production to the world by means of the press.

This portion of the communications between the master and the disciple is certainly not the least curious. We are astonished, on looking over these notes, written *currente calamo*, to see how prepared Fourier was to answer at the moment, with extreme precision, upon so many different points, without the appearance of the least contradiction in the solutions which he gives. If any one doubted that Fourier really possessed a sure and unvarying compass, it would be enough, in order that he might be convinced of this, for him to examine those loose leaves, those scraps of paper hastily scratched over, in which everything is nevertheless so well bound together and co-ordered, that he could not detect the shadow of any incoherence, or find a single line or a single word that contradicts another.

In spite of their rapidity, these improvisations are generally quite correct in style, although Fourier says somewhere, in the middle of one of these pen and ink conversations : " You must notice that, while writing so quickly, I do not write good French ; but this is not intended for the press, and it is allowable to commit solecisms." Although he generally answered unhesitatingly upon all the most complicated and most difficult problems, yet Fourier never spoke at random. Respecting certain questions which were addressed to him, he declared that he did not know, that he had not yet made the calculation, or did not possess the data requisite for their solution, data which could be supplied only by a knowledge of natural history, of physics, chemistry, &c., which he had not had an opportunity to acquire.

During this stay of Fourier at Besançon, Muiron exerted himself to obtain for him the amusements suited to his tastes ; Fourier attended one or two balls : he liked balls, he said, for the sake of the *coup d'œil*.

Respecting one of these invitations which he had received through the intervention of Muiron, he wrote to the latter (4th January, 1821) :—

" I have a ticket for the Saturday ball. I suppose I can go in loose pantaloons and white stockings, the same as to the ministe

I have brought no silk breeches. Tell me if full dress is required ; for I have none but blue pantaloons here. If they will not do, I shall not go."

This man so bold against error, when elevated into prejudice, was very far, as we see, from neglecting those simple rules of etiquette, which are one of the very rare and very weak effects cast by unityism upon some points of our parcelled societies.

It was during the few days which he then spent at Besançon, that Fourier conceived the idea of a project for embellishing that city and rendering it healthy ; a work which he afterwards executed. That which he especially had in view by this, was to interest his fellow-citizens in the work he was about to publish, in which his Societary Theory would be developed. The arrangements to be made for editing his book, the chances which it presented, this was what engrossed him, and was the subject of almost all his conferences with Muiron. The latter urged that the publication should take place as speedily as possible, as is shown by the note in which Fourier bade him farewell, which we here copy :

"I give you notice of my departure, which will take place at five o'clock to-morrow, and, with my farewell, present to you a thousand thanks for the kindnesses you have lavished on me during my stay.

"You carried your point last evening respecting my journey to Bale and Geneva : it will be unnecessary after the explanation I had yesterday, and nothing will divert me from my copyings, which that business might have interrupted for twenty days.

"They will be recommenced as soon as I am again installed at Belley. However, I shall remain there as short a time as possible and shall endeavor to return here about the equinox, if practicable, having nothing to keep me at Belley, after I have arranged the business relative to the sale of the house.

"I have spent my last morning to-day in refreshing promenades, during which I have regulated everything that was to be examined, agreeably to our conversation with M. Lapret.<sup>1</sup> We will talk of this at fitting time and place.

<sup>1</sup> M. Lapret was the architect of the city and department. This *je* refers to the project for the embellishment of Besançon

"When I am at Belley, I shall write to you, and shall with pleasure receive news of you. Perhaps I shall pass through Lyons : this will depend on a letter I may find at Bourg.

"Preserve your friendship for me, and let us labor together on the great work."

This billet is not the only one of the correspondence which testifies Muiron's urgent solicitations that there should be no delay in printing the Theory. (Q.)

After having passed about three months at Belley, busied in transcribing his manuscripts and making clear those parts of his doctrine which he was about to commit to the press, Fourier returned to Besançon about the middle of April, 1821. The period of his return is given to us by a billet addressed to Muiron, under date of Besançon, 18th April, commencing thus :

"I am delighted, my dear friend, that I can converse a little with you, and according to my custom, write to you some letters *& boul portant*, from hand to hand. (Q.)

Fourier, as we are informed by this same billet, hired a very modest chamber ready furnished, rue des Granges, No. 75, and boarded at a traiteur's in the city, where he found himself obliged, not without regret, as he said, to conform to the Parisian custom, of dining at the hour when our fathers supped. Either in consequence of this incongruity, or for some other reason, he did not remain long at this boarding-place, although it presented, with regard to its frequenters, neither of the inconveniences which he had especially wished to avoid, "an assemblage of youths, or one entirely composed of military men."

As soon as he was installed, Fourier began upon the work for which he had come to Besançon : the "Treatise of Domestic Agricultural Association" (two large volumes containing a prodigious quantity of matter), was then published by Madame Daclin, widow, in an edition of a thousand copies.<sup>1</sup> According to a

<sup>1</sup> This edition is exhausted. A second has recently been published, which contains the *summaries* written by Fourier a year after the publication of the *Treatise*. In the new edition, published by M. Sainte-Agathe, nephew and successor of Madame Daclin, the title has been given which the author had at first intended for his work, "Theory of Universal Unity," and for which he had substituted another, less comprehensive and less exact, solely not to alarm public opinion, prejudiced against general system.

remark of the author, the true title of the book would have been : “ Theory of Universal Unity.”

How can we give in a few lines, an idea of this colossal work ? It is there that Fourier, taking the passionnal organization of man as the archetype of the universe, according to that thought of Schelling often quoted by him : “ the universe is made upon the model of the human soul,” assigns the order of the distribution of the worlds with the same assurance as if he had been present at the councils of God himself ; it is there that, applying everywhere his law of the SERIES, he establishes the connexion of the destinies of all beings, traverses the whole scale of creation, sometimes clearing at a single bound the interval which separates the two extremes, the infinitely great and the infinitely small, never, however, losing sight of either in his speculations, whether the most grand, or, apparently, the meanest and most trivial. In the midst of these bold flights through spaces where no one can follow him without dizziness, he never forgets, however, the first immediate object of his work, ASSOCIATION. Do not believe that, in order to display its enormous advantages in comparison with the present state of agricultural and domestic parcelling, he will fear to descend into all the details of cultivation and house-keeping. Then, when by a striking contrast of the results of these two methods of exercising industry, he shall have fully convinced you of the incomparable superiority of the societary mode, he will at once reveal to you the most marvellous property of the latter, industrial attraction, the property of diffusing such charms over labor, that every one will be drawn to it by pleasure, by passion. And this is not, you must know, a simple accessory to the principal question, or the dream of an author in love with his system and making no scruple of attributing to it an additional perfection : industrial attraction ! it is the vital condition of Association itself, as well as the condition of liberty, which would be only a vain word for the masses, so long as the labors to which they are devoted excite only repugnance, and are undertaken only from fear of hunger or bodily chastisement. As to the means of giving this

The four volumes of the “ Theory of Universal Unity,” form the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the complete works of Fourier, published by the Societary School. The 1st contains the “ Theory of the four movements.”

powerful attraction to the greater portion of useful labors, and of finding a compensation in the small number of those which are not susceptible of it, it is enough to have read that part of the Treatise on Association in which Fourier develops them with reference to the inclinations which correspond to them, and which are remarked in all men, to remain convinced that they really exist, and that their practice will be the signal for the voluntary and impassioned co-operation of all nations, and, in humanity, of all ages, of all sexes, of all classes, in productive industry.

To increase production, otherwise riches, this is the first step towards every social amelioration. Thus it is the first result which Fourier derives from the application of his Theory. "The discovery which I publish," says he in his preface to the *indebted* nations, "is the only one that can satisfy the most general desire, that of riches. It will have for adherents all those who prefer three ducats to one ducat. The theory of agricultural Association teaches the means of obtaining, IN REAL VALUE, a revenue of 3000 francs, from a property which yields only 1000 in the present state, the state of parcelled insocietary cultivation which we see prevail in our farms."

At this simple remark, I already hear cry out all our spiritual sycophants,—people whom we nevertheless see very sharp-set for all places and honors which bring in money,—“Fourier,” they will say, if they dare at last to name the man who has penetrated a hundred times deeper than themselves and their masters, in the investigation of everything relating to human destinies, “Fourier materializes society; like Circe, he would change men into swine.”

No! gentlemen champions of *painful* duties and of privations (provided they do not reach you): Fourier begins by securing the wants of the body only the better to prepare and guarantee the free development of the faculties of the soul; he lifts from the human soul a weight which stifles it, which oppresses it, which makes it so small as to leave room only for selfishness. We see that he does not refer simply to that soul *intellect*, a *neuter* soul, which willingly loses itself in the cloudy reveries of a perpetual *far niente*,—but rather to that soul *desire*, a soul essentially active, the centre of our affections, the moving power of all our act.

which has not even been judged worthy of a methodical analysis by the psychologists and the metaphysicians, and the knowledge of which is nevertheless the key of the system of the universe.

It is, in fact, upon the tendencies of the human soul, or passional attraction, that Fourier bases all his speculations, as well those relating to another social order, as those which refer to cosmogonic facts, and which are less explicitly admitted by many of his followers. There doubtless exists a great difference between the two, if not as to their degree of certainty, at least, as to the proofs he has given of them, and he was himself the first to establish this difference. Thus, he has been careful to give notice, in several passages of his works, that he mentions the cosmogonic and analogical results to which he was led by his method, only to fix the date in his quality of discoverer. Moreover, he asks no one to believe them; he is willing that the whole of this portion of his writings should be regarded, if the reader please, as purely chimerical, provided no conclusions are drawn from it (for they would be entirely without foundation) against that portion which is positive and accompanied with proofs which each can verify, either in society, or on himself. I need not add, that this last serves as the basis for the Societary formulas, and consequently, constitutes the whole practical part of the system.

When Fourier, in his Social Science, states that WEALTH is the first object to be attained, he is led thereto by the study of the tendencies of man. The first of all leads man to desire riches, or, to use Fourier's language, LUXURY (*internal* luxury, which corresponds to health; *external* luxury, to riches). This tendency itself, is the result of the five *sensitive* passions, as the tendency to GROUPS, or to form affectionate relations, results from the four *affective<sup>1</sup>* passions (friendship, ambition, love, familism), and, as finally, the tendency to SERIES OF GROUPS proceeds from

<sup>1</sup> The four Affectives are also called *cardinal* passions, because they are the real elements of sociability. Fourier, moreover, distinguishes them into two orders: the *major* and the *minor*. Friendship is the *hypo-major* cardinal passion; Ambition, *hyper-major* cardinal; Love is *hyper-minor* cardinal; Familism, *hypo-minor* cardinal. These distinctions are based upon the nature and upon the degree of influence of each of the four affectionate bonds.

the three *distributive* passions,<sup>1</sup> or needs of variety, of emulation, of enthusiasm. In fine, as the total resultant of all these partial tendencies, we should have UNITYISM or the tendency to unity, to harmony. But I stop ; for I have entered upon this sketch of the passionnal analysis given by Fourier, only to show how, even when appearing to be occupied with the entirely material part of his subject, he is always guided by general views which are connected by an uninterrupted bond with all that is most noble and most elevated in man, the affections, the sentiment of unity or the religious sentiment.

That which we cannot too much admire in Fourier, is the fertile power of synthesis and of analysis, which he displays in all questions with such unconquerable logic. If we wished to cite an example, we should refer to the notice, in which he demonstrates the "excellence of passionnal attraction, its property as a permanent divine interpreter, and the necessity of taking it as a guide in all social mechanism in which man wishes to follow the views of God, to arrive at the practice of justice and truth, and at social unity." It is there we find the table of the guarantees which Attraction establishes between God and man ; that of the attributes of God, which are :

- " Integral distribution of the movement ;
- " Economy of Means ;
- " Distributive Justice ;
- " Universality of Providence ;
- " Unity of System ;"

attributes from which Fourier deduces such remarkable consequences with relation to the social order.

Do you wish to trace the course of the social movement itself and to characterize its different periods ? What can there be more striking than those four phases admitted by Fourier, which embrace the whole social career of Humanity and correspond to the four successive ages of its general life ? The first of these great phases, or the childhood of the human race, in which we still are, comprehends, besides the primitive society (*Edenism*,

<sup>1</sup> *Treatise on Association or Theory of Universal Unity*, vol. i., p. 183 et seq., 1st edition ; vol. ii., p. 239, 2d ed.

1st period, which we leave out of line), the five limbic periods, 2. *Savageism*, 3. *Patriarchalism*, 4. *Barbarism*, 5. *Civilization*, 6. *Guarantyism*; societies which have all a common character, the family household, and during the period of which, the 6th at most excepted, evil prevails under the following forms: Indigence, swindling, oppression, war, &c. To the first phase of the social movement belong, moreover, the two first degrees of *Association* or *Societary Order*, 7th and 8th periods.

Let us remark, with reference to these categories which are in no degree arbitrary, and each of which has its own and perfectly distinct characteristics, that Fourier was the first to think of making a regular classification of the different social forms. Yet it is only by means of such a classification that it is possible to compare them among themselves and to appreciate their respective tendencies. Fourier has given a precise and truly scientific meaning to words which, previous to his labors, to his luminous analysis, had only a vague, equivocal, obscure signification, the incessant cause of confusion, of misunderstandings and deplorable mistakes, which contributed not a little to perpetuate blindness upon all questions relative to the social movement. Such are the words, *Barbarism*, *Civilization*, which Fourier alone has rigorously defined.

The author of the "Treatise of Association" is no less remarkable for the depth and originality of his criticism, when, scrutinizing particularly the organization of our present society, he brings to light its vices, its contradictions, its palpable absurdities, the sources of so much misery, bitterness and deception among men. Let any one read on this head the accusation he has drawn up against the misdemeanors and crimes of commerce, the pages in which he has depicted the misfortunes of the working classes, those in which he classifies the *unproductives*, those curious passages in which he portrays the conflicts of civilized education and the singular definitive result of the four kinds of contradictory teachings which it presents: these are pictures which neither Juvenal nor Molière would disavow.

Finally, let us follow the author in the organic part of his work, where he depicts the institutions and manners of the social periods governed by the principle of Association, or the harmonic

periods. Here the wonders of the social order, the magnificence of Harmony await us. Fourier, that other Columbus, draws us towards the brilliant shores which his genius discovered ; we follow his steps from surprise to surprise in an entirely fairy world, which is nevertheless, as he proves, only the real destiny of man !

These indications are doubtless very inadequate to give even an idea of the whole extent of Fourier's principal work ; I must nevertheless limit myself to them, in order to resume the recital of his life, the special object of my undertaking. (R.)

The printing of the "Treatise on Domestic-Agricultural Association" occupied the last six months of 1821 and the first eight or nine of 1822. In November of the second of these years, Fourier went to Paris with a part of the edition of his book, in order to hasten its sale, and to hold himself within reach of those persons who might wish to make a trial of his theory of Industrial Association. Alas ! in this respect he had long to wait, and always in vain ! As to the disposal of the book, how was that to be effected ? The journals were not willing even to mention it. To make up for their silence, which he attributed to the philosophical cabal, Fourier published in 1823, but without any better success, a summary of his great Treatise.<sup>1</sup>

In this work, he first undertook to convince different classes of the immense advantages each of them would derive from a trial of the Societary Theory, of which he presented here and there some striking points, those which seemed to him most fitted to make an impression upon the public mind. He afterwards mentioned the aberrations of *arbitrary* criticism, the necessity of providing a counterpoise, of establishing in opposition to it an institution which would guarantee the interests of the public as well as those of authors. Such would be a court of appeal, before which the author would be heard at the same time with his cri-

<sup>1</sup> *Sommaires et annonce du Traité de l'Association domestique-agricole ou Attraction industrielle.* A very closely printed 8vo. pamphlet ; 120 pp. Bossange, rue Richelieu 60. 1823. The *Summary* is itself preceded by eight other pages entitled *Argument du Sommaire* ; and Fourier added moreover an *Avertissement aux propriétaires et capitalistes*, forming eight other pages.

ties ; a jury to examine discoveries, who would have for their rule, "*that in matters of invention, touching the great interests of the state, the substance must be judged before the form.*" Since," as Fourier remarks, "an inventor may only be able to express himself in poor language, he may not know how to arrange a treatise ; and yet have made a valuable discovery." This had reference to the sarcasms which some of the wits of the Parisian press had heaped upon him, with reference to his style and method. All this bantering, however, was very far from shaking Fourier's confidence.

He was proof against mischances, mistakes and detraction. "Let alone," wrote Fourier (10th July, 1823), "let alone these small souls who cannot comprehend. Be less impatient. Do not require us to beat the enemy before we have opened the campaign." . . .

" You say," he replies at another time to Muiron, " that M. D—— says there is some crack in my brain. This is the song of all those who have not the power to raise a fitting objection. Fifty millions of Europeans pretended the Columbus was crack-brained. That game is as old as the streets. They must refute my Theory, not depreciate the author."

Words full of good sense and impressed with all the authority of genius. In this firm and calm language, we recognise the man sure of himself, the great man panoplied against the stupid judgment of blind mediocrity.

Fourier used every means to draw attention to his discovery. He sent the "Treatise on Association" to certain influential men who he thought likely to take an interest in it, such as Chaptal, Larocheſoucault, de Laplace, &c. ; he distributed quite a large number of the "Summaries." But most of the persons to whom he sent his pamphlet did not even deign to take notice of it. The more polite excused themselves, as did Benjamin Constant, on the plea of multiplied engagements.

In fine, the author of the Societary Theory had no success in his endeavors. " You are mistaken," wrote he on this subject, 25th August, 1824, " in thinking that it is so easy to obtain adherents at Paris. On the contrary, it is a city where there is no

opinion except that of the journals. In order to have adherents at Paris, I must be employed in England."

At this time Fourier expected a great deal from England for the realization of his Theory. No other power appeared to him to have so strong an interest in the social transformation. He hoped at one moment that he had found in a rich Englishman, who had property in Touraine, the *candidate* whom he sought for the foundation of the Phalanstery. This illusion, for it was one, soon vanished, as were to vanish, in succession, all those of the same kind which the inventor cherished until his last hour.

At this period Fourier was in connexion with some literary people, among whom we will mention M. Ch. Nodier, his compatriot, M. Aimé Martin, one of the editors of the "Journal des Débats," M. Julien (of Paris), then director of the "Revue Encyclopédique." But the good will of those gentlemen towards the author of the "Theory of universal unity" did not extend so far as to induce them to admit serious notices of his book into the various journals over which each of them had an influence. His relations with M. Julien did not even prevent him from being quite badly treated in the "Revue Encyclopédique," by a certain M. Ferry, who understood nothing of the Theory he pretended to judge.

As his reply was refused insertion, Fourier thought of a stratagem to cause it to be accepted.

He went to the house of an English lady, Mrs. Wheeler, and there met several other persons of the same nation.<sup>1</sup> Among them was an officer, Mr. Smith, who, as well as the lady of the house, herself, had become a declared adherent of the Phalansterian Doctrine. Fourier, after having written his reply to the criticisms of which he complained, had it translated into English by Mr. Smith, in order to send it afterwards to the Revue as an

<sup>1</sup>The English lady here referred to, and in whose society Fourier seemed to find pleasure, had come to live at Paris with her daughter, a young person of 16 or 18, whom she had the sorrow to lose in 1826 or '27. In order to console this unhappy mother, Fourier wrote, respecting the condition of the dead in the other world, a Note of several pages, in which he does not hesitate to determine, relative to that condition, things which all religions and all philosophies have hitherto left almost completely vague.

article coming from England. He was persuaded that in this manner it would have a much better chance of being received, and that the *Revue* might possibly publish it, after making it undergo a new translation from English into French. We know not what was the success of this certainly very allowable *ruse de guerre*.

The vexation of not being able to induce the journals to notice his work, was not the only one Fourier had to suffer on their part. A M. Mazel copied some passages from the "Theory of the four movements," the author of which book he thought dead, and re-published them almost literally, added some stupidities of his own, and thus made up a pamphlet full of incongruities, but turning upon guarantystic and societary institutions. The "*Revue Encyclopédique*," which had treated Fourier's science so lightly, recommended M. Mazel's work as worthy of attention. Is there any kind of torture which a man of genius is not called upon to endure, when he is as much in advance of his age as Fourier was in advance of his?

After vainly reiterated attempts on the leaders of the press; after having, without success, made offers to Mr. Owen<sup>1</sup> who was

<sup>1</sup> Respecting his application to Mr. Owen, the following is the manner in which Fourier expresses himself in a letter to Muiron, dated 8th of April, 1824.

"In consequence of the announcement in the *Bulletin* (M. Ferrissac's paper; see what follows), I have sent two copies to Mr. Owen, informing him of the forthcoming abridgment, and telling him that, if he can found a company for the trial of Association, I offer to serve him at the salary of the lowest clerk in his establishment."

Owen did not comprehend the value of Fourier's Theory, and was satisfied with writing to him a letter of thanks by his secretary.

"I have received," writes Fourier, 25th August, 1824, "a long letter from Mr. Skene, Mr. Owen's secretary. He praises my work a great deal, and informs me that Mr. Owen is about to found a new establishment at Motherwell, near Hamilton, in Scotland. If I were engaged there as I shall request of him, I might make the grand stroke next spring."

Fourier's new proposition was without result.

One or two years later, he saw Mr. Skene, at Lyons, and was satisfied that Owen and his associates had the most erroneous views respecting Association.

We must not be astonished that Fourier protested strongly, in his later works, against every assimilation of his Theory to doctrines which proclaim the necessity of abolishing religion, family and property.

then attempting to realize association, but without possessing any of the necessary theoretical data; after having quite as uselessly endeavored to interest the government in favor of a trial of his method applied to agricultural and domestic economy, Fourier, of whom neither the courage nor the confidence in his Theory was shaken, but whose abode in Paris had exhausted his resources, found himself under the necessity of removing from the capital. This necessity became so much the more imperious as, in consequence of the system of administrative reform applied by the ultras of that period, his friend, M. Just Muiron, had just lost the office of chef de division which he occupied in the prefecture of Doubs. In March, 1825, Fourier left Paris to return to Lyons, and placed himself as cashier in a commercial house of this latter city.

The man who had written the "Theory of the four movements" and the "Treatise on Association" came to resume the poor situation of a clerk with 1200 francs salary.

Whatever disproportion, however, may have existed during his whole life between Fourier's thought and the common occupations to which he remained constantly chained, we cannot see that he ever uttered a complaint on this subject. No idea of this nature is ever mingled with the reproaches of which he is not otherwise sparing towards the contemporaneous generation, for having neglected the examination and trial of the discovery which was at last to open to Humanity the paths of social happiness. The apostle of attraction was, as regarded himself, a model of resignation.

In 1825, in spite of the publication of the great Treatise which dated three years back, the knowledge of the Theory of Association had hardly extended beyond a small circle of persons, of whom M. Just Muiron was the centre. Among those persons thenceforth devoted to the Phalansterian Doctrine, was Madame Clarisse Vigoureux, who was destined afterwards to aid, both with her fortune and her pen, the cause which she was one of the first to embrace. At about the same epoch, M. Victor Considerant, hardly out of school, was preluding the efforts he has since so brilliantly and so energetically sustained for the propagation of

the Societary Theory. Some other men, among the most honorable, had also from the beginning felt an interest in Fourier's labors, and facilitated by their credit the publications made from 1822 to 1824, for the purpose of introducing the phalansterian conception to the world.<sup>1</sup>

In this last year had appeared a book by M. Just Muiron, "Aperçus sur les procédés industriels."<sup>2</sup> The author, carefully avoiding everything that had startled the readers of the works of the master, presented in the most modest form the substance of the latter's views upon the social state, indicated the means of transition for an immediate application, and developed, in answer to a question proposed by the agricultural society of Besançon, the plan of a *town warehouse*, an institution belonging to the social period, designated by the name of Guarantyism in the theory of Fourier. (S.)

Muiron's book was the subject of a report made to the Academy of Besançon, by M. Genisset, at the meeting of 25th August, 1825. This report is, certainly, one of the most remarkable ever produced by the elegant pen of the former perpetual secretary of the Bisontin Academy. Casting, on this occasion, a glance over the aggregate of Fourier's doctrine, M. Genisset limits himself to raising some doubts from the religious point of view, and "he willingly enrolled himself, however," he said, "in the class of *expectants*, whose impartiality and good faith M. Fourier himself had praised."

M. Genisset likewise recalled the opinion expressed by M. the Baron de Féruccac, who, giving an account of the "Treatise on Association" in his "Bulletin universel des sciences et de l'industrie" (February, 1824), predicted "that, unless there should be a retrograde movement in civilization, if the development of the human mind and of population were not arrested, the force of

<sup>1</sup> We should also mention M. Gabet of Dijon and M. Godin of Champaugnole, who had then likewise testified their adhesion to the views of the Societary theory. When the man of genius, isolated, sees his whole age rise against him, we must pay due honor to the discernment and the courage of all those who, from the beginning, rally round the banner of truth which he uplifts, and who first salute with their homage a great unacknowledged discovery.

<sup>2</sup> The first edition being exhausted, a second was published in 1840.

things would lead to the application of M. Fourier's idea, with certain modifications in details."

Fourier showed himself quite satisfied with the article in the "Bulletin," from which these few lines are taken. "There is no ill-will in it," he wrote to Muiron, on the 12th of March. "It really speaks of the substance; but it does not explicitly designate the process, and it is so much deceived on this point, that it thinks association most practicable in England. This is an error, since France, at Paris and at Tours, has one month of cultivation more than London, two months more than Edinburgh. But these gentlemen do not see that there are two problems to solve: to associate the interests and the passions, and that we must make men work by attraction, which is much easier in a warm country where there are seven months' cultivation out of twelve."

Nevertheless, the effect produced upon public opinion by the "Treatise on Domestic-Agricultural Association" had been by no means such as could be desired by those who had at heart an application of Fourier's societary views, and they had solicited him anew to publish his ideas in an abridgment freed from all that part which excited prejudice, from all the forms which repelled most readers by their strangeness. He had already been busied on this project from the period (12th March, 1824) of the letter, a passage of which we have just quoted. But the necessities of life had retarded its execution, as we see by what Fourier also said in that same letter: "He (M. Grea) would like a small volume limited to the pure and simple theory. This is indeed what I shall write, but with time, for I must think of my brokerage establishment, which I intend to commence with the spring, in another week.<sup>1</sup> Then I shall not be able to work more than two hours a day, at most, on the abridgment."

<sup>1</sup> This undertaking did not succeed. Fourier employed himself in it for some months; but he found, before the end of the first, that the brokerage yielded less at Paris than at Lyons, and cost him more trouble. "One is crushed," wrote he, "by the patented brokers." And then he knew no one among the capitalists, whose support would have been necessary.

Thus Fourier soon gave up his attempt, as we learn from the following passage of his correspondence with Muiron (1st August, 1824):—

"If I have not written to M. Mourgeon," whom he owed for the printing of the summary, "it is because I had nothing satisfactory to say to

M. Grea, of whom mention is here made, and who had given his assistance to the publication of 1822, was especially of opinion that it was necessary to attempt a new one more appropriate to the state of the public mind, and to the intellectual habits of the greater number. He was quite ready to furnish the necessary advances, provided the manuscript were shown to him before being printed; with this object he insisted on Fourier's coming to pass with him, at his country seat, a few leagues distant from Lons-le-Saunier, the time necessary for the composition of his work. Fourier did, in fact, go there.<sup>1</sup> But the condition required him. I expected that the profits of the brokerage would go on increasing; but it is a branch of business which stops half way and can go no further, unless one has a carriage and a patent. Therefore, I am taking measures to change in the month of September, and to do better. It had improved from month to month, and began to yield 100 francs. I hoped that it would go to 200, then to 300; but the above-mentioned obstacles are insurmountable."

<sup>1</sup> It was not without difficulty, nor from the first moment that the proposition was made to him, that Fourier was induced to accept the hospitality offered to him at Rotalier. It was necessary to overcome scruples full of delicacy on his part. He wished first to be well satisfied that his presence would occasion no inconvenience or constraint to any one in the house. He wrote thus, 13th February, 1825 :

"The proposition you make to me to pass three months at Rotalier, in order there to complete this work, would be very convenient for me, were I not prevented by various obstacles and considerations.

"In the first place M. G. has a young wife; it is not certain that this reception of a stranger would be as agreeable to the lady as to the gentleman. I am, it is true, one of the most accommodating of inmates, contented everywhere, like the apostles, especially where the residence is as beautiful as the village of Rotalier.

"On the other hand, I have arranged to leave on the 1st March" (this referred to his quitting Paris in order to return to Lyons), "and M. G. would not be at Rotalier before 1st May, for whoever says *belle saison*, says 1st May; it would therefore be necessary that I should be able to wait until the 1st of May. My pecuniary matters are not arranged in that manner, and it would make a difference to me of two months, 240 francs.

"These considerations oblige me to renounce a visit to the country which would have been very agreeable to me in every respect."

At another time Fourier alleges such or such a family circumstance "which might render the presence of a guest, if not inconvenient, at least very superfluous."

In a letter of 7th August, 1825, after having mentioned an engagement fixed at three months, he added :

by M. Grea, relative to the preliminary communication of the manuscript, was not fulfilled. By requiring this, Fourier's friends wished to be sure that, in the new publication, he would limit himself solely to treating of Association, and the means of realizing it. They feared, as well for his own account as for that of

"In the meanwhile I cannot accept your invitation to go to Rotalier, because, if I left the situation I occupy here, ten other persons would offer themselves to fill it, with the conditions of taking the English or Spanish correspondence which the house requires—"

As Muiron still urged him, for the purpose of quickly completing the abridgment, Fourier replies, 17th August :

" You think that merchants' counting-houses are like the bureaux of the administration, where you can take vacations for fixed terms. Here I should be quite free to absent myself; but, as I have already told you, some one must be put in my place, and this would be giving it up. It was given to me because I was in Lyons at the moment when the cashier left, in order to turn manufacturer. Thus the place was not vacant a single moment. You can see no connexion between the cash and the foreign correspondence? there is a very evident connexion : it is that one man might keep both the cash and the foreign correspondence, and save them one clerk. In short, if I were to go and pass three months elsewhere, it would be throwing up my place, and I am in a situation to judge of this, knowing the ground.

" There remains, therefore, the supposition that I might arrange so as to return in three months and take another situation in the store. All this depends on circumstances which cannot be governed at will, and which would take too long to explain. Moreover, you are in error if you think that, in a commercial house, the head is the sole master. You are besides ignorant that a man loses credit, is ridiculed in a commercial house, if he is known to be at work upon a book."

What reflections are excited by this last passage! The inventor of the Social Science, the revealer of the happy destinies of humanity, compelled, in order not to compromise his support, to conceal in some sort his great and sublime task!

Let us likewise quote from this last letter some lines which are entirely characteristic :

" I have no doubt of the pleasure I should have at Rotalier, independent of the advantage of finding there hosts whose society would be very interesting. Besides, I am the most accommodating man, and far from requiring a chateau like Rotalier, could habituate myself to the hut of a peasant. Thus it is useless to extol to me the pleasures I should enjoy there, for wherever I can apply myself to my favorite occupation, every place becomes agreeable to me. However, if I can go to the Jura, I shall not know before the 1st September; but that is not certain."

the Societary cause, his tendency to amalgamate with the positive data of his theory of industrial organization, visions upon cosmogony and analogy: views which are doubtless grand and magnificent, and which none of the data of modern science contradict, far otherwise, but which, being devoid of positive proofs, trouble certain severe minds, and form a fruitful subject for jests to frivolous persons. Let us add that hypocrites make use of this part of Fourier's writings as a powerful weapon against the efforts which have for object the propagation and realization of his theory.

We must here say, that it is to be regretted, at least in view of the facilities for a speedy realization, which is the predominant interest of the cause in every respect, it is to be regretted, we say, that Fourier's friends and most devoted adherents never obtained any influence over him, and that they could not in any degree modify his determination as to the parts of his system which it was best to bring before the public. It must be confessed, the habit of seeing himself misconceived and unjustly treated, the unfavorable opinion which he had systematically formed of the character of the "Civilizes," and which he generalized in the most absolute manner, had produced in this extraordinary man an excessive distrust which he never laid entirely aside in the case of any single individual. This was the cause of certain gaps which he himself declared he had intentionally left in his works. This was also perhaps the cause of his disinclination to communicate to those very persons whose concurrence was indispensable to him, the works which he had agreed with them to prepare for the press.

Under the circumstances to which we have referred, Fourier showed only the heads of the chapters of his future work, and after passing about six weeks at Rotalier, with M. Grea, he departed, in spite of the friendly solicitude of his hosts, in spite of the pleasure experienced by him in that place, one of the most beautiful vine districts of the Jura, and at All-saints rejoined his Lyons commercial house, with which he had not broken his connexion.

Fourier's habits of abstruse speculation had not altered his goodness of heart, his sympathy for the sufferings of others, any

more than it had diminished a certain natural cheerfulness which he always preserved.

While he was at Rotalier, an aunt of Madame Grea met with a serious accident. One evening when these ladies were returning from Beaufort, the carriage, in which they were with two other female relatives, was upset by the imprudence of the coachman: they all experienced contusions more or less severe, but Madame Ponsard, Madame Grea's aunt, had her arm broken.

As soon as Fourier learned what had happened, he hastened to the spot full of emotion and anxiety, showing marks of the liveliest interest and offering his services with unequalled earnestness. As the domestics were busy in the house preparing all that was required in consequence of such an occurrence, he insisted on going in person after the physician, who lived more than a league off. Fourier, then 54 years old, went on foot, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, soon returned bringing the physician with him, and refused to go to bed before all possible assistance had been given to the wounded lady by the practitioner, and the family were satisfied there would be no dangerous results from the accident.

The business of the house in which he was employed having caused Fourier to be sent to Paris in January, 1826, he resolved to remain thenceforth, in the capital, in preference to any other city, because he flattered himself he would there more easily find persons in a situation to make a trial of his Theory. He obtained a situation, still as corresponding clerk, or book-keeper, in an American house, temporarily established in France.<sup>1</sup>

During the years 1826 and 1827, Fourier occupied his leisure in writing the abridgment of his doctrine, which appeared two years afterwards under the title of "Nouveau Monde industriel." Certain portions of this work cost him, it would appear, a great deal of labor.

"I have been unlucky in my Preface," he wrote to Muiron, 28 January, 1827; "I have written it over twice without being satisfied with it. At last I have found I could do nothing better than curtail it, reduce it to a few articles and preserve its mate-

<sup>1</sup> The comptoir d'entrepôt of Messrs. Curtis and Lamb of New York, situated rue du Mail, No. 29.

rials for a seventh confirmatory chapter of the abridgment. These changes have made me lose a great deal of time, and during the past two months we have had work enough at the store to make mine languish."

He left his place in the autumn, as we are informed by a letter of the same year 1827, in which he says:

"As I finish my work in Curtis's house, to-day, I hope that from to-morrow the other work will advance rapidly and that by the end of the month I shall be half through with it."

Fourier had also, in this interval of time, finished his minutes for the embellishment of the city of Besançon, a work of amusement, he said, which he had undertaken only as a useful diversion to his other labors. However this may be, not the least curious thing we have to mention about Fourier, is the manner in which he executed this project, without having the exact plan under his eyes, and almost entirely from memory. He had the arrangement of the localities, the distances and other data necessary for his work so present to his mind, that he simply asked his friend Muiron from time to time to verify the indications of which he was not certain. (T.)

About the end of 1827, there was some talk of attempting at Paris a retail sale of some of the wines of Franche-Comté by means of Fourier. "This trade is a speculation worthy of attention," he wrote in reply to the requests for information addressed to him, "because the retailers adulterate their wine so horribly, that any one who should sell it pure, could not fail to secure a good custom in time. I would readily have formed such an entrepot for you at Paris, if I had an establishment."

But in the midst of all these little commissions of which Fourier always acquitted himself with the same punctuality, with the same attention to details, as if he had had no great engrossing subject on his mind, the principal business was the composition of the Abridgment. All the correspondence of that period turns upon this. (U.)

Fourier's friends advised him to soften the forms of his style, and desired him to imitate such and such writers who were favorably received. The answers he made to these requests are too characteristic for us not to quote some of them.

"I do not know," he writes, "what you mean by those literary forms, which *make the chance of fashion*. Is it the adoption of their ideas?" As to their adulatory forms, I could not assume them."

"You doubtless would not advise me in so many words," says he on another occasion, "that, when writing, I must flatter everybody; but this would be the consequence of your counsel to interpret favorably, methods known to be vicious. An apology may be made for every error, but this is the part of a lawyer, and not of a man who wishes to establish with precision a body of doctrine which is new and really different from those of the age."

Even when the positive interest of the truth was not in question, good sense alone informed Fourier that he ought not to imitate any one. Here is another passage from his correspondence very explicit in this respect:

"The author of 'Physiologie du Goût' treats every serious subject jestingly. I do not treat it in the same manner. You advise me to adopt his styles of expression, his agreeable triflings; but I should be very awkward in taking any borrowed character. Nature gives to each his own. She divides the talents, says Boileau: mine is that of *inventor*."

However decided he was in his manner of seeing things, Fourier nevertheless did justice to certain criticisms of his friends.

"Your remarks," he writes on the 18th November, 1827, "upon the words *perfectible civilization, sweet and pure morality*, become just with regard to their too frequent repetition. I will not fail to make every redundancy disappear."

The concession, it is true, was not much, and in a previous letter, Fourier had defended his ironical expressions respecting morality and civilization. (V.)

At the same time that he was laboring for a new publication of his Theory, Fourier was also preparing the means of success, at least as far as was compatible with his character. But, as he said, when the small result of his endeavors was held up to him,

<sup>1</sup>The adoption of the ideas of those writers who were proposed to him as models in matter of style. (Note of the author of the Biography.)

"in order to intrigue at Paris one must have a carriage and meanness: all this I want."

He did not neglect, however, when an opportunity offered, endeavoring to predispose in his favor the men who then had in their hands the organs of publicity. (X.)

Also, whenever a question was raised in the political world, which seemed to him of a nature to make the value of his discovery acknowledged, the author of the Societary Theory did not fail to address government on the subject. Thus, when the minister of marine, on the 21st June, 1828, requested the Chamber of Deputies to allow the cabinet to treat in secret the matter of the amelioration of the lot of the colonial slaves, Fourier wrote to that minister in order to propose to him a method of amelioration without danger or injury to any interest, as he had, in 1823, written to M. de Villèle, on sending to him a copy of the "Treatise on Association." All that he desired of the minister was that he would recommend the work in which the method to which he referred would be explained. It was the same with this endeavor of Fourier as with so many others, which he always made without result.

If his propositions met with nothing but the most complete indifference on the part of politicians, they fared still worse with other men, whose operation was still more directly necessary to him.

When he wished to find an editor for his book, Fourier met with so many obstacles on the part of the booksellers of the capital, that he was obliged to give up the idea of employing any one of them as a publisher.

"There is nothing more difficult," he wrote to Muiron on the 2d May, 1828, "than to find a publisher here, when you are not supported by a well known name. You see by their answer that the subject is nothing to them; it is the man they consider. If Chateaubriand should print that 2 and 2 make 5, every bookseller would like to be his publisher."

Recurring to the same subject, in another letter, "I have delayed answering you," he says, "because I wished to make some further trials with the booksellers. They are real *prate-apaces*. They give such stupid answers that those to whom they are re-

peated are unwilling to believe them. The fact is, they want a known name. If you call yourself Jacques Delille or Chateau-briand, whatever folly you may print, they will quarrel for the part of publisher; if you are unknown, it will be with you as with Fulton, who, on proposing his beautiful invention of the steamboat, could not get any one in Paris to listen to him."

After having in vain tried all the booksellers of the capital, Fourier at last decided, at the request of his friends of Franche-Comté, to return to Besançon, in order to print the book which was to present an entirely practical summary of his system. Although his native country was the place in which he counted his most zealous adherents, he was far from deceiving himself as to the dispositions of the greater number of his fellow-citizens towards him. "In spite of what you say," he wrote a few days before his departure for Besançon, "about the change of opinion of some Bisontins respecting me, I have not the least faith in their good will. Circumstances have been unfavorable to me, and the public yields entirely to the impression of circumstances."

Fourier arrived at Besançon about the middle of July. Madame Cl. Vigoureux obliged him to accept an apartment in her house. He expected not to be detained at Besançon more than two or three months at most; but when his stay was prolonged beyond this time in consequence of the delays almost always experienced in the printing of a book, he frequently wished to take furnished lodgings, fearing to be troublesome in making use, for so long a time, of the hospitality which had been offered him. It required the earnest solicitations of Madame Vigoureux and her children to overcome Fourier's scruples.

In the beginning of 1829, the "New Industrial and Societary World" was issued from the presses of Messrs. Gauthier & Co.<sup>1</sup>

If any have praised, as a sure sign of the superiority of certain eminent minds of our age, their facility in changing systems, in defending, for example, at one moment pontifical or royal absolu-

<sup>1</sup> "Le Nouveau Monde industriel et societaire," or Discovery of the processes of attractive and natural industry distributed in passional series. 1829. One large vol. Bossange senior, rue Richelieu, 60.

tism, at another the sovereignty of the people, Fourier cannot be proposed as the subject of so singular an eulogium, based upon the mobility and instability of opinions. From his first work in 1808, until that of 1829, until the last lines he traced in 1837, a few days before his death, everything bears the stamp of the most invariable unity. Always the same engrossing feeling for the real sufferings of the people ; always the same contempt for the chimerical attempts made to put an end to them without recourse to Association ; always the same process to arrive at Association, the PASSIONAL SERIES applied to industry.

The "Nouveau Monde" is the most methodical of Fourier's books. It is that from which instruction will be most easily obtained for the societary foundation, because it presents the most precise indications in this respect, and presents them more free from the, in some degree, romantic part of the system. In the large Treatise, in fact, the doctrinal exposition is quite frequently interrupted by episodes which, without being absolutely foreign to it, as a superficial reader might be tempted to believe, have still only an indirect and sometimes far-removed connexion with what is to be undertaken in our day to organize a trial of the regime of Association. The "Nouveau Monde industriel," on the contrary, was written with an entirely practical object. The preface, in which the author has stated the conditions of the problem ; the section in which he treats of harmonian education ; that which he has devoted to the analysis of civilization, are in the highest degree remarkable both as logic and as observation. A very substantial analysis of this work was made in the journal "La Phalange," by Dr. Amédée Paget, one of the men who have best understood Fourier and devoted themselves to the accomplishment of his conception.<sup>1</sup>

Let no one judge of the rank which the "Nouveau Monde industriel" should occupy among the works of Fourier, by the

<sup>1</sup> This work of our so much regretted friend and co-worker has since been collected in one volume, published under this title : "Introduction to the Study of the Social Science." This work reached a second edition, made by Paget himself in 1841, a few months before his death. It is preceded by a judicious notice of the systems of Owen, of St. Simon, and of the principal measures of amelioration proposed by the philanthropists.

small space we here devote to the mention of this book. It is the one of all which we most willingly recommend to persons who desire to be initiated by the master himself into the knowledge of the Theory. The study of the passionnal series, which constitutes the essential basis of the new science, is there condensed into a few pages of unequalled precision and clearness. Among others, the V. and VI. chapters, which treat of the three organic springs of a passionnal series and their effects, seemed of such importance to the author, that, in a note written by himself and added by him to several copies of the "Nouveau Monde," he says : "Whoever clearly understands these two chapters, understands the whole Theory." It is a work, the preparation of which had been long ; this is seen by the finish of each of its parts and by the closely woven web which it everywhere presents. Fourier had, in fact, since 1824, written and re-written several times what he called the Abridgment.

Fourier returned to Paris in March, 1829. He there resumed at the same time his occupations in business and his endeavors to draw to his Theory the attention of the public, and especially that of the men who were in a position to attempt an essay, and whom he designated under the name of *candidates*.

One of the first to whom he thought of addressing himself was M. the baron de Féruccac, to whom he sent a copy of the "Nouveau Monde industriel" with a letter respecting the means of prompt execution. He also announces, in his correspondence with Muiron, his intention of addressing similar communications to Messrs. Chateaubriand, Hyde de Neuville, Decaze, &c.

But an essential point was to procure notices of his book in the journals. "The sale of books," wrote Fourier, "is a monopoly which the journalists have appropriated ; everything must pass through their *liberal* hands." Now the author of the "Nouveau Monde" had not the necessary friends. Nevertheless, Dr. Amédée Pichot, who was then establishing the "Revue de Paris," and with whom Fourier had formed an acquaintance, gave him a glimpse of the possibility of obtaining some notices without too great expense. Another young writer of the periodical press, M. Flocon, editor of the "Album national," and stenographer to the

"*Messager des Chambres*," also entered at this period into relations with Fourier, whose ideas he had embraced. But the assistance of these gentlemen did not succeed in overcoming what Fourier called the conspiracy of silence, which he said had been set on foot against him by the philosophical coterie. All that the good will of M. Amédée Pichot could do was to spare Fourier a satire on his book, which was about to be inserted in the "*Revue de Paris*."

"They have been obliged," wrote the latter (3d July, 1829), "to withdraw the notice from the '*Revue de Paris*.' The analysis of the work had been intrusted to an economist, who had disparaged it all he could. Fortunately M. Pichot was in time to prevent the insertion of the article."

But Fourier had not everywhere a man like M. Pichot to save him from the shafts of detraction. He was attacked, and he felt the need of replying at the same time that he endeavored to make his work known.

In the early part of 1830, the author of the "*Nouveau Monde industriel*" published a pamphlet, having for object to announce this book, to indicate the principal questions which were therein treated, and to reply to certain criticisms to which he had been subjected.<sup>1</sup>

This pamphlet, the polemical part of which has great harshness of form, contains good truths addressed to contemporaneous society. Fourier therein takes up M. Guizot with regard to an article in the "*Revue Française*," of which M. Guizot was the director, an article in which, under pretext of giving an account of the "*Nouveau Monde industriel*," a ridiculous idea of the book had been expressed. The author of the book handled severely, in his turn, the critic of the "*Revue*," in whom he was determined absolutely to see M. Guizot himself.

This critic, in the preamble to his article, had gone into ecstasies at the "great changes experienced by society in our days." "Society," replied Fourier, "has been tormented for forty years like a horse in the riding-school, only to get back to its point of

<sup>1</sup> The *Nouveau Monde industriel*, ou *Invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et combinée. Livret d'annonce. Bossange senior, rue Richelieu, 60.*

departure. It is still only a civilization in its third phase, not knowing how to rise to the fourth. It tried to retrograde into Barbarism under Robespierre, it tried democratic anarchy, or the second phase, under the Directory, then military despotism under Bonaparte ; at this day (1829) it tends to theocracy ; these are only antiquated rubbish, retrograde movements, and not novelties or progress. The philosophers qualify as progress the political war organized by the electoral representative system ; it is progress in the path to disorder. They also vaunt their chimera of industrialism, which is confounded by the results."

Still pursuing his critic, whom he continues to call M. Guizot, "he tells us," added Fourier, "*The spectacle of these great novelties* (great antiquated nonsense) *by withdrawing sensible minds from chimerical systems has encouraged bold minds to surpass by speculation the already so wonderful reality.* What tinkling verbiage ! what a far-fetched style ! What does he find so wonderful in the actual reality ? are they the Consolidated Duties ? are they the English factories driven by the whip ? Great wonders are those swarms of paupers, born of the chimeras of industrialism, which he holds up to us as great novelties, *withdrawing minds from chimerical systems !* Messrs. Guizot and Co. may be answered : If you do not wish chimerical systems, why do you stifle the voice of those who, like Malthus, endeavor to show up your political mistakes : exuberance of population, wages depressed by competition, commercial struggle of swindling, parceling of cultivation, inverse consumption, from which the people are excluded."

