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***Installation du Père Enfantin à Ménilmontant* (*Installation of Father Enfantin at Ménilmontant*), 1832. Lithograph.**

Space, Networks, and the Saint-Simonians

RICHARD WITTMAN

A disconcerting truth about the so-called Age of Enlightenment is that it saw a surge of enthusiasm for occult practices, paranormal phenomena, ancient myths, and alchemy.[1] Even more surprising, this concern with what lay beyond the rational horizon did not generally imply a rejection of Enlightenment empiricism: often the same thinkers pursued both occult and more mainstream inquiries, and even those who stuck to the more hermetic and speculative side of things generally presented themselves as proponents rather than critics of *philosophie*. Some scholars have recently begun calling this movement the "Super-Enlightenment," arguing that these inquiries constitute a slippage within the Enlightenment project, a slippage propelled by the need to supply a new unifying framework to replace the now-untenable one offered by the church, and that aimed to reintegrate the fragmented systems of knowledge left behind by an onslaught of radical critique.[2]

But whereas most of the groups and individuals that took on this challenge tended to perceive the problems inherited from the eighteenth century principally in traditional philosophical and religious terms (a tendency largely continued in modern scholarship), at least one group did not: the short-lived but deeply influential Saint-Simonian movement of the 1830s. Saint-Simonianism started as a policy-oriented social philosophy but ended as a mystical religion, an evolution that had everything to do with the movement's prescient intuition that a crucial legacy of the eighteenth century was a transformed experience of space and time. With the genesis of an informational public sphere in the decades leading up to the French Revolution—via the unprecedented expansion of print culture, and with the growing bureaucratization of government and the increasing integration of economic markets—information, ideas, and opinion had begun to be projected materially far beyond their places of origin, making them simultaneously and equally present in many places at once.[3] The public this had constituted was a new kind of social collectivity, unbound by spatial proximity or by a common experience of time. Publicity had begun to take on its modern sense of referring to a presence in the informational public sphere. These changes engendered overlapping spatio-temporalities in everyday life: the inescapable, primary space-time of the phenomenal body inevitably remained primary, but a multi-

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plying number of facets of daily life—economics, politics, culture, public life in general—now sensibly involved the individual in spatiotemporal frameworks that were constituted by forms of disembodied communication and were not susceptible to phenomenal experience.[4]

By the 1830s, factors ranging from the development of railroads and steamships to the expansion of international credit markets were accelerating the sense that formerly unquestioned boundaries of space and time were beginning to collapse. Like others who had responded to the transformations of modern life with a *super*-enlightened search for new unifying narratives, the Saint-Simonians evolved new myth-histories of their own in response to these changes. Pioneer theorists of a globalized, interconnected future, their religious ethic focused on ensuring that the coming age of collapsed time and space would be one of benevolent and universal "association" between people of every civilization and social class. While their optimism has unsurprisingly not been borne out, their many precocious insights into how modern societies and individuals might relate to physical places and to one another resonate uncannily with recent reflections on economic globalization, the information society, the emergence of global cities, network theory, and more. In addition, their attempts to grapple with a specifically modern sense of space and time led them into weird yet sometimes visionary reflections on architecture and spatial planning.

That architecture and planning were key components of Saint-Simonian reflection on modern spatiotemporality is perhaps surprising. Yet the same had been true in the thinking of some of their late eighteenth-century forerunners. If the meaning of architecture had traditionally been unfolded via a material building's presence in public space, the development of a spatially exploded, informational public sphere caused disruptions of historic proportions in every aspect of architectural culture—disruptions that ran parallel to those generated within the spheres of politics and everyday life and in some ways registered more immediately. What did it mean for a public spatial practice like architecture when the traditional public sphere of visuality and embodied experience was subsumed by a spatially fragmented, temporally disaggregated public sphere? When the normative consensus on important monuments was relocated from the local communities that knew them at first hand to an atomized public that knew the buildings from texts? The disorientation produced by these eighteenth-century transformations ultimately provoked a serious and enduring crisis within architectural culture.[5]

One of the most revealing works to emerge from this crisis was the *Lettres sur l'architecture des anciens et celle des modernes*, published in 1787 by the Parisian architect and barrister Jean-Louis

Viel de Saint-Maux.[6] Viel's book drew a sharp contrast between the architecture of the ancient world and that of the modern.[7] Viel's idealized prehistoric world was populated by harmonious agricultural communities for whom votive architecture had been the first communal language, preceding even speech. These perfectly unified communities had been capable of "reading" whole cosmologies in the mute stone pillars and altars of their architecture. From this perfect moment of place-based social and architectural plenitude, humanity had moved on to a succession of communications technologies: first to speech, then writing, and finally printing. Each of these, for Viel, represented a stage in the disintegration of civilization, because each testified to a continually growing need to communicate among ever more scattered, ever less unified groups of people. With each step toward the modern world, the original relevance and communicative efficacy of architecture ebbed away. The culmination of this long story came with the invention of printing in the Renaissance, when the fragmentation of epistemology and culture dramatically accelerated and architecture finally became totally meaningless.[8] Implicit in Viel's schema was the primacy of the embodied spatiality of phenomenal experience, which is also that proper to architecture. Viel presented the spatiality proper to an informational public sphere constituted by print as disrupting that primary spatiality, leaving humans alienated and civilization in crisis.

Not long after Viel's book appeared, French revolutionary authorities grappled with similar issues in their efforts to celebrate and promote the new unity of the nation. The dynamic of nationalism, whereby the individual becomes passionately invested in an imagined community of strangers dispersed over a vast territory, originated in the eighteenth century and depended upon an internalization of the exploded spatiotemporality evoked above.[9] The Revolution thus had good reason to celebrate its emergence. Yet, even as revolutionary discourse promoted an ideal of unity that transcended the limitations of proximity in physical space, the conceptual model for such unity remained that of embodied presence, just as in Viel's book. This can be discerned in everything from the various revolutionary festivals to debates about the modalities of representative government, all of which consistently betrayed suspicion of the new, disaggregated spatiotemporality of the modern nation by reflexively seeking to represent it via the more familiar space-time of embodied experience.[10] In other words, contemporary thought was reluctant to grapple with the ways in which the national community was not only quantitatively larger than traditional face-to-face communities but also qualitatively different, in that it depended on new kinds of nonproximate interaction within a disaggregated sense of time.[11]

Thus, by the time of the Saint-Simonians, an imaginative gap had opened between the reality of a new spatiotemporal framework and inherited ways of conceptualizing community. One of the great unfulfilled challenges in a variety of areas (politics, architecture, town planning, economic theory, social theory) was thus to make sense of the transformed scale of human existence—a transformation that only accelerated as technological networks of communication and transportation expanded. The originality of the Saint-Simonian movement was to attack this challenge directly, to conceptualize the new spatialities engendered by modernity on their own terms, without reducing them to representations occurring in the putatively primary dimension of embodied spatiality. Yet the Saint-Simonians were not by any means consistently successful at this. The discontinuous development of Saint-Simonian thought on these questions invites us to reflect on the ways in which this historic moment of transformation exerted new pressures upon—and created new possibilities for—the connections between society, space, and the experience of place.

