

SELECTIONS
FROM THE
WORKS OF FOURIER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER X

OF ASSOCIATION

It has been vaguely formulated as a principle that men are made for SOCIETY: it has not been noted that society may be of two orders, the *scattered* or *disjointed* (*morcelé*) and the *combined*, the non-associative and the associative condition. The difference between the one and the other is the difference between truth and falsehood, between riches and poverty, between light and darkness, between a comet and a planet, between a butterfly and a caterpillar.

The present age, with its presentiments of association, has pursued a hesitating advance; it has been afraid to trust to its inspirations which opened up hopes of a great discovery. It has dreamed of social union without daring to undertake the investigation of the means; it has never thought of speculating upon the following alternative:

There can be but two methods in the exercise of industry, namely: the disjointed order or that of isolated families, such as we see, or the associative order.

God can choose for the prosecution of human labour only between GROUPS and INDIVIDUALS; *associative and combined* action, and *incoherent and disjointed* action.

As a wise dispenser, he could not have speculated upon the employment of isolated couples, working without union, accord-

ing to the civilised method; for individual action carries within itself seven germs of disorganisation, of which each one by itself would engender a multitude of disorders. We may judge by a list of these evils whether God could for an instant have hesitated to proscribe disjointed labour which engenders them all.

EVILS OF INDIVIDUAL ACTION IN INDUSTRY.

Wage labour, indirect servitude.

1° Death of the functionary.

2° Personal inconstancy.

3° Contrast between the characters of the father and son.

4° Absence of mechanical economy.

5° Fraud, theft, and general mistrust.

6° Intermission of industry on account of lack of means.

7° Conflict of contradictory enterprises.

Opposition of individual and collective interest.

Absence of unity in plans and execution.

God would have adopted all these evils as a basis of the social system had he fixed upon the philosophic method or disjointed labour; can we suspect the Creator of such unreason? Let us devote a little space to the examination of each of these characteristics, drawing parallels with the results of Association.

1° *Death*: it causes the cessation of a man's most useful enterprises, under circumstances in which no one about him has either the intention to continue them or the necessary talents and capital to do so.

** The passionate Series never die: they replace every year by new neophytes the members periodically withdrawn by death.

2° *Inconstancy*: it takes possession of the individual, causes him to neglect or change the order of things; it is opposed to the attainment of perfection and stability in the work.

** The Series is not subject to inconstancy; it could not cause either an intermission or versatility in its labours. If it carries off some members annually, other members enter and re-establish the equilibrium, which is, moreover, maintained by an

appeal to the veterans (*anciens*), who constitute an auxiliary body in cases of urgency.

3° *Contrast between the character of father and son, testator and heir*: a contrast which causes the one to abandon or pervert the enterprises begun by the other.

** The Series are exempt from this evil because they are formed by affinity of tastes, and not by ties of blood, which constitute a guarantee of disparity of tastes.

4° *The absence of mechanical economy*, an advantage entirely denied to individual action: it requires large masses to render all kinds of labour mechanical, whether pertaining to the household or to cultivation.

** The Series, by the double medium of large masses and associative competition, necessarily raise mechanism to the highest degree.

5° *Fraud and theft*: evils inherent in every enterprise where the agents are not jointly interested in a distribution proportioned to the three endowments of each one — capital, labour, intelligence.

** The serial mechanism, entirely safe from fraud and theft, is exempted from the ruinous precautions which these two dangers demand.

6° *The intermission of industry*: lack of work, land, machinery, implements, workshops, and other gaps which constantly paralyse civilised industry.

** These impediments are unknown in the associative *régime*, which is always and abundantly provided with everything that is necessary for the perfection and the continuity of labour.

7° *Conflicting enterprises*: civilised rivalries are malevolent, not emulative; a manufacturer strives to crush his competitor: the workmen are the respective opposing legions.

** Nothing of this unsocial spirit in the Series, each one of which is interested in the success of the others, and which undertake only such labour, whether in the field or in the factory, as is guaranteed a market.