Referring to what the "Revue Française" had said of his style, which it qualified as grotesque, "my style," replied Fourier, "is that of a man who has no pretensions to the fauteuil, and who goes straight to the mark without any academical twaddle ; it is concise, well rounded ; it will be very well understood by every reader—"

We have prolonged our quotations, because, besides their intrinsic value, they are such as to give a knowledge of the man. And who can flatter himself that he can depict Fourier better than Fourier himself ? Here is another line taken from this polemical treatise, in which his genius breathes forth in all its bold and

honest frankness : " He" (the writer in the Review) " reproaches me because the words *civilization and moral philosophy are always used in an unfavorable sense in my work.* Certainly, because the one is the reign of falsehood, the other is its organ."

That which on this occasion contributed to render Fourier even less patient than usual at the injustices of criticism, " was," as he said in a private letter, " that, M. Guizot, from his position as professor of history, was the man who ought to have forewarned his age against a repetition of the faults recorded by history, the outrages inflicted on Columbus and Galileo, and more recently on Papin and Lebon."

Only one of the periodical publications of that time (of those at least which appeared at Paris, and which had a certain consistency), only one of them showed itself unprejudiced against Fourier's Theory, and readily received serious articles intended to make it known. It was the " Mercure de France du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," which presented this honorable exception. On the 9th of January, 1830, there appeared in this publication an article which said : " There are in the work to which we allude (the ' Nouveau Monde industriel'), so many excellent criticisms, so much poetry, so much eloquence, so much genius, let us say, that even when the author may appear to us lost in imaginary space, we have doubts of our own reason quite as much as of his : we call to mind that Columbus was treated as a visionary, Galileo condemned as a heretic, and yet America did exist, the earth did turn round the sun. The whole of M. Charles Fourier's secret consists in rendering industry attractive by utilizing the passions."

This article was followed by a long extract from Fourier's pamphlet, the " Livret d'annonce."

On the 13th of March of the same year, the " Mercure" again admitted a remarkable article signed Victor Considerant. Educated as sub-lieutenant of engineers at the practical school of Metz, Considerant labored to diffuse phalansterian ideas among his comrades. He held conferences attended by many among them, and by some inhabitants of the city, and grouped around himself the first circle of the partisans of the Societary Theory.

In the course of 1829, Fourier had been placed for a moment

in communication with the Saint-Simonians. M. de Corcelles, Jr., carried him to one of their meetings, on leaving which Fourier wrote: "Their rough-hewn dogmas are pitiful, yet they have an audience and subscribers." Nevertheless, finding there consolidated means of action, he sent his work to one of the principal members of the society, with quite an extended note on the advantages they would derive from a trial of the Societary Theory. (Y.)

The chiefs of the Saint-Simonians endeavored to appropriate some of the arrangements of Fourier's Theory, taking good care not to make the author known, even to those of their adherents, who were highest in the species of hierarchy they had established. They added to their Programme the words *attractive industry*, and some others, and contrived none the less to play at worship and at sacerdotalism.

Fourier tried in vain to withdraw them from this path of *perdition*, as he called it, in order to direct their views towards the trial of Industrial Reform, which alone could effectually *ameliorate*, according to Saint Simon's principle, *the lot of the poorest and most numerous class*. Their disloyal conduct towards himself, the dangerous absurdity of the doctrines they preached, which tended only to compromise the idea of Association, caused him afterwards to attack unsparingly the apostles of the self-styled new worship.

Wherever he thought he caught a glimpse of the shadow of a chance for the application of his Theory; wherever he could hope to find some powerful spring of ambition or of philanthropic generosity united with the advantages of fortune, of position or of reputation, necessary to form a trial company for the Essay, Fourier immediately sent his book, with a special statement of the reasons which seemed to him most fitted to stimulate each of the persons whom he wished to incite to take the initiative. Notes of 20, 30 and 40 pages were also added to the accompanying letter. Among the quite large number of persons who were addressed, in 1829, by the author of the "Nouveau Monde industriel," we will mention lady Byron, who had been indicated to him as a person likely to be interested for a work of great and glorious charity. "Skene," he wrote to Muiron on the 12th of

September, "has gone to England, carrying with him a copy and my letter to lady Byron." That lady did not reply to the communication of Fourier.

The latter also made, about the same period, an attempt without result upon the ministers of the interior and of public instruction.

The correspondence with Muiron, from which we derive almost all our information, did not refer exclusively to subjects having a direct relation to the Societary Theory. We find there, as we have already given more than one example, remarks full of piquancy and wit, and always profoundly judicious, upon a number of subjects. Thus, Muiron having drawn up, in the name of the vine-dressers and owners of vineyards at Besançon, a petition against the imposts upon wine, Fourier, after various remarks upon the substance and form of the petition, added :

"But it is good to forewarn them" (the petitioners), "that, if they send to the ministers, to the directors and other eminent persons, a petition against the Consolidated Taxes, they will be received (to use a Comtois expression) *like dogs in a bowling-alley* —when they undertake to say to vultures, like the financiers of France: *Give up a hundred millions revenue*, the reply of the financiers may be easily foreseen—so long as the vinedressers cannot propose a new impost more easily collected and yielding more than the Consolidated Taxes, the Government will laugh at their petitions, as a cook laughs at the cries of a fowl that does not wish to be bled. In finance, you must point out a better impost, if you desire to suppress a bad one."

A newspaper of moderate liberal opposition views (the "Impartial") had been established at Besançon in 1829, and M. J. Muiron, who was its conductor, proposed to Fourier to write some articles for it from time to time.

"I send you nothing for the journal," wrote Fourier, "because I am not well informed as to the character you wish it to maintain, and I do not know if the subject I can best treat, that of foreign relations, will be fitting for you."

"My style," he further added, "is not to be in other terms the echo of the whole world. There are twenty little circumstances

which give occasion to say something new. Nothing insipid, nothing adulatory ; articles well supported by facts and strong in reasoning, in which I shall flatter neither the liberals nor the absolutists : that is my style. If you want me to write differently, I am the last of men, I cannot fill a page."

Faithful to his programme, Fourier sent articles the rough frankness of which was not always well received by the editing committee then connected with the "Impartial." "You tell me," he wrote on the 30th October, 1829, in reply to Muiron's letters, "you tell me that the article upon drinks will be amended a good deal, because the special partners are merchants ; then you ask for easy means to create another product. I have very positively explained to you that the means will be a *reprisal upon commerce*. If your special partners are wine merchants, it may well be that the means is unpalatable to them ; but it is only from the wine-sellers that the fifty millions they appropriate can be raised ; from whom else should they be taken ? from those who pay for water instead of wine ? in this case it would be the injured party that paid the fine."

The reasons which caused certain of Fourier's articles to be rejected were far from proving any want of value in those articles. "I do not conceive," he remarked in a letter of 13th September, 1829, "how your committee can think that my article "Piège d' Orient," was a note which should be submitted to the minister on foreign affairs. We must then send to him everything that presents any new considerations ! "

In this same letter he makes, with regard to the representative system, a profession of faith so disrespectful, that it will perhaps even now scandalize many persons, although there has been in general a great diminution of the confidence then felt in this regime to secure the happiness of the people : "I shall take good care not to busy myself with the subject of constitutional societies, which you mention to me. I wink at all constitutions. I know that nothing but force and craft govern. . I see that your constitution will be singed ere long. Already there are forming clubs of the friends of religion, who will lead you as the Jacobins led the Feuillantins in 1792. They will overturn as did the companies of Jesus or Jehu. This is their whole plan, allowing

for a moderation in forms ; and if your journal pretends to counteract them, it will be dead and buried within six months."

Succeeding events proved that Fourier had judged correctly what were the intentions in certain classes respecting the Inviolable Charter ; and if he was mistaken on one point, it was only upon the result that was to follow, much more by chance than calculation, from the attack about to be made upon the fundamental compact. (Z.)

The subjects which excited Fourier's remarks were not always taken from so grave an order of events.

"There might be," he wrote 9 February, 1830, "a humorous article written in these days. The two journals, 'Debats' and 'Gazette,' have fulminated against a book entitled the 'Physiology of Marriage,' and, in their anger, have gone to work so awkwardly, that they excite their readers to get the book, and disparage the sex they sought to uphold. If I had thought such an article would have pleased your censors, I would have written it in a *moral style*."

In spite of the intention announced in these two last words, the answer that must have been made to him is easily imagined by all who know anything of Besançon. He was requested to communicate his article on so ticklish a subject to some newspaper of the capital. Muiron renewed on this occasion his advice to form an acquaintance with the men of the Parisian press, for the advantage of the Theory, and in view of the publicity which the latter still wanted.

Fourier replied : "With regard to the editors of the 'Temps' and the 'Messager,' I still intend paying them a visit agreeably to your advice. But for my own part, I dislike it, because I know the character of all those people.<sup>1</sup> As to the article on the

<sup>1</sup> This disinclination of Fourier had a sufficient foundation in the result of his advances towards the men connected with the public press

"I have not been able to succeed," he wrote on the 11th July, 1830, "with the 'Gazette Littéraire.' Like others, they have been notified of the index which weighs down my book (an index of the philosophical coterie and not of the authorities). They had promised ; I sent to them an article suited to the tone and character of their journal. But when they saw the subject, they held the same language as the 'Globe,' saying : 'These are

'Physiology of Marriage,' they will not admit it, because it would not flatter moral hypocrisy."

Fourier also wrote for the Besançon Journal, upon questions of local interest. There were two particularly which he had much at heart. One referred to works executed by the military engineers in the bed of the Doubs, and across the promenade of Chamars, which was consequently divested of its principal charms. The other affair was that of the school and arsenal of artillery, the location of which was then a matter of dispute between Auxonne and Besançon. Fourier made a vigorous polemic upon these two points, and was much dissatisfied when the style of his articles was softened, or they were refused insertion. (A.A.)

He sometimes protested against this exclusion of his articles as too virulent, or as not treating appropriate subjects. "It would be well for your contractors," writes Fourier, "to moderate their contemptuous tone respecting everything that does not emanate from their own vineyard, respecting everything that does not treat of insipidities and controversies about the Charter. This branch is that for which most writers can be found." "What is it makes the fortune of a journal? its vehement and audacious tone. Geoffroy attacked God and Devil (excepting the Emperor and his favorites, Fontanes, &c.), and his independent tone, his broad and picturesque manner, made the fortune of the 'Journal des Debats,' which would have remained in a low rank if it had had a feuilleton written in rose-water, stuffed with academical twaddle—"

"I dined for four years," wrote Fourier another time, "at the same table with the editor of the Lyons Journal, for which I wrote articles in prose and verse, and I learned the rules of the trade thoroughly from him."

Although the habitual fate of his communications rather dis-

things!!! but things!!! but we cannot announce those things!!! It cost me something in breakfasts."

The "Globe" mentioned in this letter, is the journal established and directed by M. Dubois (of the Loire-Inferieure), which obstinately refused in 1824, and afterwards, in 1829, to inform its readers of the existence of the Societary Theory, and of Fourier's works, to which its attention was directed by Messrs. Muiron and Considerant.

gusted Fourier with writing for the Bisontin journal, he sent to it, both before the revolution of 1830, and in the two years which followed, quite a number of articles, the greater portion of which remained unpublished, and in which various political and social questions are treated. There are some, among others, on the subject of Algiers, dating from the earliest period of the conquest, which predict nearly all the mistakes we have since made with regard to that country. Fourier also insisted therein on the necessity of creating bodies of sharp-shooters, the organization of which he described; an idea which was not put in execution until some time afterwards.

None of these questions of current politics could ever, as we may indeed imagine, turn Fourier for a single moment from his prevailing thought, or make him lose sight of his great object. With a perseverance which nothing discouraged, he incessantly pursued his search after the means of the realization of his Theory.

When, in May, 1830, the ministry of public works was created, Fourier addressed to baron Capelle, to whom had just been committed the portefeuille of this department, a memorial stating the advantages that could be derived from combined industry, and the powerful motives that should induce the new minister to take the initiative in this respect. At the moment when the revolution of 1830 broke out, he had, if we may believe him (for he easily deceived himself in this respect, and willingly exaggerated the value of the hopes which might be given to him), as he pretended, led M. the baron Capelle to serious thought of a trial. But the ordinances of July and their consequences to the government from which they emanated, destroyed the hope which the inventor had from this quarter. (BB.)

The political agitations which followed the victory of the people over the ancient power, were by no means propitious to Fourier's views. Nevertheless, he seized the first opportunities which offered to propose them to the examination of the men who could do something for their application.

"You see," he wrote, 26th August, 1830, "that public opinion

is strongly excited upon the principal object of the system, the welfare of the people. The speeches of M. Cormenin and others have roused the provinces on this point . . . and the Chamber has formed a committee of thirty for this purpose. I shall send a notice to the committee if it is a standing one."

We do not know if he carried out the intention here announced ; but the next year, the new Chamber having also formed an industrial committee, Fourier caused a memorial of seventy pages, to be laid before the committee by means of M. Dugas-Montbel, who was a member.

In the course of the months of May and June, 1831, he addressed M. Casimir Périer, M. Lafitte, and in default of satisfactory replies, mentioned his intention of making a similar effort upon Messrs. Montalivet, d'Argout, &c.

M. Lafitte, who had just had his office taken from him, was the only one, it appears, who acknowledged the receipt of the communications of Fourier. The latter wrote to Muiron, 15 June, 1831 :

" M. Lafitte has written to me a very polite letter, in court holy-water, to tell me that circumstances prevent him from taking a part in any enterprise. He was flattered by what I said to him of the influence which his name would have in France, in effecting the speedy formation of a company of stockholders."

Towards the end of 1830, he half flattered himself he had found the long-sought candidate. Mention was made of a rich capitalist, of whose name he was kept in ignorance until the matter failed on account of the departure of the latter, whom he then learnt to be one of the Messrs. Hope.

Fourier had drawn up a memorandum which the original shareholder was to present to the king. On this point the inventor was asked if he would himself speak to the king in case of need. " I have replied," wrote Fourier, " that I will give such explanations as may be wished under any circumstances and to all persons, and that I desire to be called upon, because I can refute objections, and dispel doubts, better than any other."

In this same year, Fourier had made the acquaintance of M.

d'Epagny, of whom he speaks favorably in his correspondence. He also, a little later, had good interviews with M. Féburier, one of the editors of the "Temps," who was appointed sub-prefect by the Périer ministry.

At this period, Saint-Simonism, more nearly connected by its economical theories with the prevailing political theories; Saint-Simonism, which might be looked upon in certain respects as the last deduction from the principles of the liberal school, inasmuch, for instance, as it proclaimed the abolition of all privileges of birth without exception; Saint-Simonism, we say, was agitating the public mind, and diffusing its preachings over the whole of France. Its teachings had at least the merit of making many upright and generous hearts perceive the vices of our social organization, and the insufficiency of political doctrines to remedy them. But, by the alarms it occasioned to capitalists, by its pretension of establishing a new religion, Saint-Simonism produced in society a distrust of all innovators, whoever they might be, and created against them prejudices which it will take a long time to dispel. Finally, by the manner in which, in its last phase, under the direction of Enfantin, it spoke of the emancipation of women, Saint-Simonism made one of the aspects of the social question ridiculous, and this is not the least of its sins.

Fourier had in vain offered to the heads of the Saint-Simonian school the assistance of his Theory to effect Association, if such was really the object they had in view. Attributing to bad will the indifference he found in them on this capital point, convinced moreover of the falseness and the danger of their pretended religious doctrines, he finally came out against them in a pamphlet entitled: "Pièges et charlatanisme des sectes Saint-Simon et Owen, qui promettent l'association et le progrès;" Paris, 1831.

Apart from the attacks upon intentions, this pamphlet was an excellent criticism, the better in that Fourier there stated, in reference to the errors, and the absence of theory of which he convicted his rivals, the conditions and the means of true Association, with which he alone was acquainted. The form was harsh, it is true: the writer spared neither imputations nor sarcasm, and on this point he had to defend himself against the reproaches of his own friends. (CC.)

But before coming to this aggression, the author of the Societary Theory, in spite of his prejudices against the Saint-Simonians, had done what he could to enlighten them, and to give a useful direction to the philanthropic sentiments of which they made a display. Only he perhaps deceived himself in supposing that they had more influence and credit than was the fact.

To Muiron, who endeavored to persuade him of the good intentions of the Saint-Simonians, Fourier replied, 30th August, 1830 :—"when they will, they can form a joint-stock company. But they must give up their Cossack morality of appropriating inheritances. Moreover, to confound their evasive pathos, their *full sentiment of humanity*, I am always ready to hear any proposition to go to work, but not to adopt their tartufferie—"

"You wish," said he another time, "that I would imitate their tone, their sentimental sermonizings, which you call effusion of the heart. It is the tone of charlatans: never will I consent to such juggleries; I use only peremptory reasoning—"

This is indeed the man; this is Fourier. Was not he right in taking for his device the words of Horace, which he had engraved upon a seal: "*Justum et tenacem?*"

A little later, in January, 1831 (the 19th), Fourier wrote, respecting an attempt he had just made to found a society for propagation :

"Three days since, I had a conference with some individuals upon whom I reckon for the formation of a society. They like the idea well enough; but the greater part drew back at the proposition to make a small contribution of fifteen francs for the expense of the meetings."

"If I had had a thousand francs in hand," added Fourier, "I might have formed on the very instant a society as well established as that of the Saint-Simonians, who have an enormous credit now, and who, nevertheless, have neither method nor doctrine.

"They have stolen some ideas from me. The 'Mercure' mentioned it. I learnt this through M. Monnier, Jr., and M. Pichot has repeated it when telling me that it was he who denounced this plagiarism in the 'Mercure.' It is well to know this before going to their ascetic meetings."

After having been to one of these meetings, Fourier wrote, on the 28th January :

" I was present at the Simonian preaching last Sunday. I can't conceive how those sacerdotal buffoons can get such a numerous following. Their doctrines are not receivable ; they are monstrosities to make one shrug : think of preaching the abolition of property and inheritance, in the nineteenth century !"

However inadmissible their incoherent economico-theocratic system might be, the Saint Simonians, who did then, in fact, possess a certain credit, and who had a daily journal (the "Globe") on their side, did not seem to have much to fear from the Phalansterian Theory, still almost completely unknown : soon, however, the two doctrines came in contact, and, at the first shock between them, the evident superiority of that of Fourier was made manifest.

Some men of talent quitted Saint-Simonism in order to rally to the Phalansterian doctrine, and become its propagators. Thus did Messrs. Jules Lechevalier and Abel Transon. The first had been acquainted, at Besançon, with Muiron, who had sent to him Fourier's works and his own. The result of reading them was not delayed. On the 21st January, 1832, Fourier wrote :

" I have received a very honest letter from M. J. Lechevalier. He appears quite undeceived about Saint-Simonism. I sent my answer by his porter, this morning, and I told him in conclusion, that I would make my visit to-morrow, in order to give, as he desires, the rather extended explanations required by his letter."

We see by this single fact how devoid Fourier was of all pretensions, and how much good-natured simplicity there was in his conduct. He was the author of the discovery, and already an old man, and yet the idea of waiting for the first visit never entered his head. He was nevertheless sensitive to wrong proceedings, and knew how to repel with dignity any impertinence, from whatever quarter it might come.

In the following month, M. J. Lechevalier began to give public lectures upon the doctrine of Fourier, who himself spoke at the first meetings. These lectures, incisive in their style, fine and powerful in their logic, were a refutation of Saint-Simonism by means of the principles of the Societary Theory ; first printed in

numbers, afterwards collected in a volume, they had a great effect in dissipating the Saint-Simonian illusions. M. Transon, on his side, published in the "Revue encyclopédique," then directed by Messrs. P. Leroux and J. Reynaud, a summary of the Societary Theory, which is still one of the best that have been made.

Both afterwards, in concert with Fourier and the old disciples, Messrs. J. Muiron, V. Considerant, Madame Cl. Vigoureux, undertook (June, 1832) the publication of a weekly journal, entitled the "Phalanstère," or the "Reformé industrielle." The object of this journal was to propagate the knowledge of the principles and of the means of Association discovered by Fourier, and especially to invoke founders for a trial of the industrial organization described in his writings. This first periodical organ of the Societary school had also for assiduous collaborateurs, Dr. Amedée Paget, M. Lemoyne, engineer of bridges and highways, and the author of this book. Articles were also sent to it by Messrs. Allyre Bureau, Alph. Tamisier, Hipp. Renaud, Devay senior, all of whom are still actively engaged in the labors of the school.

A man of rare devotedness, M. Baudet-Dulary, at this period a deputy from Seine-et-Oise, had at heart the proposed foundation of an agricultural and manufacturing phalanx. He knew that a pupil of M. Mathieu de Dombasle, M. Devay, jr., was farming with success some lands long uncultivated, in the townships of Adinville and Condé-sur-Vesgre, upon the skirts of the forest of Rambouillet. He bought about 500 hectares of those lands, and placed himself at the head of a joint-stock company for the establishment of a societary colony according to Fourier's method. The ploughings and buildings were commenced at Condé; but the funds subscribed by the stockholders not being enough to secure the essential elements for an experiment of the Phalansterian Theory, that experiment did not take place. They were compelled to desist in the course of the very first preparations, and the essay was put off until a later time, when the idea being more generally understood and appreciated, capital would not be wanting. (DD.)

Then M. Baudet-Dulary, giving proof not only of a loyalty which has itself become quite rare in the industrial undertakings of our

day, but also of an almost unexampled generosity, took upon himself all the expenses, and integrally reimbursed the stockholders. There is so little truth, moreover, in the assertion that the Theory failed in its application, that M. Dulary, who has not ceased to be one of its most zealous and enlightened adherents, would be quite ready again to attempt that application if he had in hand the means necessary for such an enterprise.

At this period, the preliminary work of the engineer and architect was executed with the greatest care by Messrs. Maurize and Daly ; we now have the plans and detailed drawings of a societary foundation, both in the superior degree and the degree practicable with 400 children and 100 grown persons.

One of the things which most embittered the last years of Fourier's life, was hearing it repeated that there had been a trial of his Theory, and that the experiment had failed. Consider that during his whole life he had demanded this proof, without being able to obtain it ; that he attached no value except to this practical demonstration, and that, well persuaded of its infallible success, he staked his glory upon it alone, and then judge how he must have been affected by those lying reports which proclaimed his defeat, ~~when he had not been able even to enter the lists !~~

During the years 1832 and 1833, the propagation of the Phalansterian ideas was very actively continued, both by the journal the "Réforme industrielle" and by lectures which were delivered in Paris and various other cities. One of the men most favorably known in the work of oral propagation, was M. A. Berbrugger, now librarian of the city of Algiers, and member of the African scientific commission.

Fourier willingly took part in the meetings at which his Theory was developed, and often spoke in the conferences which followed the exposition made by some one of his disciples. He himself gave some lectures, in the winter of 1833-34, before the Society of Civilization, where others were successively given, about the same period, by Messrs. Considerant, Berbrugger, Transon, and Philippe Hauger.

Fourier wrote to Muiron, 4th January, 1834, respecting these

meetings: "Here (at Paris) we see prevail in all the meetings only the Saint-Simonian spirit, the mania for the abolition of property, the pretence of proving that I am in league with the sophists, who are inimical to property. I saw this pretence reproduced in every form at the four lectures I have given to the Society of Civilization.

"In spite of this predominance of Saint-Simonism, the audiences come back to me in great numbers. I was convinced of this at my yesterday's lecture. Already the two principal zoiles<sup>1</sup> D. and L. no longer cavil against me; and, to intimidate them, I yesterday made a regular denunciation of political economy, and proved that it has not satisfied a single one of the nine conditions belonging to its task."

While the inventor of the social machinery was thus publicly breaking lances in favor of the rights of property, ignorant and pretendedly conservative writers, and even some high official personages, still confounded him and his disciples, not only with the Babouvistes, the Communists, &c., but even with the authors of all the political disorders which displayed themselves in society.

Fourier was not brilliant in elocution; but his expressions were constantly just, precise, and energetic. There was nothing affected, solemn, or even, properly speaking, oratorical in his delivery; but the simplicity of his speech, that tone of good humor which in him contrasted with the grandeur of his idea, the accent of conviction with which he announced all the results of his system, always produced a certain impression, even upon the most sceptical minds.

The contradiction, or rather, the false interpretation of his ideas, excited him immoderately. But then, those conversing with him rarely insisted; so much faith and assurance, in the midst of an epoch of doubt and discouragement like ours, were what they could not help respecting, even when they did not really seize all the motives, and did not yet admit the whole foundation.

That which first struck every one who saw Fourier, the most

<sup>1</sup> Zoilus, a snarling critic.

simple man in the world as to dress and manners, was his piercing eye—that eagle eye, belonging to men of genius—which was surmounted by a broad, high, and remarkably beautiful forehead. In him the anterior parts of the cranium, the seat of the intellectual faculties according to the phrenologists, presented in general an extraordinary development, when compared with the rest of the head, which was rather small than large. His aquiline nose, although turned to the left in consequence of a fall in his youth, did not injure the harmonious ensemble of the face. His thin lips, habitually closed tight together, and strongly depressed towards the angles of the mouth, denoted perseverance, tenacity, and gave to the physiognomy of Fourier a certain expression of gravity and bitterness. His blue eyes, which seemed to dart lightnings in the moments of an animated discussion, when, for example, he was doing justice to some sophism alleged against social truth, and when he was confounding a *civilizee* caviller, shone at other times with a gentle, melancholy, and sad lustre. (EE.)

Although born with an affectionate disposition, Fourier always lived a solitary life. When his name began to be known, during the last five or six years of his life, his society was somewhat sought for. Many persons, desirous of hearing him speak of his Theory, endeavored to attract him to their houses by inviting him to dine or to pass the evening. But, jealous of his dignity, as well as of his independence, Fourier accepted with reserve the invitations which were made to him, and only when he knew the persons quite intimately. From the moment when he thought he perceived that they wished to exhibit him, to present him as a spectacle to the curious, or that they sought to draw from him the secret of some of his theoretical combinations, Fourier intrenched himself in an obstinate silence which nothing could break, or else he replied by evasions to all the questions which they continued to address to him. If, on the contrary, he felt that he was with good people whom he thought he had no occasion to mistrust, he showed himself open, communicative, he conversed willingly upon all subjects, and solved the difficulties which were stated to him.

In these moments of familiar talk and simple freedom, it was

delightful to see and to listen to Fourier. Was he asked, for example, about the analogy<sup>1</sup> of such or such an animal which

<sup>1</sup> Analogy is a branch of study of which Fourier has given only a few sketches in his works. According to him, "the different kingdoms of Nature are, in all their details, so many mirrors of some effect of our passions; they form an immense museum of allegorical pictures in which are depicted the crimes and the virtues of Humanity.") *Theorie de l'Unité universelle*, vol. iii., p. 212. "Analogy," says Fourier again, in the same place, "is one of the branches of the calculation of attraction." Nevertheless, because it was not the essential branch, that on which depended social happiness, he applied himself to it only accessorialy, as to a subject which, by piquing curiosity, might serve as a passport to the Theory of domestic and agricultural association.

"In order to seek a protector by some new way," he wrote, 3d April, 1830, "I wish to try a thing to which I have often been advised; it is to prepare the opening for a treatise on Analogy, under this title: *Indiscreet Nature or Analogy*. I see that this matter is a decided favorite."

This project had no result.

Speaking of Analogy, we will mention some animals which inspired Fourier with an insurmountable aversion. Such was the caterpillar, emblem of Civilization, the filthy, voracious, devastating caterpillar, which is metamorphosed into the brilliant butterfly, as the impure and odious society it represents must be transformed into Harmony; such was also the spider, emblem of the civilized shopkeeper (for the explanation of this last analogy, see the work of Captain Renaud, "Solidarité," p. 261); Fourier could not see these hideous emblems of subversion without experiencing a disgust mingled with horror. He could never be induced to sit upon a lawn from the moment he thought he had there seen a caterpillar or any reptile.

At one time, when he had gone to bed at Besançon, in the house of one of his friends, Fourier suddenly rushed from his chamber, almost naked, calling loudly for the house servant. He had seen a large spider upon the ceiling over his bed, and he wished some one to come with all speed and deliver him from so odious a neighbor; his repugnance was too great to allow him to do it himself. The cat was, on the contrary, an animal for which Fourier always felt a great partiality, not, we believe, from analogical considerations, for the cat is a type of selfishness; but it is, of the whole feline family, so remarkable for the beauty of its forms and the suppleness of its motions, the only animal which man has known how to tame, and which is in unity with him. When residing at Lyons, Fourier had a superb cat, for which he felt a great affection. This favorite puss died during a journey of his master, who experienced at this event a strong regret. If he saw anywhere one of these graceful quadrupeds with a well furred and lustrous robe, Fourier could not refrain from going up and caressing it.

represents some one of our caprices and social follies ? he explained it in a manner at the same time most picturesque and most comical, imitating the bearing, the gait, the cry, the habits of the animals of which he was speaking, so far as these various expressions answered to the correspondence established between them and the persons of the human species of which they are the emblems. Both Lafontaine and Molière were then to be seen in Fourier, as we can also find in his writings, numerous traces of the relationship of his genius with these two geniuses, who were such lovers of truth, and who, also, have depicted without glossing, and have chastised after their manner the vices and the iniquities of Civilization.

If it sometimes happened that, led on by his subject or requested by his hearers, Fourier touched upon some one of those questions which are put in interdict by the hypocritical prudery of our show manners, so little in conformity with the secret and real habits of the civilizees ; did he come, for example, to treat of the developments of the proscribed and condemned passion (love, hypeminor cardinal) his language had such a character of scientific simplicity, that the most corrupt mind could not have found in his words matter for an impure thought. And in this respect it is the same with Fourier's writings as it was with his conversation : by force of candor he renders modest, things which no other would have ever dared to print. We feel everywhere with him that we are in the company of science, which has the privilege of purifying all things. It is thus that a professor of anatomy or of physiology describes all the organs of the human body and all the functions of each of them, without any one's having the idea of being offended or accusing him of indecency. Well ! Fourier, also, is always a savan who gives lessons in social anatomy and physiology. And if these are the very laws of God and of Nature which Fourier has discovered, which he has limited himself to render faithfully, it becomes us indeed to play the disdainful and to show ourselves offended ! Before creating the passions and the sexes and assigning to them their employments, God ought, doubtless, to have consulted our susceptibilities, which are almost all, to tell the truth, nothing but hypocrisy and grimace.

Even now some take occasion of this part of the works of Fourier to which we have alluded, in order to cast reproach upon his memory. One accuses him with having drawn up a *code for brutes*; another condemns him to ask pardon of offended public morality: they rival each other in displaying the greatest indignation against the temerity of the thinker and the writer! But before crying out, abomination! and dragging the great man to the pillory, why do they not first impose on themselves the duty of examining whether he states the truth or falsehood, whether he is right or wrong?

Fourier maintains that, by endowing our species with a certain aggregate of impulses or tendencies which are found in various degrees and variously combined among themselves, in all of us, so many as we are, God has clearly testified his will with regard to human destiny. His respect for the Supreme Intelligence does not permit him to suppose that He can have distributed passions, instincts and characters, without foreseeing a mode of social relations in which all these forces would have a useful, harmonic employment, and would contribute to the good of the mass at the same time that they made the happiness of the individual. Starting from this eminently religious idea, Fourier imposed on himself the task of *discovering*—not of imagining, not of arbitrarily arranging, according to the caprice of his fancies, of his peculiar predilections,—but of discovering, we repeat, of calculating, from the data furnished by God himself in the passionnal organism of man, the mode of social relations willed by God, the form of natural society.

Let no one, therefore, undertake to say that Fourier prohibits, prescribes, or imposes anything of his own private authority. Fourier is neither a legislator, nor the founder of a religion. To *make* laws, would, in his opinion, be a usurpation of the divine attributes. There is, according to Fourier, only one legislator, He who distributes the *attractions* to all created beings. As for him, he is simply a savan who places himself before human nature as an impartial observer, and who reads in this admirable work of God;—a work misunderstood, defamed, in

which it is God himself, its author, whom men misunderstand and defame.

Instead of showing themselves so unphilosophically indignant against Fourier, let his adversaries prove, therefore, either that he has observed badly, or that he has drawn false consequences from his observations : the whole question is there. But no one of them has ever done this ; no one has demonstrated that Fourier is in fault upon one or other of these points. As for ourselves, we wait for some person to succeed in this, before giving up our phalansterian convictions.

Is it true, moreover, that Fourier, by his method of impartial observation, by the analysis and the synthesis he has made of the Attractions of Man, has arrived at results so monstrous that they ought to disgust all the noble instincts of our soul ? Far from this : it is the supremacy of these noble instincts, at the same time with the integral justification of our passionnal being, which is established, demonstrated, proclaimed by the Societary Theory. Pre-eminence to the inclinations and to the faculties, in proportion to their co-operation in sociability, in general order, in unity : this is what is everywhere secured by the social mechanism discovered by Fourier.

The perspective of the integral, but always *equilibrated* development, of the passions of our nature, is not the only thing which excites the anger of the moralistic censors. Another point offends them still more, in the writings of Fourier : it is the implacable frankness of his criticism when it attacks any one of the vicious characteristics of civilization, and methodically depicts all the forms and all the shades, classified by series of orders, of genera, of species. "Nothing," says Fourier on this point, "shows moral depravity and quackery in a stronger light than this refusal to look at the pictures of a vice, its degrees and ramifications." *Théorie de l'Unité universelle*, Vol. iii., p. 128.

Twice have we allowed ourselves to enter upon this apologetic strain ; we will further quote, before resuming our part as historian, the very sensible reply made by Fourier to one of the reproaches which are most frequently addressed to him. "The

detractors," says he, " pretend that my Theory *descends to trivialities*; but it should embrace everything, and especially the trivial functions which must be utilized and sustained by indirect inducements. They reason like a fine gentleman who should say to his farmer, 'the hog is an unclean animal, the dungheap a nuisance; have neither swine nor manure on your farm, if you wish to elevate yourself to the standard of philosophy.' The farmer would reply by laughing at philosophy." *Fausse industrie*, Vol. i., p. 392.

Fourier's want of success in so many attempts already made upon the Government, had not wearied his indefatigable constancy. His fixed idea was to find a powerful patron, a man in high place, who would take part for him, as did the Confessor of Isabella of Castile, for Christopher Columbus. "I wish," said he, "to make new attempts to find a protector for our affair. All the little clients, the small partisans, are good for nothing, and are difficult to manage. We must find one great one, who would do more by himself alone than a hundred thousand pygmies."

Having undertaken to publish alone the last numbers of the "Reforme industrielle," he wrote to Muiron, 4th February, 1834: "The journal has been much delayed this time, because I thought it best to change its whole matter at the period of the 20th January, and to place in it two articles which can be sent to M. Thiers. One is to show to him the value of the fiscal advantages; the other, to disabuse him respecting my cosmogony, on which M. Guizot would not fail to comment, if any one should speak to him about placing my Theory in one of the three kinds of establishments which I wish to propose." (FF.)

Poor man of genius! these great politicians had many things to do other than listening to your propositions. No matter, he was always ready to renew them.

After the deplorable events of April, Fourier wrote to Muiron: "Never has an opportunity offered more favorable for an application to the minister. We must let the storm blow over, and present a petition in May."

On the 10th of June following, recurring again to the same idea, "it is very certain," says he, "that the circumstances are

quite favorable for an attempt upon the minister, as soon as he is freed from the electoral hubbub."

A little later, another incident awakened in him anew the hope of at last obtaining a hearing. He writes on the 16th August, of the same year, 1834 :

' "I think that this time the chance is a fine one to solicit the intervention of the minister. The deputies have formed a committee (Tracy, Salverte, Laborde, Isambert, Gaétan de Laroche-foucault, and others), *for the abolition of slavery*.

"Good people ! what new method have they to put in play without me ? Already the Congress of Vienna, and the Society of Christian morality have failed upon one branch of slavery, the trade . . . .

" I shall invite the minister to take hold of the matter, appropriate it to himself, and give a rap to the committee.

" I have already sent the memorial to press : it will form a small 12mo. of 72 pages, entitled a 'Letter to the Deputies,' because I am not sufficiently well known to address the ministers in print ; but the accompanying letter will tell them what I have not printed, for while complimenting the committee on its intentions, I have informed it that with good intentions means are necessary. . . ."

Here is a subject of remark which really does honor to the dispensers of publicity among us ! Thus, owing to the manner in which they fulfilled this duty, owing to what with Fourier we can call the obscuration of the XIX. century, the man who, 12 years before, had published the "Treatise on Association," and six years before, the "New Industrial World" had not yet the right to consider himself sufficiently well known to be authorized to address a printed memorial to the ministers !

How many are there of those ministers whose names are now of less weight in the balance of public opinion than the name of Fourier, of this man unknown to the official world in 1834 ?

Still the author of the Societary Theory was growing old, never tired of hoping, notwithstanding his too tedious waiting, that from one day to another he would have an opportunity of setting a Phalanx at work, and of thus justifying his theoretical

assertions by a brilliant fact. It was especially with the object of stimulating the various persons fitted for such a part to undertake an essay, that he published, in 1835, the volume entitled "La Fausse industrie,"<sup>1</sup> to which he added a second volume the following year. If there is in both the one and the other, almost nothing that is not to be found in the former works of the discoverer of the Phalanstery, as a compensation, detailed remarks are abundant, and they are for the most part full of interest and originality. Fourier gives a very just idea of his book in the sub-title thus conceived : " Mosaic of the false progress, of the follies and vicious circles of Civilization.—Parallel of the two worlds, the parcelled order and the combined order."

The plan of "La Fausse industrie" is very irregular ; the author thus explains the reason : " The subject was intended to form an additional and final sheet of 'la Reforme industrielle.' The space was insufficient for the matter. I meant to make only a pamphlet ; but when I was at the VI. chapter, a new insult of the journalists determined me to reply severely, and to unite with the pamphlet, the formula of ' Registry of the Press.' Every minister or chief of police will like to take cognisance of a regime which restrains the press within proper limits, and which prevents anarchy in this respect, without having recourse to constraint without gag or censure."

Fourier, moreover, informs us that he followed systematically in this book, the *hashed* method, the process of speculative repetitions. " In publishing," he says, " a new science which mocks all prejudices, if we limit ourselves to stating the truth a single time, it would be in a few minutes effaced, forgotten, so much are civilized minds falsified, gangrened with prejudices against nature, against its impulsions of attraction and repugnance. I saw, when giving the lectures which were requested of me, that from the third all the principles stated and admitted were eclipsed by philosophical prejudices, by contempt for God and nature."

Thus Fourier did not fail, in these last of his works, to return

<sup>1</sup> " LA FAUSSE INDUSTRIE morcelée, repugnante, mensongère, et l'antidote, L'INDUSTRIE NATURELLE combinée, attrayante, véridique, donnant quadruple produit." Paris, 1835. Bossange père, rue de Richelieu, 60. L'auteur, rue St. Pierre-Montmartre, 9.

to the charge against those false sciences, the fatal consequences of which, in his opinion, perpetuate the reign of evil upon the earth. He there replies to the attacks of which his doctrines and his writings had been the subject, which leads him to cast a glance in his turn upon some of the productions which then enjoyed great favor, such as the "Paroles d'un croyant," by M. Lamennais.<sup>1</sup>

Impatient to make his trials upon the fields of practice, Fourier commented upon the events which filled the public attention, and he deduced from them the most powerful motives for proceeding without delay to an essay of his Theory of Association. With this object, the author of "Fausse industrie" addresses himself to all that have power in the world, to the chiefs of States, to the princes of finance, to the directors of opinion, and he endeavors in a thousand ways to interest them in the work which would at last open for Humanity, the path to happy destinies. In order to persuade in favor of undertaking a societary foundation some one of the persons whom he has in view, Fourier brings everything into play, has recourse to all baits: he presents to them the alternative of the most brilliant chances, or of the darkest perspectives; he beseeches, he flatters, and he threatens by turns.(GG.) Nowhere had the inventor been so insisting, or so pressing to obtain the trial of his discovery. Alas! he felt his end approach: he saw that the instrument of safety would have remained until the end useless in his hands, and that, on quitting the earth, he was about to leave it under the yoke of its ancient unhappiness, a prey to the disorders and the evils, for which his genius had in vain, forty years before, discovered the remedy.

Fourier's earnest endeavors to prevent such a result, are sometimes of a very affecting character. Can any one, for example, read without emotion the last lines of this passage: "Religion in reverencing God, philosophy in denying him, agree together to disparage him; for both persuade us that he wishes to govern humanity by ennui, indigence, and terror: my theory demonstrates that he wishes to lead us by pleasure, riches, and liberty. Consent to a trial of this theory upon a number of children; and when you see

<sup>1</sup> Respecting this, Fourier said in his correspondence, when speaking of the celebrated writer: "I shall address to him a little parallel of method between the half-believer Lamennais and the full-believer Fourier."

them find their delight in useful labors, you will cry out with Simeon : ‘This is the mechanism willed by God and inspired by Nature, by Attraction : Lord, I have lived long enough, since I have seen the word of thy wisdom, the social industrial code which thou hast composed for the happiness of all nations—*Nunc dimittis,*’” &c.

Assuming elsewhere the tone of philippic, Fourier thus addresses the doctors of optimism,—the chanters of perfectibility : “Ye mountebanks of progress, so long as there shall be seen in your societies an infirm man wanting assistance, or an able-bodied man wanting work and bread, your system will be only a social caricature, an absence of reason, of light, and religious spirit ; your progress in material things will be only an additional insult to the human mind, and you will deserve the opprobrium with which Condillac brands your science when he says : ‘We must remodel the human understanding and forget everything we have learned.’

“Yes, we must be emancipated from philosophy ; a single athlete will be enough to break the yoke : *Exoriare aliquis !*”

Where is that athlete whom Fourier called for ? will he soon arise, issuing from the ashes of the discoverer, *ex ossibus ultor*, in order to avenge his memory, which is still each day insulted, in order to proclaim his glory and his triumph, so closely connected with the happiness of humanity ?

This is a part which would have accorded with the genius of Byron, whose character was so poorly adapted to the shackles of civilization. Why, in his restless travels through a world which presented to him nothing that would satisfy the changing desires of his ardent and uneasy soul, why did not Childe-Harold find somewhere under his hand a copy of the “Theory of the four movements ?” The genius of scientific invention which discovers the object and the means, that of artistic poetry which impasses and hurries along, would then have formed a union ! the great social thought would have put on the brilliant forms fitted for popularity ! And the planet would have thrilled even to its foundations, for, thanks to this happy union, the kingdom of God and of Attraction would have quickly been inaugurated at the accents of a new Orpheus !

May the reader forgive our having for a moment turned our imagination towards this hypothesis which pleases it, and having dreamt of a union which might have been so fruitful for the happiness of the world, between these two audacious minds, between these two eagles of the intellectual sphere, Charles Fourier and Lord Byron.

This character which we like to suppose Byron would have taken, the author of "Fausse industrie" proposed to George Sand, on the occasion of an article in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," 15th November, 1836 ("Lettres d'un Voyageur"), in which that lady spoke of the system of Fourier in terms of good will, if not understandingly. But the illustrious writer did not, perhaps, even read those few pages in which the inventor of the Social Science made an appeal to the bold and eloquent pen which has given to us "Valentine" and "Lelia." How much, nevertheless, may not George Sand some day regret that she did not appropriate Fourier's grand conception, in order to clothe it in her magnificent prose, while her talent was still at its apogée.

Must we therefore say that poetical and literary genius has henceforth renounced the exercise of any high and salutary influence upon the social movement, and that all those who have received these privileged gifts from God, will adopt, in practice at least, the stupid principle of *art for the sake of art*?

The two volumes of "Fausse industrie," containing observations respecting cosmogony and the future life, which it would perhaps be premature to offer to the public, are not much known; few persons have read them. They have a special interest, in that they present, as it were, the last phase of the strife commenced by Fourier against the prejudices of civilization, a struggle which he maintained until the end with such unconquerable courage. This is what has caused us to say so much respecting this work, which is not very well fitted to give an idea of the Societary Theory, and which we recommend only to those who are already fundamentally acquainted with the Theory. The passages which we have quoted have appeared to us appropriate to this biographical notice, especially as an expression of the character of their author. It is also in the same view that we

republish the apostrophe which concludes the second volume of "Fausse industrie;" these lines are about the last which Fourier wrote for the press :

"Despisers of your country, phenomenons of servility, you condemn a discovery if it is not the work of a foreigner ! You ought to be proud that one of your countrymen deprives England of the most glorious crown, the formula which she overlooked after Newton had given her the initiative.

"Come, awake out of your lethargy : come forth from the labyrinth in which you are retained by these obscurants, enemies of all light which does not proceed from their coterie ; they only know how to found their social mechanism upon privations, jails, and gallows : God founds his upon riches and pleasures.

"Make the parallel by a trial upon children ; you will immediately perceive that philosophy, in wishing to compress the passions, has built upon the sand, and that I have built upon the rock by determining the societary regime which identifies itself with the passions, with the moving powers implanted by God in our souls.

"Therefore, it will not be the system of a man, of a manufacturer of arbitrary constitutions, which you will behold in the trial of attractive industry : it will be the work of God, his code, unchangeable as the passions and attractions which are its interpreters ; his code, identifying collective interest and individual interest, always in collision in the civilized state ; his code, leading to fortune by the practice of truth and justice.

"On seeing it, you will say : This is really the work of that Creator, who knows how to guide in harmony the world and the universes : no one but the sublime discoverer has lifted the veil of brass ; this man, with more reason than the savans of thirty centuries, can say with the Roman lyric poet :

"*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*"

The matters treated of in the two volumes of "Fausse industrie" were not those on which the disciples of Fourier would have most wished him to write. Desirous to have him elaborate and publish those parts of the science which he had not yet given, they were urgent to obtain from him the third and following

volumes of the "Theorie de l'unité universelle," in conformity with the plan of 1821 (see p. 41 of the *Biography*). They reminded him of the half promises he had recently made on this point ; but Fourier replied :

" When I said it was most useful that I should write for my disciples, it was doubtless because I depended upon the establishment at Condé ; but as that hope no longer exists, I must now speculate upon the public and seek for a candidate. Upon this point I differ in opinion with my disciples, and believe them entirely in a false way. It is my opinion that I must make a mixture or medley of Theory and criticism. Pure Theory would have no hold upon the class of men to be gained."

In this same letter, which is of the 1st October, 1835, replying to other remarks of Muiron, Fourier wrote to him :

" The book, you say, will attain its object if we succeed in making those to whom it is addressed read it. I have no such expectation. Nothing frightens a man of high standing so much as a request to read the book of a writer who is without reputation. We must, on the contrary, declare to those whom we address, that we request them to read such and such pages adapted to their interests.

" I am far from forgetting the services rendered to me by the disciples, since in the volume of 'Mosaic' I declare that they have brought the matter to a point where I am guarantied against plagiarism ; and it is in consequence of this guaranty that I decided to make known the scale of the agios in rallying and graduation, a method which I had left in suspense as a shoal for those who might have wished to commence an undertaking in contradiction to my Theory.