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Saint-Simonianism was at once one of the strangest and most clairvoyant of the many social, political, and/or religious doctrines that developed in France during what Paul Bénichou termed "le temps des prophètes": that period of ferment during the end of the Restoration and the start of the July Monarchy when a variety of new movements sought to make sense of the decentered world left behind by the eighteenth century and, especially, the Revolution.[12] The origins of Saint-Simonianism lay in the work of Count Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), nobleman, adventurer, philosopher, and a descendant of the memoirist from the court of Louis XIV.[13] Saint-Simon's doctrines were taken up upon his death by a band of followers who developed and systematized them into a movement whose flame burned brightest between 1828 and 1832. Though the movement as such was largely extinguished by 1840, many of its key ideas continued to have a profound influence, especially in Second Empire France, when many former adherents occupied leading positions in government and industry.[14]

Saint-Simonian doctrine derived from a new understanding of the nature of society, its structure, its development in the past and into the future, and the individual's relationship to it. Following scientific models, the Saint-Simonians conceived of society as an organic material entity—a kind of "collective being" that evolved over time. Their understanding of this entity over time was historicist: the meaning of each historical moment lay in the role it played in the longer story of society's ongoing development.

The Saint-Simonians also claimed that society passed back and forth over the centuries between critical and organic phases. In critical phases, human energies were individualistic, focused on competition and on analysis that strove to break down existing structures. Critical phases were disunified, directionless (beyond a general destructive impulse), hostile toward totalizing concepts, and largely irreligious. In the more unified organic phases, energies were instead cooperative and creative and devoted to some kind of common goal. They were also devoted to synthesis and to building up shared systems of belief; religion permeated every aspect of life in organic periods. Both critical and organic periods were considered necessary to generate a perpetual progress that occurred not evenly but discontinuously. In their view of Western history, the Saint-Simonians identified the early Antiquity of paganism up to the development of philosophy as an organic period; Antiquity from the development of philosophy up to the beginning of the Middle Ages was a critical period; the Christian Middle Ages were then another organic period; and from the Renaissance to the nineteenth-century present of the Saint-Simonians was a critical period.[15]

The immediate goal of Saint-Simonian doctrine was to foster contemporary society's passage into a new organic period, one prepared by the destructive critical period of Reformation, *philosophie*, and Revolution. In this coming era, the progress of scientific inquiry would produce a "positive science of man" that would lead to a scientifically rational new social organization, one whose shape the Saint-Simonians theorized in their work with great passion and precision. The key to this new society was to be industry and technology, which together would generate and extend new networks of exchange and communication, from credit finance to railroads. Through an increasingly mobile, globalized exchange of goods, information, and people, the time and distance that had traditionally kept human beings separated into antagonistic groups would soon be dissolved. The Saint-Simonians referred to this ideal as "universal association." The coming organic era would be characterized by global unity and cultural synthesis between nations, an end to wars, an end to class antagonisms, material prosperity beyond all previous reckoning, and unparalleled human creativity in every arena.[16]

The Saint-Simonians theorized both the legislative and educational means by which this future society was to be shaped and elaborated innovative and influential ideas about subjects ranging from private property (they wanted to modify its status) and the right of inheritance (they wanted to eliminate it) to equality of the sexes (they were for it). But the overarching force governing the society to come, in their view, was to be religious. The organic

nature of the coming age demanded a common religion that would enfold all other facets of this new world and give them direction and meaning. Saint-Simon himself had reached this conclusion in the years before his death, most completely in his *Nouveau christianisme* (1821), which argued that the core of Christianity was a universal ethic reducible to the Golden Rule, whose specific form, however, needed to evolve in step with the needs of society.[17] Hence the book excoriated the unevolved and anachronistic postmedieval Catholic Church and articulated a new Christianity appropriate for the future industrial society. In this new Christianity, science was to occupy the key position, with scientists among the spiritual leadership.[18] Artists were assigned the task of presenting the new religion to the masses. "Philanthropy" or selfless devotion to the common good was to become a central focus of the ethical system, paired with the injunction to participate in the industrial production of goods that would improve the life of the masses.[19]

Saint-Simon's posthumous followers were initially cool to the religious thread in their master's work, preferring in their periodical, *Le producteur*, to stress his doctrines of social transformation.[20] The early leaders of the movement were Prosper-Barthélemy Enfantin, St.-Amand Bazard, and Olinde Rodrigues. Enfantin was a charismatic, highly intelligent former student at the École Polytechnique, Bazard a Freemason and political agitator who had been a cofounder of the French Carbonari, and Rodrigues the scion of a wealthy banking family who had studied mathematics at the École Polytechnique and, more important, had been Saint-Simon's personal assistant during the master's final years.[21] The major text of this period, Enfantin's *Mémoires d'un industriel de l'an 2440* (1828), was a fictional work that, like the more famous text by Louis-Sébastien Mercier evoked by the title, purported to describe the wondrous society of the future.[22] Enfantin's fictional memoirist looked back on an energetic, almost frenetic life of productive economic activity carried out in the employ of the principal governing institution of the day, a sprawling and technocratic central bank. It described a new and meritocratic social order, dwelt at length on the harmonious cooperative relations between workers and industrialists, detailed the efficacy of the education system, and explained the heroic conquest of territory through the expansion of railroads and canals. But it said little about religion.

This initial areligious phase of Saint-Simonianism was to be short lived. Indeed, the movement had already begun to shift direction when Enfantin's *Mémoires* was published, and it was soon to officially transform itself into a religion. Rodrigues most fully grasped and embraced the religious dimension of Saint-Simon's late work, and under his influence the others came to perceive its

centrality to the doctrine. At the end of 1829, the Saint-Simonian school in Paris was renamed the Saint-Simonian church, and, in keeping with Saint-Simon's injunction to update the forms and practices of Christianity, Enfantin and Bazard were enthroned as the new Popes—the *Pères suprêmes*—of the religion.[23] In 1830, the leadership published the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon, exposition*, a transcript of a series of public talks in 1828–1829 in which they had laid out their development of Saint-Simon's thought.[24] The *Exposition* began with chapters outlining the leaders' view of society and history, before then devoting nearly the final third of the book to "the religious question," presented as the key to the entire system.[25] These pages argued that modern irreligion derived from a philosophical hypothesis rather than from the intrinsic logic of scientific discovery, and they described God as the ultimate principle and embodiment of the unity that would characterize the organic society of the future. The new Christianity would offer a social morality to replace the old individual morality, accelerating the decline in exploitation and the increase in association among men that modern science and industry were already making possible. The religion of the future was to be the expression "of the collective thought of humanity, the synthesis of all its conceptions and of all its ways of being."[26] God, in their theology, was in all things and all men. Human beings were thus enjoined to love one another and to reject asceticism and otherworldliness in favor of a joyful, material productiveness and creativity. The organic society of the future would be held together by this altruistic sentiment—love—which would direct all human actions to the common good, replace the egotism of critical society, and fulfill the progressive will of humankind. By uniting all human activity around the common goal of a better future, the full power of the sciences would be unleashed, they would lose the epistemological fragmentation characteristic of a critical age, and they would finally be united within a general interpretive system, becoming what the *Exposition* termed a "theological" science.[27]

IIIII

Also in 1830 the movement produced its first text to mention the question of architecture. Émile Barrault's polemic *Aux artistes* (1830) aimed to recruit artists to the cause.[28] Overwhelmingly devoted to other arts, the pamphlet devoted just a few paragraphs to architecture, but what it had to say was strongly reminiscent of what Viel de Saint-Maux had written half a century earlier—with one significant change: Barrault translated Viel's depiction of a long, linear regression from meaningful to meaningless architecture into the suppler framework of an oscillation between critical