8° *Opposition of the two kinds of interest, individual and*

collective, as in the destruction of forests, the game, fisheries, and the debasement of climatic conditions.

** Opposite effect of the Series: general agreement for the maintenance of the sources of wealth, and the restoration of climatic conditions in the integral composite manner.

9° Finally, *wage labour, or indirect servitude*, guarantee of misfortune, of persecution, of despair, for the workman in civilisation or barbarism.

** Striking contrast to the lot of the associative workman, who is in full enjoyment of the nine natural definite rights.

After perusing this table, everyone can arrive at a conclusion, and recognise that God, having had the option of these two kinds of mechanism, of an ocean of absurdities and an ocean of perfection, could not even have deliberated about his choice.

Any hesitation would have formed a contradiction to his characteristics, notably to that of *economy of means*: he would have acted in opposition to it in choosing the disjointed order and proscribing Association, which effects every species of economy: saving coercion, stagnation, health, time, *ennui*, hand-labour, machinery, contrivances, uncertainties, knavery, preventives, waste, and duplicity of action.

All the sophists agree in declaring that *man is made for society*: according to this principle ought man to aim for the smallest or the largest society possible? It is beyond doubt that it is in the largest that all the mechanical and economical advantages will be found: and since we have only attained the infinitely small, "family-labour" ("*travail familial*"), is any other indication required to verify the fact that civilisation is the antipodes of destiny as well as of truth?—(U. U., iv., 126, 128.)

Short-sighted politicians, who thought they were making wise tests when they experimented with small aggregations of about twenty families, fell into the double error:

- 1° *Of making attempts with a small number, which yields neither large economies nor the resources of mechanism.*
- 2° *Of making the family-spirit the spring of action; a spirit, which, tending to egoism, ought to be absorbed in corporate union.*

1st Mistake. Induction from the small to the great: it is doubtless quite impossible to unite 2, 3, 4 households, and even 10 to 12; the conclusion has therefore been drawn that it would be so much the more impossible to unite 2 to 300 of them.

In this view of the case, the moderns may be compared to timid navigators, like those who, before Christopher Columbus, did not dare advance beyond 200, 300, 400 leagues upon the Atlantic; each one returned full of consternation, declaring that that ocean was a boundless abyss, and that it was folly to venture upon it. Had a more daring spirit pushed out 600 or 800 leagues without discovering America, everybody would most complacently have concluded that the hypothesis of a new continent was an absurdity. Finally, if a vessel, still bolder, had pushed out 1,000 or 1,200 leagues, it would likewise have returned unsuccessful, and everyone would so much the more have classed the attempt in the rank of follies; yet, in order to succeed, it was only necessary to persist and advance 1,800 leagues.

Such is the method that should have been followed in the study of Association. The only effort required of genius was to persist in advancing, not to be discouraged by experiments on a small scale, not to conclude from the small to the great, but to keep on with experiments on a gradually ascending scale. If an experiment with 4 families proved a failure, it should have been tried with 8; 8 proving a failure, with 16; if 16 miscarried, with 32, then with 64, then with 100. Having reached that point, they would have succeeded provided they had discovered the methods of the passionate Series and short sessions, which are easily found if the experiments are made with 350 to 400 persons. Had these experiments been pursued for half a century, the discovery would necessarily have been made of the mechanism of the series, which will be described in this work.—(U. U., iii., 508.)

The bodies of colonists which are often formed in Europe, and which emigrate to America or the Crimea, would not be suitable for an experiment of even minimum association, termed *sous-*

hongrée. The mechanism of the series requires a graduated variety of age, fortune, character, knowledge, etc. The low grade No. 1 is the least exacting as regards this variety, but yet it requires some gradation, and that is what is lacking in these assemblages of emigrants for the colonies: they consist of people for the most part without means; they frequently have no old people or children; they lack many other indispensable features. However, if one of these assemblages were chosen as a nucleus, it would be easy to add the variety required for the low grade of 400 persons.