" I have also given the general formula of the guaranties, which I had never before been willing to give, not even in the 'Reforme industrielle,' because I feared lest the public mind should fasten itself to this method which is more accommodated to the civilizee manias of controversy about balances, counterpoises, guaranty, equilibrium. But in now giving the general formula of guarantyism, I have a security against the delays of a trial of the 6th period ; this is the material proof furnished by Francia (Fourier's information in this point was erroneous), re-

specting the facilities of the society regime; two powerful springs of which, good cheer and gratuitous amusements, have been guessed at by that dare-devil"—

We see by these last passages, that the fear of plagiarism, by which Fourier was possessed, perhaps unreasonably, was by no means the only motive for the reticences for which his readers might think he could be blamed, according to his own acknowledgments. Upon this point we shall not seek to justify the conduct of the discoverer, neither shall we condemn it. In order to dare to decide in so delicate a matter, we ought to be acquainted with all the reasons which Fourier had for acting as he did. There are many truths which, dropping without preparation into the midst of the world as it is, would there produce a great deal of evil. Besides, reticences of the discoverer of the serial law did not betray the cause of Humanity, inasmuch as he had, as he says, made known in 1822, everything that was necessary to organize an Industrial Phalanx.

However this may be, if it were true with regard to Fourier, that the apprehension of seeing the glory of his discovery stolen from him had made him conceal a more or less essential part of it, the responsibility of such conduct could in no way attach to his disciples; they protected themselves from all obligation in this matter by the austere frankness of the language they addressed to him, and which he himself listened to, though he did not always give a direct answer to the question at the moment.

"You are mistaken," he wrote to Muiron, 15th June, 1831, "in believing that the want of fortune and success have so much embittered me that I wish to refuse my discoveries to the world, but it takes from me the power of communicating them, because my work is greatly cramped by want of fortune."

"You tell me," writes Fourier another time, "to imitate the philanthropists, and to shout truth upon the house-tops! but I should have house-tops on which to shout. Those house-tops are the journals, the lines of which I should have to buy at 120 francs the hundred. When a man can pay, it is easy enough to shout *falsity upon the house-tops.*"

Finally, combating the idea expressed to him that he allowed

himself to be possessed by an exaggerated fear of plagiarism, Fourier replied as follows (7th April, 1831) :

" You suppose that I have a panic terror of plagiarists. It would be foolish not to fear them, since they exist. What would you say of a man who should have no fear of robbers, and should not shut up either clothes, money, or diamonds ? You would consider him a fool and a dupe. We should fear all evils which exist and take precautions against them, without being so frightened as to lose our senses, which you suppose is the case with me. We should speculate with great coolness on the risk and not forget to fortify ourselves in anticipation, as we do not forget to shut up what may be stolen."

Within these limits Fourier's precautions, like those of any other inventor, were doubtless perfectly legitimate.

Independently of the works we have mentioned, to the list of which we ought to add a pamphlet entitled " Mnémonique géographique " (Paris, 1824), Fourier published a great number of articles in the " Phalanstère," or " Réforme industrielle," and some in the new journal of the Societary school, established by M. V. Considerant in 1836.<sup>1</sup>

The first of these publications lasted 18 months. Among other questions which Fourier there treated with details which are not to be found in any of his works, we will mention the " Problem of Repartition," that of the " Guaranties of Property," the " Plan of a trial of the Theory upon five hundred children."

Fourier moreover left numerous manuscripts, the greater part of which is still unedited. These manuscripts are composed of nearly a hundred *cahiers* distributed in series, which the author designates in his references, by the various shades of the coverings he had prepared for them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " La Phalange, Journal de la science sociale."

<sup>2</sup> These manuscripts were bequeathed, by will, to the first disciple, M. Just Muiron; and this gentleman, in order to prevent their ever falling into hostile or indifferent hands, has made Mme. Vigoureux and M. Considerant participate with himself in the precious legacy which had devolved on him from the confidence of the Master. The intention of disposing of his manuscripts as he did, had been announced by Fourier long before. He wrote to Muiron, 31st December, 1829:

Such a quantity of works shows to what a degree Fourier's life was industrious and to what good advantage he spent his time, although he had but short intervals of entire liberty for his scientific and literary labors.

This is the place in which to say a word of his habits of labor. Let us begin with his readings. Fourier had read a good deal in his youth, as is shown by the quite frequent quotations we meet in his writings, both from ancient and modern authors, quotations which he made principally from memory, as he owned but few books. He never thought of recurring to them after he began to bring his Theory into form. The poets appear to have been more sympathetic to him than the prose writers, and among the poets he preferred the painters of manners, those who have censured the prejudices and caprices of Civilization, Horace among the ancients, Molière and Lafontaine among our moderns. He also had a great esteem for Voltaire, whom he blamed only for not having applied the powerful faculties of his mind and his great boldness of thought to seek out the natural method of social relations. "Voltaire," said Fourier, "had quite advanced ideas respecting attraction: the discovery might have fallen to his lot, but he wanted perseverance and allowed himself to be dazzled by the triumphs of wit."

From the moment that Fourier, solely by the strength and boldness of his genius, had found the word of the great enigma of the universe, a work in which books had been of but little assistance to him, he felt a disgust for books, and thenceforth thought only of studying nature herself, in order to finish the calculation of the destinies of which he had the key.

During the last ten or twelve years of his life, he limited himself to passing one or two hours each day in the reading-room of the Rotunda at the Palais-Royal, in order to keep himself

"As an answer to your question, I will tell you that it is my desire, in case I should not otherwise dispose of them by my last will, to have you collect all the manuscripts I shall leave at my decease. I mean to put them in order as soon as I can, as much for my own convenience as for that of any one who may consult them. It is a long labor, because there is a good deal which is superfluous to be suppressed."

informed of the events of the day and of the subjects of discussion stated by the press ; he even remained for a large portion of that time with his eyes fixed on Lebrun's Atlas. As to undertaking any longwinded readings, he quite avoided it ; he had long before given up all idea of seeking in libraries for testimonials in support of his Theory or for materials to complete it. In 1818, he replied to Muiron, who requested him to study certain writings of the theosophists and sages of antiquity : " I shall not lose my time in consulting the books you mention. I have tried these verifications upon certain works from which I derived no assistance." (HH.)

Fourier gave elsewhere in this letter, as well as in some others, the reasons for his disinclination to support himself upon the religious and philosophical authorities ; then, as a touchstone to be applied to authors in order to judge of their accordance with his Theory, he advised him to examine them with reference to the properties or attributes of God : *Universality of providence* ; *Economy of means* ; *Unity of system*.

Now, all, according to him, have refused to acknowledge these essential attributes of God, by not searching for the divine Social Code, and by neglecting to study Passional Attraction applied to industry.

As to his method of reading, Fourier also makes mention of it in one of his letters ; he had to begin at the same time and carry on together the reading of several different works which he took up and laid aside alternately. (II.)

In the composition of his writings, it was still the same ; Fourier always had several works upon the stocks at the same time. According to his inclination of the moment, he put his hand to one or other of them. It was only in his researches for the solution of problems that he was faithless, as it appears, to his favorite method of alternating. To excuse himself for the delay of one of his answers to Muiron, he wrote to him, 20 February, 1818 ; . . . " When I have a problem in my head, it is my custom to let all letters get behindhand, I put off every other business until it is solved." In this sublime labor of production, enthusiasm, the passion which Fourier names *Composite*, took the place of all the

others in him, and was sufficient to sustain the prolonged effort of thought.

This, so to speak, constant preoccupation of the inventor in quest of some solution, explains the distractions to which Fourier was subject. (See Appendix, Q.)

From the time that a question took possession of his mind, it allowed him no rest or truce until he had determined it. Sometimes, when walking with any one, Fourier stopped suddenly, took from his pocket a pencil and a small sheet of paper, on which he traced one or two words or some simple signs in order to fix a thought which had come to him relative to a subject with which he was then engrossed ; then he resumed his conversation at the point where he had interrupted it. Thus the interior working of his brain upon the problem sought for, continued ; his thought was in some sort dualized, and in those moments there was never more than one half of it which took part in the conversation or in what was going on around him.

A still further effect of these preoccupations was that Fourier, when walking in the streets, habitually talked to himself almost aloud ; which caused him to be noticed and to be considered by the unreflecting crowd as an individual of extreme eccentricity and almost as a crazy man. Those persons on the contrary, who had been in a connexion in any degree intimate with him and who could appreciate the justness of his coup d'œil in everything, were far from having such an opinion of him ; they admired the certainty of his judgment not less than the universality of his knowledge.

Fourier related that he had passed even six or seven consecutive nights without sleep, when he was in that state of violent intellectual tension which accompanied his grand discoveries, or in the intoxication of joy and sublime pride which followed success. But he generally composed his works during the hours of daylight.

At least, at the period when we knew him, Fourier never wrote at night. He placed himself at his desk about six or seven o'clock in the morning. After an application usually of two hours, sometimes of less duration, and of three at most, he went out, took a turn, then came back at the end of half an hour or an hour to

resume his writing for the space of two hours more, after which there was another promenade, then resumption of labor, and so on.

When we were publishing the "Réforme industrielle," if we happened to be short of matter for the next day's paper, Fourier was always ready to furnish wherewithal to fill the space.<sup>1</sup> He had reflected so much upon all things relating to the mechanism of Society, that he was never in want of a subject to write upon; his memory was so good that the results of his reflections and former observations were always present to him.

How had the inventor of the Social Science acquired so many different notions about the good or bad practices of every trade? By means of observing and questioning. In whatever place and with whatever kind of persons he might chance to find himself, especially if these persons were of the people, Fourier always had a quantity of questions to ask; he wished to know everything that concerned the kind of life and the professional specialty of those with whom he was conversing. Was he, for instance, at the house of one of his friends, in the country? he was continually to be found with the gardener, the vinedresser, the housekeeper, conferring with them respecting the occupations of each. He knew, moreover, how to avoid being importunate, or in any way awakening the sometimes quite distrustful susceptibility of the class of persons among whom he went to seek information, and whose confidence and affection he gained by his benevolent good nature, by the judicious and piquant simplicity of his conversation.

However valuable was his time, Fourier never refused a visit; he held himself constantly at the disposition of all those who came to ask of him information respecting his Theory. During the last ten years of his life, which were passed almost entirely at Paris, he made it a rule always to return home at noon; this

<sup>1</sup> Here is a sentence of Fourier, which proves that this kind of work was, in fact, very easy to him: "When I tell you that M. Julien" (then director of the "Revue encycl.") "has asked me for an article on Guaran-tism, it is fully understood that I shall send it to him. I shall never refuse articles to newspaper editors; they cost me nothing." (Letter of the 11 May, 1828.

was the hour of rendezvous which he had indicated to the candidates, that is the persons who, possessing the means of fortune or of influence necessary to attempt a trial of the method of Industrial Association, might wish to come to an understanding with him for that purpose. The man of science was every day without fail exact at the rendezvous ; but the man of money, the favorite of fortune, never made his appearance. This trait, which depicts Fourier admirably, has been noticed by Beranger, the noble poet. (See JJ.)

We have not sufficiently mentioned how good, obliging, and delicate Fourier showed himself, under all circumstances.

No trouble was too great when he could render a service. When Muiron lost his place, in 1823, Fourier went a great many times to the office of the minister of the interior, to hasten a decision relative to the liquidation of deductions which had been made in the salaries of those employed in the prefecture of Doubs, and his correspondence on this subject presents more than one piquant trait.

"Your letter," he wrote to Muiron, 12 March, 1824, "has been given to M. Hogguer, because he is more just than M. P \*\*\* \*, who is a shameless ministerialist, one of those beings who would rob father and mother to make his court to the minister."

"Moreover," he adds further on, "the ministerialists of the Escobar stamp are by no means so stupid as you believe. They are people who wish to rob, and who, for want of sensible reasons, give ridiculous ones ; and on this very account they can only be restrained by the intervention of some exalted personage, like M. Chiflet, whom they do not dare to treat from the height of their importance. But to an unknown like myself they reply by their nonsensical talk about encroachment on the royal prerogative, or the sums to be *discounted* on the deductions made in the case of the employés of the prefecture."

When he was already of an age when courses in a city like Paris are very painful to any one who cannot take a carriage, in 1833 and 34, Fourier went seven or eight times in succession to the office of the minister of war and to the chancery of the legion

of honor, on account of the claims of some old soldiers who were not personally known to him. Certainly, he would not have been the man to take the quarter part of this trouble on his own account, for no one was worse calculated for a solicitor.

Other more touching traits of Fourier's goodness have been revealed to us since his death by a person who knew him well. (LL.)

His delicacy was extreme in small things as in great. After four or five years of constant correspondence with Muiron, having had occasion to write him for a power of attorney which he required, Fourier said : " As this letter is about my own private business, you will not be offended if I frank it."

The advances which had been made to him, even for the propagation of his theory, and by his friends and most intimate adherents, were considered by him as personal obligations.

" You are astonished," he writes to Muiron, 17th February, 1832, " that I speak of my debts. I do not forget them, and I shall hasten to satisfy them if fortune favors me. Whatever you may say, I consider as a debt everything that should be looked upon as such."

At a period several years previous to that just referred to, when he was reminded of a bill for printing, a part of which remained unsettled, Fourier, after having explained how the resources on which he had depended for payment had failed him, added as follows : " I, who never gamble, have put into the lottery three times since I received that letter."

Fourier's correspondence is wholly in a very handsome, and very clear, and especially a very bold hand. (See the *fac-simile* at the beginning of the volume.) The indications of dates, of references, &c., are there given with an exactness and clearness which leave nothing to be desired. If he writes on the day of a religious solemnity, Fourier usually takes care to designate it; for example, he dates thus : " Lyons, 1st April, 1825, Good Friday." He says another time : " I am still getting on a little with my work. I had done half on the day of Pentecost; I am at  $\frac{4}{8}$ ths." (Letter of 28th May, 1825.) " My preface was to

have been finished at Candlemas ; but when a work is finished, one finds defects, &c., in it." (12th February, 1828.)

There is one fact in the life of Fourier which we are obliged to leave in total darkness, for want of information : it is that which has reference to relations in love.<sup>1</sup> It is easily seen, however, by the touching solicitude, by the tender and profound sympathy with which the discoverer of the societary world applies himself to the lot of women and to all their circumstances, that *love had passed there* ; and we have reason to believe that, in this order of relations even more than in any other, Fourier displayed all the delicate and ingenuous goodness of his soul so full of benevolent indulgence, of uprightness and equity.

"There is a great distance," he remarked, "between gallantry

<sup>1</sup> It does not escape our notice that the regret we express may make more than one reader smile. We are not accustomed in our day, in the biography of grave personages judged worthy of history, to take account of the love connexions they may have formed, when they have not been consecrated and sealed by the legal rite. As for us, who, without wishing to censure established usages, or *authentic* morals, attach importance to everything that manifests the man, we sincerely and seriously regret this gap in the life of Fourier. We regret it the more, because the conduct of a man towards women is, perhaps, in our opinion, that which can best give the measure of his real morality, and because in every case this conduct at least furnishes a means of appreciation which is not to be despised if we wish to know the exact value of a man.

In the present state of society, under the empire of the very dissimilar industrial, and civil conditions which it presents for each of the two sexes, by the very influence of public opinion so indulgent to one, so severe to the other, the position of a man and that of a woman are still so unequal ; so many wrongs, injustices, cold and cruel meannesses, so many real crimes, in fine, may with impunity be committed by the first with reference to the second, in relations of love, that he, who having enjoyed the society of women, should never have anything wherewith to reproach himself in regard to them, would justly deserve to be cited as a very rare example of high and honorable courtesy. Well ! we are convinced that Fourier would have had nothing to fear from the application of the following rule, which he announced would prevail in the equitable societies of the future : "The conduct of a man is scrutinized when he presents himself as a postulant. Inconstancy is not considered a crime, for it has its usefulness in Harmony ; but it is ascertained if, in his different love relations, he has constantly given proof of deference for women and of loyalty towards them." ("Traité de l'Association," vol. iv., p. 224.)

and equity ;" and it is especially with this last feeling that he wished men to be inspired towards women. Is it not the same feeling of justice which animated Jesus, when taking under his protection the adulterous woman, he said to the Jews, furious in their morality, who wished to stone that unfortunate : " Let him among you who is not guilty cast the first stone." (MM.)

Always compassionate as regards everything that women, in the various situations of their life, have to suffer from the fact of our social arrangements, our laws, and our customs, Fourier also said : " There is nothing more revolting than to see those unfortunate girls neglected because they have not the weight of gold in their favor, and these are often the most beautiful, the most distinguées, the most capable of directing a household. (" Théor. des quatre Mouvements," p. 198.)

When in the company of ladies, no one could surpass him in courteous attentions, always free, however, from insipidities and flattery. Of whatever rank were the women whom he met, Fourier, from nature, as much as from principle, displayed to them a peculiar affability and complaisance, a respectful and amiable deference, as in his writings he everywhere testifies a lively interest in the cause and in the rights of women. There he never allows an opportunity to escape, of showing that they have often been superior to men in the very qualities which are most commonly denied to them. Never did the author of the " Théorie des quatre mouvements " and of the " Unité universelle " display more power, or exhibit more indignation, than when he exclaimed against the state of dependence and degradation in which civilization, that is the parcelled household, retains women : never did he show more irony and more contempt for the philosophers, than when he reproaches them for the injustice of their judgments with regard to women, whom they always either deprecate or forget in their social speculations.

" Harmony," remarks Fourier, " will not, like ourselves, commit the error of excluding women from medicine and teaching, in order to confine them to sewing and the kitchen. It will know that Nature distributes to both sexes, in equal proportion, an aptitude for the arts and sciences, allowing for a proper division of the kinds ; a taste for the sciences being more specially assigned

to men, and that for the arts more specially to women, in an approximative proportion of

" Men,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ds to the sciences,  $\frac{1}{3}$ d to the arts ;

" Women,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ds to the arts,  $\frac{1}{3}$ d to the sciences.

" Thus, the philosophers who wish tyrannically to exclude one sex from any employment, are to be compared to those wicked colonists of the Antilles, who, after having brutified by punishments, their negroes already brutified by a barbarous education, pretend that those negroes are not on a level with the human race. The opinion of philosophers about women is as just, as that of the colonists about negroes.<sup>1</sup> ("N. Monde Ind.," pp. 235-6.)

Fourier's sentiments in favor of women were not based on that stupid, or even more properly, selfish illusion of moralism, which consists in seeing in each of them a type of the virtues required by the civilized state, that is, a tender mother (uniting prudence and enlightenment with tenderness), a chaste and faithful wife, a perfect housekeeper, an enemy to dress, to pleasures, and intrigue. No one better than he perceived all the falsification which is occasioned in women by the false medium in which they are placed. The more delicate and rich a nature is, the more, in fact, must it feel the deleterious effects of causes which oppose its normal development. In this respect, the constraint suffered by woman in our Societies is, at least, three-fold that which weighs upon man : must we be astonished then, if her precious natural qualities are often turned into crafty art, into more subtle methods of beguiling and deceiving, and that so many treasures placed by the hand of God in the heart of woman, treasures which ask only to be freely diffused, in order to secure the happy-

<sup>1</sup> Here, as in the other passages of Fourier's works where the philosophers are referred to, we must not forget to mention that there are exceptions to whom his criticisms are not applicable. Voltaire, for instance, the patriarch of the philosophy of the XVIII. century, was far from having an unfavorable opinion of the artistic and other qualities of women. He wrote, 18th October, 1736, to Berger, one of his correspondents, respecting the success of an opera which was attributed to a woman : " If an opera by a woman succeeds, I am delighted ; it is a proof in favor of my little system, that women are capable of all we do, and that the only difference between them and us is, that they are more amiable."

ness of all that surround her, are consequently changed into impure scoriæ or perfidious poisons?

But Fourier took good care not to make the perversion of the most brilliant qualities of woman, an argument against her native goodness.

"It is evident," says he, "that women, compressed in every direction, have no resource but falsity. The wrong falls back upon the persecuting sex, and upon civilization, which, in love as in politics, subjects the weak to the strong." ("Tr. de l'Assoc.," vol. iv., p. 219.)

With regard to women, Fourier reasoned as he did with regard to children in the following lines:

"A child seems to you filled with vices because he is gluttonous, quarrelsome, capricious, unruly, insolent, curious, and unmanageable; that child is the most perfect of all; he is the one who will be most ardent at labor in the combined order. As for the present, I acknowledge that this child is quite insupportable, and I say as much of all children; but I will not acknowledge that there is any one vicious; their pretended vices are the work of nature—" ("Théorie des quatre Mouvements.")

The task which Fourier imposed on himself was precisely, to turn to use, for the advantage of social good, this work of Nature, and to *employ man such as God has been pleased to create him.*

If, as says an ancient, *it belongs only to the soul to penetrate other souls*, who can be mentioned that was superior or equal to Fourier in this respect? Who, so well as he, had a consciousness of all the wants, of all the feelings of humanity?

Three classes of individuals especially excited the solicitude of the Socialist; women, children, slaves, and, we might add, old men, around whom he assembled, in the Phalanstery, so many compensations for the advantages of which the hand of time deprives them.

Nothing can be more prudent and more wise, moreover, than the course indicated by Fourier for the gradual emancipation of the classes, still held in a more or less strict dependence, under a yoke more or less heavy, and he seriously remonstrated with the reformers who wished to hurry matters in this respect.

"All these new regenerators," said he, "Owen, St. Simon, and

others, are strongly inclined to speculate on the emancipation of women: they do not know that before making any change in the system established in relations of love, many years will be required to create several guaranties which do not exist, and first for the extirpation of the syphilitic and psoric diseases from the whole globe; on another hand the modifications in the regime of love will be applicable only to a polished generation, educated entirely in the new order, and faithful to certain laws of honor and delicacy which the civilians make a jest of violating. In France, they applaud a man who deceives wives and husbands; the manners of the civilians in love are a cess-pool of vices and duplicity: a generation formed to such habits would only abuse an extension of liberty in love.

"And when the admission of these liberties might be desirable in reference to fortune and habits, they will be introduced only *by degrees*. Each of the liberties will be allowed only when it shall have been voted, over the whole globe, by the fathers and husbands; then it will be thought useful. The effect of these liberties will be to co-operate to the charm of labor, to the increase of production, and to the reign of loyal manners; but, in civilization, only the three opposite effects would be produced.

"At the commencement of societary harmony, there will be much more pleasing attractions for women than this license promised by Owen and St. Simon.<sup>1</sup> In the first place the felicity of marriages, which will be favored in every way by attractive industry. A father will no longer fear that his son-in-law may become dissipated, nor that the family may want the necessaries of life: the expenses of the combined and graduated household will be very small; children will cost nothing to their fathers at any age.

"Far from suppressing marriage, two new charms will be added to it, by freeing it from the cares of housekeeping, and by establishing in it the scale of bonds, a distinction in a septenary degree; it is certain that the bond is stronger between those couples who have children than between those who have not." ("Pièg. et charl. des deux sectes S.S. et O.", p. 53, et seq.)

<sup>1</sup> This must be understood of certain continuers of St. Simon, rather than of St. Simon himself. (Note of the author of the *Biography*.)

In Fourier's writings we find twenty passages in which he insists, in a no less formal manner, upon the delays, and upon all the preliminary conditions required, in view of the economical and moral state of society, for the admission of liberty in love. Has any one the right, after this, to impute to him, on this point more than on any other, revolutionary processes, or the character of a blind and improvident demolisher?

The emancipation of woman can result only from an organization of industry, in which there shall be, as well as for men, a place for her, and even for her child, with whom her lot is so intimately connected. Material independence, by means of lucrative functions, is the indispensable preliminary of every advance of woman towards affective and civil liberty.

As to children, the system of education traced by Fourier is generally acknowledged to be the most admirable portion of his work, and the least open to dispute. Nothing flattered him more in this respect than the testimony of mothers of families who had themselves brought up their children. A lady, who was in this position, on seeing Fourier for the first time, having opened the conversation by congratulating him on the exactness of his observations in whatever relates to children : "Ah! ha!" cried Fourier, with visible satisfaction, "you also; you think that I have seen truly, that it is indeed so." And thereupon the conversation continued in a tone of intimacy between Fourier and the lady, whom he had at first received quite coldly.

As to the slaves, their lot interested Fourier from the very beginning of his labors, and one of the results of his Theory which he never failed to mention, was the abolition of slavery over the whole earth, with the entire free-will, and for the advantage of the masters themselves. (NN.)

A life wholly consecrated to the service of humanity was abridged by the very ardor with which it was devoted to that great and holy cause.

Fourier had not a strong constitution: quite frequent indispositions hindered or entirely suspended his labors.

Respecting one of these indispositions more prolonged than

usual, which he experienced in 1829, Fourier wrote under date of 30th August, of that year :

" I have hardly worked any for some time ; my mind is like the summer, in complete vacation. I have recovered but slowly from my fever. It is only within two days that I have begun to eat potatoes. I had taken an aversion to them, which is a great sign of derangement in my animal functions, for when in health I prefer potatoes to the best dishes.<sup>1</sup> I now hope that September

<sup>1</sup> Certain tastes, certain gastronomic repugnances of Fourier are too well known to those who have read his works, to permit our omitting to say something of them here. Who does not remember, for instance, what a whim he had about that unfortunate vermicelli, which he called old rancid glue, or the English cookery with its melted floods of butter, its meats almost raw, its barely warmed vegetables, a real cookery of savages, he said !

Fourier's aversion for the badly baked bread and the adulterated wine which are served in the Paris restaurants, prevailed to such a degree, that he usually carried his bread and wine with him when he went there to dine. " Since 1826 " (says he, " Nouv. Monde," p. 299), " the Paris bakers and pastry cooks only half bake their dough. Must I tell the secret of this monstrosity ? It is because half baked pastes retain more water, are heavier, and keep better in case of poor sales. This half baking serves the interest of the shopkeepers, but not that of the consumers."

Fourier knew how to appreciate good food, and showed himself not unworthy to have had the celebrated Brillat-Savarin as a companion on his first journey. It was not recherché dishes that pleased him ; he preferred to them simple, even common food, provided it was perfectly prepared ; in this respect he was rather difficult. He eat moderately, and did not like long sittings at table more than elsewhere.

In the matter of wines, Fourier had also an excellent taste. At dinner, he willingly did honor to a good and generous wine of the Jura or of Bourgogne, nor did he disdain to derive therefrom a slight degree of gaiety. He never took either coffee or liqueurs, except indeed a little brandy when it was pure and of good quality. Although, for a hygienic reason, and, as would be said in medical language, in consequence of a certain idiosyncrasy, Fourier abstained from the use of coffee, this production was nevertheless one of those which he willingly praised, and in reference to discoveries due to a lucky chance, he liked to recall the fact that the agreeably stimulant properties of this vegetable were revealed to us by the condition it produced in the goats which had browsed it on the plains of Arabia. Tea, on the contrary, could find no favor with Fourier. " It is their Anglomania again," said he, speaking of the Parisians, " which has induced to them to proscribe the good dishes of their country at break-

will be less sterile than August, and from to-morrow I mean to resume my occupations and customary doses of labor, which my sickness had compelled me to reduce."

The hopes of the convalescent were, in a measure, disappointed, for on the 31st October following, he wrote again :

" Since the 18th I have again been so ill, that on Monday, 26th, the day of the king's review, I was unable to think of going there, although I could have taken an omnibus before my door, and had a great desire to see the manœuvres of the artillery, which is organized according to the new method."

This leads us to speak of Fourier's taste for parades and military manœuvres. He was so fond of these spectacles, which presented to him an image of order, of unity, the first necessity of his nature, that, like the children, he would accompany a regiment marching with music at its head, and every morning, while he lived at Paris, he went to the Tuileries to be present at mounting guard. He enjoyed an extreme pleasure in musical execution : not, however, that he did not find much to reform in the actual composition of military orchestras. He regretted among other things the absence of the kettle-drum and hautbois. He would have wished also that there should be established for the army a conservatory of music, an institution made necessary, he said, by the disorder which prevails in the musical portion of the greater part of our regiments.

Returning to what refers to Fourier's health, we will say that it experienced quite a severe shock in 1831. " I have been very ill," he wrote under date of 7th June, " and I am not wholly recovered. I have had this new disease called cholericine, grippe, cramp, &c. ; I passed five nights without being able to sleep a moment."

While I was with him in 1833, Fourier had some colds, some fast, and to replace them with a villainous mixture called tea, a drug with which the English are forced to be satisfied, because they have no good wine, nor good fruits, at least without an enormous expense. They are reduced to tea like sick people, and to butter like children." ("Nouv. Monde," p. 300.)

For some other peculiarities of the same character, see note PP., gathered from conversations with one of Fourier's sisters.

troubles in the intestinal functions. When, at that time, in my quality as a physician, I ventured to give him some advice as to what he had better do, respecting the regime it would be proper for him to follow, Fourier allowed me to speak, and even listened to me with an apparent inclination to abide by my counsel ; but this was only, I presume, not to disoblige me, for he had an absolute scepticism respecting our present system of medicine : thus he went his own way afterwards, none the less.

The bitter vexation he experienced at not being able to try the application of his Theory, the vanishing of some of the chances on which he had counted for that purpose, had an unfavorable influence upon his health, and doubtless hastened the end of the great man.

Fourier's health had begun to decline very sensibly since the year 1835. His condition was much aggravated during the winter of 1836-7. The fine weather brought only a temporary amelioration, soon followed by fresh relapses, which more and more exhausted the strength of the patient. Nevertheless, it was not until towards the autumn of the last mentioned year that he was so reduced as to keep his chamber and bed.

Vainly then did those persons who felt a filial veneration and tenderness for the illustrious old man endeavor to surround him with all the attentions his situation required. He showed himself obstinately rebellious to all their attempts, to all their offers. He could never be induced to leave the small apartment he occupied, rue Saint-Pierre-Montmartre, for a more convenient lodging, which was offered to him at Mme. Vigoureux, or at Mme. de B\*\*\*'s. It was with great difficulty, and by surprise in some sort, that he could be made to accept the most ordinary attentions. He showed no greater docility towards the physicians who saw him. One was Dr. Léon Simon, who tried some homœopathic remedies ; the other Dr. Chaplain, who had been Fourier's friend for several years.

Never would the patient, even when in extremity, consent that any one should stay and watch with him. He opposed it with all the strength of his will, which, as well as his understanding, he preserved in full force to the last moment. "I do not require any

watcher," replied he, "I like to be alone ; I do not wish to give trouble."

It was only with great difficulty that he was induced to allow his portress to go up to his room frequently. This woman, whom we ought to name here, because she conducted herself with zeal and devotedness, Mme. Delahaye, went from hour to hour, from five in the morning until midnight, to inform herself of the condition of the patient.

On the 8th and 9th October, there was a slight appearance of improvement. The portress left him at midnight of this last day : he spoke to her as usual, and said good night. When she went up the next day at five in the morning, he had ceased to live. He was found dressed in his frock-coat, kneeling, and supported on the side of his bed. He had died in making an effort to return to it.

Mme. Vigoureux and M. Considerant came at once, on being informed that *M. Fourier was very poorly*. It was only on their arrival in the court that they learned he was dead.

Both went up. . . . M. Considerant replaced the body in the bed ; afterwards Mme. Vigoureux, who, the first among women, had understood the phalansterian doctrine, came and closed the eyes of the dead. For one moment she wished to believe that he was not dead, for the face she touched was not yet cold.<sup>1</sup>

Thus died, without having been able to obtain a trial of his Theory ; thus died, poor, misunderstood by the crowd, and as if unperceived by that official world which nevertheless says that it is always in quest and in labor of ameliorations, the man of the great social discovery, the revealer of human destiny upon the Earth !

Those disciples of Fourier who were present at Paris paid the last duties to his body with pious respect. They took a religious care in preserving all that could be preserved of the mortal remains of the Master, and in fixing by the processes of science and art the features, the bust, the cerebral conformation of the great man.

<sup>1</sup> These circumstances are mentioned in a letter addressed to Fourier's sisters by Mme. Vigoureux and M. Considerant. The letter was inserted in the "Phalange," 2d October, 1837.

The obsequies took place on the 11th October at the church of the Petits-Pères. A select crowd attended in deep concentration, and afterwards accompanied the body to the Montmartre cemetery: There M. Considerant pronounced a discourse which summed up in a striking manner the whole life of Fourier, and which produced a strong impression upon the assembly, composed for the most part of artists and literary men. After him M. Philippe Hauger spoke, and concluded his address by reading a piece in verse by M. Auguste Demesmay, which happily characterizes Fourier's great work. Finally, M. Rienzi said a few words respecting the ingratitude of France towards its great men. (O.O.)

The body was afterwards deposited in the earth, enclosed in a coffin of lead, covered with one of oak. A simple stone marks the place of sepulture; on it is the following inscription:

Here are deposited the Remains  
of  
**CHARLES FOUREIR.**

THE SERIES DISTRIBUTES THE HARMONIES.  
ATTRACTI0NS ARE PROPORTIONAL TO DESTINIES.

THE SERIES DISTRIBUTES THE HARMONIES.  
ATTRACTIONS ARE PROPORTIONAL TO DESTINIES.

These propositions may seem enigmas to those who are not acquainted with the Theory of Fourier; but to those who understand it, they are a complete summary, and present, as it were, the two poles of the system.

## A P P E N D I X.

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(A.)—*Page 6.*

*Information and copies of documents relating to the family of Fourier.*

The record of the qualification of the consular judges of Besançon for the year 1776, contains the following:

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, on the eleventh of May, in our hotel and before us messire Jean-Claude-Nicolas Perreney de Grosbois, knight, councillor of the king in his councils, first president of the parliament of Franche-Comté, have appeared the sieurs Charles Fourrier, judge, Agniel, first consul, and Pierre Lamy, second consul; who, in accordance with the election made of their persons, the present year, as judge, first and second consuls of the consular court of this city for the present year, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, have taken at our hands the required and customary oath; wherefore we have given to them and have published the present act, which we have signed at the said Besançon, the year, day and month above mentioned. *Signed*—Perreney de Grosbois."

The original is written upon parchment.

We have found, in an old family paper, a copy of the record of the births of the four Fourrier children:

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

"At Besançon, this 20th March, 1767, was born into the world, at nine o'clock in the evening, Marie-Antoinette-Françoise, daughter of Charles Fourrier, merchant, of Dampierre-sur-Salon, dwelling at Besançon, and of Marie Muguet, of Villefranche in Beaujolais, dwelling also at Besançon. Her godfather was François Muguet, the elder, her uncle, a merchant at said Besançon, and her godmother was Antoinette Bouchard, wife of M. Lamy, a merchant at said Besançon."

Then follow the records of the births of the two other sisters of Fourier, Jeanne-Claude-Lubine, born 14th March, 1768, and Antoinette-Gabrielle-Sophie, born 9th January, 1771.

The following is what we find respecting Fourier himself:

"Is born into the world Fran<sup>c</sup>ois-Charles-Marie Fourrier; his godfather was his dear uncle, Fran<sup>c</sup>ois Muguet, the younger, and his godmother was his sister Mariette, the oldest. He came into the world at six o'clock in the morning, 7th April, 1772."

There is false extract from the record of Fourier's birth given at Besançon, 18 frimaire, year VIII, and which places his birth on the 7th April, 1768. The impossibility of such a date is evident, since Fourier's second sister was born on the 14th March, of that same year, 1768.

The first mention we find of young Charles Fourier, is in a letter from his father, dated 8th February, 1773, and addressed to *Mme. Fourier, négociante à Dampierre-sur-Salon*. This was a sister of M. Fourier, the father; she kept a cloth-store at Dampierre, where she died in the year IX, leaving her property to her nephew and nieces.

In this letter of 8th February, 1773, after some details of accounts, M. Fourier, the father, added as follows:

"I am very glad that my little Lubine is well and that she is growing: tell her that I will soon come and see her, and that I will bring little bub with me; but she must be very good and very obedient to her grandmamma and aunties," &c.

For the sake of exactness we must say that this billet is very badly spelt in the original, and that consequently Fourier's father was not well educated.

Although belonging to a family of rich merchants, his mother, according to the custom of that time, had received but very little instruction; she was very pious, very economical, and especially a great enemy to dress. Fourier's two younger sisters had gone to spend the winter of 1788-1789 at Belley, with their eldest, wife of M. Rubat, who died sub-prefect of that city under the empire. The following is what one of them, Mlle. Lubine, afterwards Mme. Clerc, wrote from Belley to her mother:

"We have received your letter, my dear mother, or to speak more properly, the most decided lecture; on the day when you wrote that letter, I am sure you must have seen somebody who prejudiced you against fine dress." (Here she replies to some detailed remarks about *small shoes* and other articles of dress blamed by her mother, then continues thus:

"As for me, the older I grow the more satisfied am I that every one should follow one's own taste in all these trifles; for they are not of the least consequence. In the first place, those persons, I think, who have a pretty little foot endeavor to show it by small shoes, and I believe that nobody can prevent them. Besides, nothing but the idea of

being contradicted gives a desire to do those things ; for since I have been here, I have not had so many fancies, I get good shoes made without thinking about anything else, and when I am at Besançon, I feel a great desire to have small shoes. It is certain it would be much better for us never to live together, than to be always disputing as we used to be ; as for myself I have no longer any inclination to be scolded, I have lost the habit ; I like to be here on that very account, and I should prefer to live here always rather than to be scolded a single time ; I believe it is because I am getting old, and the longer one lives, the more one wishes to be one's own mistress.

"It seems to me that I do not reply very well to your good remarks, but it is better to speak as one thinks ; this does not prevent me from greatly respecting everything you say to me.

"I am glad that Mlle. \*\*\*\* has found a husband who unites virtue with good looks and riches ; but I really think that the ribbons we put on our heads will not prevent us from doing as well.

"My sister had a miscarriage a fortnight since ; she is doing quite well at present. M. Rubat is at Talisseux to-day ; he has finished his meetings, and he has had hard work ; they wished to contest his right of presiding over the assembly, but the keeper of the seals, from whom he received his orders, reiterated them, and he continued his operations. I could tell you a great deal more about the States-general, but it is better to tell you that Sophie and myself have agreed to ask for a pretty dress of cotton, or something similar, with steel buttons, for our cloth dresses are pretty well worn ; we have worn nothing else all winter with our muslin dresses, and not a particle of white in order to follow your wishes.

"My dear mama,

I kiss you, and am, with deep respect, your daughter,

LUBINE F."

We have copied this letter because it is characteristic as regards Mme. Fourrier the mother : it shows what were the influences which Fourier encountered in his family, and may also explain to us why he did not neglect oratorical precautions, when he sent home his accounts of expenses, as we shall see hereafter.

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(B.) *Page 7.*

*The will of M. Fourrier the father.*

In the name of God, amen. I the undersigned, CHARLES FOURRIER, merchant, dwelling at Besançon, desiring to dispose of my property,

after having recommended my soul to God, have made my solemn testament as follows:

I leave the care of my obsequies and of offering prayers to God for the repose of my soul, to dame Marie Muguet, my dear wife, trusting that she will acquit herself piously therein.

I name and institute as my heirs universal, Charles Fourrier, my only son, and Marie, Lubine and Sophie Fourrier, my three daughters, to wit: the said Charles Fourrier, my son, in two fifths of the property I shall leave, and the said Marie, Lubine and Sophie, each in another fifth of the said property.

I give and bequeath to the said dame Muguet, my wife, the usufruct of all my property, during her natural life, but under the conditions hereinafter announced, to wit:

1st. That in case my daughters shall make fitting marriages with the consent of the said dame their mother and with that of their guardians, curators or relations, my said wife shall be obliged to surrender to them the usufruct of half of what each of their fifths in my property shall have amounted to, and on the day of their marriage.

2d. That my said wife shall in like manner be obliged to surrender to Charles Fourrier, my son, the usufruct and enjoyment of one third of what shall belong to him in my property, if, being fully twenty years old, he carries on business on his own account, or is interested in any partnership; that she shall in like manner be obliged to surrender to him a second third of said usufruct, if, having attained the age of twenty-five years, and being engaged in commerce, my son shall be married; finally, that she shall be obliged to surrender to him the remainder of said usufruct as soon as he shall have completed thirty years; that if, on the contrary, my said son should not determine to engage in commerce, in this latter case my said wife should be obliged to surrender to him the half of said usufruct, but only when he shall have attained the age of thirty full years: the surplus of the said usufruct shall remain at the free disposal of my said wife, with charge to her, in all the cases above mentioned, and that she shall enjoy my said property, to educate and support my children according to their state and condition; in the case that my said wife should contract a second marriage, I deprive her, from the day of said marriage, of the usufruct of said property.

As I foresee that, in consequence of the nature and kind of my property, it will be indispensable to make an inventory thereof, I wish this to be done by two merchants who shall be agreed upon and named at a meeting of the family.

I revoke all other testaments I may heretofore have made : I wish the present only to be good and to stand.

I declare that the said present testament has been written at length at my request, by M. Jean-Antoine Poulet, king's counsellor, and according as I dictated the arrangements ; and the said notary Poulet having read it to me, having read it myself, I have found it conformable to my intentions, wherefore I have signed it with the said notary, at my residence in Besançon, this 15th July, 1781.

Signed à la minute, Charles Fourrier, and Poulet, notary.

We have before us an extract from the inventory of the estate of M. Fourrier the father ; but we find in a memorial made for Mme. Fourrier the widow, against citizen Pion, who had been her partner after the death of her husband, a summary statement of the property left by the latter ; we quote a passage of this memorial :

“ By a will of 15th July, 1781, my husband made a wise division of his property among his children ; he bequeathed its usufruct to me with charge to remit it to them at different periods.

“ The fortune of which the management was intrusted to me and in which I had a part, consisted of merchandise, active debts of every kind, notes, cash, furniture of the house and store.

“ The rule required that a judicial inventory should be made of it ; citizen Pion, my brother-in-law, the uncle of my children, acquainted moreover with the kind of business which my husband had carried on must necessarily have a part in this ; he was one of the relatives whom the family meeting appointed to be present.

“ This inventory, begun on the 23d July, was completed and finished on the 7th of August following ; it shows an effective credit of 200,517 livres, 4 sols, 3 deniers, deduction having been made of all liabilities, and without including any debts which were doubtful or considered bad, amounting to 53,906 livres, 15 sols, 6 deniers.

“ My marriage contract being one of joint property, I demanded a liquidation of my claims and rights ; this was granted me, and my personal credit having been fixed at 91,063 livres, 7 sols, 11 deniers, my children's patrimony was found to amount to 109,454 livres, 17 sols, 1 denier.

“ Ought I to continue the business, would it be better to sell in bulk, to invest in real estate or stocks ? This idea engrossed me as soon as it was possible for me to think of my children's interest and my own.

“ My irresolution did not last long. Citizen Pion proposed a partnership to me ; I accepted it.

“ The judicial inventory was completed on the 7th August, 1781 ; on

## APPENDIX.

the 26th of the same month, I found myself in partnership with my brother-in-law; in September following all my fortune, excepting my furniture, and all that of my children, were in his power."

(C.) Page 9.

*A confession of Fourier when a child, related by himself.*  
The following is the curious passage to which we have alluded; it is found in the still unpublished manuscripts of Fourier:

"Civilized education is full of these ridiculous precepts, for which the pedants ought to be strapped and not the children; I submit it to every man of sense: what an incongruity in undertaking in a catechism to talk with children about adultery, fornication, sodomy! The more curious of those children will not fail to inquire about these mystical enigmas, and woe, if they find persons foolish enough to give them too precise information!"

"Moreover, children are threatened with burning eternally, if they conceal any sin; they are made to believe that the most just man sins seven times a day; they are distracted by terror. At seven years old, I was well terrified by the fear of those braziers and those boiling cauldrons; I was carried from sermon to sermon, from novena to novena, so much that at last, terrified by the threats of the preachers and the dreams of boiling cauldrons which beset me every night, I resolved to confess a quantity of sins of which I understood nothing, and which I feared I had committed without knowing it; I thought it was better to confess some too many than to omit any one. Thereupon I classed in litany all these sins which were incomprehensible to me, such as fornication, and went to recite them to the abbé Cornier, vicar of St. Peter's, church of the Annonciades. I first went over the small current sins, such as having missed my prayer; then I entered upon the list which was enigmatical to me, and accused myself of incontinence (I was seven). 'You don't know what you say,' replies the vicar. I stop, a little confused. 'Come, go on, finish.' I continue, and I say: 'I accuse myself with having committed simony!' 'Ah! simony! pooh! you are talking nonsense!' I, quite embarrassed, endeavor to cast the blame upon another, and reply: 'They told me to confess that at home.' A fresh gesture of impatience on the part of the pious vicar, a fresh lecture: 'You are a little liar, nobody told you so.' I here finished my learned confession, and the vicar, it seems to me, was very wrong to be vexed; it was only something to laugh at. A child even years old accusing himself of simony! If he had allowed me to go on to the end, I should have related all kinds of crimes, fornication,

adultery, sodomy, in fine everything I had found incomprehensible in the catechism; I was resolved to accuse myself of everything, rather than omit any sin which might plunge me into gehenna." ]

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(D.) *Page 10.*

*Extract of a letter from M. Martinon to Mme. Fourrier the widow.*

At Paris, 21st October, 1785.

I knew that your son did very well in his classes, and that he gained prizes every year; you wish to place him at Paris, in the same college with your nephew Muguet, and you consult me thereupon.

All young persons are not M. Felix Muguet; many leave our colleges, having for all merit only a great deal of presumption, and unwilling to apply themselves except to the sciences and belles-lettres, in which they do nothing.

In all the colleges, there are holidays when the young people go promenade, conducted by a preceptor; this promenade gives them the opportunity of making many acquaintances; are they all good? so much the better, but I have proof of the contrary; Paris is the source of good and of evil.

M. Felix had obtained prizes in his studies at Besançon. On arriving at Paris he repeated the course he had just gone through; in spite of this, he was among the lowest in composition; if your son wished to preserve the same superiority, he should go over one course again, which would put him back two years.

He has indicated to you a desire to study logic and physics; this is not necessary for a merchant; you think he has a taste for business, I fear the contrary.

I advise you not to trammel your son, let him take what profession he may please; having made the choice himself, he will have nothing to reproach you with; if you compel him to take a profession which he does not like, he will quit it and reproach you with having used constraint towards him. We are all born with certain dispositions, and if fathers and mothers studied the dispositions of their children, there would be more great men of every kind than there are.

In your place I would let my son complete his classical studies at Besançon; afterwards, if he talked to me about philosophy, I would look out for a capable man who would come to the house and teach him the essential parts of logic, physics, and mathematics, for one year, which would be enough, as your son likes to work: three years would be required at college for these courses.

(Here follows advice to Mme. Fourrier about the investing of her

property and against the project of forming a new establishment for business.)

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(E.) *Page 14.*

*Relationship with the blessed Pierre Fourier, of Mattaincourt.*

That he might be able to enter into the corps of military engineers, Fourier wished to induce his mother to obtain letters of nobility ; but she refused on account of the expense. That which gave him a right to those letters, was, as we have heard Fourier himself mention, his relationship with the blessed Pierre Fourier, surnamed of Mattaincourt from the name of a village of which he was curate, reformer and general of the regular canons of Lorraine, founder of the congregation of the religieuses of Notre-Dame for the instruction of young girls, born in 1565, died at Gray in 1636, and canonized by bull of 29th January, 1650. What was the degree of relationship between the future social reformer and the monastic reformer ? We do not know. This latter was the son of a citizen of Mirecourt, in Lorraine, and had two brothers, both of whom left a numerous posterity. Was Fourier's father a descendant from one of these ? We have reason to think so; what is certain is, that the portraits there are of the saint present a striking resemblance, especially in the forehead and eyes, with the author of the Societary Theory.