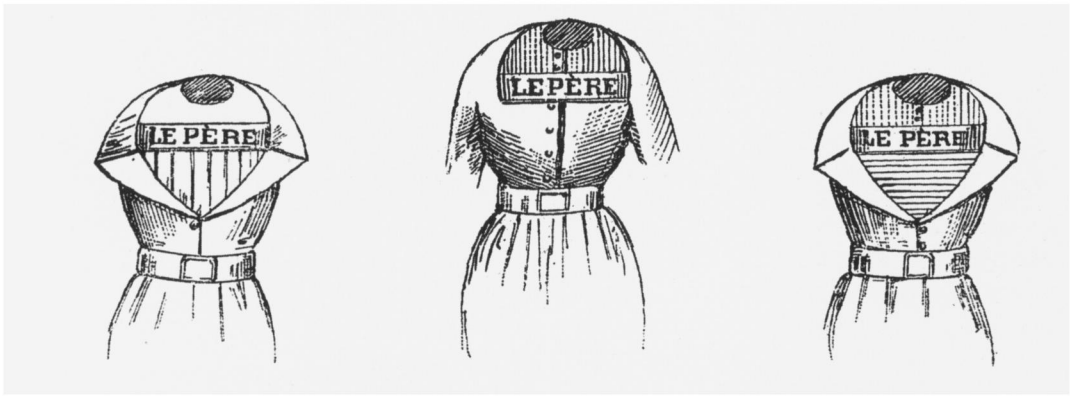
Sketches for Enfantin's uniform, ca. 1830. Lithograph.

and organic eras. Thus in organic eras (like Viel's antiquity) architecture wore its purpose on its façade: in such eras architecture's purpose was to be a sign whose clarity was the result of unanimous efforts born of common beliefs. The architecture of critical ages (corresponding to Viel's modernity) instead found its true image in the Tower of Babel, "erected with ardor and success so long as men spoke the same language, but interrupted and abandoned with the coming of the confusion of [different] languages."[29] In both texts, the quality and legibility of architecture are interpreted as reflections of the presence or absence of social unity. And this unity is indexed in terms of modes of communication: the multiplication of languages for Barrault; the analogous passage from architecture to speech to printing for Viel. Both authors also agreed that contemporary architecture was inexpressive; in one passage Viel quipped that buildings now needed written signs to be intelligible, a comment Barrault echoes when he writes that a church is now distinguishable from a stock exchange only by the cross attached to its roof.[30]

Barrault's comments indicate that leading Saint-Simonian thinkers were already reflecting upon how social unity and religion, and their opposites, found their mirror in spatial practices like architecture—even if, conceptually, not much progress had yet been made beyond Viel's position in thinking the issue through. But if in both texts healthy architecture grows naturally from the place where social unity occurs, the still unresolved problem, from the Saint-Simonian perspective, concerned the need to conceive of a new kind of unity that somehow transcended the old paradigm of bodies gathered in a discrete place. This was the challenge that the next wave of Saint-Simonian texts was to take up a couple of years later.

IIIII

The transformation of the Saint-Simonian movement into a religion marked the opening of the movement's most interesting and bizarre chapters. Enfantin now wrote of feeling "the firm belief that we are called to be the instruments of the divine will."[31] In the wake of the July Revolution of 1830, the Saint-Simonians took over editorship of a new periodical, *Le globe*, to replace their recently defunct *Producteur* and turned the building where the paper was based into a *maison commune*, complete with living quarters for most of the leaders of the group and public rooms for meetings and preaching. Also at the end of 1830, a blue uniform was devised for all disciples, color-coded in three degrees to signal the hierarchy of its members.[32] This uniform was to become a favorite subject of satirists in the years to come, especially the special jersey worn by Enfantin,



which had "LE PÈRE" stitched in red across the breast; caricaturists never missed an opportunity to depict him wearing it. The Saint-Simonian religion of these years devoted substantial energy to outreach programs targeting the working classes and to preaching. New religious ceremonies were also devised, including a marriage and burial ceremony.[33]

In 1831, as Enfantin's charisma (or megalomania) increasingly asserted itself—and as he developed highly controversial ideas about female liberation and relations between the sexes—Bazard split off from the group. The new July Monarchy regarded the Saint-Simonian movement as a dangerous anarchist sect and began to keep it under surveillance. In January 1832, armed troops were sent to intercept Enfantin and Rodrigues outside the Saint-Simonian headquarters. They were detained, the public meeting they were setting out for was broken up, and police investigators impounded a large quantity of files and correspondence.[34] An investigation was launched during which the movement was forbidden to hold further meetings. Finally in June the government charged Michel Chevalier, Charles Duveyrier, and Enfantin with the crime of "outrage to public morals"—a reference to Enfantin's controversial teachings about the sexes—as well as with embezzlement and breaking laws governing public assembly.[35] The early spring months of tension and suspense leading up to the indictments proved to be a time of soul-searching for the Saint-Simonians, and during this period Rodrigues left the group. Enfantin consolidated his influence and emerged as the movement's sole leader.

Also in 1832 the first more-innovative Saint-Simonian texts concerning issues of architecture, urbanism, and space began to appear. If Barrault's text of 1830 offered little more than an update of Viel's schema, these texts pushed into new territory. Because the Saint-Simonian historical framework depicted the disunity and disorder of the present as the basis for the coming organic phase of unity, a more optimistic perspective had to be developed. These new texts consequently focused less on how individual buildings either did or did not communicate with their spectators, as Barrault had done, but instead tried to describe the intensely

interconnected world that architects and engineers were to create and that was to provide the material basis for the coming era of universal association.

The Saint-Simonian vision hinged on the growth of industry and its corollary, an infrastructure for the circulation of people and goods. One set of texts appeared in *Le globe*, all within days of one another in early April 1832, in response to the cholera epidemic that had begun to ravage Paris.[36] Traditional anti-cholera measures had tended to blame the poor for creating the conditions that made their quarters the usual starting-points of epidemic, but the Saint-Simonians instead made a morally neutral case for comprehensive town planning.[37] Their detailed and often highly practical proposals—many of which were eventually realized in some form—chiefly concerned improving the means of circulation in the city, and especially the water supply, not only for drinking but also for hygiene. And while government was normally assumed to be responsible for initiating these projects, these Saint-Simonian texts outlined market-driven solutions for financing them.

We encounter here, for the first time, the Saint-Simonian tendency to envisage problems in larger spatial terms rather than in individual terms and thus to propose holistic solutions rather than solutions that extrapolated from the individual body or individual character. This ultimately derived from the Saint-Simonians' sense that society was something qualitatively other than an accumulation of individuals. Rather, society was an entity in its own right that could not be understood as Enlightenment thought had usually done; that is, through extrapolation or, conversely, through representing the collective in individual terms. Saint-Simonian organicism instead viewed society as based on difference. Saint-Simon himself envisaged society as a body composed of different organs that were not all equal in importance: the toes may be important, but the body dies without its heart. Nonetheless, every part had its dignity and all were necessary to the healthy functioning of the body.[38] This is what informed the Saint-Simonian belief in the unique contributions that every race and nation would make in the coming age of universal association and what led them to reject the doctrine of the equality of men.[39] This is also why they insisted that a religion—one centered on a selfless philanthropy that transcended raw self-interest—was the only way that the mutually exclusive interests composing society could be resolved into social harmony and peace. And, finally, this was the perspective that made the planning of social space on a large scale so important, because space was understood as the setting for both conflict as well as for the association by which future harmony was to emerge. Thus, town planning and other forms of territorial engineering played roles similar to religion: they, too, encompassed the

whole, transcending the mutually antagonistic interests of individuals, and encouraging a philanthropic, collective mentality.