It would not, then, suffice to combine a certain number of people; it is necessary, besides, to assort them according to graduated inequalities of every property, and to extend the scale of inequality in proportion to the degree of the experiment; that is to say, that in the high degree the scale of gradation should range from the man without any means, grade 0, up to the man owning a hundred millions; while in the low degree a scale of small graduated fortunes, 0 to 20,000 francs of capital, will be sufficient.—(U. U., iii., 439.)

Various sophists, doubtless well-intentioned, have within recent years published some writings upon an inferior branch of association.

They have all been mistaken, beginning with the title; for they have taken for the chief social bond an inconsiderable subdivision which leads only to the farming-out and monopoly of great industries,—a bond which ought to be denominated *share-holding concentration*.

Share-holding concentration unites the heads and not the co-operators; it is an arrangement, specious enough, which starts out brilliantly and recommends itself by great and useful enterprises; such are, in the material world, the Caledonian Canal; in the political, the English East India Company.

But whither does such action tend? what would its influence be when, once become general, it should have invaded and delivered over to joint-stock companies all branches of industry? I say ALL, because if these companies are as yet ignorant of the means of reducing agriculture to a monopoly through contractors and

sub-contractors, they will very soon discover those means; *l'appétit vient en mangeant*; then, taking advantage of a moment of war and distress, they will persuade the Government to grant them the concession.

Then would be organised a federation of graduated and affiliated monopolies,—the advent of commercial feudalism, or the fourth phase of civilised progress.

Civilisation began with leagues of vassals or oligarchs, noble or patriarchal; it is destined to end with the return of great vassals of a different species, the merchants or heads of joint stock companies. The meeting of extremes is a general law of motion, a law which is reproduced in all material phenomena, as, for instance, in the phases of the moon, which, beginning with a direct crescent, ends with an inverse crescent.

If for *shareholding-concentration* the title of association is claimed, it is taking the form for the substance, since the substance embraces two primordial functions: agricultural and domestic administration, to which our present writers have devoted no attention. They understand how to join only the upper links, the heads. In association they have grasped the shadow, not the reality.

Despite this error, the sophists whom I refute are none the less praiseworthy for their efforts. All science begins with groping, partial successes, leading by degrees to an unequal solution of problems. Now, this groping, which I have described under the name of *concentration*, is more laudable than the apathy of the preceding ages regarding the most urgent of questions.—(U. U., i., Preface 96, 97.)

We see in the civilised *régime* gleams of association, *merely material*, germs due to instinct and not to science. Instinct teaches the hundred families of a village that a common oven will involve much less expenditure in masonry and fuel than a hundred small household ovens, and that it will be better managed by two or three practised bakers than the hundred small ovens by a hundred women, who will, twice out of three

times, fail to secure the proper degree of heat for the oven and the proper baking of the bread.

Good sense has taught the inhabitants of the north that if each family desired to produce its own beer, it would be more expensive than good wines. A domestic union, a military mess, comprehend instinctively that a single kitchen, cooking for thirty guests, will be better and less costly than twenty separate kitchens.

The peasants of the Jura, seeing that a certain cheese, called *Gruyère*, could not be prepared from the milk of a single household, combine together, take their milk daily to a common work-house, where an account is kept of each one's contribution, noted in figures upon pieces of wood; and from the aggregation of these small quantities of milk, they produce, at slight expense, a great cheese in a huge kettle.—(N. M., 7.)

A presentiment of the discovery of industrial association has for some time existed in England, which is instituting active researches and costly experiments in the organisation of domestic association. The English, confused by beholding, the same as everywhere else, the wretchedness of the masses increase in proportion to the national wealth and the advance in industry, must have thought that it required some new method to emerge from this labyrinth. They rightly presumed that associative industry would afford expedients whereby the lot of the lower classes would be ameliorated; their attempts have not proved fortunate; this failure ought not to astonish them: association was a virgin field, a new scientific world, where one must needs go astray without the guide of theory or compass.

According to the details furnished by the journalists of the English establishments confided to the direction of Mr. Owen, it appears that three capital errors have been committed there, of which each one independently would have been sufficient to cause the failure of the undertaking; let us analyse these errors.