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(F.) *Page 14.*

*Two letters written by Fourier, at the age of 18.*

MY DEAR MAMMA:

Rouen, 8th January, 1790.

You ask me if I like Paris. Without doubt ; it is magnificent, and I, who am not easily astonished, was struck with wonder at the sight of the Palais-Royal. The first time you see it, you think you are entering a fairy-palace. You find there everything you can desire ; theatres, magnificent buildings, promenades, fashions, in fine everything you can desire. When you shall have seen that, you will not think so much of the palais des Etats.<sup>1</sup> And the boulevards, where one sees grottoes of rocks, small houses all more pretty each than the other ; add to all this the superb buildings, the Tuilleries, the Louvre, the quays, the churches. It may be said that it is the most agreeable country there can be ; but you must have your carriage, otherwise you get well muddied and well fatigued ; as for me, who am a good walker, I have no need of one.

When you compare that beautiful city with this horrible country of

<sup>1</sup> The palais des Etats at Dijon, which probably was, in the opinion of Mme. Fourier the mother, the most beautiful edifice she was acquainted with.

Rouen, you think you have fallen from a palace into a prison. You ask me if Rouen is beautiful: I shall tell you that it is impossible there can be so abominable a city on the face of the earth; the houses are of wood, and ugly beyond anything you can form an idea of. They are black, and every story juts a foot into the street. The mud barracks at Bresse are a thousand times less ugly. These are the same both in wood and in mud. In fine, Saint-Rambert is magnificent in comparison. It is not to be compared to Lyons in any manner; you see none but peasants in the streets.

As to commerce, it is quite considerable here, especially in groceries and cloths. This cloth business is not difficult; but it is difficult to establish one's self here, unless you find a house already established. For the merchants who come to buy at Rouen do not willingly change their factors. Stuffs not being subject to a change of fashion, they cannot do any better with one than with another, and when they are attached to one house they do not change. Besides this business is very monotonous, and one is obliged to live at Rouen, which is a dull country, always full of fog, of mud, and of rain.

I think it would be much easier to do silk business at Lyons, and in order to learn to know it, I should be obliged to go into some good house, such as the retailing one here of which I have spoken to you, or into some house at Paris, if you are acquainted with any one, for I should like much to live there a year. Afterwards I should try to enter a wholesale house at Lyons. It is a business in which one can travel whenever one wishes.

You will say that I do nothing but change my mind: but when one goes into a business without knowing it, one cannot tell if it will suit. One cannot decide until after having seen; for it is difficult to find people who tell things exactly as they are.

It seems you have a desire for a change of country, for you ask which are the most beautiful. According to everything I have heard, the gayest and most agreeable part of France is Marseilles. As to this place, you must not think of it; one would not come here to live even if there were no other on the earth. Nevertheless I should prefer it to Besançon, because there are more people, and I don't like the cities where you always see the same persons, and where you cannot go out without meeting the Tharins and the Domets.

Many things, I pray you, to my uncles and my cousins, male and female.

I am, with the most sincere attachment,

Your son,

C. FOURIER.

Do not judge of my handwriting by what you see, for I am very uncomfortable here, and without a penknife.

(The following letter has no date, but it must be some days anterior to the preceding.)

My dear mamma,

I have been for some days at Rouen, where I have made the acquaintance of M. Bourgeois, who is a very respectable man and who has been very polite to me.

M. Cardon, in whose house I am, is a man with whom it appears easy to accommodate one's self. There is not much doing at Rouen just now; therefore I cannot tell you anything of the business with which I am not yet acquainted.

I remained at Paris some days longer than I intended, because the weather was bad all the time, and I could not see the city, and my lodgings cost me nothing; I was with M. Rubat and M. Savarin, from whom I received many attentions, and who charged me to present their respects to you.

I send you an account of my expenses, which you will doubtless consider too great; but I economized the most I could, and at the inns I paid the same as those who were with me, people of forty to fifty years old. It was always rather dear, because we were few in number.

As to my expenses at Paris, they are not great: for nine days, food, theatres, lodging before I found M. Rubat, trunks, M. Rubat's boy, who combed my hair and so many other things, you will agree that I have not spent too much. I was a day and a half at Rouen before going to M. Cardon's; all this costs money. Everything is dearer here than at home, you can judge: those who are national soldiers here pay 4 fr. for a substitute to stand their guard, while with us it is 24 sous; by that you may judge of the rest. I shall have quite little with 504 fr. in a country where everything is so dear.

I conclude with assuring you of the attachment with which I am

Your son, FOURIER.

The Cardons, father, mother, son and daughter, are all musicians. Mme. Cardon attends to business as well as her husband; the son is twelve, the daughter ten. It would be proper for you to write to M. Cardon.

I gave two louis to M. Rubat, at a time when he had no money with him, to buy a blue pelisse for Mariette;<sup>1</sup> I did not wish him to return them to me, because it was your intention to buy one for her. It is not too dear according to what Mme. Cardon tells me, it would cost much more at Rouen.

<sup>1</sup> Fourier's eldest sister, Mme. de Rubat.

<i>Cost of journey.</i>	Received	324 liv.
Meals as far as Paris and conducteur . . . . .	33	
Expended at Paris, meals, lodging, boy, theatres, &c. . . . .	48	
From Paris to Rouen, place and trunk . . . . .	36	
Meals and conducteur . . . . .	4	
Expended at Rouen . . . . .	7	
Pelisse . . . . .	48	
		—
	176	
Balance of 324 . . . . .	148	
To deduct		
For Anglaise, vest and pantaloons { which you pro- . . . . .	48	
For silver buckles { mised me . . . . .	12	
Forgotten in my expense at Paris 3 liv. given to M. Sava- . . . . .		
rin's boy, who dressed my hair and cleaned my shoes; . . . . .		
12s. to the porter, say . . . . .	4	
	—	
	64	
To deduct from the . . . . .	148	
	64	
	—	
Balance . . . . .	84	
Of . . . . .	504	
Received . . . . .	84	
	—	
Balance . . . . .	420	
To send to me when you please.		

## (G.)—Page 14.

*To Madame Fourrier, widow, at Besançon.*

Madame,

Lyons, 21 July, 1791.

I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write to me at the beginning of this month. It informed me of a remittance of 900 livres, for about which I have arranged with M. your son.

I confirm to you, Madame, that the goodness of M. your son's character is unequalled; he is gentle, honest, and well informed; he has given me the greatest pleasure in our travels. At present he is at Belley, whither he has gone to pass some days with Mesdames his sisters.

He has a great desire to know the commerce of Marseilles, where he would wish me to procure a situation for him; I have combated this

idea in the best manner I could. Besides, it is not yet time. However, if he persists, I will do what I can there.

I have the honor to be with respectful consideration,

Madame,

Your very obedient servant,

BOUSQUET.

This was not to be the end of Fourier's friendly relations with the Bousquet family. The son of his ancient patron always retained for the author of the Societary Theory the same feelings of affection and esteem of which his father had given him an example. Almost ten years afterwards, Fourier wrote to M. Muiron, respecting a subscription which was to be opened to meet the expense of announcing his work of 1829 : "My first subscriber is M. Bousquet, of Lyons." And some day afterwards : "Bousquet is a friend who always keeps his word : he has had an article inserted in the Lyons journals."

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(H.)—*Page 18.*

The barbarous custom of writing music upon eleven lines, obliges the pupil to study eight keys, eight different gammuts ; he need study but one, if it is written on twelve lines, two of which are vacant between the two bars. In this case, each of the notes of the base and treble will be found on a line corresponding in rank.



The two keys or signs SOL and FA will be placed as usual, but by redoubling the sign SS, 2 keys of sol in the high octaves; FF, 2 keys of fa in the low ones.

The middle parts, alto and others, can be written on seven lines, two being vacant ; they will employ the two signs FS, as seen at A.

I tried to write in this manner a chorus in different keys ; I gave it to a person who knew only the key of sol 2d, and who sang the whole without being mistaken in any part. If I had given it to him on the seven other keys, he could not have deciphered anything.

Our musicians, as we see, imitate workmen on wages, who wish to prolong the job in order to make trade prosper ; they compel the pupil to study seven keys too many ; this is why so many scholars are repelled by a labor seven fold what it should be.

(FOURIER. "Fausse industrie," vol. 2, p. 528.)

We refer those readers who desire more ample information on this subject to an article published by our fellow-laborer and friend, M. Allyre Bureau, in the "Phalange," 1 December, 1838. The author of this article draws a comparison between the usual method and that which is proposed by Fourier: he shows the immense superiority of the second.

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(I.) *Page 20.*

The following is the tenor of the act proving the payment made to Fourier of his portion of the paternal estate:

"Before the notary at Besançon and the subscribing witnesses,

"Present citizeness Marie Muguet, widow of citizen Charles Fourrier, merchant, resident of said Besançon. Who has here in fact and really paid over to citizen Charles-François Fourrier, her son, domiciliated at Marseilles, present, acknowledging and accepting, the sum of forty-two thousand nine hundred thirty-two livres sixteen sous, which is the amount, errors of calculation excepted, of the two fifths belonging to said Fourrier, the son, in the value of the furniture, property and merchandise constituting the estate left by said Charles Fourrier, his father, in conformity with the inventory made of said furniture, property and merchandise, by citizen Claude-François Narey, on the 23 July, 1781, and the following days, recorded on the 8 August of the same year; which sum of 42,932 liv. 16 sous has been had and received in assignats of that value by said Fourrier the son, who has declared himself therewith content and satisfied; present the said notary and witnesses, by whom, &c., &c.

"Made, read, passed at Besançon, in my office and before me, Charles-Felix-Hippolyte Archeret, notary, resident in said city, in the afternoon of the twenty-third of May, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, the second year of the French republic, present citizens Augustin Lanoix, and Jacques Voynet, residing at said Besançon, witnesses required and subscribing with the parties.

"Signed à la minute, Fourier, widow Fourrier, Lanoix, J. Voynet, and as notary Archeret."

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(J.) *Page 22.*

There is a passage in the "Theory of universal unity" in which Fourier himself makes mention of the means of safety to which he had recourse; it is on the subject of Fenelon's "Telemachus," which he criticises in a manner at once so judicious and so piquant. After having exposed many a palpable contradiction and absurdity in

the laws given by the sage Mentor to the Salentines, Fourier thus continues his dissection of the moral precepts which he finds in the celebrated work of the archbishop of Cambrai:

"Here the virtuous Narbat proves that it is better to die than to lie ; maintaining that Telemachus and himself ought to go to the scaffold rather than tell a little falsehood which would save their lives. But if we had reasoned in that manner in 93 and 94, where should we be ? Every one, to save his life, told a great many falsehoods to the revolutionary committees : as for myself, I deceived the committee and the domiciliary visit three times in one day ; in that single day I thrice escaped the guillotine by good lies, and I think I did well, whatever moralists may say."

(K.) *Page 24.*

*Armée de Rhin et Moselle.*

*Chasseurs à cheval.*

*Congé de Réforme.*

*Dépôt du 8<sup>e</sup> régiment.*

We, members composing the board of management of said regiment, having seen the certificates of the board of health at Besançon, and under the decision of the representative of the people Pfieger charged with the organization of the cavalry, have delivered the present to serve as a *congé de réforme* (discharge) to citizen Charles Fourier, in which we certify that he has served in the regiment from the twenty-second Prairial, second year, until this day ; we attest, moreover, that he has always behaved with honor and probity.

Done at Vesoul, the 3d Pluviôse, fourth republican year.

Signed Faucher, Eckel, Leclerc, Lejeune, Planchon, Marescot.

Seen by the commissary of the executive directory, at the municipal administration of Besançon.

Besançon, 1st Ventôse an. 4.

**BOURGEON.**

(L.) *Page 27.*

The "Bulletin de Lyon" was published by MM. Ballanche, father and son. A copy of the articles inserted in that sheet, with the signature *Fourier*, or the initials C. F. having been communicated, a short time after Fourier's death, to M. Ballanche, now a member of the Académie Française, in order to obtain from him information on this subject, the honorable and learned writer addressed the following letter to the author of that communication :

"MY VERY DEAR M. CONSIDERANT :

"I thank you greatly for having been pleased to communicate

to me several articles inserted in the ‘*Bulletin de Lyon*,’ about the beginning of the century, by Charles Fourier, who had not then published the ‘*Theorie des quatre mouvements*.’

“One of those articles, entitled ‘Triumvirat continental,’ of 17th December, 1803, so attracted the attention of government, that M. Dubois, then commissary of police, immediately received orders to make inquiries respecting the author of the article. M. Dubois, an excellent and enlightened man, was pleased to consult with me on this subject. I told him who Fourier was, a modest man, a stranger to every species of intrigue and ambition, and enjoying among us, the young men of that day, a great reputation for geographical knowledge.

“As to the article on the acceptance of bills of exchange, it should be remarked, 1st, That such acceptance was contrary to all the traditions of prudence and reserve of the business men of Lyons; 2d, That the commercial code which required that acceptance as a general law, had not yet been published. That which, moreover, does honor to Fourier’s foresight, is the fact that the merchants of Lyons having wished to persevere in the old usage of non-acceptance, quite a large number of Genevese firms formed establishments in the city itself, in order to practise the acceptance which was repugnant to the Lyonnese houses.

“Accept, I beseech you, my dear M. Considerant, the expression of my most distinguished sentiments.

“BALLANCHE.”

Fourier’s article on the “Acceptance of bills of exchange,” which M. Ballanche mentions in the last place, begins thus :

“This innovation, so long rejected, will become inevitable; it will be established as a right by the new commercial code. I undertake to prove that Lyons is interested in adopting as soon as possible the acceptance which must be practised sooner or later—”

This article, published in the “*Bulletin de Lyon*,” of the 27th Nivose, year XII. (18th January, 1804), was republished in the *Phalange*, 1st November, 1838.

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(M.) *Page 32.*

*Quotation from the Theorie des quatre mouvements. End of the Epilogue which concludes the 1st part of the work.*

I repeat, it is to chance, and not to the political and moral sciences, that we owe our slight progress in the social spirit; but that chance has made us purchase each discovery by ages of stormy trials. The advance of our societies is comparable to that of the sloth, each step is counted by a groan; like that animal, civilization advances with in-

conceivable slowness through political torments ; at each generation she tries new systems, which, like brambles, are good for nothing but to draw blood from those who take hold of them.

Unfortunate nations ! you are near the great metamorphosis which seems to be announced by a universal commotion. Truly, at this day the present is big with the future, and excess of suffering must bring about the crisis of salvation. On seeing the continuousness and the extent of the political earthquakes, one would say that nature is making an effort to shake off a burden which oppresses her ; wars, revolutions, incessantly enkindle all points of the globe ; the storms, hardly laid, are renewed from their ashes, as the heads of the hydra multiplied on falling beneath the blows of Hercules : peace is nothing more than a glimmer, the dream of a few moments. Industry has become the affliction of the nations, since an island of pirates hinders all communications, discourages the agriculture of both continents, and transforms their workshops into nurseries of beggars. Colonial ambition has produced another volcano : the implacable fury of the negroes would soon change America into a vast ossuary, and by the punishment of the conquerors avenge the indigenous races they have supplanted. The mercantile spirit has opened new paths to crime ; at each war it extends its ravages upon both hemispheres, and carries, even into the bosom of savage regions, the scandal of civilized cupidity ; our vessels make the circuit of the world only to associate the barbarians and savages in our vices and our madness ; yes, civilization becomes more odious as it draws near its fall ; the earth presents only a horrible political chaos ; it calls for the arm of another Hercules to purge it from the social monstrosities which dishonor it.

The new Hercules has already appeared : his immense labors cause his name to resound from pole to pole, and humanity, accustomed by him to the spectacle of miraculous deeds, expects from him some prodigy that will transform the world. Nations, your presentiments are about to be realized ; the most brilliant mission is reserved for the greatest of heroes : it is he who must raise universal harmony upon the ruins of barbarism and civilization. Breathe and forget your former miseries ; give yourselves up to joy, since a fortunate discovery at last brings to you the *social compass*, which you would have discovered a thousand times, had you not all been filled with impiety, all guilty of distrust towards Providence ; learn (and I cannot repeat this too often) that He must before all have *made laws respecting the arrangement of the social machinery*, because this is the most noble branch of the universal movement, the direction of which belongs entirely to God alone.

Instead of recognising this truth, instead of applying yourselves to search out what may be the views of God respecting social order, you put aside every thesis which would have admitted the intervention of God in human relations; you have vilified, defamed *passional attraction*, the eternal interpreter of his decrees; you have trusted yourselves to the guidance of philosophers who wish to degrade the Divinity below themselves, by arrogating to themselves his highest function, by establishing themselves as regulators of the Social Movement. In order to cover them with shame, God has permitted Humanity, under their auspices, to be bathed in blood for twenty-three scientific centuries, and to exhaust the career of miseries, of stupidities, and crimes. At last, in order to complete the opprobrium of the modern Titans, God has willed that they should be vanquished by a discoverer ignorant of the sciences, and that the Theory of the Universal Movement should fall to the lot of an almost illiterate man: it is a *counter-jumper* who is about to confound those political and moral libraries, the shameful fruit of ancient and modern quackeries. Well! this is not the first time that God has made use of the humble to abase the proud, and that he has chosen the most obscure man to bring to the world the most important discoveries.

## (N.) Page 33.

Fourier's disciples, who have published the second edition of the "Theorie des Quatre Mouvements," have prefixed to it an extremely remarkable preface, from which we shall quote an extract, which will complete the appreciation and the history of that book.

"A very false idea" (say the editors) "is generally formed of the 'Theorie des Quatre Mouvements'; it is believed, from the title, that this book is the exposition of Fourier's doctrine, and of his social system. It is by no means such: the reader ought to be fully forewarned of this at the first page.

"When Fourier, who, in 1799, had made the discovery which destiny reserved for his genius, had elaborated his conception for eight years (in which he had but two clear years for study), he thought of giving it to his contemporaries. He first formed the project of publishing in succession, under the title of 'Theorie des Quatre Mouvements,' eight essays, the first two of which were to be simple *prospectuses* or *announcements* of the discovery. The six following essays were to be devoted to the regular Exposition of the Societary or Harmonian Regime, an Exposition which the author intended to make by means of description. Now the book which appeared in 1808, and which we republish at this day, in order to form the first volume of the complete

works of Fourier, was but the first of those eight Essays, that is, the half of the Prologue which was to precede the Exposition of the Theory ; it was a *pioneer balloon*, a trial to awaken the attention and sound the dispositions of the public.

“ The reader must not, therefore, seek in this volume, the Science of Fourier, the knowledge of his Theory, the statements, and the demonstration of the theorems of his Doctrine ; especially must he not consider it as an elementary work.

“ The perusal of the ‘Theorie des Quatre Mouvements’ has been so productive of erroneous judgments, that Fourier had resolved to suppress this work entirely. He never referred to it in his later writings, even when he borrowed passages from it. He long refrained from speaking of it, and it was only on yielding to a species of blockade to which he was subjected by us, that he informed us, in 1830, that a large portion of the edition must still be on the shelves of the bookseller, Brunet-Labbe, where we, in fact, found it. ‘ The Theory was not complete,’ he said, ‘ when I published that book ; it contains many errors, and since it is not a well made, well digested book, it has not the style of the Science, it is full of bombast, &c.’ And when we spoke to him of a second edition, he incessantly said, that it would be necessary to remodel the book almost entirely.”

As for myself, I think that Fourier here condemns his first work with excessive rigor, as regards form and style. As to its substance, the following is the manner in which, in an introduction written in 1818, he expresses himself with regard to some of the errors contained in the “Theorie des Quatre Mouvements” :

“ The first part of the work, the cosmogony, is not determined, though containing very many just details, which the settled Theory has confirmed ; it was only in 1814 that I made the discovery of the general scale of creation, which serves as a compass in this kind of calculation.

“ However, there are very few conjectural errors on this point, and I may well be astonished that I committed so few, when I wanted the verifying formula found in 1814.

“ We may judge by some examples, of the smallness of these errors : I carried the number of periods in the great table to 32 ; it is 34, including the 2 pivots which are never reckoned in movement ; I omitted all the pivots in 1807.

“ Quite a serious error of method is, that I divided the movement into four branches, instead of five, one of which is pivotal, and 4 cardinal.<sup>1</sup> In 1808, I was not acquainted with the theory of the pivots ;

<sup>1</sup> Pivotal Movement: THE PASSIONAL OR SOCIAL.

Cardinal Movements { The animal movement,  
                          { The instinctual movement,  
                          { The organic movement,  
                          { Mental movement.

I omitted them frequently; this irregularity makes no change as to the foundation of the general theory, any more than does my inadvertence respecting the neuter mode, of which I have made no mention in this volume, not having discovered its uses until six years since."

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(O.) *Page 33.*

The only indication we have of this journey into Switzerland is supplied by a passage in one of Fourier's articles inserted in the "Mercure du XIX. Siècle," 10th July, 1830. We find in this article, with reference to the advantages procured by the machinery of division: "In 1809, I lived at an inn in Switzerland, when we had at dinner, *for thirty sous*, about forty dishes upon the table. I made a calculation, with others present, that a single man, who should wish to have such fare at home, would spend, not thirty sous, but more than forty francs. . . ."

In publishing the article from which these lines are taken, and which has for title: "Denouement des utopies anciennes et modernes," the editor of the journal makes the following observation:

"We have already given space in the 'Mercure' to some articles on M. Fourier's system: the author has complained, with some reason, that his most favorable critics have not seized his idea. We hope he will be less dissatisfied with this new exposition of *passional attraction*, which appears to us to deserve at least a discussion."

The author of the article was, in fact, Fourier himself, concealed under the initials CH., PH.

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(P.) *Page 37.*

*Extracts from Fourier's correspondence and conversations.*

Belle, 20th Feb., 1818.

. . . I notice that your zeal is not well directed. You stop at the accessories, and you forget the principal. You value the brushwood of subtle metaphysics, from which nothing can be gathered but scepticism; for this interprets everything in a double sense. . . . What good does it do to look behind, to argue about the origin of a suffering and evil, when it is indubitable that both exist and weigh upon us? It is much better to look forward, think of the remedy and argue about that, basing yourself upon the three attributes of God:

1st, Universality of Providence.

2d, Unity of System.

3d, Economy of Means.

According to the 1st, there must exist a divine social code. If God had not composed it, his providence would be partial, insufficient,

limited. He would have thought human reason superior to his own upon that point, which is the most noble branch of the movement, and he would have voluntarily placed himself below us.

According to the 2d, Unity, it is evident that the attraction which directs the material harmony of the worlds, must, likewise, be the agent of their social harmony: otherwise, there would be a duplicity of system. We must, therefore, calculate by analysis and synthesis that Attraction which should reveal to us the divine code, if there is unity of system.

According to the 3d, the code must refer to association, which is the basis of every economy and of every mechanical simplification. Now our codes have reduced domestic Association to the lowest possible degree, to a single body, for the man and the woman make but one integral man. Consequently, the divine code, in order to be conformable to economy of means, must raise domestic agricultural association to the highest possible degree, and work in an opposite direction to the conjugal bond which encourages waste in the supreme degree, since it infinitely subdivides the machinery by distributing the direction to couples, which are the minimum of possible association.

Thus, without this divine code, God is only an absurd and inconceivable being in every light, if it be supposed that he has failed to compose and reveal such a code. These are the arguments on which you must rest, which strengthen confidence, even while directing reason; and when you are informed that the code is fully discovered in all its details, why allow yourself to be silenced by doubts about the origin of evil, when the question is not to know its origin, but its remedy? When the evil shall have disappeared, it will be of little consequence whence it came.

Belley, 17th September, 1820.

.... However well informed may be M. Fabre d'Olivet, whose doctrine and erudition you praise to me, I persist in calling to your notice the fact that all these wells of science have committed the same fault, in neglecting the essential object, *domestic industry*. We had a chain of knowledges to acquire, it was necessary to begin with the alphabet, with the first step, which is the art of profitably exercising domestic industry.

*Extract from a conversation.*—You attach yourself too little to the questions of attraction, and especially to those of the machinery of the passionnal series, to their property of leading to industry, to economy, to everything that is useful. These are beautiful problems which most deserve the attention of the adepts.

*Extract from another conversation.*—Those who speculate upon the mind or the passionnal movement, which is the type of all the others, only know how to bury themselves in useless subtleties, without ever being willing to begin by the alphabet, which is the analysis of the twelve passions, and their synthesis or development in series, a mode without which all the passions incessantly run foul of each other.

Respecting the soul, they dream only of ideological subtleties about perception and other follies which teach them nothing, since they pass by the fundamental calculation, the analysis and synthesis of the twelve passions. When we possess this science and can raise ourselves to the three centres of attraction, to riches, to pleasure, to the universal mechanism or unity, we can then discuss whether the perceptions are produced by the sensations, or whether the sensations are produced by the perceptions. But so long as we have not attained the end, riches, happiness, unity,—all these ideological subtleties are nothing but pompous follies, useless if they are true, dangerous if they are false. To stop there is to imitate a wiseacre who delivers a fine discourse to people who are dying with hunger and ask for bread.

The human race asks for happiness, riches, and not for science; it is absurd if it does not satisfy the want on which our happiness depends. . . .

(These written conversations are dated 1818 and 1821.)

Paris, 30th August, 1830.

. . . . . You tell me that the prefect would not reject our views. But with him, as with others, avoid all abstruse metaphysics, confine yourself to the fundamentals of the operation, to the quadruple product to be obtained from combined industry and industrial attraction, then to the facility of organizing that attraction by bringing into play the three springs:

Short and varied sessions;

Strongly stimulated cabals and intrigues;

Double pleasure for the senses or the soul, or for both.

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(Q.) *Page 41.*

*Extracts from Fourier's Correspondence with Muiron, relative to the  
Theorie de l'Unité universelle or Traité de l'Association.*

Belley, 10th February, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I ought to wait a week before writing to you, that I might be able to announce to you some important progress in the copying. But you

testified to me a desire to keep up a regular correspondence, at least from fortnight to fortnight, and I begin by informing you of my return and the resumption of my work. Other business has distracted me during these first days, so that I have only this evening finished correcting my first article, which is the dedication to the indebted nations, 20 pages of the dimensions agreed upon, 36 lines of 50 letters.

Belley, 7th March, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

I have your letter of the 20th February, and as we agreed, I reply within the fortnight.

You are mistaken in supposing that my distractions in little amusements, such as plans of embellishment, can consume much time; I give to them only that which I must employ as a variant. The real distraction would be a serious study, like that of a science; but I am not studying any.

You estimate too high in counting on 10 pages a day; my sprained hand will not consent to that reckoning. I do indeed make 10 of my writing, but these will not make 10 printed pages of the size agreed upon; and when I try to exceed the dose I suffer from my hand at night. How then can you reckon that half the work will be ready for the press at the end of March? You say: from the 12th February to the 31st March, 45 days, 450 pages. But you must not calculate on more than 7 pages of print each day. Then accidental hindrances occur; a strain of my hand from having wished to write 16 pages in a single day stopped me nearly 4 days. On another side, I have had a great deal of labor in distributing and recomposing 4 chapters for the opening of the Prolegomenas, the new tone which I have adopted obliging me to curtail many matters, among others all that relates to the transcendent part of the movement.

This hindrance led me into a calculation of which I had never thought, that of the ameliorations of climate in integral composite; that is, when the whole earth shall be methodically cultivated, with regular distribution of water and wood. I had never applied myself to calculate the amount of heat and the temperatures which this integral cultivation might supply; depending upon the boreal ring, I had a sufficient lever. But, as I now suppress everything that is marvellous, and consign it to a few chapters of sketches, it was necessary in my introduction, especially addressed to England, to discuss the various advantages she would derive from founding the trial establishment, and among others her chances of success in the passage she is seeking at the pole.

Thence results, every calculation made and at the lowest figure demonstrated by existing ameliorations by the parallels,

Between Quebec, Tours, Astracan, 47°.

Between Philadelphia, Naples, Pekin, 40°,

that the integral composite cultivation is in itself sufficient to clear the poles from ice during 3 months, the 85th degree during 4 months, the 86th degree during 5 or 6.

Thus we shall have, even without reckoning on the boreal ring, the two passages free during 6 months of the year, even at the Siberian cape, Siewerowostknoi, in 78.

This is a very valuable demonstration for England, who attaches so much importance to this matter and who appropriates to it, besides the premium of 600,000 fr., expenses of still greater amount. Thus we have the strongest reason to count upon her for the trial.

As you mention with regard to M. Bignon, observers often make judicious remarks respecting the necessity of another society; but they do not conclude to seek for one. There are nothing but abortions on this point. Both Rousseau and Montesquieu have clearly expressed this necessity. But why did they not proceed in the search?

I thank you for your promise to make the inquiries about the boarding house. If it is necessary to follow the fashion of 10 and 4 o'clock, I will do as everybody else does. I should prefer a boarding house where the company is somewhat assorted to my tastes, not an assemblage of youths no more than one composed entirely of military men. I cannot yet inform you of the time of my departure. I am waiting for letters from Besançon which will decide it.

Friendly salutation.

C. F.

Belley, 24 March, 1821.

I now come to what relates to your views respecting the acceleration of my labor. I have for some days accustomed myself to a method which tires my hand less, taking the precaution to support my arm at an inch from the elbow. I find that this produces a very good effect.

I should not be able to compose for dictation; it would put me out; thus I should not be in a situation to take advantage of M. Grea's offers. I thank him for them nevertheless. But if I find means to preserve my sprained hand, that will answer for all, providing I take a copyist in case of transcribing.

I have at this moment only a quarter of the compact for the 31st of March, exactly 225 pages.

Rosely will write you about the time of my departure, which I should like to fix at the 6 April. . . .

Besançon, 18 April, 1821.

I am glad, my dear friend, that I can converse a little with you, and, according to my custom, write to you some letters à *bout portant*, from hand to hand.

You were so kind as to accompany me in my search for chambers. I continued it after you had left me, without finding wonders. It seems that rents are not so much depreciated as some are pleased to say. I found a miserable chamber at 20 fr., for which they said they would not accept 18. Thereupon I took the chamber in rue des Granges at 11 fr. It has the advantage of being on the first floor. That is of great importance to me, who am obliged to reascend 20 times for a forgotten handkerchief, for a forgotten paper. I often go up again three times before I can step into the street; and on this account a chamber in the third story would not be very convenient for me. Besides, I economize 9 fr., and I am not a Cresus. I went to dine at the boarding house, where I met M. Roy: they are quite well there, and there is a superabundance; but it appears that they fill their stomachs for 24 hours. I shall arrange with the host to-morrow for breakfast; for I am not a Parisian, nor accustomed to make only one meal in 24 hours.

Now we are neighbors again, we will resume our little correspondence; I have great pleasure in writing a billet-doux to you every day, I hope you have as much in receiving it.

Friendly salutation,

Ch. F.

(R.) Page 37.

*Continuation of the correspondence relative to the Theorie de l'Unité universelle.*

Here is some curious information given by Fourier himself respecting the advance of his work. We borrow it as well as the documents given in the two preceding Notes and in the greatest part of the following ones, from his correspondence with Muiron, who, not satisfied with yielding in entire confidence to our researches the collection of letters which the Master had addressed to him, has also been willing to authorize us to quote extensive extracts.

Fourier wrote to Muiron as follows, on the dates successively mentioned:

"Belley, 28 October, 1817.

" . . . . The *Traité de l'attraction* advances, though slowly; I am only at the 9th of the 32 parts of the work. Various problems of

which I despaired have been solved. At least two years are necessary to complete the work, because I lost ten months by a too restricted plan . . . ”

“ Belley, 24 December, 1817.

“ . . . The work in which you are interested advances very slowly. I lost ten months upon a false plan, which led me into a very insufficient abridgment. Since then I have determined to adopt the plan of the grand developments which at first frightened me by the quantity of problems to be solved. This difficult labor advances by degrees, and of the 22 parts I am at the 10th. I every day discover new beauties, and everything in it leads wonderfully to unity of system. I can now say that the science was but an embryo when I published the Prospectus; this Theory, if I succeed in bringing it into good order, as I hope, will necessarily produce a sensation, not by the prose of the author, but by the magnificence of the subject.”

“ Belley, 20 February, 1818.

“ Sir, I have long delayed answering your letter of the 8th January. I put it aside with 3 or 4 others. When I have a problem in my head, I have the habit of leaving all letters in arrears until it is solved.

“ To reply to the various articles, I will first say that I do not in any way like your idea of publishing my 4 volumes in succession. If regiments are sent into battle piece by piece, they are lost there without success. The method is good for compilations, but not for a novelty which should strike a great blow and present at once the whole body of its doctrine, all its proofs.

“ I shall not stop to consult the books you mention. I have attempted these verifications upon some books, from which I derived no assistance. It may be that Moses has perchance said some great truths. As to Pythagoras, he had guessed the systems of Newton and of Linnæus; I should not be astonished if he had foreseen something of mine.”

“ Sir, Bons, near Belley, 6 October, 1818.

“ The letter which you wrote to M. Roselli Mollet<sup>1</sup> under date of 20 September, has been communicated to me.

“ I at first refused to send the copy asked for, remarking to M. Mollet that the work<sup>2</sup> is withdrawn from circulation, in consequence of its

<sup>1</sup> M. Roselli Mollet, advocate, son of M. Mollet, deputy to the National Convention. He was appointed, in 1842, member of the council general of l'Ain.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the “Theorie des quatre mouvements,” a copy of which was requested for M. Fabre d'Olivet.

insufficiency to give a correct idea of the discovery, the principal branches of which date only from 1814.

" As M. Fabre d'Olivet applies himself to cosmogony, I am so much the less inclined to communicate to him this prospectus in which all the cosmogony, contained in the 1st chapter, is merely touched upon, hinted at, and not determined, which I have been able to do only by the assistance of the compass of calculation found in 1814. I presume M. d'Olivet will be so just as to take notice that this cosmogony was only sketched.

" If I had not read the passage in which you say that these gentlemen are already acquainted with the manuscript sketches, I should not have granted that copy. Moreover, I have now but one I can dispose of.

" Since M. F. d'Olivet may make an indirect mention of this forthcoming novelty (I do not speak of the insufficient prospectus) in some periodical publication, it is well to point out to him the only question which a writer can raise on this subject without risk of compromising himself.

" He must discuss abstractedly upon the chances of a continuation of the Newtonian theory, and choose pretty nearly the following groundwork :

" Is the human mind to be praised or blamed for neglecting for several thousand years special germs of science, of which glimpses have been caught, such as the system of material attraction foreshadowed by Pythagoras 2000 years before Newton, such as the sexual system of vegetables foreshadowed by Hippocrates (or some one else) 2000 years before Linnæus ?

" Is there not in this negligence a *wrong on the part of the initiators*, who had a glimpse of the light, and disdained it before being convinced of error, and a *wrong on the part of the continuers* who did not return into the path which had been poorly explored by their precursors ?

" In addition to these culpable negligences of the ancients, ought we not to censure the moderns in all cases in which they fall into the same vice by disdaining a germ of discovery which has been sketched and not finished ? Ought we not to recall them to the necessity of resuming all these neglected hints, in order to explore fully the scientific mine ? not to disdain any indication of the vein before being well satisfied if the lode exists or not ?

" And since Newton had, in the mine of attraction, discovered and exploited the material vein, was it not probable that there existed other veins of Theory, as there do exist in reality other attractions besides the material ? This is an induction to be drawn from the very prin-

ples of modern philosophy, which advises us to go from the known to the unknown and to judge by analogy? Has not the most inexcusable fault been committed in neglecting this exploration, to which Newton had opened the way?

"He cannot be accused of having desisted, since he did not cease his labors until after having fully treated the branch he had undertaken; but his age and the following are culpable for not having filled up the deficiencies of the initiator, Newton, in the other branches, the existence of which everything indicated, for not having attempted the study of them, and for having limited themselves to glean servilely upon that which he had treated and to which they have added very little."

"I extract this fragment from an *Antienne* which I have to-day placed in the 8th Section or Major Key, and which treats of the rallying of passionnal extremes, and I transcribe this page to give you an idea of the manner in which this matter must be approached; no reference should be made to my unpublished work, and stress must be laid on the duty of investigation which is imposed on the human mind and upon the cowardice of the savans who shirk the task. A journalist who should start these abstract questions (and I could furnish some of every kind) need not on that account venture to praise me or to make mention of me; but he could produce the pleasant effect of taking the savans in a trap; pride would impel them to declare that there was nothing to be discovered in the proposed branches of study, and when they had loudly denied the possibility, my Treatise would make its appearance à *point* to throw into their faces.

"I have decided to distribute it in 7 volumes of 500 pages, long-primer leaded. The matter answers very well to this division, and the edition will not be so compact as you feared."

"Belley, 3d April, 1819.

"You wish to know something about my labors. I have been at work for ten weeks on a very important part, that of the reduced trial. After having well essayed all my means of passionnal manœuvres, that is, the continuous development of the three distributions by interlocking of series, I have ascertained that a commencement can be made with 300 persons to practise the simple manœuvre which, under this number, will not allow an interlocking of series. The numbers 200, 250, would fall into a bastard organization, which I call *Serigermie*, or period 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ , between *Guarantism* 6, and *Serisophie* 7.

"A beginning can therefore be made of the reduced trial with 300, 150 of whom will be installed beforehand to prepare the way during

the winter and will be organized in Serigermie; 150 others installed in February; total, 300 of unequal property, but of the popular class, who will be able to manœuvre well by the end of March. At the 1st of April, there will be an entrance of 100 to 110 of the middle class, having from 3000 to 20,000 fr. income. Greater extension will be given to the manœuvres, and attempts will be made for the modulations of unity. At the 1st of June, entrance of 90 to 100 others, principally rich, total, 500. They can then modulate in full unity, or simultaneous development of the 4 cardinals, the majors as dominants, the minors as auxiliaries.

"The trial will then be made and the demonstration complete. The 400,000 anti-passional volumes must be sent to the grocers. In the following month, August, a hundred manufacturers of the poor class can be introduced (total 600) in order to exercise the Tribe in some branches of manufacture and make the winter preparations, antidotes against passional calms.

"By adopting this system, the trial will not cost much. As we reject extensive cultivation, and operate only on gardens, orchards, poultry yards, stables, and a few workshops, we shall not require more than a third of the territory of a Phalanx, than half of its buildings. This trial will be devoid of the great spring of harmony which is the general scale of 810 characters, a scale which can only be extracted from a mass of 1200 to 1300. Still the Tribe, even at 500, will in the course of July accomplish prodigies upon which I did not calculate before I applied myself to these details which relate to the 1st minor. The enterprise is therefore much easier than I had expected, and is reduced from a Phalanx of 1200 or 1300 to a weak *Serisophie* tribe. Not that this is my advice; I could operate much more easily on the Phalanx; but from the known character and cautious mind of the civilizees, there is no doubt they will decide to begin by the Tribe, the gaps in which, foreseen and pointed out, will take nothing from the integrality of the demonstrations...."

"Belley, 11th May, 1819.

..... "Before answering the questions contained in your letter of 12th April, I must inform you of an incident of great importance for my discovery. On Good Friday I found the equilibrium of simple Association, which I did not believe possible and the Theory of which I had referred to the approximations.

"I had already informed you that by applying myself to the 13th key or 1st minor, I had discovered the process of mixed Association (7th period, *Serisophie*), less brilliant in truth, but much more economi-

cal than composite Association and equally good as a practical proof, since the harmonic gaps foreseen and announced, serve as proofs.

" Having reached the 14th key, 2d minor, I conceived the strange and fortunate idea of lopping or retrenching Association in three ways.

" 1st. Instead of rich and poor in gradation, to place in it only poor people of plebeian habits, no families with more than a thousand francs income.

" 2d. Instead of the modulations in major and minor, to suppress all the minor, all the modulation in love and familism, minor cardinals.

" 3d. Instead of the passionnal equilibrium in direct proportion to the masses and in inverse proportion to the square of the distances, to reduce the equilibrium to the direct proportion of the masses and suppress the inverse proportion of the square of the distances.

" By means of this triple mutilation, we attain an equilibrium which is perfect though entirely simple, and the result is that we can attempt Association with a handful of those wretched families which we every day see emigrate, embark for America in the ports of Germany and England, or indeed with a few poor peasants, such as would be the villages of Bons<sup>1</sup> or Bregille<sup>2</sup>, leaving out the matadores or village cocks, if they should hesitate.

" This opens a chance very different from that of composite Association, which requires all the inequalities, from the poor man to the millionaire, from the ignorant to the savan, &c. It would be necessary, in order to found a passionnal Tourbillon,<sup>3</sup> to get together all these inequalities in a mass of 1200 persons, and to overcome prejudices.

" But in this new matter of Simple Association, there are no prejudices to be overcome, since we can operate on wretched beings who cry out from famine and ask only for work, without discussing the kind of labor.

" Simple Association will be an *entirely moral* establishment, admitting the religious prejudices which proscribe love, and moreover all the fashionable prejudices or manias of political economy: people at this day like to speculate on a mass of plebeians without intermixture of rich, without introducing amusements into the plan of organization.

" Such is the spirit of the age and its leaders. They will be perfectly satisfied with the plan of Simple Association; for the associates, who will fully attain industrial attraction, will ask no other change from civilized customs than the permission to work on Sundays as on other

<sup>1</sup> A village of the department of l'Ain, near Belley.

<sup>2</sup> A village situated within the precincts and upon the territory of the township of Besançon.

<sup>3</sup> Fourier at that time used this word as synonymous with Phalanx.

days, except during the hours appropriated to divine service, after which hours they will be seen, in consequence of the plenitude and integrality of the industrial mechanism, to return on Sunday to their field labors, until night, the same as other days. This will be quite as good as the custom of passing the evening at the tavern and beating their wives when they go home.

"This will be the only point on which Simple Association will derogate from the moral and religious dogmas, which it will observe with rigorous exactitude on every other point, especially in everything that relates to truth, unity and charity, of which we cannot find even the shadows nowadays.

"I remember that when I began, twenty years ago (April, 1799), to study upon Association, I touched upon the calculation of the simple. I was then so little advanced that, even if I had applied myself to it, I should not have been able to bring it into order, nor to equilibrate it by a regular parallel with Composite Association, the only one to which I did apply myself from the commencement.

"When I retired in 1816 to work upon the Treatise, I first lost a year in deciphering manuscripts, in preparatory studies and an abridged plan.

"Afterwards in 1817, entering upon the grand plan, I spent two years in working upon the 12 major keys or treatise of composite harmony, and on various accessories.

"It was only in February, 1819, that I began to study the minor octave, the  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{5}{6}$  keys of which must treat of the approximations to harmony, viz. :

Period 7. 7 Sérisophie.

$\frac{6}{4}$  Sérisimple. } Bastard degrees not mentioned in the  
 $\frac{6}{4}$  Sérigermie. } table.

Period 6 Guarantyism.

"From the adoption of this plan of labor, I must methodically have missed, and only taken up quite late, that which I had judged so little worthy of attention, not presuming that the 7th period would give me an equilibrium, which would be perfect, although slightly modified, and presuming still less that the bastard,  $\frac{6}{4}$ , would lead me to a very regular equilibrium by means of the triple mutilation.

"This discovery, without changing anything in my labor as to the doctrine, will produce a change in the publications. Provided now with a means of trial so economical, so appropriate to the tastes and prejudices of the age, I have resolved to publish it separately, and to give next year a *partial* Treatise which will expose the plan of simple association, even while it hints at that of the composite, which the rich will

demand the day after they shall have seen the simple, into which rich persons cannot be admitted, and in which the poor will nevertheless be seen to be more happy than the Sybarites are now."

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(R.) 2d Part.

*On the form and style of Fourier's works.*

In order to complete the appreciation of the "Theorie de l'unité universelle," we will quote the following page from M. Jules Lechevalier, who was one of the first and most brilliant interpreters of Fourier's science to the public ear.

"If there be a book in the world which we can call original and *autochthonic* it is this, without any doubt; but we must indeed allow to genius that which is the condition of its life and of its development: provided it enlightens and assists us, let us permit it to free itself from vulgar swaddling-clothes. Of what consequence is a difficult terminology, if the new words depict new ideas? What do we care for an expression which makes us search a little, if it reveals to us sometimes the sagacious and caustic good-nature of La Fontaine, sometimes the tone of Rousseau, misanthropical yet full of humanity, sometimes the profoundness of Molière and the perspicuity of La Bruyère, or else the bold synthesis of Képler or Leibnitz, or indeed a vigor of analysis and a precision of details which surpass Bentham?"

"There are all these characters at once in the style of M. Fourier, and I say style, because in him this form is as much a style as a *scientific language*. For my own part, that which so many others disdain, I confess that, to the great scandal of slavish mediocrity, I like to admire and to allow its value, because with the docile good faith of the man who delights to find, I have recognised true clearness there where homespun or restive minds will with difficulty see anything but oddity. It is the same with the distribution of the work and of the chapters; compared with our habitual methods, that distribution is without aim and without value; according to the method of M. Fourier, it is entirely regular, for it is the very rule of the discoverer, it is the SERIES, it is the process of Association which is reflected in all his book, and almost even on the cover. We must only confess that a conjecture and a style so heterogeneous are not very favorable to the popularization of ideas."

*(Etudes sur la science sociale, p. 134.)*

Here is, upon the same subject, the style of Fourier, the opinion of a man devoted to purely literary studies :

" This style is neither elegant nor flowery. In a country where readers should pay more attention to the thought than to its accessories, it would be but a defect at most ; in France it is a misfortune. M. Fourier, like all inventive men, is an enemy to the phraseology which can give seductive images to a vulgar idea and conceal a great thought. Attaching himself more to the substance than to the form, provided he fathoms a new fold of human nature and gives a new solution to a problem, he throws forth his discovery without art. This thought, which he has so little sought to render attractive, will perhaps escape those who allow themselves to be seduced by words, who stop for a glittering scrap, even if it be of tinsel. But it will penetrate very deep into the heart of those men who despise all this coquettish adornment, who go straight to the mark, and who ask at the end of a brilliant period, as did d'Alembert : ' What does that prove ? ' This thought will take root in their memory, will be made clear under their pen, will be softened in their discourse. They will ornament it, will polish it, and a day will come when, without having lost anything of its primitive force, it will come forth from their mouth, new enough to astonish the public, attractive enough to draw to it frivolous and indifferent men. For this it is only necessary that it should pass from the mind of the inventor to that of the popularizer.

" With one page of Fourier, a journalist might, with very little difficulty, write twenty pages of argument. There is in this style, sometimes a mathematical dryness which wearies, sometimes a common-place which surprises and makes you smile, and yet, in proportion as you study it, you understand it, you become accustomed to it, you come to like it. To take a page, line by line, and word by word, you find in it sometimes a finesse, sometimes a wit, and always a truth of expression which you had not expected ; and when, from a feeling of curiosity, you endeavor to reconstruct those phrases which at first appeared dry and rugged, you may acknowledge that if there be a method of speaking in a more elegant manner, there is none of saying things with more simplicity, justness, and energy."