Other, less practically oriented Saint-Simonian literature on the city in this period gave more explicit attention to the religious and futuristic concerns of the movement, collating mystical pronouncements with highly informed analysis of the future development of cities, railroad networks, and the banking system. The future Paris was the theme of various articles written in 1832 by Saint-Simonian Charles Duveyrier.[40] Of these, one, "Paris. Travaux Publics. Fêtes," proposed a dual program of public works and public festivals that together would consecrate Paris's new destiny as the "métropole du globe": Paris needed to embrace its coming role as the "center of the apostolate and of the peaceful propagation of all the sentiments of association and sociability," as the "seat of life for the world," at the center of an alliance of all peoples "living under the law of the Evangelist and of the Koran."[41] Thus from the start the meaning of the local space of the city was derived from the global space it was to lead and to which it was to be physically connected via infrastructure. Infrastructure became the physical bridge between the embodied space of the individual body and the exploded space of the national and international arena of production and publicity. Thus Duveyrier's text envisaged dividing Paris into four sectors, each characterized by its principal road and the direction in which it led. Each of these sectors was to be occupied by a division of a peaceful army of workers who would labor to create the ideal modern Paris. As they performed this work, they would have before their eyes the foreign lands that lay in the direction toward which their sector of the city was oriented; their understanding of their labor would be inflected by their knowledge of these places and, reciprocally, by the knowledge of what those places would take from seeing the work in Paris. Thus workers in the East, based on the flanks of the Butte Chaumont, would

> ceaselessly have before their eyes the presence of eastern Europe, and will be exalted by the joy and immortal glory of being the first messengers of peace, and of finally extending a friendly hand to central Germany, which opens its arms to us, [and] to Prussia and white Russia, against whom we have for so long crossed swords.[42]

Workers in the west, from the plain of Montrouge, would "ceaselessly have before their eyes Nantes, Bordeaux, and that breathlessly anarchic, revolutionary America, whose ebony and copper-colored populations call out for the succor of our assistance, of our open arms, and of our enthusiasm." Workers based at the walls of Villejuif in the south would be inspired by the "sublime thought" that their labors would "pierce to the heart of that Africa and that

Asia who spread out in the bosom of the seas like a great wound of servitude and barbarism." And finally from the Bois de Boulogne and the heights of Passy, the fourth division of Duveyrier's peaceful army would look to Rouen, le Havre, and finally England, "the central workshop of all colonizations and gigantic terrestrial institutions" and habitual source of humanity's most audacious endeavors.[43] As for the "public festivals" described in Duveyrier's texts—mainly vague and generic celebrations, unlike the programmatic national representations of the revolutionary festivals—these attract a return gaze: their noise and éclat "will make all these aching nations raise up their head, will put a smile of goodness on their face, and will be a signal of communion for Europe."[44]

Duveyrier's text collapses local and global space into a single spatiotemporality—one in which Africa can be "before the eyes" of workers building a street in Paris or in which a festival in Paris can cause people in Russia to "raise up their head." This geographical schematism makes the text disconcerting, because it extends the immediacy of embodied spatial experience—in which one looks up and sees what is close by—to the geopolitical scale, with no concession to the differences between the two. This is also what makes the text—and the Saint-Simonian vision that it represents—so original; it marks a genuine and self-conscious attempt to come to grips with the new, exploded spatiotemporalities that had emerged during the previous half-century. Duveyrier's text takes the intrepid step of imagining a world in which the exploded spatiality of modernity is no longer a conceptual problem. The text does not resolve the problem, but by imaginatively invoking such a world it invites the nineteenth-century reader to recognize the inadequacy of existing frameworks of sociospatial understanding.

Still, if the precise modalities of how Russia would "see" Paris are left vague, the inference was that it would occur via networks of transport, exchange, and communication. These would effectively collapse distance and compress time, creating new opportunities for human beings to interact across vast distances and dissolving the ancient limitations that proximity had placed on social experience. Chevalier's crucial *Système de la Méditerranée* (1832) dwelled at length on the nature of such networks.[45] Chevalier's text was originally published as a series of articles in *Le globe* (of which he was editor) before being issued as the last section of a series entitled *Religion Saint-Simonienne*. The text began by critiquing conventional thinking about how France ought to "emancipate" the rest of Europe militarily. Chevalier argued that the primary obstacle to liberty in Europe was feudalism and that the continued peaceful expansion of an industrial economy based on credit would be sufficient to gradually destroy feudalism without ever a shot being fired. The real victory to be won was one of

hearts and minds, and those kinds of victories, he claimed, were never won with guns and armies. The goals of international brotherhood, of the end of aristocracy and repression, and of perpetual peace between nations would instead have to be founded on association between "the Orient and the Occident"—a theme that was then emerging as a central one in Saint-Simonian thought. In this ideal of association, each person, like each culture—not just in Europe but around the world—would contribute particular gifts and capabilities and beliefs to the common project, with no need for a general homogenization. (The generalization of the Saint-Simonian "new Christianity" within the lands of Islam and elsewhere seems not to have been considered problematic.) The crux of Chevalier's argument here was that the millennial rivalry between Orient and Occident, which had driven nearly the whole of world history, must now come to an end. Hence the importance of the Mediterranean, where the two met: this great basin, Chevalier suggested, must be transformed from a battlefield to a wedding bed.[46]

The rest of the book was devoted to describing quite literally how this should be done. Defining industry as a mixture of "production centers united among themselves by a relatively material link, which is to say, means of transportation, and by a relatively spiritual link, which is to say the banks," Chevalier sketched out a vast infrastructural system of railroads, canals, rivers, and maritime routes that together would act as a "network" of "veins" through which the banking and manufacturing systems would pump life-sustaining matter.[47] Railroads were the key to this vision. Chevalier stressed not only their cost-effectiveness but also their speed, which he argued was changing "the conditions of human existence" by compressing space and multiplying relations between people and places.[48] Chevalier's basic "system" began with the ports where the main valley of each country met the Mediterranean. Railroads in and beyond these valleys would connect them (and thus the sea) to all the other valleys in that country and in other countries as well. All major rivers would thus have railroads running alongside, with heavy products traveling by water and light products and people by rail. This immense rail network would also be joined across the entire Mediterranean by a network of maritime navigation. The bulk of Chevalier's book then described how to deploy this model network within the specific topographies of each of the countries or regions bordering the Mediterranean: Spain, France, England, Italy, Germany, Turkey, Russia, Asia, and Africa. The last section considered the cost of the plan, which it declared to be equal to the amounts that European nations had spent on warfare in recent decades.[49]

It was the Saint-Simonians' organicist approach to understanding

Occupations journalières des Saints-Simoniens (*Daily Labors of the Saint-Simonians*), 1832. Lithograph.

society that enabled them—in 1832—to make such startlingly precocious use of the paradigm of the network (*réseau*), for at the time this term was in use mainly in the biological sciences and hardly at all in the emerging social sciences.[50] Their appropriation of it contributed to their goal of establishing social policy theory that envisaged society as a coherent living entity. Their development of the network paradigm marked an important step toward trying to find a way of talking about the spatiality of a vast collectivity on its own terms—one that was to have a long future ahead of it.