1° *Excess of numbers.* There are, it is said, 500 or 600 families engaged in these attempts, say 3,000 individuals. That is far too many, for the highest degree of association admits only

16,000 to 17,000 persons, men, women, and children, and the lowest degree may be limited to 400.

2° *Equality*. This is a political poison in association; the English are ignorant of that fact, and constitute their communities of families of about equal fortune. The associative *régime* is as incompatible with equality of fortune as with uniformity of character; it desires a progressive scale in every direction, the greatest variety in employments, and, above all, the union of extreme contrasts, such as that of the man of opulence with one of no means, a fiery character with an apathetic one, youth with age, etc.

3° *The absence of agriculture*. It is impossible to organise a regular and well-balanced association without bringing into play the labours of the field, or at least gardens, orchards, flocks and herds, poultry-yards, and a great variety of species, animal and vegetable. They are ignorant of this principle in England, where they experiment with artisans, with manufacturing labour alone, which cannot by itself suffice to sustain social union. Factories are requisite in the three modes of association, but they are interposed only as stages between agricultural labours, which are the mainstay of industrial rivalries and intrigues.

Chief error: the head denies himself all share in the profits; he lacks the motive of interest.

A statement of these errors is sufficient to establish the fact that the moderns have been very far from the discovery of the principles of association.—(U. U., ii., 35.)

Owen's scheme of communism had some vogue at first, because it was a mask for party spirit, a veil to cover the secret plan which tends to destroy the clergy and religion. That perspective caused the whole *coterie* of atheism to rally round the preacher Owen. As for his other two dogmas, that of community of goods is so pitiful that it is not worthy of refutation; that of the sudden abolishment of marriage is also a monstrosity.

Genuine association will pursue the three opposite courses: 1° It will be religious through inclination, through conviction of the exalted wisdom of God, whose benefits it will enjoy every moment.

Public worship will be a necessity for it: the most insignificant vicar will be as well placed as the bishops of to-day, and it will be necessary to create at least thirty thousand priests in France by hasty ordination, in order that each phalanx may contain a sufficient number to allow them to discharge their duties in relays, not subjecting them to a daily exercise of their functions; 2° in opposition to the spirit of communism, the spirit of ownership will be aroused by labour-coupons and economic votes, accorded to the proletarians who shall, by assiduous economy, have accumulated one-twelfth of the capital entitling one to a vote in the areopagus: such votes will be granted for many other reasons as well, so as to avoid imitating the civilised, who, in their system of representation, estimate merit only by the token of money; 3° as regards marriage, it has been seen that it will *with time* be modified, graduated, and not suppressed; and the question will only be agitated by degrees in the succeeding generation, when the modifications shall have been voted by four combined classes: government, the clergy, fathers, and husbands.

However, it is a proof of the intellectual convulsion of the age that it has allowed itself to be deluded in regard to the most important problem of the social world, in regard to the associative mechanism, by a preacher who has neither new doctrines nor distinct dogmas. His scheme of destruction of the clergy is a residue of revolution: if all the classes that abused their functions were to be abolished, I know not what class among the civilised could be maintained. His dogma of communism is a rehash of Sparta and Rome; that of free love is likewise a plagiarism from various peoples, among others the Nepaulians, the Otaheitans, etc.—(N. M., 473.)

To sum up, all our reformers feel and proclaim the necessity of uniting the working classes into masses or social phalanxes, but they do not wish to acknowledge that the associative process belongs to a science of which the economists have no conception, and of which I alone have formulated a regular theory, ample and without gaps, attacking and solving all problems, boldly presenting those before which all economists have recoiled, such as the

equilibrium of population, industry attractive and guaranteeing the good morals of the people.¹—(F. I., 9.)

¹The Jesuits of Paraguay had given to association (forced, equivocal) quite a great development : but everything that is based upon coercion is fragile and denotes the absence of genius.—(Manuscripts, p. 66.)