X. MARMIER. *France littéraire*, Vol. 2, 5th No. 1832.

See also *le Fou du Palais-Royal*, by CANTAGREL, at the beginning of the 7th Conversation, page 101.

(S.) *Page 52.*

Muiron's first work was the occasion of some remarks full of judgment and taste on the part of Fourier.

Before deciding on the last title, " Vices de procédés industriels, &c.," which had the full approbation of the master, it was proposed to sub-

stitute for that of "Comptoir communal," which had been first chosen, the following title : "Base sociale."

"I do not know," said Fourier on this point, "if this title of *Base sociale* is provisional or definitive, but it is certain that it is not a happy one. The other, *le Comptoir communal*, was much better; it presents a positive and new idea, while the idea of Social basis has been worn out and profaned for a century by the sophists. Even Molière brought forward, in the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, three or four masters all saying in file that their teaching, music or dancing, morals or grammar, is the basis of the social edifice. It seems that then the word was already much abused, since comedy jested about it."

"Paris, 1st August, 1824.

"I have received the regulations of the 'Comptoir communal' which you sent to me, and I have gone through them, but too superficially to form a judgment; for as this establishment does not belong entirely to the regime of industrial attraction by series of groups, I shall be obliged to read the statement attentively. I have remarked in it (p. 32) an arrangement relative to short sessions, very well conceived to operate in transition, in the medium mode between civilization and the societary regime of the series.

"You say that you shall conclude by an appeal in favor of my plans; but, in order to have them well received, an Abridgment will be required, according to all that I have been told; and further on you blame me, because after a *Summary* which has not succeeded, I wish to make an *Abridgment*; but we must resolve to follow the will of the judges.

"You think I ought to *intrigue*, to insinuate myself with the editors of journals, with the architects of Grenelle; but in order to intrigue at Paris, one needs a carriage and a great deal of money, besides meanesses: all this I lack."

As an explanation of what is here said of the architects of Grenelle, we must give the following passage from another letter:

"Paris, 9th July, 1824.

"The Parisians are at this moment making a strange and useless erection, which would have been much better employed on the Societary edifice. They are having a village or town of 300 houses built in the plain of Grenelle, below the Military School. The architects gave to the stockholders, last Sunday, a *fête*, ball, and supper, which cost 40,000 fr. Here, when you have an architect in your sleeve, you can clutch as many stockholders as you wish, because the furor of building

is as common now at Paris as that of gambling in the public stocks. So, when I shall have completed my Abridgment, I shall not fail to send it to some architect like V \* \* \* skilful in organizing subscriptions and companies. Certainly, if they had built at Grenelle the edifice of a bastard phalanx, they would have gained four times as much as by building a town . . . ”

Fourier applies himself to the examination of Muiron's book, in a letter of 16th September, 1824, from which we quote the following passage :

“ . . . You might also abstain from praising on the 2d page, the *luminous truths* of the Smiths, the Saya. Those luminous truths preach only parcelling, and it seems that you go and range yourself very humbly under their banner.

“ Doubtless, you may compromise yourself by jostling those persons as I have done : but to cajole them, is not to inspire confidence. . . .

“ You will conclude from this, what I once told you, that one would write nothing if one took everybody's advice. . . .

“ The good opening, that which goes to the point and frankly states the matter, is the 13th line, 2d page, which says: *Everywhere, in spite of the increase of riches, the misery of the cultivator and of the workman is extreme*; an opening which proves in covered words, that the lights of the Smiths and the Says are but darkness.”

Fourier also made criticisms which bore on the style of the work; he had remarked in it, he said, some phrases of pretension, the employment of some words little known or little used.

“ You tell me,” replied he on this point, “ that M. Desir<sup>e</sup><sup>1</sup> smiled, because the author most accused of neology reproved you for neology. To this, I can answer, that I have ventured a technology in what relates to my science, but beyond that no neology. For example, in the two pieces upon Fenelon and Delille, I have kept myself as much as possible in the usual style. However, we will leave this. The important thing is to find founders.”

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(T.) Page 58.

That is quite a curious part of Fourier's correspondence, in which he asks Muiron for some information respecting the data necessary to the execution of his project for the embellishment of Besançon, and in which he transmits to him his instructions upon the means of measuring distances without having recourse to implements.

<sup>1</sup> M. Desiré Ordinaire, before mentioned.

"Do me the favor," wrote Fourier, 27th March, 1826, "to verify along the botanical garden, the length in double steps from the line of rue Neuve, as far as the line of the wall of the garden of the prefecture; I think that this distance, taken towards the hospital, along the great alley, gives 104 (or 84) marches or double steps, as far as the guard-house; but I do not know what may be the narrowing on the line of the hedge."

He added, 5th April following:

"Since you have the goodness to give me a note of the distances I have forgotten, I beg you will rectify that of Chamars; it is rather an ungrateful task.

"You say that you found 114 marches from the line of your house, in rue Neuve, to the guard-house. Then there would be 104 of my marches, and yours would be only 4 feet 9 inches, mine 5 feet 3 inches.

"In order to verify, the best place is the barrack-square, where there are very certainly, after twenty verifications:

"From the pavilion St. Paul, to the pavilion Bregille, 104 marches.

"From the pavilion Bregille, to the wall of the engineers, 64.

"Now, if yours are to mine in the proportion of 114 to 104, you will find between the two pavilions 114, from the pavilion to the wall of the Bénédicteines 70, according to this proportion :

$$104 : 114 :: 64 : 70\frac{1}{2}.$$

"I shall also be obliged if you will tell me what is the distance from the 1st tree west of the great alley of Chamars, to the wall of the hospital, and how many rows of trees there are east of the great alley, including the row which belongs to the great alley. Are there 5 or 6?

"It is important to know the measures which I ask of you, and especially that from the 1st tree, in a line with rue Neuve to the guard-house, because a certainty of 104 marches will exactly give, notwithstanding the deviation, a space sufficient for 4 additional stables, 144 horses in the two pavilions to be built for the artillery-barracks. I must also know the published measurements:

"From the lane of the Dames des Chamars (I believe 42 marches), and from the line of rue Neuve or the 1st tree of Chamars to the prison wall.

"Excuse all the unpleasant commissions, and let me require when you have anything to be done in Paris."

On the 26th April, Fourier, recurring to the same subject, writes: "I forgot to give you a true scale for measures, and I shall not look for it very far from you. Neuve and Traverse Streets, laid out for 30 feet, cannot fill 6 of my marches. By placing the point of the foot exactly

on a line with the angles of the wall or of the alley, I find everywhere only  $5\frac{1}{4}$  marches at most, and not 6. The same with rue du Perron. Besides, I have verified on the arcades of the Palais-Royal, which are 9 feet 10 inches, and I make 13 of them in 24 marches, answer 63 inches. A good measure near your house is that of the hedge : starting from the angle, I reach in 34 marches to the line of the Prefecture (I do not mean of the Rotunda, but of the straight front) ; at 33 marches, I do not see it ; at 35 I see it too much, and go beyond it.

At another time Fourier writes :

“ Oblige me by giving me an exact note of the distances indicated on the plan, at the three letters X, Y, Z.” (The plan which represents the little Chamars, rue Neuve, &c., is, in fact, drawn upon the last half page of the letter.)

“ Now is the time of frosts, when it is easy and healthy to take a little walk. Besides, it is near your house.

“ What is, according to your steps, 1st, the distance, &c., &c.”

We limit here these questions of *peripatetic geometry* : what we have quoted will be sufficient to give a knowledge of Fourier's habits in this respect.

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(U.) Page 59.

*Extracts from correspondence relative to the Abridgment which was published under the title of Nouveau Monde industriel.*

Paris, 3d January, 1824.

I have made some distributions in Paris (of the Summary) ; but they have only procured the sale of 3 copies. The Parisians are *beasts of habit*, and if they are not pushed on by the journals, nothing can stimulate them. It is an animal that will only obey the voice of its master, and this mania has brought me back to a little project I had in March, before making the Summary. I will speak of it by and by. . . .

. . . Your 3d and 4th pages of 27th December, give me advice on points which I had already weighed, and which it would be easy for me to satisfy by a pamphlet that would flatter the public as regards forms, and would fulfil all the conditions mentioned by you and M. Gréa, and by many others.

For this purpose it would be necessary to make a small Abridgment, hardly equal to the Summary, and to make it in such a manner that, flattering all the tastes of the Parisians, it might be sold to a bookseller who would undertake the publication. The rules to be observed in it would be :

To limit myself to a pure and simple statement of the operation of the Societary process by contrasted series;

To avoid every accessory digression, every application to the errors of the Sciences, every excursion beyond the main subject;<sup>1</sup>

To follow the usual method, and to exclude every word not admitted by the Academy, every form not used;

To treat philosophy decently and give it a share in the spoils;

Finally to place the tract and its body of doctrines within reach of women of twenty and scholars of twelve, the whole to be judged of by experts and not by me. Besides, as I should have to bargain with a bookseller for publication, I must indeed follow strictly the tastes of the Parisians. The bookseller himself could lop away anything that might not be in fashion.

The work would be soon made: it would be composed almost entirely of extracts from the treatise, extracts to be remodelled and adapted to the form of the pamphlet, from the article *Passional series*, vol. i., page 15, to the article *Equilibrium of Cupidity*, vol. ii., page 591.

I would add to it some details which are not in the treatise, and which would render the operation of the series extremely easy to be understood.

Paris, 1st February, 1824.

.... I say very frankly that I shall not be frank in the Abridgment to be published, for I shall not express in it any of my opinions upon the state of the sciences and of intrigues, and I do not think I disonor myself by confessing this concealment, since it is forced. You call this *seizing the best means of advancement*, a very convenient principle; but this *best means* is often far removed from frankness.

I have no inclination to request MM. Ordinaire senior and Droz for a critical reading. They are both men infatuated with the dominant party, and who would not find a single line to their liking if it did not flatter their side. Now, as I wish to limit myself to say what is necessary and to avoid or mask the critical part, this would not be enough for them; they would desire praises of their sect.

I admit the criticisms of M. Desiré Ordinaire, as bearing upon the causes of want of success. It remains none the less certain that while avoiding the forms he has judged to be vicious, we must really give a knowledge of the substance of the theory, describe the societary process of which no one has said a word.

<sup>1</sup> Fourier, as the readers of "Nouveau Monde industriel" know, did not keep strictly to the terms of this programme. In his book of 1829, as in his other works, he has given what he calls the indirect theory, that is, a critical analysis of the subversive societies, and particularly of Civilization.

You are astonished (and I am also) that the Summary produces no effect upon those to whom it has been distributed. The reason is because an entirely unforeseen incident counteracts me: I did not make allowance for the fact that in Paris the class called learned and literary is so much despised, that a man arriving from the provinces with a discovery is looked upon as a dangerous man who must be avoided. Would you believe that M. Villebois, who, at Belley, asked of me a note (sent in 40 pages), has not even acknowledged the remission of the summary accompanied by a letter? After this, need we be astonished if de Jouy, Keratny and others do not answer?

I have seen M. de Jouffroy; but he is no longer connected with the *Gazette*, and cannot insert in it an article of announcement, which he would have done but for this untoward circumstance.

Lyons, 1st April, 1825, Good Friday.

I arrived in this city to-day. . . .

The evening before my departure from Paris, I saw M. Smith,<sup>1</sup> who came at last to get some news from England respecting the Owen enterprise. He informed me that M. Owen when passing through Pittsburg on the Ohio (Pennsylvania) gave a small course on Association, and that the inhabitants were so pleased with his views that the authorities and courts suspended their sittings in order to be present at his lectures.

There are, then, three attempts about to be made:

That of Motherwell in Scotland;

That of America, near the Ohio;

That for which a company is collecting funds in London, in order to operate upon a spot 20 leagues from there.

Necessarily one of these three attempts will slightly approach the object, or will be less far removed from it than the two others; which will prove that there is no success to be expected except so far as they operate by series of groups in short sessions.

Besides, if my Abridgment can appear in time, it will be very possible that the London Society may adopt this process. I know that a person of the name of Thompson, who is studying Association, and to whom my book has been communicated, has translated some parts of it into English, and has conferred with competent persons on the subject, so that it may be easy to induce this society to engage me for the trial of the process of attraction.

<sup>1</sup> An English officer of artillery, who had adopted Fourier's views. He has been mentioned in the Biography.

In the meanwhile, I shall try to re-establish my business<sup>1</sup> here, and every morning I shall transcribe some little of the Abridgment, before 8 o'clock. After the Easter holidays I shall begin my business again.

Lyons, 19th April, 1825.

I have found here a situation as cashier at 1200 fr., which I have taken provisionally, because of the three branches of brokerage which I formerly carried on, two have failed, have passed to other places, to Tarare and Marseilles; the third is reduced to so small a matter that after a week's observation, I have thought best not to pursue it, and rather to take a small sure matter which gives me little trouble, and with good people. If I had taken up other branches of brokerage, such as liquids and colonial produce, it would have required almost a year of painful labor to organize it, and in a year I may be engaged with some of the establishments that are forming; one near London, one at Motherwell, one at Pittsburg. If this should be the case, in two months I will do the business there.

I was so occupied at Paris with the business of a Lille house, which kept me there from the 1st to the 20th of March, that my principal work remained very much in arrears. On arriving here I resumed it, and have already put in good order 14 of the 36 parts of which the abridgment is composed. I shall continue the rest slowly.

Paris, 10th January, 1826.

I was obliged to leave Lyons on the 15th December, on a business requiring haste, and when I reached Paris, I was not certain how long I should stay here; the house for which I came did not determine that point.

It is only since yesterday that I am pretty sure of remaining at Paris until the end of February.

Fortunately I have brought my manuscripts, and can work at my book in my leisure hours, which are few at Paris, where one loses a great deal of time in running about.

Paris, 18th February, 1826.

..... I shall not have finished my task by the first days of March, but of April, and it will be necessary to transcribe. That will go on quickly, because I shall be able to work before eight o'clock in the morning.

It is easy, as you say, to pass through Besançon on my return to Lyons; but I am now undecided about that return, because I shall per-

<sup>1</sup>The brokerage business in which Fourier was formerly engaged at Lyons.

haps find a situation at Paris, which would make it convenient for me to superintend the publication of my Abridgment.

On the 1st of May I shall perhaps have a situation which is not brilliant, 1000 fr. the first year, 1500 fr. the second, to keep the French correspondence in an American house established at Paris. I shall have to lose the two months of March and April, for my service expires at the end of February. If I were 6 months older, I should not hesitate to accept this position.

Whatever you may say about it, the philosophers are furiously small. Last Sunday I had yet another proof of this. I went to the house of an astronomer of the observatory, to whom I had some questions to put and some examinations to propose. Those beings are of a smallness difficult to express.

Agreeably to the advice of Mme. Vigoureux (to whom I beg you will give my thanks for her kind remembrance), I am not discouraged; but I am convinced that it would be useless to go and solicit any savan to become interested in my theory, before I have published the Abridgment. However, whatever might be their reception, I should think, in accordance with that lady's advice, that their smallness takes nothing from my dignity.

As to the English, they have not cooled off, for I have not entered into any correspondence with them. All would reply that they are waiting for my Abridgment. I had written only to a M. Corss, telling him that M. Owen was a thousand leagues from the process of association, and that the society of mutual co-operation had been very venturesome in announcing that they would operate according to the method of the said sieur Owen, condemned by an experience of 16 years, while mine would work at the end of 16 days of active exercise.

I think that these new ideas may have frightened him, and that he may have thought he might pledge himself to too much by answering me: that is the character of all the little learned world; they lose their reckoning as soon as they have to explain themselves upon a new idea; and this one, as the secretary and paid officer of a society, may have feared to compromise himself with it by saying that it is in error if it adopts Owen's method.

I am persuaded I should have found more decision with such women as Mesdames Wheeler and Kemmis. But, before attempting a correspondence, I must have the Abridgment to present.

Paris, 5th April, 1826.

You are astonished that I say nothing more of our grand business: it is not that the work does not go on; I have now the 30th of the 36

chapters. So you see that I am quite near the end. But I work from 10 to 5 o'clock in the house where I am to enter on the 1st of May, and where I shall, perhaps, have 1200fr. from the first year. . . .

11th June, 1826.

. . . . . I am at the end (of the Abridgment); I have nothing more to write but the 5th article of the finale, and to deploy the chapter of the analysis of civilization, instead of that of the approximations which I suppress as too favorable to the plagiarists, and offering its side to those establishments such as New Harmony, Orbiston, &c., which would steal some arrangements and travesty my method as well as they could.

Paris, 28th June, 1826.

. . . . . Though I have preserved in my Abridgment precisely the plan of arrangement which you saw at Rotalier, I have made great modifications in the last 5 chapters, in which I shall undertake to give a very detailed analysis of civilization, of its successive characters to the number of 36, variable from phase to phase; of its permanent characters, the table of which I carry to 144, with classification of its characters of present degeneration, of the means of issue, to the number of 28. These details have appeared to me a very necessary proof at the end of an abridged treatise on Association, and a good means of disabusing those who hope for some improvement in civilization, the movement of which will be explained much better than it is in the Treatise.

12th July, 1826.

I have worked a great deal in these days, but not for myself. At last, dating from to-day, I shall be more at leisure until fresh orders, and I have this day begun to put in order a table of 120 permanent characters of Civilization. I wish in my last five chapters to give an analysis of this society more regular than that contained in the Treatise, in order thoroughly to disabuse those who have the foolish pretence of perfecting it, to make them see where this pretended perfecting leads them.

For this purpose, I have drawn up tables of the characters of Civilization, of which :

- 120 permanent, prevailing in all phases;
- 32 successive, governing from phase to phase;
- 72 interlocking or extra-civilized, borrowed from other periods;
- 24 of recent degeneration.

By means of this little grammar of civilization, people will learn to know the elements, the moving powers, the advance, the object, the issues of this society, the shoals on which it runs, and they will conceive that they must come out from it and not perfect it.

28th January. 1827.

I have been unfortunate about my Preface: I have re-written it twice without being satisfied with it. At last I have not seen any other course to pursue but to curtail it, reduce it to a few articles, and preserve the materials for a 7th confirmatory section of the Abridgment. These changes have made me lose an infinite deal of time, and, during the last few months, we have had work enough at the store to make mine languish.

Paris, 12th February, 1828.

To-day I finish my Preface which I have been obliged to write again. It ought to have been finished at Candlemas. But when a work is finished, you find defects in it, if you are not one of those who, like the Abbé de Pradt or M. Ch. Dupin, can have all their illusions admitted without examination. Often, after a compilation is finished, I find in it the fault of too much justness.

You tell me that M. G. is astonished at the delay of the Abridgment. This time he is in the wrong, for I could, if I had every facility, send to press to-morrow. What remains to be written of the parts,

Sections 6th or 7th,  
Corollaries and Post-face,

would not stop me in any way, for these are chapters of which the matter is on hand, and which could be written day by day. There is nothing to be changed in the plan.

As to the aggregate of the work, I have made no change in the plan, but only in the dimensions. M. G. himself agreed with me, last summer, that certain chapters were susceptible of reduction. This reduction upon an aggregate is not a small labor.

However, I can certainly send to press by the first of April, since I could begin from to-day; but one likes to have the whole completed before regulating the first pages.

(V.) *Page 59.*

You ask me to omit the expressions *3000 years, sweet and pure morality, perfectible perfectibility.*

As to that of 3000 years, which is purely chronological, I do not see how it can offend any one, more than that of 100 years, when I speak of the fault committed since Newton, respecting a continuance of studies.

The expression of *sweet and pure* morality shocks only because I have not denounced this science from the first pages as antipathetic to attraction, and forbidding the calculation under a mask of suavity

and candor. If it be as sweet and pure as it pretends, why does it forbid the study of such a science and devote it to ridicule before examination? Doubtless nothing but absurdities would be found in it, and this study would be an additional triumph for moral philosophy. But if the said study should produce the discovery that the sweetness and purity are on the side of attraction, that the impurity and depravity are on the side of moral philosophy, people would no longer be astonished to see it bantered upon the titles it arrogates to itself, and this is what ought to be plainly shown from the first pages. . . .

(Letter of 17th September, 1827.)

. . . . . You pretend that I support my Theory on moral facts. Never do I cite a moral fact except to criticise it; I support myself upon free facts, dictated by attraction, instinct, passion, but not upon facts which are forced or moral, for the word *morari*, etymological of *moralis*, means a bond, a hindrance opposed to the free development of passions and instinct. If I admit such facts as the basis of my Theory, it is then a theory of civilized society, in which everything is reduced to moral or compelled facts, excepting the doings of a few powerful oppressors who laugh in secret at the moral curb imposed upon nine-tenths of the men and upon the entire mass of women and children, all made subservient to moral philosophy.

(Letter of 3d April, 1830.)

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(X.) *Page 60.*

Fourier in a letter of 27th December, 1827, thus relates an interview he had had with one of the influential men of the periodical press:

"I have conferred, respecting the Abridgment, with M. Julien, director of the *Révue Encyclopédique*. He appeared very anxious to see the work. I argued with him upon the sad position occupied by the savans in the present state, upon their contradictions, such as those of Say and Sismondi, upon the aberrations of sciences which wish to seek the paths of good in operations alarming to government, instead of seeking them in reforms which would please the government and capitalists, such as commercial and agricultural discipline. He seemed to like these views much, and told me that he was anxious to be initiated into this doctrine, and that he would place it before the eyes of the sixty thousand readers of the *Révue*. What will he do about it? I do not know, but I encouraged him in these good intentions. Besides, as M. de Féruccac, rival of the *Révue*, will not refuse a just announcement, the *Révue* must also this time give a sensibly stated notice."

But here is another more curious document about the employment of diplomatic measures by Fourier, with the object of procuring the an-

nouncement of his Theory. In reading the following passage from his correspondence it should not be forgotten that it is anterior to the preceding by nearly two years. Moreover, the rather crude expression here used by Fourier respecting an honorable man, does not attain the reputation of that man ; it merely proves the ardent desire felt by the author of the Societary Theory, at last to find impartial and competent judges for his work.

Paris, 5th April, 1826.

" . . . I lately wrote to Mme. Wheeler, by hand of a Lyonnese who was going to London, and my letter came back to her at Paris where she had been for a short time. She informed me of it and I paid her a visit. She has given me a knowledge of the members of the co-operative society of London. They are not very strong and are puffed up with the systematic spirit. The Owen school is very weak.

" I also saw at that lady's, last Sunday, the moralist director of the *Revue Encycl.* He brought with him the son of Canaris, and other Greeks, and communicated his moral method to all of us, which took half an hour. Thereupon I proved to him that he was a great philosopher, and that M. Ad. Garnier was very wrong in not counting him as a 6th school among those of which he has recently given an analysis in the review or table of the productions of 1826. Afterwards he was very polite to me and even wished to pay me a visit. But I thought to myself: You stupid fellow, you would do better to give me an impartial analysist; that would be much more useful to me than a visit and honeyed words.—Still I think that the next time he will give me some other analysist than Ferry."

(Y.) Page 67.

*Extracts from the correspondence relative to the St. Simonists.*

Paris, 22d May, 1829.

I have deferred writing to you for two reasons. . . .

The second is that I wished to confer with some members of a society to which M. de Corcelles, jr., carried me on Wednesday evening, the day of their bi-weekly meeting. They are the disciples of the late economist, St. Simon, and editors of the *Protecteur*, a journal which is suspended and which will be resumed.

I wished to see what was the doctrine of these gentlemen, and if they could be made to take an interest in mine, dubitatively, for the two branches which are already certain before the sanction of experience :

Domestic and mechanical economy.

Instinctive and societary economy, or employment of all the instincts, their precocious development (*Nouv. Mond. indust.*, 213, 215), and their application to societary equilibrium.

Yesterday, Thursday, I sent a copy to one of the principal members of this society, with a note of ten pages respecting the advantages it would derive from adopting the societary doctrine in part.

It is pitiful to see their rough-hewn dogmas, and yet they have an audience, subscribers, they are discussing about an office.

To give you an idea of the weakness of their dogmas, they pretend that the late economist, St. Simon, was inspired by God, that there are three revelations, that of Moses, that of Jesus Christ, and that of the economist, St. Simon. Is not this making systems with an axe?

They preached on that day about education, which they distinguish into moral or social and special.

If I had argued, I could have said to them: How, with the civilized method or division by families, can you prevent the child from receiving a dozen contradictory educations (*Nouv. Monde*, 198) which the last, the *worldly*, will destroy?

And as to the special education, how will you succeed in putting man into the place to which instinct calls him; develop from the age of 3 to 5 years all his industrial instincts, often smothered for the whole of life (48); make of men as well as of women, strong and skilful industrialists, before making savans of them; give them this industrial and sanitary education at the age of 3 to 5 years, when they are good for nothing and when it is necessary to keep them in sight that you may prevent them from doing harm?

I should have taken good care not to run counter to this society in anything, because I came to make acquaintance with it; but I do not conceive how any one can find credit in Paris with such weak doctrines. They discussed and argued about confession, which they defended, and I would willingly bet that of the 80 present, not one goes to confess, except from speculation in hypocrisy.

Still I should like to fathom this society. . . .

5th June, 1829.

I reply to your letter of 2d June, in which you seem to think that it will be easy to manage the St. Simon society; in this respect you fall into the error with which M. Grea reproaches his constituents, that of proposing a step calculated upon imaginary possibilities, the contrary of which one sees when on the spot. I answer article by article:

*"Beware of supposing bad faith in them; say aloud that St. Simon has entered into the way of truth."*

They themselves believe no more in St. Simon than in the Alcoran.

If I appeared to believe in the stupidities of his system, these Messieurs would say of me : Here is a hypocrite who wants to get hold of us. I have only made to them a proposition in the most upright way and as an arranger, proving to them that they could, passing by the absurd part of the preacher St. Simon, support themselves upon such or such details, such or such principles, and graft them upon a sure doctrine.

As to the bases of the dogma, St. Simon himself foresaw the shoal on which the first proposition would be wrecked, that of creating a new christianity by declaring the Pope, the catholics and the protestants to be heretics : he confesses that this might cause his disciples to be persecuted. This is what would not fail to be the case, and instead of encouraging them in this path of perdition, it seemed to me much better to tell them that they could neglect this vicious method, this brand of civil and religious war, and graft the new doctrine upon the St. Simonist principle which establishes the right of the industrialists or hired laborers to a better lot.

I could not say to these Messieurs that St. Simon had wanted time, since he said he worked 45 years on his laughable project, the second method of which is to get the management of the finances, induce the king to discharge the nobility, the higher clergy and even the low clergy if they wish to remain in the existing religion ; discharge also the military and the legislators, and commit the finances to the industrialists who would form a council *superimposed* upon the ministers, the council of state and others. "This done, his Majesty," says he, "would find he has effected the radical change required by the progress of civilization."

Here is a plan which is very seductive to the court, the nobility, the clergy, the military and the judiciary, a sure method of having the finances given into charge of the industrialists of the rues St Dennis, la Verrerie and des Bourdonnais (he designates these three quarters) ! he does not care for the bankers of the Chausse'e d'Antin, because they do not fill their saloons with the shopkeepers of these three streets, or because, if they are sometimes seen at their houses, they are there placed at the foot of the table!!! *Risum teneatis.*

It is impossible not to think that the St. Simonians have laughed at these follies, as you will laugh at them. It is therefore a society which is looking for dogmas without knowing where to find them, and I have only been able to propose my intervention as an arranger, who will make use of that which can be grafted, amalgamated with the societary doctrines.

But that which these sharpers saw very well, is that I should soon

be the real head and that the doctrine of St. Simon would go too quickly down the stream of oblivion. If they had not yet preached that doctrine, perhaps they would have consented to espouse an entirely new one; but at present, how can self-love yield itself to a fall which they foresee very well and which no honied phrase can disguise. In order to make a diversion from these ideas, I laid stress upon the advantage of becoming the first society of Paris, of rallying the fractions of all the others, of perhaps incorporating with themselves companies already formed, like that of the 13 millions for planting the Breton heaths, the advantage of having the court on their side, a journal which would soon be the most popular, &c.

I do not know what these Messieurs will ultimately think, but I fear that pride will prevail over interest—

Paris, 13 Feby, 1831.

. . . . The Saint-Simonians, in the *Globe* of yesterday, already make free to speak of series. It can be seen that they would like to accustom themselves to use the word, take possession of it, in order afterwards to take possession of the thing. It is a pity for them that I printed the theory of it in 1822, before any Saint-Simonians existed. Besides, in the series which must extend to all the passions, what will they do with that paternity which cannot be established without the free disposition of the inheritance? And yet they wish to favor women! But where will they find a mother who is willing to leave her daughter destitute and say to her: "I intended to leave you a hundred thousand francs; but I give them to the priests. If you want work, you must go to the priests and have your capability verified?"

They must be bantered a little on this point in the prospectus of a publication, as well as on their declamations about idlers. If they were acquainted with the calculus of the Industrial Series or of attractive labor, they would know that the pretended idlers will be no longer such in the societary state, even while preserving full licence for idleness.

Paris, 26 July, 1831.

You admire the talent of those Messieurs (the St. Simonians) in charming their audience. This is exactly the shoal against which we must be forewarned. All sophists have this art and abuse it. The vice of the public is to let them be quits for fine promises without requiring the means of success. There will not be found, in Besançon or in Paris, any one who will address to them the argument upon the 10½ sous (page 4 of the article sent) and prove to them that with a varnish of friends of the people, they are its enemies, *assassins*, so long

as they refuse to found Associations giving quadruple product, the only means of safety for the people.

Paris, 6 August, 1831.

. . . . The Saint Simonians vilify my Theory by saying that it is purely industrial, while it is both industrial and passionnal, treating of the full development of the 12 passions applied to industry.

They say, while pretending to praise me, "that they find in my book ingenious methods of organizing a household, a manufactory." I teach on the contrary how to produce the fusion of 400 households and ten manufactories with combined agriculture. "But in vain," they add, "should we seek in it a single social idea capable of binding men together." I teach to associate and not to bind together where there is no anterior bond—

13 August, 1831.

Your Bisontin<sup>1</sup> preachers say that I have lost the feeling of humanity; but they have not found it, for if they had any real pity for human misery, they would found Association instead of promising it, instead of playing upon the word in order to deprive us of the thing, and ringing changes upon the employment of Association which cannot be established except in agriculture.

If you send articles to the *Globe*,<sup>2</sup> have the goodness to state my opinions exactly, and not attribute others to me. M. Gabet fell into this error when answering the St. Simonians. He says that I shall place each associate according to his inclinations. No, I shall not place any one: I teach the mechanism which will develop all industrial inclinations and provide for them a lucrative employment, and in this order in which every labor will be accessible to each, each will know how to place himself according to his inclinations, without my interference or that of any other director. This would be falling into the arbitrary system of the Simonian priests, who wish to make themselves judges of the capability and to determine the placing of every individual.

20 August, 1831.

. . . . I will willingly address myself, as you desire, to M. Michel Chevalier. But I must first see if there is anything real in the promise made by him of Besançon<sup>3</sup> to bring my Theory into notice, and if he will not end, like the one of Dijon, by scoffing me while pretending to patronize me.

Such are the tactics of the Simonians; always a tutelary mask, a

<sup>1</sup> The St. Simonians, then on a mission to Besançon.

<sup>2</sup> The journal of the St. Simonians.

<sup>3</sup> The person referred to here was M. J. Lechevalier, who was then at Besançon. Fourier's distrust was entirely unfounded, and the same may be said of the excessive prejudices he displays in this letter and in several others against the St. Simonians.

sympathetic gasconnade. If you should let them have their way, if you depended on their simulated protection, you would soon be sunk by that very protection, which is a Judas' kiss.

They are not yet strong enough to persecute, and their general rule is to flatter the man they wish to stifle. . . .

Besides, they are theocrats, and consequently cesspools of vice and hypocrisy. You can see that they have clearly copied the Jesuits in their tactics of undertaking to get possession of inheritances and of strictly following the impulse of the chiefs : *Eritis sicut baculus.*

Paris, 19 September, 1831.

. . . . The Saint Simonians, as you may have read in the *Globe*, have fired the alarm-gun (31 August), saying that without assistance the *Globe* would not appear after the 5th of September.

Thereupon I wrote to them, the 2d, a letter in which, without saying anything disobliging, I presented a parallel of their position with that in which they would have been had they founded Association instead of preaching it. . . .

They have not replied, nor even acknowledged receipt.

You suspect me of a blind anger against the St. Simonians. It is not anger, it is well founded contempt. Besides, I wait for them; they will always find me well disposed when they wish to do good. But their philanthropic verbiage was sufficient to enlighten me respecting such mountebanks, who say that *I have lost the sentiment of humanity.*

. . . . If the St. Simonian system should be organized, you can be by no means sure that any amelioration of the lot of the working class would be the result. The only certain effect would be to concentrate, in half a century, all the estates, capitals, dominions, mills, manufactories, in the hands of the new priests. When the Simonians should have possession of everything they would know well how to treat the people as all theocrats have treated them, from the priests of Egypt and of Hindostan up to those of the Roman church, who at Rome pillage everything, make a monopoly of everything. Nevertheless, the apostles and their successors had promised everything to the people.

Paris, 26 October, 1831.

. . . . You may have seen, in the *Globe* of the 19th, an insertion of my letter of the 2d September. They say that they insert it *to be rid of it*, to prove that they have not pillaged anybody, that people are astonished at the superiority of their doctrine. If I send to them a regular refutation, they will not insert it.

. . . . They give to you for hierarchy their arbitrary arrangements,

while I give the two distributions furnished by mathematics: 1st, progression or free series, unlimited in groups; 2d, proportion or measured series, limited in groups. Besides, I give the bases to make an application of them to industry, to all relations, and not to create fantastically arranged hierarchies. How I could thrash those mountebanks if I had a journal!

10 November, 1831.

. . . You advise me to answer the Saint Simonians, but in what journal? They inserted my letter because it did not compromise them much, it was not made for the public. But if I should reply to them with good ink, they would be very careful about inserting.

Paris, 30 March, 1832.

. . . The Saint Simonians have gasconned in this manner in their journal, this week, an insidious article of two strong columns, signed *Guéroult*. It has for title: SYSTEM OF M. FOURIER. Not a word do they say in it of me; on the contrary, they there pass in review all the modern sophists, and after this gallery, at the end of the two columns, they at last articulate my name as if to collocate it in the Kyrielle of these sophists, and to insinuate that I have added a system of rhapsodies and metaphysical or economical controversies to their numerous and useless systems.

I see clearly what they are about: after having imbued their 4000 readers with this opinion, they will give the shadow of an analysis of my doctrine, in which they will travesty every theme, and will prove that their new God, Saint Simon, had foreseen everything, that I am only one of his echoes, and that they will deign to annex me to Saint Simonism if I will make my submissions.

If I can have a journal in a few days, I will non-plus these hypocrites.

Unfortunately, those who are with me would wish me to adopt for my rule of conduct, sweetly to allow myself to be calumniated by all these vipers. I will never consent to it, and no consideration will induce me to permit myself to be dragged through the mud without giving the lie to my defamers.

(Z.) Page 70.

*Extracts from correspondence relating to the revolution of July.*

23d June, 1830.

I see that it would be useless to send articles to you so long as you are so deeply engrossed by the elections. Unhappily I do not augur so well from this resistance as you do; I see that the liberal party cannot maintain its ground against the violences of the other.

Here are already 21 departments which have received a knock-down by a suspension which overturns all the measures of the liberals: for if the nation can be convoked partially, a chamber will be made up from such provinces as shall be agreeable to the ministry.

All this proves that the illusions of liberty are going to the winds. Liberty is not made for the Civilized; they do not know how to find the system in which it would coincide with the views of the government. You see that this phantom of liberty vanishes on every side: in the Low Countries they have granted everything to the priest party, in order to get rid of the liberals.

I have received your number of the 20th, I see in it nothing but elections, and not being much of a connoisseur in that matter, can say nothing about it.

25th July, 1830.

. . . . The events of yesterday will greatly restrict the sphere of politics, and new subjects must be referred to in order to make a provincial journal interesting. . . .

23d August, 1830.

I reply to your letter of the 12th, in which you begin with an error which the liberals themselves do not share; for they confess that they did not know how to resist, and had only their weak means of a refusal of imposts.

France is in Paris: if the Court had triumphed in Paris, it would have had the upper hand. But why did the liberals carry the day? It is because they did not think of having recourse to arms. This is so true, that on the 26th they had neither powder nor balls, they had, therefore, prepared nothing, projected nothing; and the Court, which had spies enough to know everything, seeing no appearance of attack, itself had made no preparation for resistance; for the troops had no rations on the 28th and 29th.

If the Court had foreseen the aggression of the Parisians, it would have removed the treasury, brought up the camp of St. Omer, stopped the arrivals of flour, and prepared everything for a blockade. But as both parties had made no preparations, the lucky chances were for the Parisians, thanks to their bravery, and the good feeling of the troops of the line, two regiments of whom early rallied to the side of the people.

You think that I shall have many more chances to make myself listened to by the liberals than by the ultras. I never counted on the ultras, incorrigibles, but upon some good intentions which might be found in their ranks. In two months I shall have a chance with the liberals, when parties shall have been formed and in opposition.

I am not troubled at M. Capelle's catastrophe: I should be sorry if things had turned otherwise; but I do not admit your opinion respecting his decision, which you consider evasive. You do not know the reasons I brought forward in my memorial to tempt him by means of private interest, and though you may have known him personally, you could not, from the business of the prefecture, judge of the degree of ambition of which he was susceptible.

As a pendant to the judgment given in this last letter upon the Ultras of the Restoration, whom Fourier calls *incorrigibles*, we will now quote one or two passages from his correspondence relative to certain leaders of liberalism, a party in which he elsewhere admitted that many excellent intentions were to be found.

In a letter of the 25th February, 1819, Fourier asked for information respecting the "Société des Eteignoirs," a society which was seriously talked of; and he added :

"Our perfectibilarians promise something new and never give it; for they give nothing but Civilization, always deteriorating in spite of the illusions of improvement. In this view, the Eteignoirs are half excusable in distrusting these pretended liberals who teach nothing new, and merely want to sell books and catch offices."

In 1821, in one of those written conversations which he held with Muiron, Fourier said of these same doctors :

"Their perfectible Civilization is only a hook which they present, only an instrument to overturn, and to raise themselves to offices; when they shall have 20,000 fr. income and a peerage, they will find that perfectibility has come."

These last words have received from events, a commentary which dispenses with every other.

(AA.) *Page 71.*

*Remarks on the contents of this note.*

The extracts which we give in this note, contain some very strong expressions, with regard both to the military engineers and to the influences made use of in favor of Dijon and Auxonne against Besançon, in the question of the School of artillery, and finally with regard to Fourier's own fellow-citizens. But we do not fear that any reader will take literally the accusations and reproaches which are stated with so much vigor, originality and nerve, in the passages that follow. It would therefore be superfluous to protest here against any disobliging intention that might be attributed to us on account of the publication of these pages, which are so remarkable for more than one reason.

How could we be supposed to wish to attack the just consideration enjoyed by the corps of engineers? To this corps have belonged and still belong many distinguished men who share our convictions, and several of whom are our particular friends.

Far from us equally the idea of re-awakening local jealousies, or of casting discredit upon the character of the inhabitants of such or such a country! And since the question refers especially to Dijon, we will say that this city is one of those in which the Societary Theory counts the greatest number of disciples, and disciples not less intelligent than zealous.

As to Fourier's outbursts against his fellow-citizens of Besançon, they rather resemble the occasional quarrels of a lover with his mistress, and have not, even in their greatest virulence, any character of real aversion or malevolence: by the side of his blame full of bitter irony against the apathy of the Bisontins, and in spite of the causes of complaint which the inventor had against his fellow-citizens, who had misunderstood, and, so to speak, denied him, do we not see, in fact, with what ardor, with what spontaneity of zeal he defended on every occasion the rights and the interests of his native city? We do not wish, however, to claim in favor of Fourier, a certificate of local patriotism: this would be reducing to very mean proportions that grand figure which will be acknowledged, we believe, as the tutelary and saving genius of the social future of our Globe.

This being understood,—we allow Fourier to speak.

*Upon the question of the School and Arsenal of Artillery at Besançon, and upon certain operations of the military engineers in that city.*

*Extract from a written conversation in 1821.* I am astonished that in your projects of communications (to the general council) you have not inserted an article on the necessity of restoring to the city (Besançon), her university taken away by a ruse of the Dijonnais, and her school of artillery, the polygon and barracks of which are all ready, while they are giving such to cities like Rennes and Toulouse, which have neither polygon nor barracks.

Paris, 23d March, 1825.

. . . . Decidedly, M. de Bourmont is going to Algiers. It was he who supported Besançon against the minister of the interior;<sup>1</sup> the Bisontins are lost if they do not decide to present a memorial, and without delay. They wish to put off the question of the stud, in order to get possession of a little stable of 50 horses and to build upon that inconvenient locality. This is adding together all sorts of unskilfulness, when they have stables for 600 horses, more than would come this

<sup>1</sup> M. de Corbiere, favorable to the city of Rennes, his native place.

year, when they could have but one regiment and one dépôt, six regiments departing for Algiers.

Paris, 27th March, 1826.

I learn that the city of Besançon is at last awakening from its apathy and wishes to recover its artillery school. But it was useless for that purpose to commit faults upon faults and to grant much more than was necessary. The concession of 200,000 fr. was already an enormous one, it was not necessary to add to it the double fault of sacrificing the little Chamars, and missing the lengthening of the great alley by a prolongation of 80 feet as far as rue St. Vincent.

There is more space than is needed to build the barrack upon the ground of the botanic garden.

From the hedge to the Falletans house, the space is 97 feet, to be thus employed :

67 for 63, depth of the barrack, files of 18 horses.

30 for the width of the street.

Enough would be taken from the préfecture to erect two buildings, one for manège, the other for infirmary and forage loft, with the receptacles for manure in the rear.

I have prepared a small treatise on this subject, with plans for this barrack and that of the correction of the polygon; but it is copious, 3 sheets, and I know of no opportunity to send it without expense or franking.

5th April, 1826.

I knew by your preceding letter that the city is about to obtain a building yard besides the school, and the importance of this matter induced me to make it the subject of a small memorial, not very small, for it will be thirty-two pages folio; but it is connected with all the embellishments of Besançon, and even with the correction of the system of fortification and the rebuilding of the barracks, &c.; I will give the plans. I work on them at the counting house, where I have but little to do from 10 to 5 o'clock, and where I could not carry my great manuscripts on association.

Paris, 31st January, 1830.

When speaking to me of the artillery, you do not give me notice of the business until it is at its end and nearly concluded. It is vexatious that I received no detailed account, for I might have sent information from here to certain personages; though it might be too late, I hastened, on receipt of the letter of the 17th, to send 2 plans of the correction of the polygon:

To the director-general, Count Valée;  
To the dauphin, by the court post;  
To the minister of war,  
And to the keeper of the Seals, since he interests himself in the matter (M. Courvoisier).

I made quite a detailed note for each of them, and as I only found your letter on returning home in the evening, I passed the night in making notes, rough sketch and copy; which gave me quite a severe headache, from which I am recovering very slowly. I was afraid that the sitting of the council, the time of which is unknown, might take place the next day, and that the business might be decided in it without even knowing anything of my plan of correction which does not require the enormous expenses of the angular system projected by general Neigre, a system which would not have the advantage of a triple echeloned fire and which would require very costly purchases of land.

It is a pity that Besançon is in conflict with the cities most skilled in chicanery and intrigue, Dijon, Grenoble, Rennes.

13th February, 1830.

. . . . . People sometimes succeed by force of importunities, as you see in the case of the artillery.

MM. of the office of Besançon did not think fit to send me the number of the journal in which the concession is announced. Luckily I found it at Justin's.

However, he who wrote the article understands how to give incense to everybody. So true is it that to make a good journal, many shades of writers are required, some for the coloring, the academical wheedling, others for the imagination and new ideas.

I see by the date of 31st January, the day on which the council of state decided the matter, that my four notes with plan of correction must have reached in time, for they were sent on the 24th. They must have furnished documents useful to the cause of Besançon.

Now that Besançon has obtained the artillery school, will she let herself go to sleep and be tricked as in the case of the law school? The Dijonnais will not cease intriguing, and if there occur any incident like a change of minister or other chance, they will try to get the decision modified.

I shall be obliged by your communicating to me the plans or statement of the plans which shall be made for all the buildings relating to the artillery, those of the barracks, polygon, building yard. This would be a fine subject for controversy: I could propose mine, much

rectified since my visit to Besançon, when I carefully measured all the localities, more favorable than I thought when I sent to you from Paris a manuscript containing several maps ; I had reckoned all the surfaces at less than they really contain.

As chain-bridges are made here with so much promptitude, why should not Besançon, which has the wood and iron, make two ? I found a small one at the Grève on my return ; there is only one pile in the centre to support two floors forming two arches much larger than they would be made at Besançon, for they both together have 104 paces of clear passage : the Doubs has not more than 64 paces at the bridge of Battant, deducting the piles, even including the subterranean and masked arch. You see that the two bridges, including that of Arènes, which is indispensable for the artillery, could be very quickly built at a small expense.

Paris, 4th March, 1830.

The number of 31st February (of the *Impartial*), contains so strange an article upon the artillery (headed *Auxonne and Besançon*), that if I did not know the ground I should have said : The Besançon journal has been bought up by the Bourguignons, and paid to plead the cause of the Comtois so weakly, so tortuously, that its articles will in reality be an argument for Bourgogne.

In fact, your co-laborer, whose name I do not know, opens with a long paragraph tending to excite the reader's pity in favor of Auxonne.

Paris, 13th March, 1830.

. . . . You tell me : " It would be more useful to us if you would point out better arguments than ours to oppose to our adversaries." Well ! have I not done so by informing you of the principal and overlooked means, the preference which Gray would deserve, if the government wished to incur the expense of a new fortress ? That is the argument which Besançon ought to have given weight to. Neither has she refuted the supposed danger of a sudden invasion. It is a complete impossibility, for an enemy's army could not pass the Rhine between Bâle and Neufbrisach, without long preparations and assemblings of which the minister and Besançon would be sufficiently informed to give time to embark the superfluity of the arsenal. Metz and Douai might fear this surprise.

They also omit to say that Auxonne is a parasitical place, beyond the range of defensive operations, and that it would be a great imposition to erect into a fortress of the first class a place which could cover neither Bourgogne nor Comté, and which, unable to make sorties except with cavalry, since all the neighborhood is a flat plain, would require 3

regiments of cavalry besides its artillery horses; so that it would be necessary, in order to make use of the place of Auxonne in a defensive system, to build stables and barracks for more than 2000 horsemen, with bomb-proof lofts for forage.

If the State (said Fourier in another letter) wishes to incur the expense of a new fortress in the basin of Saône, to form a place which shall co-operate with Belfort and Besançon, it must decide for Gray, which would at once cover Dijon, Dole, Paris and Besançon, and which would trouble the rear of the enemy in case he should penetrate by Vesoul and Langres. As to Auxonne, if they should make of it a great fortress, with new ramparts, a thing necessary for the safety of the artillery, it would protect neither Dijon, nor Besançon, nor Dole, nor the road to Paris. It would be a parasitical fortress, outside of the theatre of operations. The necessary expenses would be at least 30 millions for Auxonne (its new ramparts, a great tête du pont, barracks for 1200 horsemen, &c.). Auxonne, though well garrisoned, would still be compelled to leave the enemy in possession of Gray, the centre of subsistence and of forage, and in a position to cut off the roads from Vesoul to Langres, and from Dijon to Langres, to intercept convoys, &c.