IIIII

Over the course of 1832, the Saint-Simonians began increasingly to refer to themselves as *la famille*, and an embattled family at that. This turn left its trace in their religious and spatial discourse. The initial framework for the Saint-Simonian religion had been as a source for social adhesion, and their early religious pronouncements had been centered on ideals. Squarely collated with social questions concerning humanity and its future, the religion had concerned itself more with the forest than with individual trees, so to speak. But now Saint-Simonian religion became more inward looking and increasingly fixated on individuals more than ideals. As early as 1830, Enfantin had begun theorizing about the life to come, the nature of the heaven that awaited, and the immortality of the soul. He even declared at one point that Saint-Simon's soul was living again through him.[51] By 1832, unchallenged in his leadership of the sect, these concerns loomed ever larger for Enfantin. Various Saint-Simonians loyal to Enfantin began trying to invest him with divine attributes; a few even went so far as to proclaim him a reincarnation of Jesus Christ.[52] Enfantin never quite endorsed these efforts, though his style of leadership encouraged them. Saint-Simonian texts and sermons also began speaking more and more about an awaited "Female Messiah" who would come from the Orient and who was to join with Enfantin to form a priest-couple that would unite Occident and Orient and lead the world into the coming organic age.[53]

This growing tendency to reduce the great abstractions of earlier Saint-Simonian discourse to symbolic narratives involving real individuals in shared space and time manifested itself most powerfully during the summer leading up to the trial of August 1832. After briefly contemplating flight from France to avoid the trial, Enfantin had decided instead to retreat and regroup with forty of his closest disciples at his mother's house at Ménilmontant outside Paris, where he had been born.[54] At this "new Bethlehem"—again, the association of Enfantin with Christ, now presented through an image of space (Bethlehem) and time (new)—Enfantin borrowed a

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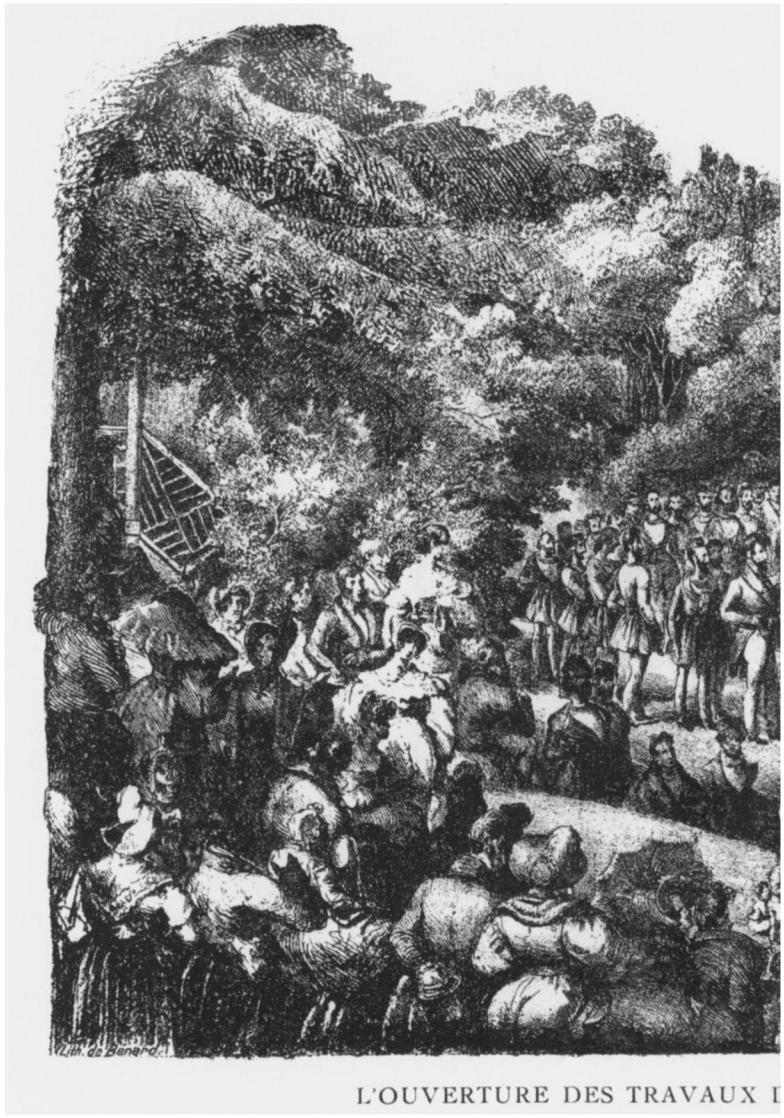
page from the old Christianity and attempted to forge his forty men into what he termed the new Saint-Simonian apostolate. Throughout the summer he led them in an ascetic monastic existence of fellowship, discussion, celibacy, song, and—because no servants were present—physical labor. The disciples took on even the most menial household tasks themselves.[55] Contemporary caricaturists delighted in depicting them peeling vegetables and scrubbing plates in their blue uniforms, but for those who endured "the Retreat"—as it came to be known—the discipline and humility of these labors formed an important part of the experience and helped them to emerge at the end, in Enfantin's words, as a "compact and unbreakable core."[56] The whole project was intended to forge a historical-mythical narrative about the movement's heroic early founders and to fortify the movement's hold on the hearts of its adherents (and its new converts) as it headed into the judicial Calvary scheduled for the autumn.

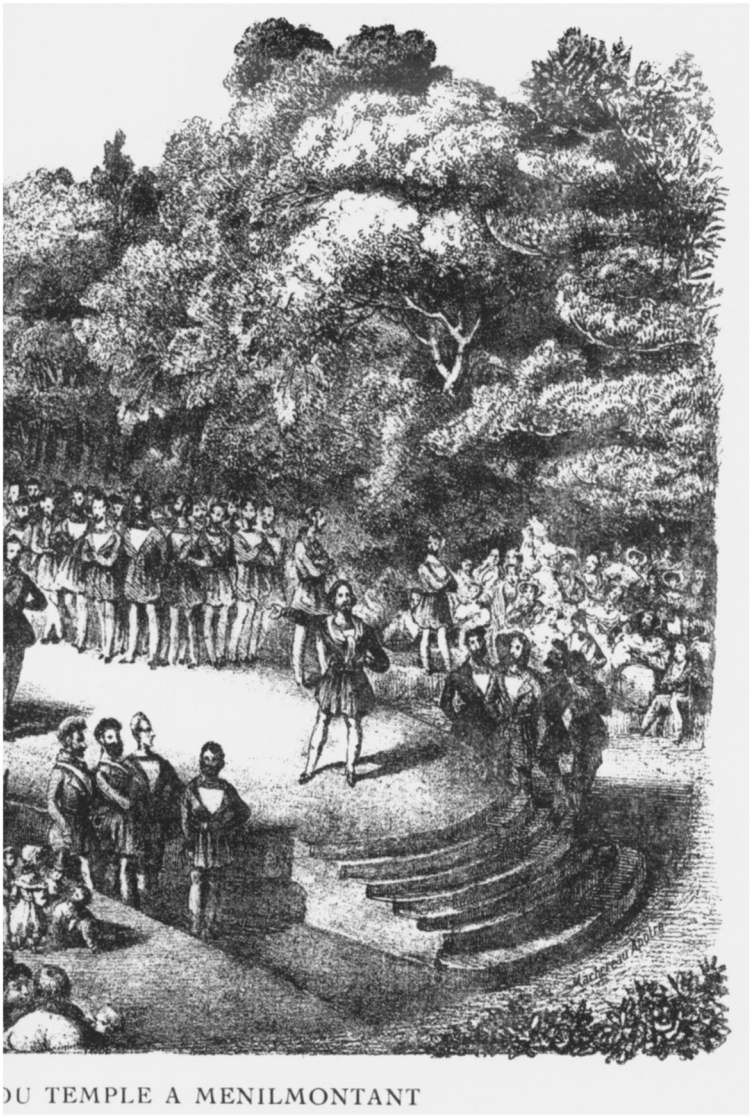
With this broad shift from abstraction to specificity and concreteness, something of the movement's original skill at freshly conceptualizing the spatial scale and scope of modernity ebbed. For instance, the theme of the joyous coming together of Occident and Orient—so meticulously laid out by Chevalier's *Système de la*