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMUNAL COUNTING-HOUSE

MERCHANTS are occupied solely with crushing each other : such is the effect of free competition. It is necessary that agriculture, crushed by their underhand dealings, should resort to the freedom enjoyed by commerce and crush them in its turn, by an undertaking which I shall designate as the *joint-stock communal counting-house*, an establishment serving the purposes of commerce and agricultural management, acting as a depository, and advancing money to the consigner. The said counting-house calculated for sub-divisions consisting of at least 1,500 people, would be provided with a garden, loft, cellar, kitchen, and communal factories—two at the least.

How ought such establishments to be organised? That is a question I shall not enter into here, where I merely wish to point out the chief advantages of the joint-stock communal counting-house, which, among other properties, would possess those of :

Reducing by half the domestic administration of poor and even medium households ;

Paying upon a certain fixed day, in advance and without involving expense, the taxes of the community ;

Advancing money at the lowest market rate to every agriculturist whose estate presented a guarantee ;

Furnishing each individual with every commodity, indigenous or foreign, at the lowest rates, by freeing him from the intermediary profits obtained by merchants and jobbers ;

Securing profitable employment at all seasons (of the year) to the indigent class ; varied occupations, without excess or subordination of either field or factory labour.

There has been a foreshadowing of the establishment in question, communal Guaranteeism, both in a *general* and in a *partial* sense :

Experiment in the general sense : it was a feeling of the necessity of assisting the poor of the country districts that occasioned the reservation of woods and pasture-lands, under the name of *commons*, designed both for the poor and the rich. It is admitted that the arrangement is a mistaken one, that the poor devastate the commons, and that they are miserably managed. In this enterprise for general usefulness, then, the means employed for helping the poor have proved a failure.

The *partial* attempts have been even greater failures, such as the district banks and other companies, which, pretending to assist agriculture and the small proprietor, have been convicted of vexatious usury, of lending at a yearly interest of 17 per cent. Present-day genius is only prolific of this species of inventions.

These different forms of assistance and a hundred others would be provided by the joint-stock communal counting-house. Let us imagine it organised, without lingering over the details of its arrangement. It is a vast establishment which saves the poor man every kind of petty labour. This poor man is the owner of a small field and a small vineyard ; but how can he have a good loft, a good cellar, good casks, adequate implements and contrivances ? He finds all these in the communal counting-house ; he may, after an agreement as to terms, deposit his grain and his wine there, and receive an advance of two-thirds of their supposed value. That is all that would be desired by the peasant, always compelled to sell at a very low rate at harvest-time. He would not dread paying interest upon an advance ; he always pays 12 per cent. interest for an advance to the usurers ; he will bless the counting-house which will advance him money at 6 per cent. a year—the commercial rate—and save him the expenses of management ; for a small farmer will be paid at the counting-house without furnishing the contrivances for doing a work which he would have done gratuitously in his own place, with the added expense of those contrivances. In point of fact :

He has consigned his crop—twenty quintals of wheat and two hogsheads of wine—to the counting-house ; it is not he who furnishes the sacks, the casks, and the waggons and animals used to convey them to the market ; his harvest reaped and stored, he works by the day for the counting-house, and is paid, while at the same time he is attending to his wheat and his wine, which are being raised in value, for they are added to a mass of grain, a tun of wine of the same quality. He may even be saved the trouble of fermentation, and have his vintage accepted according to the customary valuation.

The labour required to protect the grain from rats and beetles, and to manipulate four or five tons, amounts to about one-tenth of that which would be entailed in a great number of petty households, the poorest of which will be casually employed by the counting-house in its granaries, cellars, gardens, and workshops. They cannot at any time lack work there, and the benefit they derive by consigning to the counting-house is so much the more considerable in that it allows them ample time for rest, through saving of manipulation and even of cooking, for, upon consigning any commodities, they draw upon the communal kitchen for a certain quantity of provisions, imitating our small households, which, in order to economise, get their meals from a restaurant.

The counting-house lays in a supply of all such articles as are sure of a demand ; ordinary stuffs, commodities of primary necessity, and drugs in general use. By procuring them from their sources, it is able to furnish them to the consigners at a small profit, to show them the accounts of the purchase and costs. These advantages constitute so many attractions for consigning. If the counting-house is well managed it ought in less than three years to be metamorphosed into semi-association ; for it will be sought by the rich as well as the poor ; every rich person will seek the advantage of being a voting shareholder in it ; the small non-shareholding consigner will, in the sittings of the Exchange, have a consulting voice as to the chances of sale ; the shareholder will vote on the sales and purchases.