On another hand, Besançon says nothing of the indemnity which would make use of the polygon of Auxonne, satisfy that city and even Dijon.

A memorial on this subject is necessary. The city has gone too far to retreat. But who will draw up this memorial with the arguments proper to make an impression upon the Chambers and the heads of administration?

I have written about it to M. Mourgeon, because some one told me (M. Weiss, I believe) that he has an office in the chamber of commerce. Some time ago the city published a plea respecting the artillery, by the late Denis Muguet, who spoiled everything by frightening the clergy and nobility about the industrialists.

If the Chamber would now like a more nervous memorial provided with more judicious and better connected arguments, I would draw it up. . . .

If the authorities go to sleep on this matter, it is certainly lost for Besançon; but it will be gained, if they know how to bring forward a nervous plea, which treats the affair broadly by producing new, powerful, decisive arguments, and which especially is not so timid in unmasking the intrigues of Dijon to produce the incorporation of Franche-Comté with Bourgogne, to take away to-day the royal court, to-morrow the military division, and thus transform the Bourbons into co-operators of

Bonaparte,<sup>1</sup> who wished to avenge himself on that city because she alone refused to recognise him as emperor. Besançon and Marseilles (for two different reasons) were the two cities of his aversion.

Paris, 3d April, 1830.

. . . . . You tell me that I ought to speak to M. Marquiset about the memorial to be published respecting the artillery. I have not failed to speak to him about it, and to show him some plans; but he is completely choked up with bad arrangements; he wishes to send back the stud to Pontarlier, in order to secure a stable for 80 horses; this will not prevent the necessity of building, and he is strongly in favor of the worst locality; he wishes to build at the stud. Where can they put a building? The stud being oblique, which takes up a great deal of land, nothing but a triangular edifice can be erected, either between the stud and the Jacobins, or between the stud and St. Louis, if there is room. While by building upon the old location of the cavalry in front of the manéges, upon either of these two points: 1st, square of the Jacobins, 2d, space between the infirmary and St. Louis, they could have three buildings in connexion, and without touching the stud:

The place between the infirmary and St Louis, -	200	} 620 horses.
The square of the Jacobins, - - - - -	260	
In the rear of St. Louis, Morteau's garden, by erecting against it a building which would jut out a little from the edifice, 4 files of 40,	- 160	

620 to be added to the 600 already arranged for in the 2 churches and 2 manéges, while waiting for the erection of the great cavalry barracks, 736 horses; after which St. Paul could be restored to worship, and the 3d manége to the service, the first would be torn down. Besides, there would be ample room in Arènes to lodge 2 regiments and 1000 horses, according to the correction indicated in my plan. . . .

The Bisontins steer very badly in the affair of the artillery; they were almost wrecked at the meeting on Friday, at the minister's. But for General Neigre, everything was lost. If illness or a journey had kept him from that meeting, the ministry would have been carried away; Berbis<sup>2</sup> made an uproar, he interrupted the ministers, even M. de Polignac. Neigre alone knew how to reply to him, and to hold

<sup>1</sup> This merely means that, at the time of the vote for the consulate for life, in the year X. (1802), there was a certain number of negative suffrages at Besançon and in the department du Doubs. But the administration, as we are assured, did not transmit them all to the central power, and substituted approving votes for the opposing ones given by a portion of the inhabitants, especially in the district of Pontarlier. However, even supposing some unfaithfulness in the return of the suffrages, the 3½ millions of votes, then counted in favor of Bonaparte, displayed none the less the most imposing majority which any power has united in France.

<sup>2</sup> M. de Berbis, deputy from the Côte d'Or.

ground against him. Rogniat is strongly against Besançon. I asked these Messieurs<sup>1</sup> if I could write to him, because I knew him long since, and my well-based observations upon the military part might soften him a little; they were not willing; they thought that this would be violating the secret of the meeting, a real stage secret, which will be known to all interested within three days. Then, when these Messieurs have gone, I shall have an opportunity to write to Rogniat, without appearing to have been informed by the deputies of Besançon. At the same time I shall send a Livret<sup>2</sup> to him.

The Bisontins are ruining themselves by their refusal to draw up a memorial.

Hardly will your deputies have departed, when Berbis will recommence his intrigues, and will at last obtain a delay. Impudent people always triumph over tolerant ones who limit themselves to the defensive.

The ministry would with great pleasure see a mystification played off upon Berbis, who holds a pistol at their head by threatening to vote against them with his 35 clients of the extreme right centre. If some incident should discredit Berbis, the ministry would no longer fear his influence upon the 35.

. . . . . The Bisontins, in wishing to limit themselves to the defensive, give a good game to their adversaries. As soon as M. de Bourmont shall have gone, and the minister ad interim be installed, the Dijonnais will obtain a delay based on some absurd pretext. . . .

Paris, 21st April, 1830.

. . . . . In the number of 18th April (of the *Impartial*), you deplore the loss of the pretty grove of Chamars. You could be answered: *Vous l'avez voulu, Georges Dandin.* You are not willing to organize a resistance to vandalism, a committee of embellishment.

Do you not know that the corps of engineers is essentially vandalic, especially when it is provoked? . . . .

Could you not demonstrate to the engineers that the plan has been altered ten times since the canal was talked of? I heard Faivre the engineer, at M. Marquiset's, say that works in the bed of rivers were inadmissible, and the very next year those works were admitted. This is the *spirit* of the soi-disant science of engineering; it is a weather-cock which has no other compass than the mania of contradiction and vandalism, since each engineer wishes to get his own plan passed, or to spoil and disfigure the plan, the admission of which he has not been able to prevent.

It is for the purpose of exercising this vengeance that the engineers

<sup>1</sup> The members of the deputation from the Doubs.

<sup>2</sup> Livret d'annonce of the Nouv. Mond. Indus.

are now slacking away at your grove, and will do all the damage in Chambéry that can be done there. Your journal makes therewith fine phrases about other regiments without going to the point. Could you not put the engineers into opposition to each other? Once their contradictions bring them back to military usages. Is it customary to cut down the woods, the trees of a fortification, before it is subjected to a siege? No; they are reserves intended for the necessities of a siege.

You say: "The military engineers wish that the waters derived from the Doubs shall bathe the foot of the walls in the whole extent of the retrenchment." Why, then, have they not wished it for a hundred years? Because the ditches ought not to be inundated, or the walls bathed, until the moment of a siege, especially walls of the 2d line. Preparations ought, in fact, to be made, as at Lille, so that the inundation may be easy: but it ought not to be executed before the necessity; for it is unhealthy if the water has not a quick current. . . .

But your journal, instead of giving reasons, amuses itself with long strings of words about the *trees which display their brilliant luxuriance*. They care for nothing in that journal but to let people see that they can make phrases, a very vulgar talent. . . .

It should have resisted the vandalism in season, and proved that it is malevolent to effect in full peace devastations which are only permitted when there is imminent danger of war and a state of siege. Why did your journal wait till the evil was accomplished before speaking of it? It might have been obviated. The engineers see clearly with whom they have to do; they would not dare attempt such impertinences in other cities.

And if the engineers wish to inundate, to bathe the walls, why have they sanctioned the removal of the bars, the absence of which leaves a ford before various points, as between St. Paul's tower and the Mouillière? Yet this is a wall of the 1st line. And when they leave a wall of the 1st line uncovered, fordable, they are in a hurry, in full peace, to inundate a 2d line, an interior wall. This is so shocking a monstrosity, that those most to blame are the Bisontins who have not resisted it.

Paris, 3 May, 1830.

. . . . How could the engineers be shocked by the criticism of operations which they themselves disapproved? for every engineer whose plan has not prevailed, censures the other plans, and every decision of the corps varies three or four times before the definitive adoption. It is this fear of an amendment which has made them so suddenly destroy the grove and the bar of the women's bath.

How could the engineers not have feared an amendment, when they all know that the ordinary method, the tenaille or an approximation, would give much more strength to the curtains of the Hospital and

Prefecture than a bare foundation favoring an attempt at a breach, and reducing the curtain to a plunging fire; while the tenaille or retrenchment in straight line, surrounded by a double canal, would very opportunely add rasant fires, and would well support the long straight face of the central bastion? If you do not show up the engineers on this point, if you limit yourselves to complaints, it is acknowledging that they are in the right; and they are so much the more in the wrong, because in case of siege they could use the soil of the second canal, dug around the tenaille, to form the parapet of the upper rampart, which has none. . . .

Moreover, of what use are your embellishments of Chamars? The engineers will ravage them if they are not well shown up this time; and besides, the first embellishment, as well as salubrity, requires that the two curtains should be provided with a direct tenaille, a false detached covering, with a grassy slope, planted above with shrubs, mallows, dahlias, during peace.

Paris, 9 May, 1830.

. . . At every grievance, your journal only takes the defensive, even that very slack and supported by the weakest arguments.

It must be understood that, because a man knows how to write, he is not therefore fitted to treat all kinds of subjects. If I were told to write a page upon some administrative question I should refuse, being well persuaded that by attempting it, I should hazard my cause at every phase, and that I should know neither how to choose nor how to place my arguments. Besides, I should have no confidence, from persuasion of my incapacity.

That one of your collaborateurs, who writes upon the Auxonnais, the engineers, and questions of this nature, is completely out of place there; he has neither the tone, nor the arguments, nor the nerve which ought to be brought into such a struggle.

In the first place you do not formally and literally give the lie to calumnies; you deny by halves and in such a manner as to leave to a malicious imputation all its force. . . .

Where have you seen that so much bon ton and academic wheedling is necessary among journalists? Bon ton is not required in polemics of journals and of literature. Voltaire was certainly a writer of bon ton, and what insults did he not vomit forth against his enemies! Without going so far, you must keep in the middle and speak with firmness to vandals and calumniators. . . .

I have written a short article in reply to that of 2d May, in which, by the insufficiency of your replies, you give an excessive importance and even a consistency to the lies of the Dijonnais. You will see by

this article that you could have embarrassed them by laughing at them. Your almost obsequious manner redoubles their effrontery ; it is irony that should be made use of with them ; you must improve on their gasconnades, as La Fontaine advises in this reply to a boaster :

“ J'ai vu, dit il, un chou plus grand qu'une maison ;  
Et moi, dit l'autre, un pot aussi grand qu'une église ;  
Le premier se moquant, l'autre reprit : ‘Tout doux,  
On fit ce pot pour y cuire vos choux.’ ”

That is the way to pay off boasters : laugh at them ; but your journal always goes into cold and respectful replies to ridiculous lies which ought to be jested at.

This is in fact encouraging the Bourguignons to renew a hundred times the quarrel at which the ministry would long since have shrugged their shoulders, if the subject had been properly treated. But the “Impartial” persists in the method which is most erroneous in polemics as well as in war : that is, in always accepting the ground which the enemy pleases to choose ; keeping itself on the timid defensive, without ever attacking ; using only the weakest of arguments, and always giving the priority to those of the adversary, in order that the first impression may be for him.

If you had shown up the engineers well upon some serious fault, such as the removal of the Fusenot bar, they would not have dared to redouble their impertinences ; but they are like the Dijonnais : they see that there is no resistance, and they give themselves up to *the amusement of the trade*. This is what an engineer, M. Jars, deputy from Lyons,<sup>1</sup> told me only yesterday. I was speaking to him of the impertinence which those at Besançon had committed, and he replied laughing : “ Ha, ha, ha ! it is the amusement of the trade.” And yet Jars is among the distinguished engineers : he is a literary man, a man of great reputation. When I went to the citadel with M. de Laiser and you, he complacently told me the number of bridges he had destroyed. The engineers have the schoolboys’ mania.

(In a succeeding letter, 22d May, Fourier, in answer to Muiron, again says a few words respecting the honorable M. Jars.)

. . . . M. Jars is not a new acquaintance of mine. He is not exactly a disciple of my Theory ; he is not even studying it ; he is one of those who do not examine this kind of calculation ; he goes for nothing but literature and the Charter.

<sup>1</sup> The most famous victory was only owing to a refusal of ground. The Russians wished to give battle at Vischau : Bonaparte did not find the ground to his liking ; he retreated to Austerlitz, and drew on the Russians, who were there annihilated. Do the same with the Dijonnais.

<sup>2</sup> His sister, Mme. de Villiers du Terrage, who sat beside me at dinner, asked about you.

Paris, 17 May, 1830.

. . . . I have received your number of the 9th, containing my article on the grove. This insertion gives me occasion to call your attention to various faults very useless to the proprietors of your journal and very disagreeable to me.

When the subject of an article or an accessory does not please the censors, let them suppress it entirely, I have nothing to say against that. . . .

And even, if they see fit to soften my expressions, to suppress an irony which reflects upon the civil engineers, respecting the Malpas bar, that also is their right.

But in speaking of St. Paul's redoubt, they make a suppression which renders my criticism very defective; for if I blame the engineers for not giving a quadruple surface to this bastion, it is because there was required at this point a spreading cavalier of 120 degrees, and this cannot be made except by means of a great surface. If you do not insist on this necessity of plunging fires near the tête de pont, the engineers can answer that in the matter of rasant fires, those of the rampart are sufficient with those of the little redoubt, and that there would be an impropriety in lengthening it upon the brief, changing the system of that rampart and the bar. They will be apparently right in the eyes of the reader, who does not know that I reason from the necessity of a cavalier.

A license, which appears to exceed the functions of censorship, is the attributing to me a wicked criticism upon a piece which I have praised, that of M. Viancin, the stanzas. Far from calling it *pale*, I recognised in it some brilliant colors; I said that this philippic had nerve and went straight to the mark, allowing for the addition of the theoretical part. I was therefore very far from accusing it of *paleness: a pale newspaper article*, character of extreme mediocrity. By gratuitously attributing this insult to me, they have made for me an additional enemy: *genus irritabile vatum*.

But this paleness, of which you make me accuse those stanzas, could I not attribute it to the phrases with which your journal disguises me? I had written a preamble connected with the subject. . . .

Your censor thinks proper to suppress that in order to abridge the article. It was not necessary to substitute an opening of a different color, a trivial gossiping, in which I am introduced in familiar colloquy, in choleric expressions, a real school-girl's opening. A still more unsuitable phrase is to say that I was born in the city, to speak of my last or first abode: I am not a favorite with the Bisontin public, and it shows bad taste in me to inform them of my private affairs, about

which they care nothing. Whether I was born at Besançon or at Véze, is a matter of indifference to the corps of engineers to whom I address my criticism.

It is the same with the public towards whom I am made to employ a wheedling tone which is not my style, a base flattery fitted only to excite mistrust, as to say that this city *will be always dear to those who have lived in it*. Eh ! under what title will it be dear ? As the quarters-general of caterpillars and vandals, the centre of apathy and of bad taste, a city devoid of public taste and discernment ? It is the one best situated for the abode of the English who journey into Switzerland, it ought to be their entrepot, their stopping place in going and returning, it has not a single one ; it has more than any other city the means of embellishment, it only knows how to spoil everything, to ruin its means of prosperity, as has been seen with regard to the manufacture of watches. The Mulhousins have known how to find 5 millions to assist their manufacture : the Bisontins have not known how to find 3 thousand francs for theirs, and they have let it go without lending any aid to it.<sup>1</sup>

These are the men of whom your journal makes me the apologist in phrases as servile as those of the blind senator who praised Domitian's turbot to which his back was turned : he made himself the laughing-stock of the whole court. Does your journal wish then to bring me down to such a position ? Please say to those who amalgamate their prose with mine, that meanness and baseness are not my manner ; that

<sup>1</sup> Fourier was mistaken here respecting the fate reserved for the Bisontin watchmaking, which is now in a flourishing condition. The watches manufactured at Besançon, in the year 1841, form total of 4,948 gold, and 44,912 silver watches. The manufacture was still more active in 1842.

It is true that this branch of industry, in which Fourier took a strong interest, has not always been so much encouraged by the authorities of the city of Besançon as it deserved to be. In consequence of this indifference, and also in consequence of the vicissitudes which every branch of manufacturing labor experiences under our regime of commercial anarchy, the manufacture of watches at Besançon has had alternate phases of suffering and of prosperity, of decline and ascendency, during the fifty years it has been established. It is a strong-lived industry and ought to be esteemed so much the more that Besançon is the only watchmaking place in France which has hitherto been able to contend with Swiss competition.

Fourier recurs to this subject several times in his correspondence. He wrote, 6th February, 1819 :

"I learn with pleasure that the Prefecture of Besançon is intervening to restore the manufacture of watches. The city of Besançon has never felt its importance, and it is one of those matters in which the country must be served in spite of herself. Geneva and Augsburg have grown rich by nothing but watchmaking, which brings in its train jewelry and banking, when the manufacture becomes extensive. Observe that there were in Geneva, in 1788, independent of large trade, 150 houses of small watchmakers keeping their carriage. What a conquest for Besançon if it could raise its manufacture to that standing !"

being by character opposed to the part of a courtier, of an obsequious utterer of phrases, I shall not be so stupid as to assume that part with malevolent fellow citizens who have had me defamed at the academy, contrary to the intention of the reporter, whose hand they forced. I know too well that no man is a prophet in his own country, and this is an additional reason for me to avoid throwing myself at the feet of the Bisontins by addressing to them insipid and exaggerated eulogiums to which they themselves do not pretend. I therefore request those who remodel my phrases not to travesty me, not to give me an adulatory tone which I despise. If they judge their flatteries judicious, why do they not deal them out separately? They have the whole journal at their command; what need have they to mingle their flummery with the grave and severe tone of my articles which this mixture transforms into the dress of a harlequin. . . .

However, I am well satisfied that they have copied in full my quadruple cause of complaint about the bars of the city; this is a fault from which the engineers will not wash themselves.

Moreover, if they wish to enter the lists, I am quite ready; I have a great many other such to tell them.—These little wars are necessary to animate a journal; if it says only sweet things to everybody, it soon becomes so insipid as to fall from the hands of the very persons to whom it offers incense.

22d May, 1830.

You do very wrong in complaining of sharp forms in the passages where I differ in opinion with you. I have more reason to accuse you of intolerance. Where should we be if, in writing to an intimate friend, we were obliged to borrow the distilled tone we assume in a petition to a minister, weigh all our words and have recourse to honed periphrases in order to say that 2 and 2 make 4? You may freely blame the manner and tone of any one in a plea without disputing his talent, and it is more and more certain that your journal, in everything it has said about the pretensions of Dijon and Auxonne, has always been in contradiction to the rules of art.

One very certain rule is that you must employ weapons as powerful as those of the enemy. He has for weapons calumnies and uproar, excellent arguments in our ages, and you do not even dare to make use of truth and irony! You retrench yourselves behind some academical insipidities, similar to a man who, seeing robbers attack his house and fire upon his servants, should answer their gunshots by saying from the window: "Your pretensions to invade my house are not well founded in the sense which you invoke: they are contrary to the terms of the charter." Such a man would be laughable. In such a case he

must lay aside the academic jargon, fire at the assailants, and call upon the gendarmes to arrest them and have them hung.

You reply: "Nevertheless we have succeeded."

No, you have not succeeded, you have got almost nothing—"But M. Clement has given his opinion that we ought to say nothing until we were in possession."—Well! you are, I repeat, only provisionally so for the half school, and besides, M. Clement counted on the protection of M. Courvoisier. Here is a new state of things; you have no longer a protector with the ministry.

On the other hand, if M. Clement, who is not more infallible than the Pope, thinks it best to say nothing about the intrigues of the Dijonnais, he doubtless has not given an opinion that it is best to furnish them with arguments for success, with causes of complaint against Besançon, as the "Impartial" of the 9th of May does in a two-fold manner. . . .

You continue to misunderstand the meaning of my criticisms in accusing them of harshness. Every one has his manner which it is not easy to vary. If I were addressing a criticism to powers, to ministers, to peers, or even to a constituted authority, I should compose a rough draft, I should file my phrases in order to soften the style; but this would be a great deal of labor for a friendly correspondence. For 30 years I have been accustomed to hear myself contradicted, and I am never vexed by it. What is there offensive in saying to any one that in modifying an article, he must neither mix the manner of one with that of another, nor pervert the intention? For instance, in the article of the 9th upon the grove, while making it open with familiarities unsuitable at the head of a severe criticism, it is terminated by a phrase which would really be according to my manner, for it is grave and argumentative, but it perverts the intention by mingling the spirit of party with a matter which has no such color. I did not write as an apostle of the opposition and of the uproar it is exciting in France. I carefully isolate myself from these political hostilities; they alienate one class of readers without satisfying the other. That is therefore a very unskilful finale to a criticism in which the author wishes to speak to all parties without alienating any of them, without mar shalling himself under any banner, without adopting either the formulas or the principles of party spirit. By giving such a color to my last phrase, you take from the article half the partisans it might have had, you leave upon the ultras a very unpleasant impression which makes them careless about the claim, which they would perhaps have sustained, and which is distasteful to them from the moment that it ranges itself under the banner of liberalism.

Paris, 12th December, 1830.

I presume that Messieurs de Besançon have refused my request for the commissariat (in the matter of the artillery-school), since you have not again mentioned it to me. If I had known that it was to pass through the bolter of a municipality, I should have taken good care not to make the request; I addressed it to the mayor alone, thinking him judicious enough to appreciate the offer of an agent who, costing nothing in expenses of journeying and maintenance, could exercise three functions, those of writing, replying and running, one of which an incumbent of high grade often cannot fill. Very certainly the two functionaries of last year were weak in reply, at public meetings, upon the questions of strategy, statistics, topography, &c., of which the domain of the Bourguignon falsehoods is composed. Besides the Comtois are lucky, in having had twice the assistance of warm heads like M. Neigre who, in the former discussion, knew how to answer Berbis, and M. d'Anthouard who, this last time, was indignant at the falsities of the Dijonnais memorial and went to the marshal to tell him that this memorial was a tissue of falsehoods. It is he who did the work, and the deputies found it done when they went to pay a visit to the minister.

20th December, 1830.

. . . You have told me nothing about the discussions respecting the proposition of the commissariat for the artillery. They must have insulted me as at the academy.

3d January, 1831.

I am astonished that you are indignant at the Bisontin stupidity. It is only pitiful, for the result of the deliberation is devoid of sense, and may give rise to much pleasantry; but before undertaking this, as I have a right, since they have taken the initiative, I should like to know if it may not be injurious to you, and if M \* \* y, who is, I believe, one of the influential shareholders of your journal, will not seek to injure you: however, my pleasantries will bear only on facts and not on persons. I also wish to know if a letter can be addressed directly to the municipal council, or if it must be addressed by the mayor, who, perhaps, would not communicate it. Who are the leaders of that council?

Your municipal gentlemen think that all is completed for the artillery. There is nothing finished; it will have to be done again ten times.

10th January, 1831.

. . . I expected to receive from you a circumstantial detail respecting the session of the municipal council in which I was spoken of. To whom then do you mention it, since you say nothing to me? I should

like, as would everybody, to know my friends and my enemies, those who have spoken for or against me. You do not tell me a word of that, you hide from me everything that interests me, as if I were a body without a head, a silly woman who would be made disconsolate by the stupidities of a few fools. I care no more for them than Piron did for those of the Beaunois; but I should like to know them in detail. . . .

(BB.) Page 72.

*Respecting a Memorial addressed by Fourier to M. the baron Capelle, minister of public works, and respecting the good intentions of that minister.*

Respecting this proceeding of Fourier towards a member of the last cabinet of Charles X., we can quote Fourier's own testimony. He expressed himself as follows, in an article of the "Reforme industrielle," headed "Solution of all the problems of finance by a composite impost."

. . . "There remained to be found the process of combined industry, the art of associating the functions of cultivation, housekeeping and manufacturing; of organizing them in unity of action, of substituting a combined exercise for the 400 incoherent exercises which are seen in an agricultural town. This art once discovered, a single demonstrative essay would be sufficient to diffuse it everywhere as promptly as the compass was diffused.

"I had presented a Memorial on this subject to the baron Capelle, at the time when the ministry of public works was instituted: I showed to him that his allowance of 44 millions (or 40, without expenses) was only a tenth of what it ought to be, for his predecessor, M. Becquey, had asked in vain, for ten years, 100, 150, and successively even 200 millions: that, if he appropriated to it only 10 millions a year, the deteriorations increasing upon the unrepaired points from the first year, would absorb the allowance of 6 years and not of 5.

"By the side of this unpleasant anticipation for the minister, was displayed a parallel of the brilliant career which opened before him, if he was willing to make the trial of combined industry and unity of action, a trial for which a minister has only to will. . . .

"M. the baron Capelle had carefully looked at the matter, the brilliant pis aller of tripling the revenue, if the Societary theory is false and he were reduced to the material advantage, to the three-fold increase of production, a result which would be sufficient to change the industrial system and extirpate all its vices. He wrote to me, 24th July, 1830: 'Be persuaded that this matter shall be examined with all the attention

it deserves.' He added these words: 'The ministry being overburdened with business, this examination must be deferred for a few days.'

"I thought at first that this delay was merely a polite evasion; but two days afterwards the famous ordinances made their appearance, and I understood that the ministry, on the 24th July, was engrossed with business so serious, that it was obliged to await the denouement before examining any theory of industrial reform.

"The following week, M. Capelle was no longer anything, and since that time I have made no attempts upon the ministers. The journals have not ceased saying that the ministry would be re-established next week. Still I must depend upon a stability of at least six months, in order to propose innovation to the minister: if he thinks he is threatened with a fall, he will give no attention to any project; only once did I think circumstances favorable to venture a Memorial: before I had written it out, the ministry caused its withdrawal to be published, then three days afterwards decided to remain. In these crises of balloting and see-sawing of the functionaries, one can depend upon nothing."

(*La Réforme industrielle*, 24th May, 1833.)

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(CC.) *Page 74.*

*Defence of the pamphlet entitled : Piéges et Charlatanisme, &c.*

Paris, 18th July, 1831.

You pretend that I see enemies in all men. No, but I know that those who only skim over my writings become hostile to me, by opposing their prejudices to me, and classing me among the charlatans or the intriguers. Sometimes it is not their intention that is hostile, it is their false judgment. Such is the error of the class which attributes to me the project of the philosophers, of wishing to change men and their passions. I have a right to give utterance to this reproach, since <sup>1/2</sup>ths of my critics fall into the same fault. It appears that my flood of reproaches is still too weak, since they persist in the error.

You say that they are repelled by my *heart-rending* invectives; what is there heart-rending in hearing it said that the people have deceived themselves for 3000 years; that it is not in administrative and sacerdotal reforms they must seek the path to good, but in industrial reform. The principle admitted, they can admit the consequence, that of *falsified minds*, of *vicious customs*. This is not flattering, but it wants much of being heart-rending.

I ought, you say, to have pity on the *unhappy blind who lead the*

*blind.*<sup>1</sup> But when they guide themselves to the precipice, it would be a ferocious pity that said to them: " You are in the right direction, go on." Besides, I express against them neither vehement, nor even moderate anger: I *laugh* at them.

You speak of M. Théod. Jouffroy, with whom I am acquainted: I talked with him at the Tilleroyes;<sup>2</sup> but he is a man gangrened by the contact of philosophers. What! he acknowledges about the Theory, the quadruple product, true relations, lucrative virtue, triumph of virtue, that the substance is BEAUTIFUL, TRUE, SUBLIME; and because the form is not flattering to the brotherhood, he rejects the work and cannot recommend it to be read! Such are philosophers: the happiness of Humanity is nothing in their eyes; they want nothing but flatteries for their sects, and the St. Simonians are an essential branch of it, inasmuch as they directly attack Catholicism.

He accuses me of virulent and unjust attacks upon men who may be deceiving themselves. These are two reproaches devoid of sense. In fact, far from making use of diatribes and virulence, I expose very gaily, in a short preamble, the absurdity of their two bases, Theocracy and Mortmain, and the charlatanism of their bombastic style. Then I come to their plagiarism, and certainly I have a right to denounce whomsoever steals from me. Therefore, before dissecting their theory and their tactics, I have employed three articles in giving an abridged statement of the two sciences of which they wish to deprive me.

After these demonstrations, I have good right to say that they are hypocrites and devoid of invention. Then I examine their trickeries, and far from giving way to virulence, I do not leave my jesting tone. But a philosopher like M. Jouffroy judges this as an inquisitor judges Voltaire.

Then you would have me go on my knees to them and say: *Perhaps you are right*; perhaps it is I who am wrong?

You ask me what effect I anticipate from my last factum? It is not a pamphlet from which much *effect* can be expected, since it will not be supported by an apparatus of notices; it is a work to be presented with a letter and circumstantial details to those whose protection I may seek, and first to the king and two or three of the ministers.

But for more than a month I have been disabled by a fever, which is often at 100 to 120 pulsations a minute. It is not the grippé, and it is not a fever for medicines, but simply for diet, since it is not regular; it

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to the epigraph, taken from the gospel, which Fourier had placed at the head of his pamphlet: "They are the blind who lead the blind."

<sup>2</sup> A country house belonging to M. Mourgeon, situated at a league's distance from Besançon.

has been diminishing for some days. My disgust for food is disappearing by degrees. . . .

(At the end of this letter, Fourier again returns to the defence of his polemic against the St. Simonians:—)

In the preamble, he says, I begin by showing their want of basis, by adding to their bombastic phrase: *They do not even know how to associate a village, and they wish to produce Universal association!!!* I do not create anything ridiculous for them, I quote what they themselves create. And as to the joke upon their *swelling up with love*, a man must be insidious like M. J\*\*\*\* to see in it virulent attacks and heart-rending invectives. He is a man who, beginning to push himself in the world, wishes to propitiate all the parties from whom he can derive advantage or fear anything.

“Tous les gens querelleurs, jusqu’aux simple matins,  
Au dire des flâneurs, étaient des petits saints.”

This is why the St. Simonians are well intentioned people, and I am the ass of the fable. *Tolle et immola.*

(DD.)—*Page 77.*

*Enterprise of Condé-sur-Vesgre.—Conditions and plans of an essay given in 1816 and 1819.*

Relative to this first attempt, in 1832 and 1833, for the application of the Societary Theory, an attempt undertaken with very insufficient resources, but in which faults were also committed, as we do not deny, it is just to say that of all those who had anything to do with the matter, Fourier was the one who gave evidence of the most good sense, the most prudence and sagacity. Unhappily his opinion did not always prevail, it must be confessed, or else was assented to only too late, after the evil was done.

What we here state can be easily proved by Fourier’s correspondence. Thus, in the month of January, 1833, he wrote to Muiron:

“I have had no inclination to write to you for some time, because matters were not going on to my liking.”

On 9th March, of the same year, he wrote:

“Our architect, against whom I have had to contend alone, has at last come to his senses, and instead of buying lumber to the amount of 25,000 fr. cash, has decided to use only 11,000, which is supportable.

“You could not believe the difficulty I have had in convincing the company of the imprudence of thus wishing to consume at once, in the

purchase of a single kind of materials, all they have in hand and perhaps even more.

"They tell me: *other money will come!* But if they reckon on it before having it, they run the risk of reckoning without their host. I had to wear myself out with remonstrances before I could bring them to this slight dose of prudence. This makes me anticipate the resistance I shall experience when we come to operate. . . .

"Some shareholders are coming in," said Fourier, under date of 2d May; "ten times as many would come if the architect had not retarded everything to try to make us, tired of contending, adopt his plans, which he renewed incessantly, and of which he himself now confesses the ridiculousness; but pride tormented him. He is a caviller who wants round if you want square, and square if you want round; I have given an opinion that it is best to discharge him and take a master mason, who will do very well, as our buildings are all rural."

Another letter, under date of 10th July, 1833, contains the following:

"My dear friend,

"I wrote to you by M. Parandier,<sup>1</sup> to tell you that at last the discharge of our cursed architect seems decided on. I shall believe it when I see it done.

"This man, who had *no materials* when it was necessary to build for the associates, finds them in abundance now to execute a hundred follies. To speak only of the more recent, he has, since the new regulation or dictatorship, built the following *piggeries*:

"1st. Piggery or stable for hogs with superb walls of good stone 18 inches thick. The edifice of the masters was to have walls of only 6 inches in clay. Thus the hogs were to be three times better lodged than the messieurs. Could he not have saved these materials and placed the hogs until a new order in board pens? Officers' horses, much larger gentlemen than hogs, have this kind of lodgings at Besançon.

"The greatest beauty of the piggery is that he ran up the wall without making any door, so that the hogs will have to be hoisted up with pulleys night and morning, in order to get them in and out.

"2d. He has built a workshop for joiners, and placed the windows so high up that the workmen say they will not be able to see on their benches. But he pretends that high-placed windows look better outside.

"3d. He has built 4 bakers' ovens. But these ovens, being much too

<sup>1</sup> The engineer of bridges and highways, who was then engineer in ordinary at Besançon and is now chief engineer of the railroad between Dijon and Chalon.

small, will be very expensive. Any other would have built one for trial.

" 4th. He has built movable water closets, well enough if you please, but he immediately ordered a dozen.

" You see the fine part that will have to be played by the council of superintendence which is to assemble every month to make its remarks. What remarks can they make on things already done ?

" It cannot be concealed, the colony is destroyed.

" There is a plan in existence which was formed long since, it is to arrange matters so as to lure on the shareholders for a trial of my theory, to adopt some shadows of it and then form a vast farm for the advantage of a few managers. They will begin by engaging M. Dulary in expenses, an easy thing. Once engaged, they will hold him and will say to him : here are expenses already incurred, we must risk nothing in uncertain innovations. Let us put off all these projects of a Phalanstery.

" M. Dulary will certainly be obliged to yield.

" Such is the farce they are preparing for me. But I saw it clearly, even before they had lifted the mask much, for I predicted the projects of Q. to M. Dulary, before the former had come out with his ridiculous pretences.

" My colleagues Transon, Lechevalier, Considerant, Pellarin, in this matter, are blind men who do not see four steps ahead."

Fourier was doubtless wrong in attributing to some persons a systematic project of preventing or counteracting a trial of his theory in the Condé establishment. In all the rest he was right; and I do not except what he says about the want of clear-sightedness in ourselves, whom by a great act of modesty on his part, assuredly, he honored with the title of his *colleagues*. We were then very young, very inexperienced, and the *good man*, in spite of some eccentricities, judged much better than any of us respecting actual and practical things : it was not in doctrine only that he was our master.

In a letter posterior by four or five months to that which has just been quoted, at a period when Fourier had no longer any reliance upon the colony of Condé for a trial of his theory, he wrote, 27th November, 1833 :

.... " For the want of this string another must be put in play ; this is what I shall attempt. But first of all I required a manifesto from the Condé colony. I had more need of it than you and your friends who appeared very impatient ; for the whole delay weighed upon me, and fortunately the scene is changed ; the document proves clearly that the delay of execution cannot be imputed to me. ....

"This makes me very ready to propose the matter to others, who not only would have imagined me the agent of the colony of Condé, but who might have believed that it was dissatisfied with the trial; they see by this statement<sup>1</sup> that it has made no trial, but merely preparations for common cultivation without distribution by series, and rural buildings for a common farm, without attempting the conveniences of a Phalanstery.

"It will be necessary for me to take advantage of these faults when proposing the affair to the minister and others, who would not fail to say to me: For a year and more you have been announcing that you had a company at Condé for the foundation; how does it happen that you have not realized it?

"I shall now have a good right to say that they have not followed a line of my instructions, and it will be easy for me to prove it." . . .

After this correspondence of Fourier about the attempt at a trial in 1833, it is not uninteresting to read what were the conditions indicated by him, as early as 1816, for an enterprise of this nature.

Talissieu, 21st August, 1816.

. . . . The impatience you exhibit about the foundation of a Canton of Harmony is premature. The means on which you depend are insufficient. In the first place a regular Treatise, a body of doctrine, is required to give the necessary notions; then you need a chief who can be chosen only among three classes of men:

1st. The sovereigns deeply interested, such as the emperor of Russia, the prince of the Low Countries, the Congress of the United States of America, and that of the Spanish colonies, if they succeed in maintaining their independence;

2d. The princes who are dethroned and who incline to believe that everything is not for the best in this world;

3d. Rich individuals, inclined to liberal ideas. I establish the condition of a *great fortune*, because the chief of the enterprise must offer a domainial guaranty for the advances which will have to be made. It is in England especially that we may find a founder of this third class.

We could also base some hopes upon the colony of New-Vevay, on the banks of the Ohio.

But an assemblage of colonists, all devoid of fortune, would be unfitted for want of inequality. The first passionnal tourbillon (or Phalanstery) which shall be founded, will have twelve kinds of absences of Attraction to surmount; it will therefore be necessary to sustain it by

<sup>1</sup>The statement referred to was inserted in the 36th number of the second year of the journal *le Phalanstère*, 16th November, 1833.

various accessory means, and especially by inequality of fortune, which is the principal spring of Harmony, with inequality or gradation of characters.

When a chief shall be found, he must present an appeal to all persons inclined to make charitable bequests by will: such were the count de Merode at Brussels, count Marescalchi at Milan, M. Pourtales at Neuchatel. These gentlemen having appropriated in foundations or bequests of charity enormous sums, even as high as a million, might well be inclined to apply one half of the bequests they have determined on, to the foundation of the new order, which must for ever extirpate indigence, and render useless alms, workshops, or hospitals of charity. They might so much the more give their names to this subscription, as the foundation is not exposed to run the risks of pecuniary loss, and they would always recover, in case it did not succeed, the whole of the capital which might be applied to this enterprise: there would be only a delay of the alms and no dissipation. Their bequests can in no way attain the object of extirpating and preventing mediocrity. This will be secured by the conditional employment of half the sums which the living donators propose to bequeath. In fact, we may usually reckon in Europe an approximation of 20 millions to be bequeathed to the poor and to hospitals by living capitalists. The count de Merode alone has bequeathed a million, Pourtales 800,000fr. for the building of his hospital: a provisional appropriation of half their bequests would take nothing from the poor, would be only a delay of alms, and will be enough to effect the enterprise which must extirpate indigence.

I intend to propose this matter at the end of 1817, in an abridgment of the formula of passionnal Attraction, and I shall try to publish elsewhere than in France, where two obstacles prevail. The first is a suspicious policy which sees enemies in those whose genius might serve the State, and relieve it from the embarrassments of every kind into which it is plunged; the second obstacle is the zoilism or spirit of detraction, a dominant characteristic of the French: they are possessed with a kind of rage against any one of themselves who makes a discovery. The mania of bel esprit and jeux de mots having become general among them, and offering to every one easy methods of display without real knowledge, each thinks he becomes a man of importance by writing newspaper articles, in which he traduces an inventor. . .

A letter of 1819 (13th July) presents a sketch of the estimate.

"You tell me," wrote Fourier to Muiron, "that your society would like to try simple association in Franche-Comté. That cannot be, on account of the funds required for the buildings. There are no means of employing those of civilization: the régime by contrasted passionnal

Series is an order so different from ours, that it can accommodate itself no better with our stables for animals than with our horses for men.

"It will be necessary to build the *Tribustere*, or manor-house of the trial Tribe, and it is this which will require a heavy advance, even in building only with brick and wood. I have made the following estimate for the foundation of a Tribe of 500 persons, men, women and children :

Territory, half a square league,	.	.	.	500,000 fr.
Buildings and stables,	.	.	.	2,500,000
Purchase of animals and vegetables,	.	.	.	500,000
Furniture,	.	.	.	200,000
Tools for farming and manufacturing,	.	.	.	200,000
Cost of installation and preparations,	-	-	.	200,000
Advance of food and clothing for six months,	.	.	.	300,000
Fencing,	.	.	.	100,000
Total,	.	.	.	4,500,000 fr.

"You cannot depend upon countries of small capitalists, like Besançon, for an enterprise which would require 4 to 5 millions in advances . . ."

(EE.) *Page* 80.

Here are some other portraits of Fourier which supply the wants of that which I myself have attempted to draw.

The first is from the hand of a woman who was united to Fourier by friendship during the last six years of his life, and respecting whom he wrote, 9th February, 1832 : "The day before yesterday I made the acquaintance of a very amiable disciple, Mme. Lacombe, demoiselle Courvoisier. She is a Bisontine." This lady is, in fact, sister to the late M. Courvoisier, who was keeper of the seals under Charles X. A letter which she published in the "Phalange," 1st July, 1838, thus depicts Fourier :

"His exterior bore the stamp of an ineffable goodness : an enthusiasm entirely divine, spontaneously animated that cold and meditative attitude of the man, whom nothing astonishes because he has foreseen everything ; who fears nothing, because beyond himself he lives only in God : and each of the features of his person answered to the dignity and simplicity of the whole. At his age of sixty-four years, his white hair, slightly undulating, formed, as it were, a light crown upon his broad and perfectly harmonious head ; his blue, piercing, and deep eye, sometimes darted a glance, the energetic severity of which anticipated his words. His rather aquiline nose completed the expression of his

fine lips and the cut of a mouth announcing various and strongly pronounced passions. The whole of his decided and striking physiognomy, in which activity of soul and the power of genius shone by turns through profound irritation and imposing calmness, revealed at first sight the man in strife with his century, but marked by the finger of God for centuries to come. It was under this last aspect, uniting with it all the amiability which the character of a good man can present, that Fourier was manifested to those who understood and loved him. His lively and animated conversation, which replied to everything and explained everything; that affability, an always true expression of his feelings; that broad benevolence, that indulgence which had its source in the very height of his genius, reflected his infinite perfections in a thousand luminous traits—”

M. André Delrieu, in the “*Siecle*,” 16th October, 1837, thus represents the author of the Societary Theory:

“Fourier was a small, thin old man, with the brow of Socrates; all the superior faculties of the mind and soul were portrayed in the lines of his physiognomy by the irreproachable contour of his head. If Gigoux’s portrait is a bold, proud, and irresistible picture, before which, at the last exhibition, the most sneering stopped with enthusiasm, what would they then have done at the aspect of the model, a singular and strong type, a reproduction of which is wanting in the work of Leopold Robert? In the eyes of Fourier, in which burned incessantly a fixed and abstracted fire, in which the despair of the unknown thinker pierced through the continual engrossments of the economist, you read so much unhappiness, so much perseverance, so much elevation, that you had a presentiment of his genius even before becoming acquainted with him.”

M. X. Marmier gives the following account of a visit which he paid to Fourier, shortly after the revolution of July:

“Making use of M. Considerant’s name, I sent to ask M. Fourier for a moment’s interview; he came himself the next day to bring me a letter in which he assigned the hour when he would be at home. I was exact at the rendezvous. I entered rue Richelieu, No. 45 bis. I mounted to the fifth floor; it was little for me, but it is very high for an old man. M. Fourier was seated before his chimney place, in a white cravat, in a small blue frock coat; his dress is that of a man who cares little for what fashion prescribes, but who has nevertheless a workwoman to wash his linen, and a domestic to brush his clothes. M. Fourier’s face is handsome and interesting; his hair of silvery white falls upon his forehead and frames without veiling it; his large blue eyes possess a vivacity and an expression of glance such as I have seldom seen; the distinctive character of his physiognomy is that of meditation. With-

out knowing him, one can say, on seeing him, that he must not be confounded with the vulgar, and the eye of an observer has no difficulty in discovering, upon that fine and intellectual face, and upon that broad and well rounded brow, the reflection of no common soul.

"I explained to M. Fourier the object of my visit, and he hastened to speak to me of the aggregate of his system." . . .

"France littéraire," vol. 11, 5 liv. (1832.)

(FF.) *Page 85.*

*Three kinds of agricultural colonies to be tried competitively.*

Paris, 29 March, 1834.

Our journal being finished, since there is but one number to be published, now is the time to address the minister, telling him that the way is prepared and that he is certain of entire success, if he is willing to take up and rectify the plan regarded so unfavorably by MM. d'Argout and Huerne de Pommeuse, and operate upon 300 children, instead of 2000, as repeatedly asked for by MM. Delamarre and Dumont for an enterprise, the success of which would be put off for six years, a term quite suspicious for a minister who, not being sure that he will hold office at the end of that period, would run the risk, even in case of success, of sowing in order to secure a harvest for his successor.

My affair does not require six months, but six weeks of exercise and six of preparations.

The elements are well arranged; a number of societies wish to make philanthropic attempts and will rally round the minister as soon as he shall have presented a plan of action.

Two days since I received a letter from a society of philanthropic ladies, countesses and marchionesses of Bondy, of Portalis, &c., &c.; they tell me that they have already got together 1700 poor children in the halls of asylum; they request every one to co-operate with some funds in the good work. I shall reply to them that with 300 children they can, by trying my method, do what theirs would not do either with 1700 or 17,000, assure the education and the well being of all the children of the Globe, and, what is more, of the fathers and mothers. I shall mention to the minister this society as one of the means he can make use of to advantage.

I shall propose to him to found three colonies by subscription:

One according to the penitentiary system which is so much talked of, but making it subordinate to unity of action, of which the Dutch have not thought in their 14 abortions;

One according to some philosophical system, to be determined by the Institute;

One, finally, according to the attractive method to be tried upon children.

This third will be mine, which would pass unnoticed under favor of the two others, and which would gain the prize even before those two had commenced operations.

I shall have many arguments to bring forward in support of this proposition, many more than I had when I prevailed on M. Capelle. As soon as the ministerial reorganization which is announced shall have taken place, and I think there will not be a week's delay, I will propose the matter of the three colonies, which, if it came from the minister, would be favorably received, and would at once obtain more subscribers than are necessary, viz.:

One for the penitentiary . . . . .	1,000,000 fr.
One for the philosophical . . . . .	1,000,000
For the attractive . . . . .	600,000
In addition, for unforeseen expenses, gestion of the company and foundation of the journal of the three colonies . . . . .	400,000
Total . . . . .	<hr/> 3,000,000

(GG.) *Page 88.*

*Attempts to interest the King in the Societary Theory.*

Latterly, that is during the years 1835 and 1836, Fourier especially endeavored to persuade the king, Louis Philippe, in favor of a trial of the Societary Theory, from the consideration of his dearest interests, as much personal as dynastic.

He wrote to Muiron, 18th December, 1835:

"In the announcing sheet (which became the 2d volume of *Fausse industrie*), I shall further and especially insist upon the interests of the king." . . .

Then, 8th July, 1836, after the fresh attempt upon his majesty's life:

"Upon this subject, I have placed at the head of my book, an article of ten pages, which I hope will be communicated or commented upon to the king. I prove to him that if he wishes to put an end to conspiracies, his only resource is my intervention. I shall endeavor to have it mentioned to him."

Finally, on the 28th of the same month of July, Fourier again

recurs to the same subject in his correspondence, respecting the delays experienced in printing his pamphlets:

"One circumstance consoles me for these delays, it is, that Alibaud's attempt gives me a much stronger reason for demanding an examination of my Theory, and making efforts to bring the matter to the ears of the king, who has great need of it. To-morrow I shall write to his eldest son, before his departure for Compiègne, with a request to communicate my letter to his father. One is more sure, it is easier to get a letter to the son than to the father." . . .

(HH.) Page 96.

*Fourier's repugnance to assimilations between his Theory and other doctrines. His opinion respecting the science of the ancients. Quotation of Bacon upon the same subject.*

Belley, 16th February, 1817.