L'OUVERTURE DES TRAVAUX I

Méditerranée in terms of communications and infrastructure networks—was now increasingly discussed in the symbolic or metaphorical terms of Enfantin's marriage to a Female Messiah from the East. Chevalier had used the metaphor of the Mediterranean as a wedding bed, but now the metaphor was transformed into a real project for sexual congress and began displacing Chevalier's Mediterranean networks as the core of the Saint-Simonian obsession with East-West union. Finding himself in prison in January 1833 after having been convicted the previous August on all counts in his trial, Enfantin wrote to Émile Barrault and instructed him that "the time has arrived. You may announce me to the Orient and call forth the Mother from there."[57] Barrault quickly organized the Association des Compagnons de la Femme and led an expedition that traveled (in Saint-Simonian costume) from Marseilles to Constantinople, then Alexandria, in search of the hoped-for Female Messiah. (The captain's mate onboard their ship was the young Giuseppe Garibaldi, whom Barrault tried unsuccessfully to recruit, but who was influenced in his thinking by the encounter.)[58]

Saint-Simonian discourse on the uses and shaping of space also developed new preoccupations around this time, with increased attention to the question of individual buildings. Not that the movement abandoned its concern for the grand infrastructural projects that comprised Chevalier's networks; far from it. The eighty or so Saint-Simonians who voyaged to Egypt in 1833 in search of the Female Messiah left their mark primarily by launching—with different degrees of success—a variety of infrastructural projects for the modernizing Muhammad Ali Pasha (including an attempt to organize the project that would later be executed as the Suez Canal). And after the movement had effectively ended, in the 1840s, several former Saint-Simonians, including some of the same men who had been in Egypt, became key figures in the development of transportation infrastructures in France and its colonies.[59] But from the



***L'ouverture des travaux du temple à Ménilmontant* (*Opening of Work on the Temple at Ménilmontant*), 1832. Lithograph.**

time of the retreat to Ménilmontant, the focus of Saint-Simonian writing on spatial questions shifts palpably from the exploded concept of the network to the embodied, site-specific concept of the individual building; or, from the conceptualization of an exploded social space to the effort of imagining what the embodied spaces within it would feel like.

The Saint-Simonians actually set about erecting the one and only specifically Saint-Simonian building during their retreat at Ménilmontant.[60] Throughout the summer of the retreat the disciples staged Sunday festivals that cumulatively attracted many thousands of adherents and curious spectators from Paris to the ample back garden of the Enfantin house. The largest of these gatherings occurred on July 1, when an elaborate service with specially commissioned music by Félicien David drew about 5,000 people to witness the highly ritualized start of work on a temple, constructed by the disciples themselves with help from a group of adherents from Paris. The police commissioner, alarmed by the crowd, turned up later that afternoon and sought to disperse the gathering, but Enfantin dispatched Chevalier who succeeded in putting him off. Work on the temple seems to have continued for at least another week, with crowds showing up each day. The police soon returned and eventually stationed guards who prevented any further work or gatherings.[61] Nothing is known of the temple's design aside from the rather unremarkable hemicycle of curved steps that was actually built. (These were depicted subsequently in the background of a few portraits of Saint-Simonian leaders—including in the first image reproduced here—offering a reminder of their interrupted reconstruction of the world.)

One of the main tasks at which the disciples labored during the retreat at Ménilmontant was the composition of what were to be the sacred texts of the Saint-Simonian religion. This assortment of essays, dialogues, and poems was published in full only in 1991, as the *Livre nouveau des Saint-Simonians*, 159 years after the Saint-

Simonians' initial efforts to do so in 1832 had failed (although fragments of the text were published here and there in the interim).[62] The first of several discussions of architecture appears at the end of the first of the séances, or "sessions," into which the book is divided. Here one reads about Enfantin, seated at the head of a circle of disciples in the Ménilmontant house, as he elaborates a dizzying Saint-Simonian theology—an account larded with a delirious variety of typographical emphases (different categories of keywords in ALL CAPS, with others in all SMALL CAPS, or in **bold**, or in *italics*), in which passages of mystical philosophizing alternate with lapidary pronouncements.[63]

This first séance sketched out a new Saint-Simonian catechism, a vertiginous verbal flight through such unexpected categories as algebra, geometry, language, and grammar, with the final pages concentrating on architecture and public works. Referring to the numerous projects that the movement had published in the *Globe* over the past few years—including Chevalier's *Système de la Méditerranée*—Enfantin declared that these were, so to speak, fragmentary and incomplete, representing a piecemeal approach to the networking of the world: they lacked "the indispensable condition for their realization, because they do not inaugurate a regular series of works that has been imagined through an inspiration worthy of our faith, an inspiration truly universal."[64] The projects, in other words, lacked an overall unity capable of vouching not only for their benefits but for their very meaning. In order to unify the program, to make it more than just a series of suggestions—and in order to get all of society, both rich and poor, on board with them—Enfantin declared the necessity of creating a "MODEL CAPITAL." This one specific exemplary place within the dispersion of the network would dissolve the seeming abstraction of the whole system and give it a center, a source for its meaning: it would furnish

> a continual INSPIRATION through the WORSHIP by which it will be surrounded, for all the WORKS of which this model will be the SYMBOL. Now, the CAPITAL of the new WORLD, of the humanitarian realm, the METROPOLIS of the UNIVERSAL FAITH, is the model, because it is the starting point for the DIRECTION of great WORKS across the entire GLOBE.[65]

Here we encounter another manifestation of the growing attraction to embodied representations (models, symbols, incarnations) of concepts that had originally been put forth on their own, more abstract terms. Embodiment is precisely what Enfantin has in mind here, because he concludes the meeting by intoning that this meaning-giving city should take the physical form of the human body. This is the most powerful image, he says, "the one most apt to INSPIRE in man the LOVE, the **KNOWLEDGE** and the PRACTICE of all that MAN must

do in the WORLD."[66] The social organicism of Saint-Simonian theory is thus literalized as the organic society becomes an actual body.