Nothing pleases a countryman, and particularly a peasant, more

than assemblies of commercial intrigue. That is an attraction which he would enjoy weekly at the communal counting-house where he would gather intelligence of commercial correspondence, and where would be debated the expediency of sales and purchases. The peasant, though little disposed to illusions, would eagerly covet the vainglory of the shareholder debating sales and purchases in the communal counting-house, or at least the rank of consigner with a consulting voice. Peasants form an *exchange* every Sunday; at the church entrance, before or after high mass; they form an exchange in the markets and taverns, where they exhaust themselves with inquiries and prattle, about the state of affairs, about the rise and decline in commodities: they would, at the counting-house, have a genuine exchange, and be eager, in order to figure there, to become shareholders, or consigners, or both.

It would have been very fitting to inaugurate such establishments in the small market-towns which contain an unoccupied monastery. It could easily have been adapted to the uses of the communal counting-house, particularly as the monks paid great attention to the construction of their lofts and cellars, had extensive gardens,—a necessary requirement of the establishments in question,—and huge halls well suited for reunions, and for “three” factories. The counting-house must be provided with the latter, in order to furnish varied occupation in winter as well as in summer to the poorer class, and not disgust them with labour by the uniformity which prevails in our public and private workshops,—a monotony in direct opposition to the designs of Nature, which demands variety in industry as in all other things.

The communal counting-house would, in its organisation, resemble Harmonist methods as closely as possible: it could have fields and flocks, in proportion to its means, at its service; and it would always give its employees, even the poorest of them, a part interest in some special products, such as wool, fruits, vegetables, etc., in order to awaken in them that activity, that industrial solicitude, which is generated by associative participation, and to

preserve them from the indifference which characterises civilised wage-earners.

Such an enterprise should have been the first to engross the attention of societies devoted to the maintenance of agricultural industry.—(U. U., iii., 281-285.)

The most conspicuous advantage would be the downfall of commerce. All the repositories (*fermes d'asile*) would co-operate, through the medium of the minister and the prefects, to do without merchants, to carry on their buying and selling directly with each other; they would have an abundance of commodities for sale, because they would have storehouses where the small cultivators or proprietors who have neither good lofts nor good cellars, nor a quantity of servants, would gladly deposit their products, paying a moderate charge for storage and sale. Besides, the owner would, on depositing in these storehouses, receive an advance at a moderate rate of interest, and thereby be relieved from premature sales, which cause the debasement of commodities.

Henceforth all the friends of commerce, the hosts of merchants, would find themselves stranded, like a string of spiders that perish in their web for lack of insects when it is shut up so tight that it precludes admission. This downfall of the merchants would be the result of *free competition*, for they would not be prevented from trading; but nobody would have confidence in them, because the repositories and their provincial agencies would offer adequate guarantees of truth.—(N. M., 433.)

By building upon this foundation there could already be erected an edifice of semi-happiness, or *GUARANTEEISM*, a period between the civilised state and the associative state.

Semi-association is collective without being individual; without joining lands or households in a combined management. It admits the isolated labour of families; but it establishes a solidarity or comparative assurance among them extending over the *entire* mass, so that no individual may be excepted from the benefits of the guarantees.

The counting-house referred to, among its other undertakings,

would have a pharmacy, where it would make an honest profit, while, at the same time, rendering valuable services to the villagers.

The same would be the case with a hundred other social benefits, upon which time is wasted in vain dreams: they can only be the fruit of associative methods, and not of unassociated labour. Now, the first, the smallest germ of agricultural association is the communal counting-house—initiative and sketch of social union, quickest road for entering upon guaranteeism, or the sixth period. That, therefore, was the inquiry which should have engaged the attention of students who profess to attain social guarantees without abandoning disjointed labour and incoherent management:—where shall we find students willing to devote their vigils to useful inventions, when it is so easy to acquire fame by sophistry!—(U. U., iii., 296.)