. . . "You speak to me of the means of reconciling my Theory with those of various sects without compromising their doctrines, without supposing any retraction on their part: all these quarrels of dogmas are not the essential point. Let us leave the form and attend to the substance. What are the results of their sciences during 3000 years? Indigence, knavery, oppression and carnage: therefore, if I conciliate myself with these doctrines, I shall give the same results. It will not be so." . . .

A note without date, but found among the letters of 1819, contains the following:

"When you wish briefly to analyse the coincidence of ancient or modern authors with the Theory of the destinies,—apply to them the touch-stone which immediately decides whether the gold is good or false; first examine them respecting their agreement with God, of whom you know the properties :

{ Universality of Providence,  
" Special properties, { Proportional Repartition,  
" " Economy of Means.

"Collective property : Unity of system.

"1st. Do they admit the universality of Providence? No, they only half believe in God, since they do not seek for the social code which he must have given, and since they believe this function reserved for men, and to the exclusion of God.

"2d. Do they admit Proportional Repartition? No, for they wish to keep up Civilization, which does not in any manner observe the equilibrium of repartition according to the three faculties, labor, capital and talent, and which does not even admit the allowance of a minimum.

“ 3d. Do they admit Economy of means ? No, for they proclaim as a praiseworthy industry the civilized and barbarian state which makes men work by constraint or fear of famine, and they proclaim as *nature* the savage state which brings back inertia. They have therefore no conception of the economical and divine method, Attraction, which would lead to labor the rich as well as the poor, the slave as well as the free man, the savage as well as the civilized man.

“ 4th. Finally, do they range themselves under the banner of Unity of system ? By no means, since, seeing that attraction is sufficient to direct the worlds harmoniously, they do not think of bringing into play the same system in order to harmonize the social world, and co-ordinate the material and the passionnal to one same system.

“ These people are therefore heterodox with God upon all the fundamental properties, the admission of which leads to useful studies. Of what consequence is it after this if they be orthodox upon some accessory points of doctrine, upon the abstract part which, not being applied to industry, is of no use to lead man to his destiny, and becomes a useless notion, even in case of success, if they do not know how to make it accord with the three properties of God applied to the industrial order ?

“ It is not science that is wanting, it is happiness, which cannot be produced except by the organization of industry conformably with the views of God ; and if Moses or Thaut have caught in the study of nature some shreds of the scientific part, they are only the more culpable for not having continued and gone on to the useful.

“ As to this useful branch, which is the synthetic study of attraction and the formation of the Series or 3d centre of Attraction, it is true that the enigma is too fatiguing for adepts in consequence of the laconic style of the Prospectus in 1808. Nevertheless I have plainly shown, in note A and in the 2d part, that this is the important object.

“ Each chooses in a science the branch which pleases him. If you prefer the abstract part, the notions which have no connexion with industry and social happiness, at least consider them as what they are, insignificant accessories, and take care not to believe that such authors can have had any healthy idea of the *active* God, when they have studied nothing of Attraction, which may be called God in action ; instead of finding great merits in these ancient authors, first see in them the principal error, that of making God passive and null in the government of the social world, a government which is his highest function, since the passionnal movement is that to which the four others are subordinate.

“ The ancients, because they had such unjust prejudices concerning

God, are therefore to be suspected of having made no discovery of what relates to him, and, even while granting to them some chance perceptions respecting the *passive* only, we must be very moderate in our praises and beware of conceding to them any aptitude to explain the laws of nature: their partial successes prove on the contrary that they have all abused the gifts of instinct or of genius, to apply themselves to abstract and useless studies, an error which forbids all apology for those false minds, determined to look upon God in a passive and never in an active sense.

"I explain his essence contradictorily to them all. . . . They make of him a *simple* being, and I make of him a *composite* being, and assuredly my opinion is the correct one. But all this is only accessory; of what consequence is his essence? Let him be, if they will, the log which Jupiter gave to the frogs, provided we explain the exercise of his faculties *in action*, and first of all the *Universality of Providence*, the arrangement and revelation of the social code of harmony, without which God would be useless to us."<sup>1</sup>

"Belley, 29 February, 1820.

"I have been informed, by M. Mollet, of a Treatise which you propose to publish respecting the analogies of my Theory with the *Zepher*;<sup>2</sup> and even before knowing your Treatise, I could not assent to its publication without being in contradiction to myself. For you know that I do not wish to venture any partial matter, that I should not even dare to publish one volume separately, much less a pamphlet.

"Whatever may be the merit of this one in its style, I have found a very serious vice in its plan. This is the relying upon a support which is not in favor with our age, and giving your adhesion at the commencement to doubtful authorities, while you could have relied on those which are certain. The present generation has but small faith in the sacred authorities; it considers them as quite secondary, the more so that the translators perpetually contradict each other. To-day, Fabre d'Olivet translates in such a manner; to-morrow, another will give different versions. The ancient languages, and especially the sacred books, are two-edged swords. Various journals, the 'Débats' among others, have pretended that F. d'Olivet does not know how to translate Hebrew. Whether right or wrong they may prevail, like the calumniators who asserted that M. de Cazes was the assassin of the duc de

<sup>1</sup> See the end of note MM, for what we can know of God.

<sup>2</sup> This is the true title of the Genesis, according to Fabre d'Olivet, whose translation and interpretations Muiron had accepted in his work.

Berri.<sup>1</sup> The dominant spirit of our age is calumny; it succeeds, however absurd it may be. An inventor should fear it more than anything else; he must therefore avoid having recourse to weak supports, such as the translations of mystic books, the assistance of which is not necessary when he has in his favor the physical and mathematical sciences, which no one thinks of disputing. I therefore ought not to admit any other auxiliary than these sciences. . . .

. . . . "Excuse the severity of my remarks; as I have told you, they are based collectively upon the danger of compromising, in a partial and premature affair, a novelty which should be brought forward only in order of battle, and not in skirmishing. When we have 400,000 volumes to fight, we must not risk getting entangled in an affair of posts."

"Belley, 13 July, 1820.

"Sir, I have deferred for a long while my reply to your letter of 5 April. You know that I am not very exact in my correspondence.

"You speak of the manuscript which was brought to my notice, and you seem to forget that my criticism did not refer to your arguments, to your manner of viewing things, but to the uselessness of making either apology or criticism of a calculation before it has been published, and to the danger of coupling a discovery, incredible until it is proved, with another theory which, true or not, has not united all suffrages and relates only to matters very foreign to domestic and agricultural industry, which is the special object of my work.

"The ancient books have not said a single word on this subject: they may therefore be looked upon as works without object, since they make no mention of the principal object of man. If their principles do not lead to this knowledge, they are from this fact illusory or defective. Now why, in a theory which solves the problem of the destinies, should we rest upon principles which have led no one into the path for 3000 years?" . . . .

These judgments of Fourier upon the ancients will appear very irreverential. We will remark that they differ very little from that advanced by Bacon himself, that great authority henceforth beyond dispute, the man to whose method we rightly refer the constitution and modern progress of the physical sciences, but whose sage precepts have never been followed in social matters: by this we mean that the principles of scientific logic established in "Novum organum" have never yet been applied to the moral and political sciences, except by the author of the Societary Theory. But let us give the opinion

<sup>1</sup> This was but a few days after the death of the duc de Berri, assassinated by Louvel on the evening of 13th February, which explains this rather strange comparison

of chancellor Bacon himself respecting ancient science, which was almost entirely that of his age. The following passage is the beginning of the Preface to "Instauratio magna :"

"Videntur nobis homines, nec opes, nec vires suas bene nosse : verum de illis majora quam par est, de his minora credere. Ita fit ut, aut artes receptas insanis pretiis estimantes, nil amplius quaerant; aut seipsos plus sequo contemnentes, vires suas in levioribus consumant, in iis quæ ad summam rei faciunt, non experiantur. Quare sunt et suas Scientiæ columnæ tanquam fatales, cum ad ulterius penetrandum homines nec desiderio nec spe excitentur. Atque, cum opinio copia inter maximas causas inopias sit, quumque ex fiducia præsentium vera auxilia negligentur in posterum ; ex usu est et plane ex necessitate, ut ab illis quæ adhuc inventa sunt, in ipso operis limine (idque relictis ambagibus et non dissimilanter) honoris et admirationis excessus tollatur, utili monito ne homines eorum aut copiam, aut utilitatem in majus accipient, aut celebrent. Nam si quis in omnem illam librorum varietatem, qua Artes et Scientiæ exultant, diligentius introspiciat, ubique inveniet ejusdem rei repetitiones infinitas, tractandi modis diversas, inventione preoccupatas ; ut omnia primo intuitu numerosa, facto examine pauca reperiantur. Et de utilitate dicendum est sapientiam istam quam a Græcis potissimum hausimus, pueritiam quamdam scientiæ videri, atque habere quod proprium est puerorum, ut ad garriendum prompta, ad generandum invalida et immatura sit. Controversiarum enim ferax, operum effœta est. Adeo ut fabula illa de Scylla in litterarum statum qualis habetur, ad mirum quadrare videatur, quæ virginis os et vultum extulit, at uterum vero monstrâ latrantia succinabantur et adhærebant. Ita habent et Scientiæ, quibus insuevimus, generalia quædam blandientia et speciosa ; sed cum ad particularia ventum est, veluti ad partes generationis, ut fructum et opera ex se edant, tum contentiones et oblatrantes disputationes exoriuntur, in quas desinunt et quæ partus locum obtinent. Præterea, si hujus modi Scientiæ plane res mortuæ non essent, id minime videtur eventurum fuisse, quod per multa jam sæcula usq[ue] venit, ut illæ suis immotæ fere hæreant vestigiis, nec incrementa genere humano digna sumant ; eo usque ut sèpenumero non solum assertio maneat assertio, sed etiam quæstio maneat quæstio, et per disputationes non solvatur, sed figatur et alatur ; omnisque traditio et successio disciplinarum repræsentet et exhibeat personas Magistri et Auditoris, non Inventoris et ejus qui inventis ejus qui inventis aliquid eximium adjiciat. In artibus autem mechanicis contrarium evenire videmus. Quæ ac si auræ vitalis cujusdam forent participes, quotidie crescunt et perficiuntur. . . . Philosophia contra et

Scientiae intellectuales, statuarum more, adorantur et celebrantur sed non promoventur."

## TRANSLATION.

Men seem to us not to be well acquainted either with their powers or their riches, but to form too high an idea of the latter and to think too little of the former. Thus it happens that, either attaching an extravagant value to acquired knowledges, they seek for nothing more; or else, despising themselves more than is fitting, they exhaust their strength in trifles, and make no experiments in those things which tend to the highest good. Thus the sciences have in some sort their fatal pillars, their *non plus ultra*, beyond which men are not excited to penetrate either by desire or hope. Now, as the exaggerated opinion which men have of their riches is one of the greatest causes of indigence, and as by confidence in acquired means they neglect the true resources of the future; it is useful and plainly necessary, at the very commencement of this work, to remove (and this without ambiguity or any dissimulation) the excess of honor and of admiration which is granted to things invented hitherto, in order that, from this useful warring, men may cease to value, or to praise these things beyond their true worth. For, if any one diligently examines all that variety of books of which the arts and sciences are so proud, he finds everywhere endless repetitions of the same thing, differing in the style of treatment, but not new discoveries; so that all these things which appear numerous at first sight, are on examination found to be few. And as to usefulness, it must be said that the wisdom which we derive principally from the Greeks, is to be viewed in some sort as the childhood of science, and that it has this in common with children that, quick to chat, it is impotent and immature as regards generation. For while fruitful in controversy, it is unproductive in works. So that we may manifestly apply to the state of literature that fable about Scylla, who showed the form and countenance of a virgin, while barking monsters surrounded and clung to her from the waist downwards. So the sciences to which we are accustomed, present some pleasing and specious generalities; but when we descend to particulars, such as to the parts of generation, that fruits and works may be derived from them, then contentions and barking disputes are excited, in which they end and which stand in the place of productions. Besides, if sciences of this character were not evidently dead things, that would least of all have been found to be the case which is now seen by the experience of many centuries, viz. that they stick almost fast in their immovable footsteps, and make no advance worthy of the human race: so that for the most part not only does an assertion remain an assertion, but even a ques-

tion remains a question, and is not solved by disputation, but fixed and supported; and every tradition and succession of systems represents and exhibits the persons of Master and Hearer, not of an Inventor and of one who has added something better to that which has been already invented. But we see the contrary happen in the mechanic arts. These, as if they were partakers of some vital breath, every day increase and are improved.... Philosophy, on the contrary, and the intellectual sciences, like statues, are adored and praised, but do not move forward."

Since we have quoted Bacon, this is the place to mention what Fourier somewhere says of that profound and methodical thinker, who is called the father of modern philosophy, but who would certainly repudiate the paternity of a science so crude and so vain for the happiness of men, as that abstruse ideology to which men of this day have wished to reduce philosophy. Moreover, when Fourier exclaims against this pretended science, he takes good care to distinguish and except from the anathema the sage principles established by some philosophers, and for its inconsistency with which he reproaches philosophy. Such are the following precepts often recalled by him: *To take up ideas at their source; To explore the entire domain of nature; To believe that all things are bound together in the universe, &c.* "I have done," says Fourier, "for the honor of these principles, much more than their authors themselves would have dared to require, and I should be the only man who could of right take the title of philosopher, if that name were not dishonored by the abuse which has been made of it by the sophists, who apply it indifferently to great geniuses like Newton, and to such demagogues as Marat." ("Summary of the Treatise on Association," ch. iii., p. 1431, 1st ed.)

It is in this same work, two pages beyond, that Fourier speaks of Bacon as below. But it is necessary to commence the quotation a few sentences before those in which he refers to the immortal author of the "*Novum Organum Scientiarum*." These few preliminary lines possess, moreover, a peculiar interest, though of another nature, and repair an omission in our biographical recital. We quote Fourier:

"The inadvertence to be regretted in this kind of discoveries (discoveries of the means of escape from civilization), is that of the architects and economists, who had within their reach the two most natural issues, *reductive or true competition, and unitary architecture or composite property*. These are the two paths which I discovered before arriving at the formula of general association. It is now 33 years since, walking for the first time through the boulevards of Paris, their aspect suggested to me the idea of the unitary architecture of which I soon

determined the rules. I owed this discovery principally to the boulevard of the invalids, and especially to the two small hotels placed between the rues Acacias and N. Plumet.

"A short time afterwards I discovered the formula of reductive competition. The paths to association are connected with and lead into each other: I am astonished that Bacon, a mind eminently adapted to this kind of discovery, did not anticipate me: he had indeed some idea of reductive competition, since he wished that in every profession books of guaranty should be drawn up, or tables of the customary trickeries.<sup>1</sup> This would be a vast work, judging from the *sublime flight* which every branch of commercial fraud has taken.

"BACON in the classic or methodical sphere, and J. J. ROUSSEAU in the romantic sphere, were the two moderns most adapted to the discovery of the laws of the societary movement. We may add to them, among the ancients, PYTHAGORAS, one of those penetrating geniuses made to *draw from nature her august secrets*. He had a glimpse of everything, even of the Newtonian formula of attraction; but like most transcendent civilizes, he was turned aside from the true paths by that spirit of controversy which has ruined LEIBNITZ and so many other fine geniuses."

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(II.) *Page 96.*

Mollet said to me a few days since: I cannot read one work without beginning three or four; I leave the first at the moment when it ought to end; I do not lose my recollection of it on that account. Thereupon I interrupted him in order to trace for him in full the properties of the papillonne or 11th passion. I proved to him that he and I had the papillonne predominant, and yet we are very grave men; therefore we feel the necessity of beginning three or four works, of reading three or four volumes at once, of taking them up again after having left them half way. Nature has given us a memory adapted to this alternating method, and opposed to the consecutive method. The civilizes call

<sup>1</sup> Bacon was very differently appreciated on this point by the historian Hume and by the philosopher Dugald Stewart, who censure him for his inclination to regulate industry. The latter, in speaking of Bacon, says: "His notions respecting commercial policy were especially erroneous. This must doubtless be attributed to the too favorable opinion he had of the efficacy of laws in matters where natural causes should be allowed to act." A judgment which shows clearly the subjection of the modern philosophical spirit to the mercantile spirit. These pretended *natural causes* have been allowed to act, and they produced fine results: the adulteration of merchandise, bankruptcies, stock-jobbing, &c. Thus geniuses of the first class, Bacon, Fourier, agree upon certain points, in respect to which they are dissented from by minds which are also very elevated, but of a less general and less vast range of vision, of a temper more liable to be affected by the prejudices of their age.

this eccentricity; but how could God compose a passionnal scale, if he did not create characters in which each of the twelve passions were predominant?

(FOURIER. Letter to Muiron. Belley, 3d April, 1819.)

(JJ.) Page 99.

*Some lines by Beranger.*—A short time after the first publication of my work upon the life of Fourier, my friend M. Edouard de Pompery, having himself given, after a statement of the societary theory made by him at Brest, a sketch of the biography of its author, a copy of which he sent to Beranger, received from the illustrious songster a letter in which the latter said :

“ I shall reproach you for not having completed your biographical notice by a trait of Fourier which seems to me to depict him admirably ; it is that exactness with which, for ten years, he always returned home at noon, the hour he had indicated in his publications for a rendezvous with the rich man who might wish to intrust to him a million, wherewith to erect a phalanstery ; there is nothing more touching than this faith so strong and so durable. Oh ! how should I have liked to have a million to carry to him ! although his science appears to me incomplete, and man was never looked at by him except in view of the material order. You see, sir, that, like yourself, I do not refrain from saying my whole thought, even when speaking of great men.” . . .

Respecting the reproach brought upon Fourier of *not having looked at man except in view of the material order*, “ We can explain to ourselves,” remarks M. de Pompery, when publishing, in a second edition of his pamphlet, the fragment of letter just read, “ we can explain to ourselves perfectly this restriction of the poet, inasmuch as we ourselves long shared this mistrust and this error. One cannot conceive at first sight that the laws which are the basis of social unity, are identical with those which are the basis of universal unity.”

As for me, I ask myself how any one can accuse of having restricted himself to speculations of the material order the author of a theory based essentially upon the notion of the effective forces of our nature, the man in fine who, in a work on domestic-agricultural association, treats of the immortality of the soul, to the great scandal of pretended positive people.

What ! you also, poet, you who have so well said :

. . . “ Le plaisir à ma philosophie  
Révèle assez des cieux intelligents,”

you cannot recognise that Fourier has applied himself to the highest metaphysical and moral questions, because, when treating of God and

of the ulterior destinies of man, he has not spoken the language of the seminary or of the portico! Strange empire of prejudice; even over minds of the first order and over the most upright judgments!

Beranger's billet, otherwise so benevolent and so honorable for the author of the societary theory, might leave an impression that the latter requested the funds required to build a Phalanstery to be placed at his disposal and in his hands. It was not so: Fourier always took great pains to declare that he did not ask, that *he did not wish* the financial direction; his own part, and he did not pretend to any other, was limited to being the director of the machinery, the organizer of the industrial series. He refused beforehand all participation in the management of the funds, over which the shareholders or those appointed by them would retain the exclusive control.

He was painfully affected at seeing that this determination of his was sometimes lost from view. Thus he wrote to Muiron, in a letter of 18th July, 1831, already quoted:

"I assert that in every new doctrine which goes counter to prejudices, repetitions are necessary. Experience has proved this to me a hundred times, and you yourself will now furnish a proof. Have you not published 'that I had requested that the funds necessary for founding a Phalanx should be intrusted to me ?'

"I have said, on the contrary, that the stockholders need not intrust to me any funds, but only the superintendence of the machinery; I am not one of those charlatans who wish first of all to get possession of the pecuniary direction. But I have not repeated this often enough in distinct and prominent paragraphs; thence it is that it has been forgotten, and that you yourself, who without doubt are well intentioned towards me, have recurred to the general opinion and have continued to believe that, like other innovators, I wish to get possession of the direction; and you have published it in nine lines of details which are very affirmative and very disagreeable to me. Now, if well intentioned persons require repetitions upon subjects which are new and contrary to prevailing ideas, how is it then with malevolent persons or superficial readers accustomed to trifle and to suspect innovators?"

It is not necessary to add that, with regard to the management of funds which may hereafter be appropriated to a societary trial, Fourier's disciples, those who truly represent his school, make it a rule and a point of honor to follow the line of conduct traced out by their master in this respect.

## (LL.) Page 100.

*Fragment of a letter addressed by Mme. Louise Courvoisier to the editor of the Phalange, and published in the No. of 1st July, 1838.*

. . . . . No one has said that he who is greatest in intellect is also greatest in heart; that the man of genius is also the most virtuous and the best of men.

Never did any sorrow, any suffering, any necessity come to the knowledge of Fourier without receiving from him solace or consolation.

One day, on returning home, I found Fourier there, and related to him that I had been to pay a visit, that I had not found the mistress of the house, and that, while waiting, I had talked with the maid-servant, a good peasant woman who was busy darning stockings. As her eyes were red and much inflamed, I asked her why she increased her suffering by working thus. "I am obliged to," she replied, and taking the opportunity to unburden her poor heart, laden with sorrows, she began, crying, to give me a detail of the work which exceeded her strength from 5 o'clock till midnight. "This would be nothing," she added, "if I could at least satisfy my mistress, and not be always scolded, insulted, maltreated. If the task she has set me on these stockings is not finished when she comes home, she is likely to beat me, and for the three months since I left my country, and since my aunt, who is a fruiterer at the faubourg St. Martin, placed me here, I have not been able to go out a single time and tell her how badly I am off in this house." And saying this she burst into tears and dried her inflamed eyes with the back of her swollen and cracked hand.

"Give me the address of that aunt, and I will go to her immediately," interrupted Fourier, whose physiognomy was animated by that expressive indignation which was peculiar to him. "I do not know it," replied I, "for Madame de B— having returned, my conversation with the maid-servant was interrupted." "No matter, I will go," replied he. And changing his accustomed small cane for an umbrella, as it was raining, he started from the faubourg St. Honoré for the faubourg St. Martin. That old man, a sexagenarian, the greatest man of the age and of all ages, he who has revealed to humanity its elements and its power, going from shop to shop, the whole length of that extensive and populous faubourg, inquires, questions, interrogates, asks every fruiterer if she is not the aunt of the poor girl, at last finds one who replies: Yes; informs her of the suffering of her niece, and returns, having fulfilled his charitable mission in every respect.

Still he was not satisfied: "That woman," said he, wiping his bald head bathed in sweat, with the little cotton handkerchief which he drew

from his pocket, "that woman does not seem to take much interest in her niece; to-morrow I will go to Sablonville, where there is one of my acquaintance who wants a domestic, and by some means or other we will remove her from where she is."

And, in fact, he provided for the lot of that poor creature with the same activity that our moralistic or philosophical savans would display in soliciting an academical fauteuil or some sinecure.

Another time, not foreseeing the consequences which Fourier's generosity might draw from it, I told him that I had a neighbor, widow of a meritorious officer and mother of three children, who, reduced to extreme necessity, had been compelled to dispose of several articles of value. The turn had come of a little bronze statue of Napoleon, which she esteemed so highly that, in her distress, she was deliberating, she said, if she should not allow herself to die rather than sell the statue.

"How much does she want for it?" asked Fourier, "I will buy it." And the next day he brought the 70 francs, which was the price, saying that he would send for the statue.

A week having passed without his taking it, it was sent to him. But the same commissionnaire, whom he was careful to pay, brought it back, and Fourier, following close behind, scolded a great deal because his wishes had not been attended to, saying that he would take the statue by and by, that in the meanwhile he desired it to remain where it was; and notwithstanding the solicitations made to him afterwards, it remained so well that it is there still.

Let Fourier's critics mention a few analogous traits in their life, and they will be absolved for want of elegance in style, of some inequality in humor; they will even be dispensed from presenting as an excuse, the immense labors, the industrious watchings, the sublime conceptions of the man of genius, and, also, the oppositions, the bitterness, the sorrows with which his whole life was filled. Without counting that poignant and habitual maceration of genius contending with the cretive activity which consumes it, and the necessity of earning its daily bread, and such and so many things capable of disturbing the surface of the strongest and most magnanimous nature.

If no one would have imagined that Fourier was poor when he offered to share with his brothers still poorer than himself, everybody might have believed him rich in his social relations: in the first case, he took 70 fr. from his pocket for a good work; in the second, he did not wish that a woman should pay three sous for the carriage of one of his letters. Clothed in coarse garments, living in privations and severe to himself, he always found the means of anticipating you

in delicate and too generous attentions: he always showed himself the most liberal and the greatest, when opportunity offered; always appropriately and gracefully, knew how to bestow some gifts, some largesses, and, honorable in all things, knew how, with the smallest resources, to provide and suffice for all occasions.

. . . But if it be possible to express the various manifestations of the soul and genius of Fourier, who can tell those of his noble heart in friendship? If he never entered upon the paths of intrigue, nor sullied his loyal character by adulation towards any social greatness, still less in order to give to himself the shade of a certain popularity, was he known to contract alliances or friendships condemned by his preceding life. Fourier's grand proportions did not correspond to such small measures. His own work did not end, it was beginning; elevating himself above all the glories which pull down, strong, sure of himself, he was always one, invariable, absolute, in the acts of his life as in the conceptions of his genius, and never entered into moral relations except in accordance with his avowed sympathies, or into relations of friendship, excepting in accordance with his heart and his conscience; when he had once pronounced, it was not an empty promise to be carried into effect at the will of passion or of caprice, it was the hearty word of a great man, realizing itself in deeds of devotedness without restriction, without limits, like all other manifestations of that grand and energetic nature.

That stoic, who never, whatever was his inward anguish, allowed a complaint to escape him; so impassive in suffering, that you would have said he was a stranger to his own individuality, how he felt that of the soul to which he was united by intimate accord! how he comprehended the suffering of that soul! how delighted he was to shelter it in the sanctuary of his holy friendship, to console it, to comfort it, both by the unction of his words, and by showing to it, not through mysterious prophecies, the star which shines in the east, but by making it touch with the finger, and count the wonders of the promised land which his science was opening to Humanity, and where our sorrows would fall in blessings upon the head of our children!

In presence of this man, so great, so powerfully virtuous, contending with stupidity, ingratitude, selfishness, and all the vices of his century, who would have dared to count his own small individuality? On contemplating him through his genius, his poverty, and his faith, you felt yourself elevated, aggrandized. The light of his divine glory was reflected upon you; transfigured as the disciples of Jesus, you cried out: "Lord, we are well here;" the revivified soul believed, hoped, loved, and you were no longer unhappy. . . .

. . . Fourier's friendship was neither adulatory nor servile. He said the truth aloud, he was severe in his advice. He cut to the quick when he spoke of committing a fault; but when it was once committed, he no longer thought but of repairing it, and at his own risk and expense, and without ever by a reproach, or by a word, recalling the fault, and much less, the benefit. . . .

Shall I say it, O best of men! even the wrongs of ingratitude did not disconcert or weary your forbearance, and the expression of repentance was not needed to find you magnanimous. Placed so high in the scale of beings, you were predominant by the immensity of your virtue as by that of your genius. It was with a tender compassion that from your heaven you looked upon these poor Civilized contending in the midst of their errors and their sufferings, each the inevitable result of the other; extending your hand to those nearest you, you raised them and still raised them, calm and immovable in your mercy as God himself. . . .

Louise COURVOISIER.

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(MM.) *Page 102.*

*Language of Fourier respecting Jesus Christ, and respecting religious beliefs.*

Fourier himself has given a commentary of the words of Jesus Christ respecting the adulterous woman.

"As to woman, he (Jesus) established the reciprocity of liberties, by saying to the denouncers of the adulterous woman: *Let him among you who is not guilty cast the first stone.* This is saying in substance: 'Are you not as guilty as she, and more so? You pass your youth in seducing women, and you denounce them when they fall into your snares.' Both sexes must be punished, or neither. This justice is not practicable in Civilization, but in the 6th, 7th, and 8th societies, which establish the means of preserving from excesses in passion." (*Fausse Indust.*, vol. ii., p. 511.)

In several other passages of the same work, and of the *Nouveau Monde industriel*, Fourier applies his Theory to the precepts given by Jesus Christ.

"There are two personages," says he (*Fausse Indust.*, 463), "from whom I could not isolate myself without denying my identity: these are Jesus Christ and Newton. Jesus predicted and very earnestly urged the discovery of the social mechanism. His contemporaries refused the task.

"Sixteen hundred years afterwards, Newton began the calculation of Attraction, in the material only, without applying it to industry, to the Societary mechanism of which I am the discoverer. Blind on this point, Newton was very clear-sighted on every other. My Theory is conformable in every respect to his, and to the precepts of Jesus Christ, which I will extract from the gospel.

"How, then, could I outrage my two guides? I defy any one to find, in my Treatise and writings, a single sentence which, when speaking of Jesus Christ, does not make the eulogium of his noble character and his high wisdom."

This had reference to the attacks directed against Fourier's Theory by the "Univers religieux" and the "Gazette de France," on the occasion of a discourse given by M. V. Considerant, before the Historical Congress, 11th December, 1835.

"I leave to each of my followers," said Fourier on this occasion, "his religious opinions, without disputing them or inquiring about them.

"If it were true, therefore, that M. Considerant had uttered any idea offensive to Jesus Christ (which is quite false), this would be no argument for attacking my Theory on account of any additions, or glosses, or commentaries, which would not be admitted by me.

"But the hasty *Gazette* has implicated me in the matter, and has blattered away against *Fourierism* (the name it gives to my Theory of attractive industry).

"It says that I wish to make myself *God of the material world*: in another place it makes a Messiah of me: what high dignities! Pity it does not add thereto an honorary of a few thousand francs income.

"Is it then making oneself a God to follow the divine precept: *Seek and you shall find?* And when one has found some law of God, does he pretend to make himself a God by explaining it to men? Did Newton and Kepler make themselves Gods by seeking, finding, and publishing the laws of God respecting the mechanism and equilibrium of the stars?"

We will not here mention the various passages of the gospel which Fourier quoted to show that the doctrine of Jesus Christ is perfectly reconcilable with the perspective of a social order which would secure the happiness of men here below; but we request religious men, truly animated by the spirit of Christian charity, to read this part of the writings of the author of the Societary Theory. *Nouv. Monde. ind.*, 423 to 450; *Fausse ind.*, vol. ii., 457 to 516.

Fourier laid especial stress upon these words of the Christ:

*O men of little faith, be not solicitous, saying: what shall we eat? what shall we drink? wherewith shall we be clothed? For your Father knoweth*

*that you have need of these things. Seek first, therefore, the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things will be given to you in addition.* St. Matt. vi. 31, 32, 33.

Words which he thus commented upon:

"J. C. promises abundance of material goods, but on condition that men seek the *kingdom of God and his justice*: now, what is that kingdom? It is the regime of combined, attractive industry, in which the practice of truth and justice lead to fortune, while falsehood and injustice would lead to ruin and dishonor; then all men will be just and true *FROM LOVE OF RICHES*; cupidity, now vicious, will become the source of virtues, because it will be able to satisfy itself only by the employment of the social virtues, justice and truth."

Fourier found in his very conception of human societies, the justification of the Christian dogma of resignation and sacrifice. "Civilization," said he, "always establishes a graduated privation for at least seven-eighths of individuals; this society, therefore, requires a religion which preaches privations." (*Written conversation of 1821.*)

"Jesus," said Fourier elsewhere, "Jesus, in preaching resignation, sacrifice, for the four ages of social chaos, utters the wisest of doctrines; it is the only wise impulse that can be given to people, the immense majority of whom will constantly be in want of the necessities of life.

"But to this doctrine of NEGATIVE WISDOM, Jesus adds that of RESTATIVE WISDOM, admitting the love of riches, of the goods of this world, and of want of care, in the four societies of attractive industry, in which great abundance will reign, and in which the passions, protected by quadruple counterpoise, will be guaranteed from excess." *F. Ind.*, ii. 510.

Two pages beyond he adds:

"The sophists have always meditated and attempted a religious reform; there is no need of it: Christianity is in accordance with the whole doctrine of harmony, provided we accept the prediction of the Holy Scriptures, and practise the three theological virtues according to their right meaning.

"Men have travestied all three in order to bend them to the conveniences of the social chaos; they have transformed:

"FAITH into scepticism and half atheism;

"HOPE into immobility and fatalism;

"CHARITY into pessimism and obscurantism."

After having explained these three propositions, Fourier continues thus:

"Charity is exactly what modern Christians, and especially the cler...

need : I speak of *integral* charity, speculating upon the good of the whole of humanity, and not upon the ineffectual charity of *alms-giving* which serves only to give root to the evils, as is seen in England where the annual assistance of 200 millions of poor-tax, only succeeds in making the sore more malignant.

"A charitable clergy would have been moved by the idea of abolishing slavery and indigence at once *over the whole earth*.

"A charitable clergy would have said : If C. F. has found only a germ of societary mechanism, two or three successive trials will lead to the object, by rectifying any errors.

"It will be a means of religious conquest over the barbarians and savages and over dissenting Christians." . . .

Fourier, besides, had not awaited the age at which, they say, *the devil turns hermit*, nor the period of a pretended religious reaction, in order to pronounce against atheism and materialism. From the beginning he classed these two opinions in the gamut of the fatal results of civilized society, results serving, in his opinion, as indications of misdirection ; and, contrary to what is told of certain contemporaneous philosophers, he had not two languages in this respect, one for his intimate friends, the other for the public. Fourier, in fact, wrote to Muiron, under date of 6th December, 1818 :

"Atheism is a moral disease which prevails among those very persons who think themselves most exempt ; for all those pious men are half atheists, who do not believe in the universality and integrality of Providence, who wish human reason to be superior to God in legislation ; who believe that He who has known how to make laws of social harmony for the stars and the insects, has not known how to compose a code for men. Rousseau and Montesquieu are of the number of these half atheists who, thinking themselves fit to make a code, placing Divinity below human reason, reduce Providence to the part of a limited, insufficient genius. This is an insult perhaps worse than denying him.

"The materialists are much more numerous than is thought. Civilization gives to this opinion a rapid increase, an influence which Barbarism does not give to it. The religions which admit immortality are not persuasive, and demonstrate nothing. They make the Divinity odious by their hell-cauldrons. They restrict the pleasures of the other life to contemplative visions, while it is proved by noctambulism that our soul can enjoy sensuous pleasures without the intervention of our actual senses, since the noctambulist sees very well with his eyes shut, and in spite of the pasteboard interposed. Finally, while philosophy exercises the art of dissuading us from immortality, religion, unskilful to persuade consummates in a negative sense what philosophy does in

a positive : admirable union of unskilfulness which secures in our century a constantly increasing and complete success to the seven subversive plagues."

We will not here state Fourier's ideas respecting the future life ; this would require too extended developments. We will merely quote a few lines of his correspondence, relative to some objections which were made to him on this point :

" M. G.'s remarks against the theory of immortality are unreasonable. What has been taught us on this subject ? Nothing at all. At least, I teach something, and I teach only by application and connexion of the system of the universe to the composite movement. Therefore, my theory is not arbitrary and imaginary. Besides, you may hold it as certain, that men who with the word ' folly ' avoid all argument, and who, ten times in a sentence, lavish the epithets, fool, folly, madness, epithets which have already been applied to Columbus and Galileo, are generally limited in genius and weak in argument." (Letter of 22d December, 1823.)

Some persons allege religious scruples, the fear of being shaken in their faith, when they are requested to inform themselves respecting the Societary Theory. The following is what Fourier wrote, in 1823, respecting a scruple of this nature, alleged by a man whom Muiron wished to induce to read the " *Traité de l'Association* :"

" You mention a funny answer of that personage who fears that such ideas may *shake his faith*. Then it is a very weak faith. If these Messieurs had faith in the universality of Providence, they would not fear to calculate its effects. But with their half-piety they are as pitiful as those who have none.

" The terrors of M. de R., senior, respecting his belief, have furnished me with the subject of a good article which is found in the three lessons of chap. 3 (of the *Summary*). The limits in which the human mind can fix itself may be traced out for him and for others, as also the knowledges to which he can pretend according to the religion which says to man : *Here thou shalt stop* ; but without explaining at what point he shall stop. I shall prove that he need not stop except at the *internal* knowledge of God, a being incomprehensible to us in this life, but that man may very rightly pretend to the *external* knowledge of the functions of God, of the aggregate of his plans and operations respecting the movement."

In a subsequent letter Fourier adds, referring to the same person :

" You are very good in urging a man who is prejudiced, and incapable, on account of his superstitions, of forming a healthy judgment."

(NN.) *Page 106.*

*Treatises addressed to various Societies.*

In a letter of Fourier dated 12th February, 1828, we read the following passage:

"The two questions which you communicate to me<sup>1</sup> taken from the programmes of the academies of Strasbourg and Mâcon, are lures, traps. These subjects have been proposed twenty times, and the academies receive only solutions which flatter custom. I saw this by the academy of Mâcon which, in 1806, reduced to the secondary rank a very good Treatise on mendicity and slavery presented by one of my Lyons friends, and gave the prize, according to academic usage, to a very insignificant Treatise. I would not take four steps to inform myself respecting these programmes: I know too well the spirit of the judges."

We have made inquiries, by which we learn that the academy of Mâcon, instituted in November, 1805, brought forward for competition, in the years 1806 and 1807, only questions relative to the culture of the vine. It is natural to conclude from this, that in the last of the two passages above quoted, Fourier wrote the word "Macon" by mistake for the name of another city; it is a *lapsus calami*: this is the more probable inasmuch as the academy of Macon being one of the two literary societies of which the programmes were mentioned to him as containing social questions on which he was requested to write for the competition, Fourier would certainly have said: "I saw by *this same* academy of Mâcon," and not simply: "I saw by the academy of Mâcon."

We have been led to make some researches respecting the *very good* *Treatise* on mendicity and slavery, which Fourier mentions as sent to an academic competition by one of his Lyons' friends, from the supposition that this Treatise might well be by Fourier himself. How, in fact, without the data of the Theory of Association, which he alone possessed, could this question of mendicity and slavery be treated in a manner to obtain Fourier's entire approbation? We therefore persist in thinking that there exists in the archives of some academy a treatise by Fourier on mendicity and slavery, a treatise especially curious from the fact that it dates as far back as the year 1806, and is therefore anterior to all his published works.

Mention is also made, in Fourier's correspondence, of a Treatise transmitted by him to the Paris Athenæum on the 29th December, 1830, upon a question proposed for competition by that society.

<sup>1</sup> We have not the announcement of these questions; we only see that they must have been *social* questions.

Finally, among the attempts made by Fourier to obtain a trial of his Theory, we have omitted to mention a memorial which he addressed, about the end of 1831, to the committee of agricultural progress, a committee of deputies of which M. de Tracy was chairman. Fourier wrote respecting this on 19th November, 1831:

"A new committee of fifteen deputies has been formed for agricultural progress, and in its circular it asks the solutions which I furnish, the means of *leading the people to good habits* and of *rendering industry attractive*. This gives me an opportunity of making propositions to this committee, which enters into plans contrary to the views it announces, for it wishes to establish eighty model-farms." . . .

He added, 21st January, 1832:

"I have felt obliged to address the society of agricultural progress, which would be a decisive protection, if it were willing to intervene *indirectly, dubitatively*. I request it only to open a competition respecting the societary method to be adopted, and to admit me as well as others to the competition. My memorial is not long: it is 36 pages, besides the letter to M. de Tracy, 4 pages."

(O.O.) *Page 111.*

*Extracts from the journal, "La Phalange," 2d No. of October, 1837.*

#### DEATH OF CHARLES FOURIER.

ON THE 10TH OF OCTOBER, 1837, ABOUT FIVE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING, *François-Marie-Charles FOURIER*, OUR MASTER, DIED AT PARIS, IN THE SIXTY-SIXTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, AFTER FORTY YEARS DEVOTED TO THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY: AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF NEGLECT; WITHOUT HAVING OBTAINED A TRIAL OF HIS DISCOVERY.

#### *The flower of Fourier.*

In the sketch which FOURIER has left of the views of his universal intellect respecting the analogical bond of Beings, he has traced, with a sad and profound poetry, an emblem of which he accepted the application to his own life.

The only picture to be seen in his chamber represented a *crown imperial*, surrounded by a frame with the initials

C. F.

This picture was sent to him by a hand which remained always unknown.

The following are FOURIER's touching words respecting this melancholy emblem:

"I have depicted the intriguing and fortunate industrialist, here is

the portrait of noble industry humiliated: it is that of the savan or artist.

"He is depicted in a flower named *crown imperial*, giving six corollas reversed and surmounted, like the balsamine, by a tuft of foliage. This flower, which has the form of truth (the triangular form of the lily and tulip), excites a vivid interest by the accessory of six tears which are found in the bottom of its calyx. Every one is astonished at this; it seems that the flower is in sorrow. It bows its head, and sheds large tears which it keeps hidden beneath its stamens. It is therefore the emblem of a class which groans in secret. This class is very industrious; for the flower bears as a banner the sign of industry, the tuft of leaves grouped at the summit of the stalk, in symbol of the high and noble industry of the arts and sciences.

"This class of industrialists, which groans in secret, is not that of gross plebeians, but that of useful savans, obliged to bend before fortunate vice; thus the plant inclines its beautiful flowers in a humiliated attitude. They are swollen with hidden tears, an image of the lot of savans and artists, who are the principal ornament of society, and who are repaid only by disgusts, while stock-jobbers and blood-suckers accumulate treasures in a few moments.

"This flower is of an orange color, which is that of *enthusiasm*, or *composite*, from analogy to the industrious class of savans and artists, who have no other support than enthusiasm against the poverty and humiliations with which their lives are filled from their early years.

"After a painful youth, they succeed in obtaining some relief or some small comfort. From imitation, the flower after having passed the beautiful age in a humiliated attitude, at last raises its peduncle and its capsule of seed: but it is too late to assume this attitude, when the peduncle is no longer adorned with its beautiful flower, and has nothing but a sad husk to present. This effect depicts the tardy well-being of savans and artists, who cannot raise their head, come out from the state of embarrassment and oppression, until after having painfully consumed their youth in amassing a little money, after having bowed, in their young years, under the weight of detraction, of poverty, of injustice, and lost the beautiful days of life in preserving their old age from indigence."—*Theor. de l'Unité univ.*, vol. iii., p. 236.

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*The funeral ceremonies.*

On the 11th of October, between two and three o'clock, the rue Saint Pierre-Montmartre and the court of the house of the DEAD were filled with people.

The body, embalmed and enclosed in a double coffin of lead and of oak, was exposed under the doorway hung with black.

At three o'clock the funeral procession started, and directed its steps towards the church of the Petits-Pères. A service was performed over the body, deposited in the middle of the choir. Four hundred persons assisted in the ceremony with deep concentration.

After the service, the procession moved slowly and bareheaded towards the Montmartre cemetery, through the rues Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Montmartre, the faubourg Montmartre and Notre-Dame-de-Lorette.

More than three hundred persons thus followed the body to the cemetery. There were men of science and of letters, physicians, architects, ancient pupils of the schools, artists, &c., all disciples, or men who felt in the depth of their soul that a great event had occurred upon the earth. There were St. Simonians, drawn by an elevated and pious feeling to the grave of the great social REVEALER, whom St. Simon had invoked, and who had lived beside him, unknown to him, in the great city which has a bushel for every lamp of truth. There were also proletaries, workmen and domestics, representing their innumerable brothers, the slaves of modern society, at the obsequies of HIM whose mission it was to rescue all slaves by bringing the social laws of God to our earth. There were also some women who wept over HIM whose genius will free their sex from the oppression and debasement in which it is plunged among all the nations of the earth, savage, barbarian, and civilized.

*Discourses pronounced over the grave.*

M. C O N S I D E R A N T.

Here has descended into the tomb the Man powerful in intellect, who alone has accomplished the most august work which the genius of humanity has conceived: the discovery of the laws of *Social Harmony and of the universal destinies*: FOURIER, the Social Redeemer of the world, has endured the fate reserved for all transcendent intellects by a society which has for its great men only gall, vinegar, and the crown of thorns. . . . He has died obscure, and still unacknowledged by his age. . . .

From his youth, he felt himself besieged by the passion for discoveries, tormented by the necessity of creating and of making himself illustrious by venturing into regions unexplored by the human intellect.

At nineteen years old, he discovered, while amusing himself, the railroad, an idea neglected by him, and which has since changed the face of the New World, and is now becoming one of the primary elements of high European industry.

FOURIER did not stop at this invention; such a trophy was much too small a thing to restrain the advance of that genius, who, soon after-

wards, entering with full sails upon the ocean of the unknown, became the Christopher Columbus of the Social world, and the Revealer of the law of the universal destinies.

FOURIER had not attained his thirtieth year when he had already made his principal discoveries, his title to which dates, however, only from the publication of the "Theorie des quatre mouvements," which appeared in 1808. In 1814, he added to his preceding discoveries that of the laws of the *aromal movement*. His work was then complete in its bases, and, from that period, he applied himself to organizing its details, which he published, in 1822, in the "Traité de l'Association," that colossal monument which surpasses, by a thousand cubits, the works of the most transcendent geniuses, and which will never have its equal upon our earth, for no one can twice discover upon the same globe the laws of Social Harmony and the system of the universal destinies.

How was passed that life which produced works so wonderful that posterity will perhaps refuse to believe they can be the product of a single man! Did the society, in the bosom of which such prodigious faculties were developed, at least favor their development? Did the man endowed with this ineffable intellect find a social providence which welcomed him, which supported him in his grand productions? Alas! FOURIER had almost reached his sixtieth year, while still condemned to pass each day in a counting-room, and to copy business letters in order to earn his bread for the morrow! . . .

This profession, which had so early awakened the repugnances of his character and the reprobations of his genius, absorbed almost his whole life: and (as if everything must be wonderful in the history of that high and transcendant mind!) the continual occupations required by functions so little conformable to his nature, leave, so to speak, no human means for reason to explain his labors and his discoveries. . . .

-But it was not enough that such a life was sacrificed to the most subaltern functions. The society in which we live reserved, moreover, to FOURIER the prize with which it has hitherto remunerated its great men: neglect, derision, insult, crucifixion. . . . This society, which binds upon the masses the yoke of poverty and hunger, which abandons children without assistance, and which leaves to genius during life only forgetfulness, disdain, and despair; this impious society, FOURIER has wounded mortally; but before falling, it has avenged itself: FOURIER dies its victim! He was not even able, like Moses, to view the rich valleys of the promised land, of the earth of the future; towards which, from this moment, the power of his intellect leads and impels, as yet without their knowledge, the generations of mankind. . . .

We shall some day make known the energy required by FOURIER to accomplish his destiny. . . .

The resistance and the energy of this extraordinary man can only be compared with the power of his intellect. In his last year, his will alone kept alive his worn-out, extenuated body. . . . Nothing gave way in his soul, and the great man died as he had lived, in the power of his GENIUS and his WILL.

In this day paying their last duties to FOURIER, his disciples merely perform provisory funeral ceremonies. FOURIER does not belong to the small number of men who have hitherto comprehended his word; his word is addressed to the whole of humanity, it must be comprehended by the whole of humanity. This man belongs to humanity. His funeral ceremonies can only be performed by the globe, to which he has brought truth, liberty, justice, and happiness.

We have looked upon ourselves as the guardians of a sacred deposit; not having been able to preserve, in the lower world, until the day of triumph, the SOUL which vivified this body, we have religiously embalmed the remains in order to transmit them to future generations, which will repair the most immense ingratitude by the most immense glory.