The séance ended with Enfantin sending Michel Chevalier off to "sketch" this idea and Charles Duveyrier to "color" it. Later in the book, the reader encounters the results of these efforts. Duveyrier's essay "Le Paris des Saint-Simoniens" is one of the most famous of all Saint-Simonian texts on the city, partly for its weirdness but also partly because it was published. In the year of its composition, it appeared in volume eight of *Paris, ou le livre des cent-et-un*, a periodical in the spirit of Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* that aspired to "review modern Paris."[67] The text describes a vision from God of the new Paris, which is to be built, as Enfantin had announced, in the form of a human body. As the prefatory letter by Duveyrier explained, the city would take the form of a male body because the male principle still dominated society. But the coming Female Messiah would unlock the female principle, and thus the temple of the new Paris would take the form of a female body—a microcosm within a microcosm. The essay itself is largely taken up with delirious descriptions of a workers' army divided up by different trades and institutions and distributed in appropriate places around the anatomy of the city (the bank on one breast, the temple in the center, and so forth).

Chevalier's contribution was an unfinished poem entitled "Le temple," which offered further descriptions of the miraculous statue-building that stood at the center of the new Paris.[68] Chevalier's conception of the temple had taken shape over his time at Ménilmontant. An earlier phase in its conception is revealed in a dialogue in the *Livre nouveau* between Enfantin and Chevalier that appeared under the heading, "Conversations avec le Père—7 septembre."[69] Enfantin here sketches his vision for the architecture of the future, which centers on the claim that architecture is an incomplete art because it makes no accommodation for movement. By this he meant the "continual movement which agitates any construction, even if it be the impact of air, or the impact of light waves. Every building must be made in such a way as to ***receive*** MOVEMENT and *reciprocate* it, whereas now one builds only to **RESIST** MOVEMENT."[70] From this starting point, Enfantin proposed the development of building techniques that allowed for play and elasticity, as in advanced bridge construction and as in the human body.[71] This predominantly metallic architecture, he claimed, ought even to have pores like skin. Having emitted these ideas, Enfantin then leaves the room while Chevalier remains behind to ponder. Chevalier imagines using hollow columns that would transform a building into a great pipe organ. He thinks of making a musical building of bells and chimes. He even envisages the possibility of a

"voltaic battery temple," in which the life of the earth would be manifested in a building that vomited forth fire and shot out waves of heat and light. All music, all the arts, paintings, sculptures, panoramas, dioramas, and much more would be present in this building, "which would unite in a single place all of space and all of time."[72]

This first vision was the germ for the temple Chevalier then described at much greater length in his poem, a metallic colossus that essentially encompassed the entire world: science would survey the skies from observatories within the "minarets" and study the bowels of the earth in underground laboratories. Landscapes, crystals, the sun, cities, electricity, mountains, water, flowers, and fruits—all would be present in the temple, as would art, music, industry, museums, laboratories, and libraries. And the races of the world would all be present, each identified with a particular sector within the vast interior. In addition to the hollow columns composing a great pipe organ, the temple also had gaslight and faceted windows that made the building seem to "quiver and palpitate."[73] This is an architecture that transcends embodied architectural spatiality and strives somehow to contain all of space and all of time within it.

IIIII

With Chevalier's "Le temple," development of Saint-Simonian spatial theory comes full circle, as even the architectural monument itself is invested with the capacity to exceed its spatiotemporal specificity in the effort to make it relevant again for a modernity of collapsed distance and disaggregated time. The desire to gather everything in existence into the temple is a literary conceit, but many of the other ideas that the Saint-Simonians came up with have continued to haunt architectural and spatial theory, especially in times when the promise (or threat) of a shrunken world of endless mobility has come powerfully to the fore. Indeed, Saint-Simonian thought abounds with premonitions of more recent developments, from interest in performative architecture, megastructures, and architectural nomadism, to the "network fever" that has repeatedly infected theorists seeking a new principle for the organization of social space.[74]

The Saint-Simonians were intrepid conceptualizers of the historic passage between premodern and modern social space—from the world of phenomenally experienced space-time to the world we all now take for granted, in which even the most banal aspects of everyday life involve us in networks of communication and exchange that extend far beyond the places we know at first hand. That their efforts lurched back and forth between inherited ideas

and genuine insights is most plausibly the result of the vicissitudes of the movement itself. Indeed, there is poignancy and perhaps a lesson as well in watching their conceptual boldness falter as threats to the success and survival of their beloved movement invested the status of the embodied with new urgency; as adversity forced the Saint-Simonian adventure to become as much about the lives of those who had committed to *la famille* as it was about preparing humanity for a brave new future.

Notes

With grateful thanks to Jennifer Johung and Dan Edelstein for encouragement, support, and many stimulating discussions.

1. See Dan Edelstein's introductory essay in the collection *The Super-Enlightenment: Daring to Know Too Much* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010). See also the Super-Enlightenment Project website, Stanford University Libraries, http://collections.stanford.edu/supere.

2. For instance, the respected astronomer Bailly was also the author of letters on the myth of Atlantis. See the "About" section of the Super-Enlightenment Project website, http://collections.stanford.edu/supere/page.action?forward=about.

3. The literature on the civic public sphere is too large to summarize here. Beyond the obvious starting point, Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), useful texts include Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 20–37; Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000): 153–182; Benjamin Nathans, "Habermas's 'Public Sphere' in the Era of the French Revolution," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 3 (1990): 620–644; and the essays in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

4. These claims are laid out at greater length in Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge, 2007). A shorter account is found in Richard Wittman, "Architecture, Space, and Abstraction in the Eighteenth-Century French Public Sphere," *Representations* 102, no. 1 (2008): 1–26.

5. Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture.*

6. Jean-Louis Viel de Saint-Maux, *Lettres sur l'architecture des anciens et celle des modernes* (Paris, 1787). See Rémy Saisselin, "Painting, Writing and Primitive Purity: From Expression to Sign in Eighteenth-Century French Painting and Architecture," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 217 (1983): esp. 316–332; Jean-Rémy Mantion, "La solution symbolique: Les *Lettres sur l'architecture* de Viel de Saint-Maux (1787)," *Urbi* 9 (1984): 46–58; Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), 139–146; Richard Wittman, "The Hut and the Altar: Architectural Origins and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 36 (2007): 235–259; and Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture*, 1–2.

7. Viel's account of the architecture of ancient civilization, stretching back into prehistory, drew heavily upon Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne*, 9 vols. (Paris: Chez l'auteur etc., 1773–1782).

8. This architecture/printing opposition, which Viel originated, was later taken up (with significant changes) by Victor Hugo and even Frank Lloyd Wright. See Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (London: Penguin, 1978), 189–191; and Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine" (1901), in *Frank Lloyd Wright: Collected Writings*, vol. 1, ed. B.B. Pfeiffer (New York: Rizzoli; Scottsdale, AZ: Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, 1992), 60–61.

9. On nationalism, see David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

10. Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture*, 213–217. On the revolutionary festivals, see Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Mona Ozouf, "Space and Time in the Festivals of the

French Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 3 (1975): 372–384; and James Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France, 1789–1799* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

11. The Terror itself may even be said to have sprung from anxieties about the new scale and disaggregation of society, because it aimed to impose a monolithic notion of the general will on a nation far too large, complex, and refractory to accept it. Mah, 170.