From this day posterity commences for the Great Man; from this day, doubtless (since he has descended into the tomb!), justice and respect with regard to him will replace disdain and derision, which are fatally, in this society, the lot of useful geniuses. As for us, his disciples, we have now but one monument to raise to his memory; that monument is a PHALANSTERY.

The glory of FOURIER is seated, in his works, upon an immovable basis. He has himself erected his monument; and here is the inscription, which he engraved with his own hand, upon that everlasting monument:

"It is but little to disavow the moral philosophy which pretends to change the passions; it was necessary, in order to recover the good graces of Nature, to study her decrees in passionnal attraction, which is their interpreter. You make a parade of your metaphysical theories; on what then do you employ them, if you disdain the study of that ATTRACTION which holds the helm of your souls and of your passions? Your metaphysicians lose themselves in the minutiae of ideology. Eh! what good does this scientific rubbish do? Have not I, who am ignorant of the mechanism of ideas, who have never read either Locke or Condillac; have not I had ideas enough to discover the whole system of the universal movement, of which you have discovered only the fourth branch, after 2500 years of scientific efforts?

"I do not pretend to say that my views are immense, because they extend where yours have not reached; I have done what a thousand others could have done before me, but I have gone straight to the mark, alone, and without a beaten path. I alone shall have confounded twenty centuries of political imbecility, and it is to me alone that present and future generations will owe the initiative of their immense happiness. Before me, Humanity has lost several thousand years in foolishly struggling against Nature; I, first of all, have bowed before her, by studying Attraction, the organ of her decrees. She has deigned to smile upon the only mortal who has offered incense to her; she has given up to me all her treasures. Professor of the book of destinies, I have dissipated political and moral darkness, and upon the ruins of the uncertain sciences, I raise the Theory of Universal Harmony.

"*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*"

M. P. H. HAUGER.

. . . What cry of sorrow shall be worthy to give the signal to the grief of Humanity? The man of the nineteenth century, the man foretold by the piercing genius of De Maistre, is lying there before you, and this innumerable people, which has just lost the Social Redeemer, moves on this day as yesterday in the anguish of its cursed labor.

Thoughtless as the child who receives tidings of the death of its father while playing with the toys presented to it by its nurse, this people knows not that the last word of our long discords is at last found; it does not know that he is no longer, he who has demonstrated the magnificence of the natural law of social development, who has probed the depths of our sores, and assigned, with a sure hand, their limit and their remedy, and that from the bosom of this august grave, in a future which all classes of society have an interest to hasten, will burst forth the vivifying synthesis of abundance and of justice, of order and of liberty—Harmony, in fine, solidly based upon the intimate communion of all interests, the happiness resulting from the integral satisfaction of the wants of all, become possible by the full exercise of the faculties of all.

I may be allowed, while rendering this last homage to our revered master, to repeat the beautiful verses of the poet whom he loved, verses which I should like to see consecrated by the funeral inscription, because, conforming to the very nature of Fourier's genius, they display with as much precision as eloquence the grandeur of his work, and seem to enclose the sublime in the simple, severe and beautiful frame of a sensible demonstration.



**Assez longtemps regna la Loi du sacrifice :**  
**La vie assez longtemps fut pour l'homme un supplice**  
**Où de pleurs et de sang il arrosait son pain.**  
**FOURIER naît, et pour lui l'éternelle HARMONIE**  
**Qui régit tous les corps dans la sphère infinie**  
**Devient la loi du genre humain.**

Eh quoi ! ces passions, mobiles de nos âmes,  
D'un celeste foyer sublimes, saintes flammes,  
Qui font que l'homme sent, aime, désire, agit ;  
Il faudrait, réprimant leur puissante influence,  
Les combattre toujours, les réduire au silence—  
Et pourtant c'est DIEU qui les fit.

Non, non : tout ce qu'il fait est bon, est adorable,  
Il s'est traduit lui-même en son œuvre immuable,  
Et vouloir changer l'homme est une impiété.  
Depuis quatre mille ans que tu la moralises,  
Philosophe impuissant, faut il donc qu'on te dise :  
Qu'as tu fait de l'Humanité ?

Le monde vaut-il mieux qu'en ses jeunes années ?  
Les générations par le temps moissonnées  
Ont-elles plus souffert, hélas ! que nous souffrons ?  
Sous la nécessité, sous la loi de contrainte,  
Qui brise tout notre être en sa mortelle étreinte,  
Faut-il moins bas courber nos fronts ?

Va, tu parlas sans fruit—et tu parles encore ;  
La vide de tes mots d'un grand nom se décore ;  
Et sans la pratiquer, tu prêches la Vertu.  
Ces précepta si beaux que ta science étale,  
Ce Devoir, qui toujours ressort de ta morale,  
Oh ! dis-nous, les accomplis-tu ?

Cesse donc, à la fin, une entreprise vaine :  
Changer le cœur humain ! Tu mourrais à la peine.  
DIEU fit les Passions, il faut les accepter.  
Leur essor comprimé dut les rendre fatales ;  
Trop semblables alors à ces fortes cavales  
Qu'on peut guider—mais non dompter.

Crois-moi, ce n'est pas là que le Malheur réside ;  
Il est tout dans le cercle anarchique et stupide,  
Où malgré tant d'efforts tourne le genre humain.  
C'est la Société qu'il faut que l'on réforme ;  
Seule elle peut changer, elle seule est difforme ;  
C'est là qu'il faut porter la main.

Non pas à la façon des parleurs politiques,  
 Miserables pillards des vieilles républiques,  
 Où mourait de famine un Peuple-Souverain :  
 Réformateurs sans but, apôtres sans croyance,  
 Qui courtisent la foule, et n'ont pour ses souffrances  
 Qu'un langage perfide et vain.

Non.—Mais voici Fourier ! écoutez sa parole :  
 “ Humanité,” dit-il, “ J'apporte la boussole  
 Qui te fera trouver les flots moins en courroux.”  
 Et tel que Dieu l'a fait, se saisisson de l'Homme,  
 Tous ses penchants divers, il les compte, il les nomme,  
 Et sa loi les accepte tous.

Ces besoins, ces instincts que décrit son génie,  
 Deviennent les ressorts de l'humaine Harmonie  
 Dont la création est l'image à nos yeux.  
 Notre âme, à ses accents noblement élargie,  
 Comprend mieux sa puissance et son analogie  
 Avec Dieu, la Terre et les Cieux.

Sa loi ne contraint plus, mais elle attire, excite,  
 Ouvre large carrière au talent qu'elle invite,  
 Sans appauvrir le riche, enrichit l'indigent :  
 De notre Destinée expliquant le problème,  
 C'est sur l'ATTRACTION qu'il base son système,  
 Vaste, complet, intelligent.

Toute capacité dans ses groupes se range ;  
 Des groupes rapprochés il forme la Phalange.  
 Nos efforts, jusqu'ici divergents, opposés,  
 Dans un accord parfait enfin se réunissent ;  
 L'universelle paix, l'UNITÉ s'établissent :  
 Les peuples sont harmonisés.

Prophète de l'espoir, Newton de l'âme humaine,  
 Du Ciel avec la Terre il rattache la chaîne,  
 Et sur l'ordre absolu fonde la Liberté ;  
 Le Globe n'est pour nous qu'un immense héritage.  
 Chacun suivant son droit est admis au partage ;  
 N'est ce point là l'Egalité ?

Il rend la force au corps, à l'âme il rend la joie ;  
 De sa main inspirée il nous montre la voie,  
 Le plaisir est le guide, et le but le Bonheur !  
 Et voilà que, pour prix de son essor sublime,  
 De nos savants du jour la foule magnanime  
 N'a pour lui qu'un dédain moqueur !

Ainsi l'homme toujours est ingrat au génie !  
 Colombe de l'ignorance et de la calomnie  
 Languit quinze ans victime, à la honte des rois :  
 La cigüe, O Socrate ! à ta coupe est mêlée ;  
 Sous l'Inquisition succombe Galilée,  
 Et l'Homme-Dieu est mort sur la croix !

(These verses, first published in 1834, in the *Impartial of Besançon*, are by M. Aug. DEMESMAY, deputy du Doubs, member of the Academy of Besançon.)

*Preservation of Authentic Types.*

There is one consolation which we can present to our friends in our mourning. We possess Types which will allow us to transmit the image of FOURIER to future ages, with the most complete fidelity.

There are in existence five original portraits, from nature :

(A.) A profile.—A simple sketch in black lead, caught during a dinner, by M. B. Dulary ; in his hands. 1833.

(B.) A portrait, three quarters face. Stomp, by M. Moussy ; in his hands. 1836.

(C.) A miniature given by FOURIER to Mme. Vigoureux. Three quarters face, representing FOURIER at the age of 22.

(D.) A portrait in black lead, drawn by M. Lepret, at the house of Mme. Vigoureux ; in the hands of that lady. 1831.

(E.) Finally the great full length portrait, canvas seven feet in height, painted at Mme. Vigoureux', by M. Gigoux, which was exhibited in 1835.<sup>1</sup>

In addition :

(F.) The bust moulded upon nature, by Micheli.

(G.) The cast of the head.

(H.) The cast of the interior surface of the skull.

The whole of these will allow us to reproduce, by moulding, sculpture and engraving, with all humanly possible truth, the features, the forms, the physiognomy and the bearing of CHARLES FOURIER.

We have to reconcile four conditions :

1. THE WILL OF FOURIER. FOURIER's absolute and inflexible will always was that his image should not be published before the foundation of the trial of his Theory. By giving to Mme. Vigoureux the medallion (C.) and causing to be executed at her house the two other portraits (D.) and (E.) which she possesses, he intended to invest her

<sup>1</sup> The portrait given in this volume, has been taken from a daguerreotype of this last named picture.

especially with the testimony of his high confidence and to remit to her the care of the preservation of his features.

2. THE DESIRE OF THE DISCIPLES. Those persons who have comprehended the words of FOURIER now feel a pious necessity of contemplating and even possessing his image.

3. THE INTEREST OF THE CAUSE. The reproduction of FOURIER'S features cannot be employed in view of any other object than that of the DIRECT realization of his work under the precise conditions *which he willed* and which we are preparing for it; that is in the trial of the serial method applied to the industrial (domestic-agricultural, &c., &c.) labors of 400 children.

4. THE AUTHENTIC PRESERVATION. We should be treacherous to the wishes of posterity and to our own duty if we did not take every necessary precaution to prevent *false* or *altered* images being put in circulation, or at least gaining credit and impugning the certainty of the true type.

*Report upon the malady of M. Fourier.*

On the 25th of last June, I was consulted, for the first time, respecting the health of M. Fourier. Those of his disciples and friends who introduced me to him did not conceal from me their anxiety. For a long while M. Fourier's health had been deeply affected, and, either from feelings of circumspection, or from indifference about himself, or from some other motive, he spoke of his physical sufferings without attaching any very great importance to them, and always in very vague terms. Several times, his most devoted friends had requested him to consult a physician, and he had always refused. It even seemed that their continued entreaties assumed in his eyes the character of importunate solicitations.

Nevertheless, at the period I have mentioned, he consented to see me; but he endured rather than accepted<sup>1</sup> my visit. I found him in the following condition:

1st. Considerable weakening of the physical powers. The patient, seated in an arm-chair, his head bent over one shoulder, had the attitude of a man afflicted with muscular relaxation.

2d. Facies cedematzed and yellow. The eye was cast down, but the glance was fixed, and had the expression of a firm will, united with a certain degree of mistrust. He saw me for the first time, and everything in his attitude and look announced his little confidence in the art

<sup>1</sup> M. Fourier's friends and disciples earnestly endeavored to induce him to enter a private hospital, where they proposed to follow him with their cares and their affection. I united my efforts to theirs; useless attempt; M. Fourier had resolved to die in his apartment and in his voluntary isolation.

of healing. I pressed him with questions, and he always replied *yes* or *no*, without my being able to obtain any development to the answers he addressed to me.

3d. I learnt, however, that the symptoms which most troubled him were certain disturbances of the digestive functions. In fact, the tongue was red at its sides and at the point; in the middle it was covered with a mucous plaster, tenacious and of a dark brown color; the thirst was excessive, and the patient found that nothing relieved it so efficaciously as ice-water, which he used inordinately every hour in the day, but especially after dinner. M. Fourier had likewise a disgust for all food and frequent nausea, followed by efforts to vomit. He never threw up his food, to my knowledge; but I have seen this nausea continue for ten to fifteen minutes, and the patient relieved it by drinking a little wine, sometimes pure and sometimes mixed with water. There was also a considerable diarrhoea, which compelled the patient to rise several times in the night and which continued during the day.

4th. Around the malleola and in the lower part of both legs was quite a slight oedema.

I could obtain no other information at my first visit, and my embarrassment was great when I had to decide upon the treatment. Allowing myself to be guided by the state of the tongue, the oedema which then existed, the general disgust of which I have spoken, the diarrhoeic condition, and the extreme prostration of the powers, I chose the *metallum album*, of which I ordered a globule of the 30th dilution in 10 spoonfuls of water. If it was difficult to induce the patient to take medicine, the difficulty was still greater to make him change his diet. We were then in the month of June, and a melon, with a few feculent vegetables taken in purée, and sometimes fish prepared en matelote, ice-water alone or mixed with wine, formed his whole nourishment. He had an invincible repugnance to bouillon, milk, and meats.

I obtained from his disciples and friends other information which, without completing the table of the malady, nevertheless dissipated many obscurities.

For several years already, M. Fourier's health had been altered; they suspected in him the existence of a disease of the urinary vessels, and supposed that at two different times he had had attacks of cerebral congestion so strong that one of them compelled him to seek support in the street, and that the second occasioned a fall on his staircase, a fall which had broken the external table of the parietal bone in the part corresponding to the sinciput. At my first visit, the hairy scalp was cicatrized, but still covered with a crust.

I saw M. Fourier again in five days. He had taken his medicine with exactness; he had somewhat modified his diet, and there was already a diminution in the œdema of the face. The color was better, the eye more lively; his powers were recovering; the diarrhoea still continued, but had somewhat diminished in frequency and intensity. I continued the prescription, and again insisted on a more regular diet.

On the 6th of July, I made my third visit. The improvement, indicated above, had increased; there were no longer any traces of œdema about the face. Already, the taste for food seemed to return; but the diarrhoea and the nausea continued; the tongue still remained the same. I learned from the patient that every day, at his breakfast, he ate half a melon, that he had not entirely given up iced-water and the use of pure wine. I insisted with him in order to induce him to consent to modify his diet by adopting more nourishing and less exciting food. I obtained only vague promises. I thought it prudent to leave him for some days without medicine, intending to question him about the condition of the urinary vessels. For this purpose, I returned on the 10th of July.

The œdema of the legs still continued, the weakness was still great; the tongue, less red and more moist, seemed to have become slimy; the regurgitations and efforts at vomiting had lost nothing of their frequency, and they manifested themselves especially when the patient was standing, when he had eaten, and when he made any movement. I thought myself authorized to give a globule of *bryonia* of the 30th dilution. As the sclerotica was yellow and the complexion had the same color, I thought that the liver or the duodenum, and perhaps both, were the principal seat of the disease, and this last consideration still confirmed me in the choice of the medicine. It would have been easy to satisfy my doubts by the handling and percussion of the stomach; but, once again, M. Fourier would not consent to all these explorations. He would even have refused, had they been earnestly requested. As in the midst of all the disorders above indicated, the intellect remained active and clear, and the will firm, it was useless to endeavor to overcome the resolution of the patient; thus all my questions respecting the condition of the urinary vessels obtained only simple denials.

The *bryonia* produced no other effect than to moderate the diarrhoea, and it is even doubtful if this honor can be ascribed to it; for, at this time, M. Fourier had come to understand the necessity of modifying his diet, and had at last given up the melon and iced-water, even while continuing to make use of pure wine and of food of high flavor, sometimes increased by spices.

At this period the patient was not confined to his bed. In spite of

his weakness, he continued to go out, and it seemed that, without attaining health, he was advancing to it. The taste for some kinds of food returned to him; he seemed well satisfied with his condition.

Then I tried to make him take a globule of *calcarea carbonica*, 30th dil., dissolved in 10 spoonfuls of water, he took 3 spoonfuls and was not willing to go any further. The prescriptions of the diet wearied him, and he wished to return to his habits.

We went on thus until the 10th of August. On that day I found M. Fourier suffering from an operation which had been performed by his dentist. The existence of a badly placed false set of teeth had brought on necrosis of the superior alveolar arch in the part corresponding to the canine and incisive teeth. I limited myself to giving him a globule of *arnica* 12th dil., and letting him rest some time. Everything authorized this course: M. Fourier wished to have his false teeth replaced as soon as possible; the diarrhoea was almost nothing; the oedema of the face and legs had almost disappeared; the appetite had returned a little; the patient went out every day and spoke with a kind of joy of the moment when he could resume his labors. In the moment's halt made by his disease, he became more impatient than ever to shake off the yoke of my prescriptions, although I rendered it as light as possible. I nevertheless did insist that the treatment should be continued; but I insisted with the moderation suggested to me by the two-fold conviction I entertained, that M. Fourier's disease was fatal, and that if I wished to advance too rapidly in his confidence, it would be a sure means of losing it entirely.

Until the 28th of August I paid him several visits in which I limited myself to a surveillance of his diet and to seeking new light respecting the disease, by observing and questioning him. Obliged to leave Paris for some time, I satisfied myself before my departure that the improvement I have mentioned still continued, and I put off the continuation of the treatment until my return.

During my absence, M. Fourier's health remained the same, but towards the middle of September he had a relapse which I attributed to some departure from the diet, and which consisted in a return of the diarrhoea, with the most decided weakness and disgust. On the 16th September I administered *china*, and the diarrhoea diminished the next day. Two days afterwards I followed the *china* with *chamomilla*, and the diarrhoea disappeared not to return.

It was at this period that, on returning to his apartment, M. Fourier was seized with so great a weakness when ascending the staircase, that it became necessary to assist him and carry him to his bed. When questioned about the accident which had happened to him, he said that

he had had neither giddiness nor dizziness, but that he had felt a blow on the nape of the neck, as if he had been struck with a bar of iron; he did not mention any headache, had no delirium nor drowsiness: his speech was clear and quick, and his thoughts were unfolded with the same precision as before; the memory had lost none of its energy, and it was impossible to remark the slightest alteration in the antipathies or sympathies of the patient. There was no reason therefore to think that he had had an attack of apoplexy or a simple cerebral congestion, except the following symptoms:

The right arm was struck with a complete paralysis of motion, which the patient attributed to a false position he might have taken in his bed the night before. Quite strong pains, presenting the character of twitchings, were felt in the right thigh, that is, on the side of the paralysed arm.

As, from the preceding, it was impossible to maintain the idea of a cerebral alteration, I believed in the existence of a not less important alteration of the spinal marrow. Having requested the patient to take some medicine, he refused, alleging as reasons that he had frequently had similar pains in the thigh, that these pains were of the same nature as sciatic gout, and that if he had a few days' rest they would disappear entirely. Sleeping with his arm in a false position for one night, was enough, he said, to make him feel what he called a numbness of the arm. In accordance with this idea, which it would have been useless to attempt to combat, M. Fourier resolved to wait five days before taking any medicine.

During this period, in fact, the arm ceased to be painful when we tried to make it execute any movement; but the paralysis remained quite as complete, since every voluntary motion was impracticable. The pains in the thigh also diminished greatly without ceasing entirely. But at the end of those five days so deep a disgust for every kind of food had manifested itself, that, until his last day, M. Fourier resisted the most earnest solicitations of his most devoted friends, who wished to induce him to take some nourishment. He wished to limit himself to reddened water, and sometimes to a little pure wine, and this was the only nourishment he made use of during the last fortnight of his existence. It will readily be conceived that the continual use of wine, without the admixture of any other substance capable of altering its effect, must have produced an action upon the bladder which was already affected; thus, on the 2d of October, M. Fourier complained of a urinary tenesmus which had troubled him the whole night, and of a very acute pain in the bladder, attended with great difficulty in

urinating. A dose of *pulsatilla* allayed these symptoms on the day after, and, on the following day, they had entirely ceased.

The *pulsatilla* was the last medicine which M. Fourier would consent to take, and I will confess that I did not insist on administering others. From day to day the pulse became weaker, the face altered and assumed the character known under the name of *hippocratic face*; the eye became dim; and although the intellect lost nothing of its lucidity, though the will remained unshakable, and his voice was always clear and well accented, it was necessary to resign ourselves to look passively upon the gradual failure of the vital powers.

I saw him for the last time on the 9th of October. The tongue had become red, dry, raspy, and this state of the tongue made it difficult for him to speak; but his thoughts were as lucid as ever. It was then four in the evening, and the next morning at half past four M. Fourier had ceased to exist.

In the course of this illness, Doctor Chaplain paid several visits to M. Fourier, and frequently proposed to him the employment of animal magnetism. The patient constantly refused. On the 10th of October, we went to the domicil of the deceased for the purpose of proceeding to the autopsy, and of ascertaining thereby the organic causes which had occasioned death. The following is the procès-verbal of that sad operation; it will be seen that it is incomplete in one respect. The vertebral column was not opened, nor, consequently, the spinal marrow examined. M. Fourier's disciples had expressed to me the desire that his mortal remains should be mutilated as little as possible, and that the autopsy should especially be so conducted as to alter the least we could the corporeal form of the Master. It was our duty to respect this religious desire.

Doctor LEON SIMON.

*Procès-verbal of Autopsy.*—In the year eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, on the eleventh of October, at seven o'clock in the morning, we, the undersigned, Doctors in medicine of the Faculty of Paris, went to No. 9, rue Saint-Pierre-Montmartre, accompanied by M. Gannal, chemist, and by M. Leonce Lenormand, student in medicine, for the purpose of proceeding to the embalming and autopsy of the body of M. François-Marie-Charles Fourier, of Besançon.

We found the corpse intact, and after having ascertained that the external condition of the body presented nothing to be noted, except the existence of several cadaverous lividities, and the traces of a cicatrice on the hairy scalp, in the sincipital region, M. Gannal pro-

ceeded to embalm the body by injection according to the processes which are peculiar to him.<sup>1</sup>

This operation completed, we proceeded to the autopsy by commencing the examination of the brain. After having made a circular section of the hairy scalp, and removed the roof of the skull with the aid of a hammer, there escaped a large quantity of dark red liquid which we thought composed in part of the matter of the injection used for embalming, and in part of extravasated sanguinolent serosity.

We were obliged to dissect the roof of the skull with care, in order to separate it without tearing the dura mater, which adhered at several points to the periosteum of the bones composing the roof of the skull.

We also observed numerous adhesions of the dura mater with the pia-mater, in the places corresponding to the frontal and sincipital regions.

The dura mater and pia-mater having been removed, we perceived a certain number of white granulations upon the arachnoid in the sincipital region, at the part corresponding to the cicatrice which has been spoken of; these granulations, which appeared to be of non-re-absorbed pus, were easily removed by washing.

The arachnoid was thickened at some points.

The brain having been stripped of its envelopes, we saw a slight softening of the superior part of the anterior cerebral lobes, and the traces of a cicatrice in the cerebral substance, always in the part corresponding to the cicatrice of the hairy scalp.

The cerebrum and the cerebellum, examined with the greatest care, presented no other point of softening, no arborized or filtered injection, nor extravasation in the ventricles. Their grey and white substances were firm, and absolutely in the normal state.

The bones of the cranium, very healthy otherwise, presented a considerable density.

The cavity of the cranium, deducting the thickness of its walls, presented the following dimensions.

Antero-posterior diameter, 149 millimètres.

Transversal diameter, 140 millimètres.

Temporal diameter, 116 millimètres.

Height of the roof of the cranium, deducting the base, 77 millimètres.

<sup>1</sup> To render homage to truth, we must declare that, having proceeded to the autopsy immediately after the injection made by M. Gannal, we were enabled to make the autopsy without being in any way incommoded by the injection which had been effected, and even without perceiving that it had been made.

Height of the base of the cranium, from the occipital opening to the level of the section, 24 millimètres.

The bones of the cranium presented the following thickness:

In the anterior and middle part of the coronal, 10 millimètres.

Lateral parts of the coronal, 9 millimètres.

Occipital, middle region, 10 millimètres.

Temporal, 6 millimètres.

The base of the cranium, measured in its different regions, presented for result:

From the inferior part of the coronal to the sella turcica, 68 millimètres.

From the sella turcica to the occipital roof, 85 millimètres.

Oblique diameter of the temporal fossæ, 69 millimètres.

The thoracic organs presented no notable alterations. Only the heart, though healthy, was soft and rather fatty. We remarked also some old adhesions of the costal pleura, with the pulmonary pleura, situated on the right, starting from the arm-pit and extending as far as the region of the bosom.

The abdominal organs, on the contrary, presented numerous lesions.

The mucous membrane of the stomach was of a slaty grey, completely softened in all its parts, and this softening extended to the duodenum. Moreover, the stomach was entirely empty.

The small intestine presented, throughout its whole extent, numerous points of cherry-colored injection.

The mucous membrane of the jejunum presented several points of induration.

The glands of Peyer and of Brunner were more voluminous than in their normal state, without, however, presenting any point of softening or induration.

In some points of the small intestine, the mucous integument was very thin.

The large intestine participated in all the disorders of the digestive tube; its mucous membrane was strongly injected in its whole extent, softened at several points; the cœcum was contracted and presented some loops.

The large intestine presented in its whole extent the characters of the black injection with arborization of the same color. The transverse colon was contracted and indurated at the place of contraction. A little lower, the destruction of the mucous membrane had allowed a small quantity of fecal matter to penetrate between the mucous and muscular integument of the intestine.

The bladder was distended by a large quantity of purulent urine; its muscular integument, considerably thickened, presented several points of induration. The mucous membrane presented numerous arborizations and a varicose development of the veins spread over its surface and of the veins of the neck of the bladder.

The prostate was indurated.

The kidneys and the ureters, the liver and the spleen, were perfectly healthy.

Doctor CHAPLAIN, Doctor LEON SIMON.

---

*Remarks of the author of the Biography.*

It must not be believed from the names of the two physicians who visited Fourier during his last illness, that the latter had given in his adhesion to homeopathy or to animal magnetism. He refrained from deciding on these two questions, in order, as he said, not to be occupied by them; with regard to homeopathy and magnetism, he adopted the wise part of *expectant*, which consists in seeing with pleasure all researches and trials, approving them and giving them assistance in case of need, even while holding one's judgment in reserve: this was what Fourier did.

Still his Theory of Universal Unity explains the properties of the state of somnambulism; and here is a passage in his correspondence which is conclusive in favor of the existence of those properties, although it is, so to speak, absolutely negative as to the use which may be made of them in our present social condition.

Fourier expressed himself as follows in a letter to Muiron, dated 3 December, 1826:

“It appears that MM. G\*\*\*\* and P\*\*\*\* have given up their work upon magnetism. I would bet that they do not make use of the fundamental argument: which is, that if everything is connected in the system of the universe, there must exist a means of communication between the creatures of the other world and those of this, I mean a communication of faculties, a temporary and accidental participation of the faculties of the ultra mundanes or deceased, and not a communication with them. This participation cannot take place in the waking state, but only in a mixed state, like sleep or some other.

“Have the magnetizers found this state? I do not know; but in principle I know that it must exist; and if it is the state of artificial somnambulism they will not be able to take advantage of it so long as they are not acquainted with the formula of the sympathies of character in identity and contrast. For want of assorting the magnetizers

and magnetizes, according to this theory, they will meet with twenty failures for one success; which will give the superiority to sceptics and detractors."

Here is another passage of much older date: it is found in the letter of 21 August, 1816, already quoted. (DD.)

"I had no intention to ridicule magnetism; I am not well enough acquainted with it to judge it: I limited myself to saying that it has been a matter of fashion like the mercantile spirit. I am ignorant and not in a condition to judge of the advantage which may be derived from it."

Finally, a letter of 10 August, 1820, contains a few lines on the same subject:

"I have had two conferences with Mollet on the subject of magnetism, and it so happens that he explains the matter in a manner entirely different from that in which you stated it to me. How is it that Mollet, who is only your disciple, enters completely into my views and makes me a disciple of magnetism, while you, who are his elder in this matter, brought out to me doctrines of general employment which excited me against magnetism, to which I attribute the property of being applicable only to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of individuals taken by chance?"

#### AN ODE BY FOURIER.

As a complement of the manifestations of Fourier respecting himself, we will give some stanzas of an ode which he composed a short time before his death and which he left unfinished. After having undergone raillery and insult for thirty years, is it not really permitted to the man of genius, at the moment when he is about to descend into the tomb, to protest for a last time in favor of his always unacknowledged work, and thus himself to *entone* the hymn of his own apotheosis, of which he has a presentiment? Has not this noble assurance in it something sublime, which elevates it far above an impulse of vanity or a suggestion of pride?

Justes qui souffrez en silence,  
Au dédain partout condamnés;  
Peuples qui dormez enchainés  
Par la terreur et l'indigence,  
L'instant du réveil est sonné :  
Un prophète aux humains donné  
Vient du sophisme écraser l'hydre.  
Cinq mille ans le crime a régné ;  
Enfin s'épuise le clepsydre  
Aux temps d'infortune assigné.

## APPENDIX.

L'homme aux faux savants se confie ;  
 Dé trompez-vous, peuples et rois,  
 Cessez de demander des lois  
 A l'absurde philosophie :  
 De ses rhéteurs présomptueux  
 Naissent des codes tortueux  
 Dédale aux méchants favorable.  
 Mortels, repoussez ce poison,  
 N'attendez un code équitable  
 Que de la divine raison.

Rendez grace à sa providence ;  
 Recevez cette loi des cieux,  
 Dont un génie audacieux  
 Sut acquerir l'intelligence,  
 Réformatrice civilisés,  
 Fléaux des peuples abusés,  
 Fuyez, la vérité s'avance :  
 Tombez, légistes ténébreux,  
 Peuples, chantez la délivrance,  
 Voici venir les jours heureux.

(The stanzas which come after refer to the faults of science and the aberrations of the civilized mind. They are only sketched, and are followed by an apostrophe to detractors.)

Et toi, volcan de calomnie,  
 Siècle abject, fardé de progrès,  
 Dont les ironiques arrêts  
 Enchainent l'essor du génie !  
 C'est par un calice de fiel  
 Que des hautes faveurs du ciel  
 Tu récompenses le message.  
 Mes travaux seraient donc flétris !  
 Trente ans de dégoûts et d'outrage  
 De mes veilles seraient le prix !

\* \* \* \* \*

Paris, moderne Babylone,  
 Lorsque de mes pénibles jours  
 La Parque aura tranché le cours,  
 Tu voudra tresser ma couronne.  
 Tes fils viendront sur mon cercueil  
 Déplorer ton vandale orgueil,  
 Illustrer, venger ma mémoire :  
 Ils conduiront au Panthéon  
 Ma cendre, plus riche de gloire  
 Que César, que Napoléon.



(PP.) *Page* 108.

*Fourier depicted by one of his sisters.*

In the following note will be found several facts already mentioned in both editions of our Biography, agreeably to conversations we ourselves had in 1837, with this same sister of Fourier. The agreement of these recitals, made at four years interval by a lady more than twenty years old, is a kind of guaranty for their fidelity.

*Note collected and communicated by my friend M. Victor Coste, captain of engineers.*

Besançon, 2d November, 1841.

Yesterday, 1st November, 1841, J. Muiron, H. Renaud and I went together to the house of Mme. the widow Clerc, Fourier's sister. We wished to obtain her signature to two sheets of drawings made by H. Renaud, one of which represented the plan and the other the front of the house in which Fourier was born. Mme. Clerc, with an extreme precision in her recollections, pointed out some corrections to be made in the plan; then, questioned by us respecting her brother's tastes and doings, she spoke to us very nearly in the following words:

Charles was very young when he flew with his own wings. His facility in learning everything was extreme. He had especially the wonderful faculty, even before he learned mathematics, of making the most complicated calculations in his head. When asked how much such and such sums amounted to, he answered immediately in livres, sous and deniers, without ever making a mistake.

He was not quarrelsome and never fought but to defend his comrades. Sometimes he came home completely exhausted and in great disorder. "But where have you been?" mamma would ask him, "what a state you are in!" "It is because, mamma, I have been defending little Guillemet, or Wey, &c." Charles was not very stout, but he had a great deal of ardor, and in a dispute he was much feared. He had one arm, the left arm, much weaker than the other, so much so that when he was still in the cradle that part of his body was as if paralysed. Papa, who had only this boy, and who loved him dearly, sent to the Vosges for some men who had the reputation of curing these kinds of maladies; they came to the number of three, and brought some boxes of fat with which they rubbed the child's arm, which gave him a little more strength; nevertheless he had a great weakness in that part of his body all his life. My brother never had a writing-master, and yet he knew how to trace letters much better than we, his sisters. He did not learn how to draw any more than to write, but while our master

was there, instead of doing his work, he listened to what was said and afterwards came and gave us advice. He told us what ought to be shaded, in what manner flowers should be represented. He drew some himself and showed them to the professor, who would not believe that Charles had never learned drawing. He liked especially to make drawings of emblems, of dogs lying at the feet of their masters: everything was well colored, and his flowers especially were as brilliant as possible.

He loved natural flowers so much that all his chamber was filled with them. In the lodgings where we were, after my father's death, in the Martineau house, Charles had a chamber to himself, of which he kept the key and where nobody entered. I don't know how he had carried earth into that chamber, but one fine day we found that he had a real garden on his first floor. There was only an alley in the middle, and on both sides the most beautiful flowers, tuberoses, tulips, &c., ornamented that garden; well understood that, when he left us and the earth was removed from the floor, everything was rotten and had to be laid anew. At Lyons he retained the same tastes, and, as at home, his chamber was always filled with pots of flowers and his chimney garnished with bulbs of seeds, which he made germinate in every possible manner. Even in the depth of winter he had the most magnificent flowers; in order to give them plenty of air it was his habit to place them on his balcony at the hour of noon. By degrees the ladies of Lyons, who went to promenade, became accustomed to this exhibition of a novel character, and what had been only an occasional pleasure soon became in some sort a necessity. The ladies made appointments with each other under the windows of the celebrated florist, and all came to admire the beautiful products of that skilful man who knew how to cheat the seasons. One day he exhibited nothing; he kept behind his windows, and saw coming and going the ladies who could only attribute to a forced absence this want of exactitude. When he saw a large number assembled, he stepped out upon his balcony and addressing the ladies who had stopped: "Mesdames," said he to them, "I am very sorry not to be able to make an exhibition of my flowers to-day, as usual: very important occupations have prevented me; but several new flowers are on the point of opening, and I hope that the display of to-morrow will compensate you, by its richness and variety, for the involuntary displeasure I may have caused you by deceiving your expectations."

My brother was very delicate as regarded his food; in his childhood, papa, who wished to accustom him to eat everything, because, as he said, no one knows the situation in which he may find himself placed

in life, one day compelled him to eat leeks; poor Charles was so sick, so sick, he had such violent vomitings, that my father, who loved him as one loves an only son, was very anxious, and promised himself that he would never again force the tastes of his son, and would let him do as he chose in the matter of food.

What my young brother liked above everything, was prune cakes. There was a pastrycook at the end of rue Baron, in rue de Granges, for whom Charles had a particular affection on account of his cakes, and upon whose death he composed a piece of poetry. My brother might then be 8 or 9 years old, and was beginning to go to the college, where his piece had an immense success.

One day, my sisters and I found him in the little garden we had in the 2d court, busy eating some prune cakes. He had taken two which he had placed one on top of the other in a certain manner, and when we reproached him for not having offered us any, "Oh! sisters," he answered, "it is because I wished to try if the cake eaten in this manner is preferable; otherwise, I should very certainly have given you some at once." In fact, he never forgot us in the division of his good cakes.

After the siege of Lyons, where he was obliged to live on potatoes and starch, he escaped as soon as he had an opportunity, and arrived at Besançon, without a passport, preferring to run the risk of an arrest to the ennui and fatigues of an abode in a place still under the weight of military discipline. On his entrance into Besançon, he was asked for his papers, and as he declared that he had none, he was immediately taken to prison. He might easily have given a reference to us, to his friends, but he was afraid of compromising us, or at least of causing us some anxiety. He therefore remained a week in prison, and it was only after this time that the wife of the jailor, who had already several times asked his permission to give us notice, came to tell us that Charles was in prison. I hastened to one of our intimate friends, then all-powerful in Besançon, and under whose direction, in fact, all the prisoners were; he immediately gave a pass to my brother, and I went to get him released from the prison. He was not very much enuyed in that sad abode. He played on the violin or touched the guitar a part of the time.

He always knew music without having ever learnt it. He played upon all instruments, and very often repeated to us that he was sorry we had learned music, because he had found a method by which he was certain of teaching everybody, in less than six months, what common masters took years to teach.

As he was always travelling, sometimes to Marseilles, to Lyons,

sometimes to Bordeaux, to Toulouse, &c., he spent a great deal of money. So, every time mamma received any of his letters, she never failed to say: "Well, here's Charles wants some more money!" When he wrote, he always began quite at the top of the leaf, and his four pages of very close writing, were so filled, that he could at most find room to sign his name. He was never willing to have people put two 'r's in his name, it appeared useless to him. His letters were very interesting.

When he published his first work,<sup>1</sup> my mother, who was informed of it, not by him, he never spoke to her about it, but by other persons, fell into a great sadness. She was extremely religious, and she was afraid that her Charles might be rebellious against the faith, and might become as it were another Luther or another Voltaire. Some time before publishing his book,<sup>2</sup> he came to pass a part of the winter with me, at the Government,<sup>3</sup> where I was staying at that period: his chamber was, properly speaking, condemned. He did not wish any one to enter it, and he especially forbade any disturbance of his papers, which were scattered over all the furniture, tables, chairs, bureaus.

He was very gallant towards the ladies, and in many of the houses where he was employed, either as clerk or as cashier, he was made to understand that if he wished to ask for the hand of the young lady of the house, they were quite inclined to give her to him. But he always excused himself: it would not be in his power, he said, to make his wife happy, on account of his eccentricities, of the changeableness of his tastes. He was very careful to avoid giving pain, and he always placed the reasons of his refusals to his own account.

#### PLACES OF FOURIER'S RESIDENCE AT DIFFERENT PERIODS OF HIS LIFE.

We give the following recapitulation, in order that those of our fellow-disciples of the Societary doctrine who may be in the places which the Master successively inhabited, may thereby be led to seek the traces of his abode, and to gather new information respecting his person and his life.

Fourier lived with his family, at Besançon, from his birth (7 April, 1772) until 1789. However, according to every appearance, he passed

<sup>1</sup> That of 1806, the "Theorie des quatre mouvements."

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the work of 1822, that is, the "Traité de l'Association."

<sup>3</sup> This hotel of the governors of Franche-Comté, situated in rue de l'Orme des Champs at Besançon, had been sold as national property to M. Léger-Clerc, Fourier's brother-in-law. It now belongs to the ladies of the Sacred-Heart, who have there established their institution for young girls.

some time at Dijon, in 1787. Here is at least a passage in one of his letters to Muiron which seems to indicate it:

"How should I give you an organization for the Provincial States? Are not the Comtois acquainted with the ancient administration of the duchy of Bourgogne? The States were a republic or an oligarchy, presided over, it is true, by a prince of the blood in their great periodical assemblages; but in the course of the year, they retained an administration, that of the States-general, which issued ordinances relative to the public works, and annulled the decrees of the parliament by publication. They had the authority of the ministry, though they were but nine, and the people used to say at Dijon: 'The Elect are more than the parliament.' I asked little about that; I was in rhetoric, 15 years old, more busy with amusements than with political discussions."

(Letter of 10 November, 1831.)

About the end of 1789, Fourier made his first journey to Paris; he passed nine days there, on his way to Rouen, where he was placed in a commercial house. (January, 1790.)

In 1791, he was employed in the house of M. Bousquet, merchant at Lyons.

In 1792, he went to live at Marseilles. The notarial document which proves that he received, at Besançon, 23 May, 1793, the two fifths which had come to him by will from the estate of his father, designates him as domiciliated at Marseilles.

At the end of May, 1793, Fourier went to Lyons, and entered into commercial operations. He left that city after the siege, about the month of November of the same year, and returned to Besançon, where he was arrested and passed five days in prison. On this subject we can quote the following lines of a letter, dated 11 June, 1830, addressed by Fourier to one of his friends who had just undergone a political condemnation for an affair of the press: "However, it will be no real injury to you to pass a month in prison, excepting the ennui. I passed five days there in the time of the Terror; we were quite gay."

From the 22 prairial an 2 (10 June, 1794) until the 3 pluviose an 4 (25 January, 1796) Fourier served in the 8th regiment of chasseurs, whose dépôt was at Vesoul.

A letter, dated 10 messidor an 4, is addressed, by Carnot, in the name of the Directory, "to citizen Fourier, at Besançon."

About the end of 1797, Fourier came to Paris, where M. Désire Ordinaire, then a medical student, saw him several times, busied with plans relative to the mode of provisioning the armies.

In 1798 and in the spring of 1799, period of the discovery of the process of Association, Fourier was at Marseilles. In the summer of the same year he was in Paris.

He afterwards went to live at Lyons. A letter of his, dated from that city, 13 November, 1804, mentions a journey he had just made to Dijon, on account of the suit his family then had against his mother's former partner. His abode at Lyons was rue St. Côme, No. 74, the same which he still occupied in 1808. But letters of 1812, 1813, and 1814 give his address, rue Clermont, No. 27, afterwards No. 15.

Fourier also passed some time at Frankfort on the Main, at Antwerp, at Brussels; we have heard him speak of his stay in these different cities, but we do not know the period. Moreover, we do not here mention the places which Fourier only visited in travelling.

From 1816 to 1821, residence at Belley or in the neighborhood.

In 1821 and 22, abode at Besançon.

Departure for Paris in November, 1822. Fourier first lodged rue de Grenelle-St.-Honoré, 41, with M. Soussol; then (January, 1823) rue Neuve-St.-Roch, hotel St.-Roch.

Return to Lyons, 1 April, 1825. Fourier lived rue Désiré No. 4, on the 3d floor, in the house of M. Couturier; then (November, 1825) rue Bat-d'Argent, No. 15.

Fourier went to Paris, 15 December, 1825, and alighted rue Richelieu, No. 45, hotel de Hollande.

Abode at Besançon from July, 1828, to March, 1829.

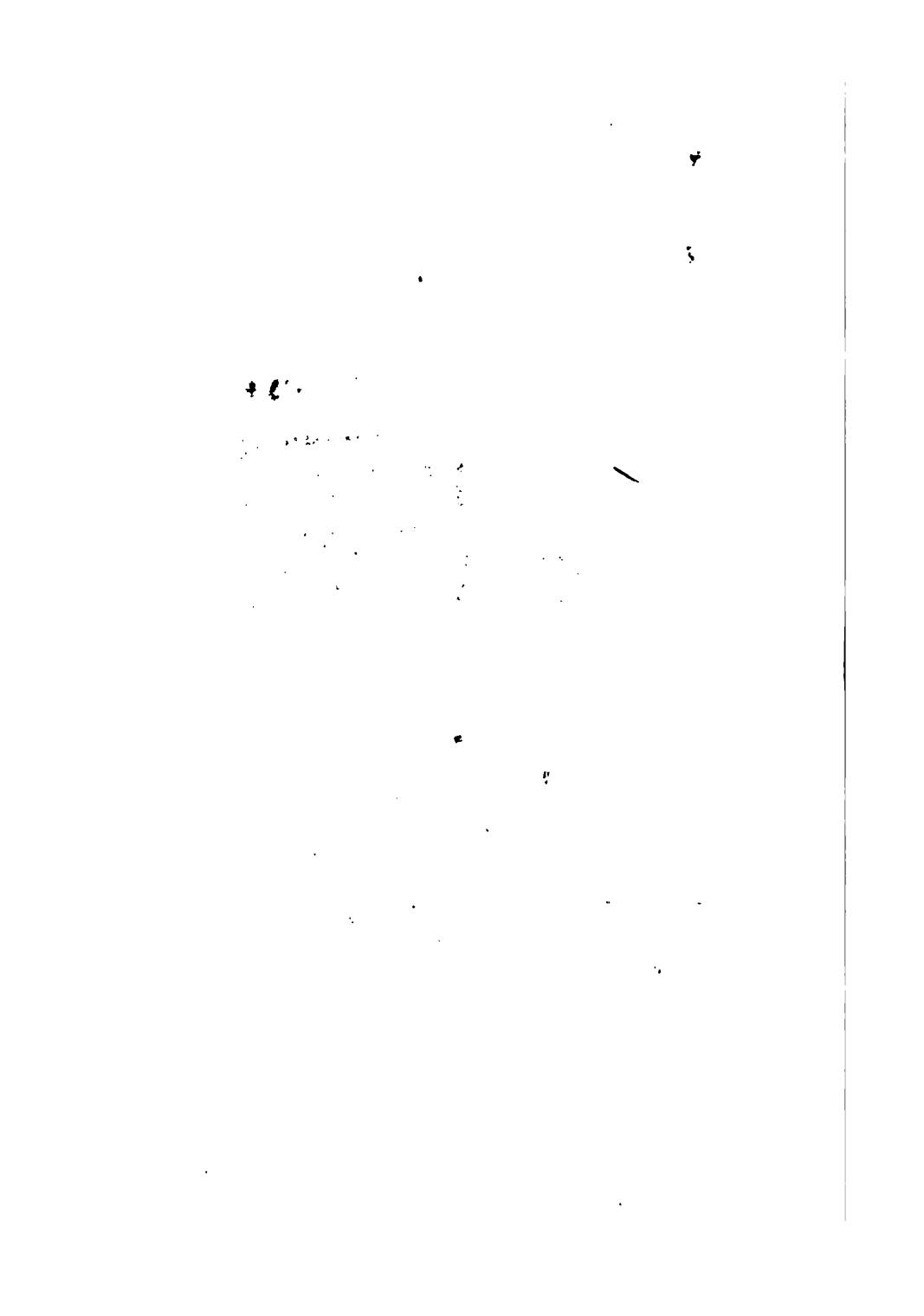
Returned to Paris, Fourier again took lodging at the hotel de Hollande, rue Richelieu.

In the spring of 1832, he went to live at rue Joquelet, No. 5, where the office of the journal, the *Phalansière*, was established.

In April, 1834, Fourier moved into the apartment in rue St. Pierre-Montmartre, No. 9, where he died, 10 October, 1837.

THE END.



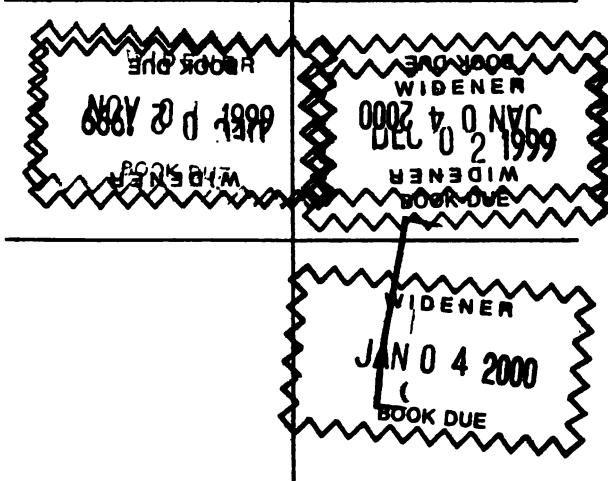


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