12. Paul Bénichou, *Le temps des prophètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977). On the Saint-Simonians, see Antoine Picon, *Les Saint-Simoniens: Raison, imaginaire et utopie* (Paris: Belin, 2002); Sébastien Charléty, *Histoire du Saint-Simonisme (1825–1864)* (Paris: P. Hartmann, 1931); Henry-René d'Allemagne, *Les Saint-Simoniens, 1827–1837* (Paris: Gründ, 1930); Robert Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown: Saint-Simonianism and the Doctrine of Hope* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Ralph Locke, *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

13. Frank Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956).

14. A distinction is often drawn between the writings of Saint-Simon and the doctrines of the Saint-Simonian movement, although recent scholarship has suggested that the continuities between the two were more important than the differences. (This claim is convincingly argued by Carlisle.) In what follows, I make a distinction only where it is germane to the argument at hand.

15. For a good analysis of Saint-Simon's initial elaboration of the theory, see Manuel, 219–236. For a succinct summary of the theory by the leaders of the Saint-Simonian movement a few years later, see *Doctrine de Saint-Simon, exposition*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1830), 75–81.

16. This vision of the future is summarized in the first session (December 17, 1828) of the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, 75–104.

17. Henri Saint-Simon, *Nouveau christianisme* (Paris, 1821).

18. The internal contradiction of a "religion" of science—when the core principle of science was supposed to be critical reason—was endemic to contemporary doctrines, as Bénichou points out. Bénichou, 264.

19. For discussions of the *Nouveau christianisme*, see Manuel, 348–363; and Carlisle, 35–40.

20. Ironically, Enfantin—who was soon to develop strong mystical tendencies—was initially quite suspicious of the religious thread in Saint-Simon's work. See Allemagne, 34.

21. Carlisle, 42–45.

22. Prosper Enfantin, *Mémoires d'un industriel de l'an 2240*, in Henri Saint-Simon and Prosper Enfantin, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, vol. 17 (Paris, 1868), 143–214. The work by Mercier is *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante. Rêve s'il en fût jamais* (London, 1776).

23. Allemagne, 70.

24. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon, exposition* (Paris, 1830). Available in English as *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition*, ed. and trans. Georg G. Iggers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958).

25. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, 241–327 (201–276 in English edition).

26. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, 242 (202 in English edition).

27. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, 276 (229 in English edition).

28. Émile Barrault, *Aux artistes: Du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts*

(Paris, 1830).

29. Barrault, 18.

30. Viel de Saint-Maux, 7.25; Barrault, 16–19.

31. Enfantin as quoted in Allemagne, 75.

32. Allemagne, 115, 117.

33. Allemagne, 120, 128, 157, 163.

34. Allemagne, 256–258.

35. Allemagne, 260. On the trial, see Annie Smart, "The Ecole Saint-Simonienne's Outrage to Public Morals," *Nineteenth Century French Studies* 33, no. 3/4 (2005): 258–272.

36. For example, Stéphane Flachat, "Le choléra: Assainissement de Paris," *Le globe* 93 (2 April 1832): 369–370; Henri Fournel, "Au roi," *Le globe* 104 (13 April 1832): 413; Michel Chevalier, "Politique. France. Le choléra-morbus," *Le globe* 100 (9 April 1832): 397; Clavel, "Le choléra," *Le globe* 92 (1 April 1832): 365–366; and Charles Duveyrier, "Le choléra. Réponse," *Le globe* 106 (11 April 1832): 423. These are discussed in Nicholas Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 147–153.

37. Papayanis, 148.

38. Manuel, 300–304.

39. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, xxxviii (from an introduction not included in the English edition).

40. Charles Duveyrier, "Paris. Travaux publics. Fêtes," *Le Globe* 102, pt. 1 (11 April 1832): 407, and *Le globe* 102, pt. 2 (16 April 1832): 425 (reprinted as Charles Duveyrier, *Religion saint-simonienne: Travaux publics, fêtes*, ed. Michel Chevalier [Paris, 1832]); Charles Duveyrier, "Paris," in *Religion saint-simonienne*, ed. Chevalier, 57–65; Charles Duveyrier, "Le pouvoir nouveau," in *Religion saint-simonienne*, ed. Chevalier, 67–74. These are discussed in Papayanis, 152–157.

41. Duveyrier, *Travaux publics, fêtes*, p. 2.

42. Duveyrier, *Travaux publics, fêtes*, p. 2.

43. Duveyrier, *Travaux publics, fêtes*, p. 3.

44. Duveyrier, *Travaux publics, fêtes*, p. 5.

45. Michel Chevalier, *Religion saint-simonienne: Politique industrielle. Système de la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1832). The essays in this volume were originally published in *Le globe* on 20 January, 31 January, 3 February, and 12 February 1832. A similar text from this year was Gabriel Lamé, Émile Clapeyron, Stéphane Flachat, and Eugène Flachat, *Vues politiques et pratiques sur les travaux publics de France* (Paris, 1832). These four Saint-Simonian engineers laid out plans for railways, roads, and canals in France, considered how to fund them, and even presented a history of public works in France and England and of the different schools of thought concerning their funding and execution.

46. Chevalier, *Système*, 5–32.

47. Chevalier, *Système*, 35.

48. Chevalier, *Système*, 36.

49. Chevalier, *Système*, 33–56.

50. Picon, 234–235.

51. Allemagne, 253.

52. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, Arthur Enfantin, Barthélémy-François Arlès-Dufour, Adolphe Guéroult, Barthélemy-Louis Enfantin, *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1866), 187.

53. Allemagne, 236.

54. Mme. Enfantin succumbed to cholera almost immediately, and the house

passed to Enfantin. Carlisle, 187.

55. On the retreat, see *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1866), 94–192; Allemagne, 270–293; Carlisle, 187–193; and Locke, 123–152.

56. Allemagne, 272.

57. Allemagne, 368.

58. Allemagne, 373; and Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: The Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 38.

59. Picon, 226–234.

60. *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, vol. 7, 134; and Allemagne, 285–288.

61. *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, vol. 7, 157–158.

62. *Le livre nouveau des Saint-Simoniens: Manuscrits d'Emile Barrault, Michel Chevalier, Charles Duveyrier, Prosper Enfantin, Charles Lambert, Léon Simon et Thomas-Ismayl Urbain (1832–1833)*, ed. Philippe Régnier (Tusson, Charente: Du Lérot, 1991).

63. *Le livre nouveau*, 63–81.

64. *Le livre nouveau*, 80.

65. *Le livre nouveau*, 81.

66. *Le livre nouveau*, 81.

67. Charles Duveyrier, "La ville nouvelle, ou, Le Paris des Saint-Simoniens," *Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un*, vol. 8 (1832): 323–344; and "La ville nouvelle, ou, Le Paris des Saint-Simoniens," in *Le livre nouveau*, 222–236.

68. Michel Chevalier, "Le temple," in *Le livre nouveau*, 237–243.

69. "Conversations avec le Père—7 septembre," in *Le livre nouveau*, 176–181.

70. "Conversations avec le Père," 176.

71. For all that the organic metaphor connects to earlier Saint-Simonian texts, it also evokes eighteenth-century ideas about architecture. See, for instance, Jean-Rodolphe Perronet, "Lettres de M. Perronet à M. Soufflot," *Mercure de France,* April 1770 (II), 195–198.

72. "Conversations avec le Père," 181.

73. Chevalier, "Le temple," in *Le livre nouveau.*

74. Mark Wigley, "Network Fever," *Grey Room* 4 (Summer 2001), 82–122. Antoine Picon has noted that something of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's notion of the rhizome can be seen in texts like Chevalier's *Système de la Méditerranée*. Picon, 23.