CHAPTER XII

THE PHALANSTERY

THE announcement does, I acknowledge, sound very improbable, of a method for combining three hundred families unequal in fortune, and rewarding each person,—man, woman, child—according to the three properties, *capital, labour, talent*. More than one reader will credit himself with humour when he remarks: "Let the author try to associate but three families, to reconcile three households in the same dwelling to social union, to arrangements of purchases and expenses, to perfect harmony in passions, character, and authority; when he shall have succeeded in reconciling three mistresses of associated households, we shall believe that he can succeed with thirty and with three hundred."

I have already replied to an argument which it is well to reproduce (for repetition will frequently be necessary here); I have observed *that as economy can spring only from large combinations, God had to create a social theory applicable to large masses and not to three or four families.*

An objection seemingly more reasonable, and which needs to be refuted more than once, is that of social discords. How conciliate the passions, the conflicting interests, the incompatible characters,—in short, the innumerable disparities which engender so much discord?

It may easily have been surmised that I shall make use of a lever entirely unknown, and whose properties cannot be judged until I shall have explained them. The passional contrasted Series draws its nourishment solely from those disparities which bewilder civilised policy; it acts like the husbandman who from

a mass of filth draws the germs of abundance; the refuse, the dirt, and impure matter which would serve only to defile and infect our dwellings, are for him the sources of wealth.—(U. U., ii., 29.)

If social experiments have miscarried, it is because some fatality has impelled all speculators to work with bodies of poor people whom they subjected to a *monastic-industrial* discipline, chief obstacle to the working of the series. Here, as in every thing else, it is ever SIMPLISM (*simplisme*) which misleads the civilised, obstinately sticking to experiments with combinations of the poor; they cannot elevate themselves to the conception of a trial with combinations of the rich. They are veritable Lemning rats (migrating rats of Lapland), preferring drowning in a pond to deviating from the route which they have decided upon.¹—(U. U., iii., 156.)

It is necessary for a company of 1,500 to 1,600 persons to have a stretch of land comprising a good square league, say a surface of six million square *toises* (do not let us forget that a third of that would suffice for the simple mode).²

¹ It has been urged that I made an experiment at Condé S. V., and that it did not succeed; that, too, is one of the calumnies of pandemonium. I did nothing at Condé; an architect, who held sway there, was not willing to allow any part of my plan. His was a spirit of contradiction, repelling everything that did not proceed from himself; a rabid Anglomaniac, who would have nothing but what he had seen in England, or rather, his fancies, which varied from one day to the next.

In vain did I represent to him that he could not in England have seen buildings arranged for industry carried on by series of groups, for none such are to be found there; he took no notice of that, and, after changing his plans ten times and shifting his landmarks as often, he began by constructing a *provisional rhapsody* upon swampy ground below the level of the water. I could not agree to this absurd method of building, which would not have been of any use in combined industry, and which only served to disgust visitors, to prevent them from taking shares, and to give the propitious moment of favour the slip. I severed my connection with the affair, had nothing further to do with it, not wishing to compromise myself by appearing to co-operate in arrangements which served no purpose for the associative mechanism.—(F. I., 5.)

² I had promised a very detailed article upon approximations to the associative mechanism: Companies with slender means might wish to start on a small scale; that is the favourite method of the French,—to outline, to grope. The greater number would advocate a trial reduced to a half, to 900 persons, or to a third, 600 persons.

The land should be provided with a fine stream of water; it should be intersected by hills, and adapted to varied cultivation; it should be contiguous to a forest, and not far removed from a large city, but sufficiently so to escape intruders.

The experimental Phalanx standing alone, and without the support of neighbouring phalanxes, will, in consequence of this isolation, have so many gaps in attraction, and so many passional calms to dread in its workings, that it will be necessary to provide it with the aid of a good location fitted for a variety of functions. A flat country such as Antwerp, Leipsic, Orleans, would be totally unsuitable, and would cause many Series to fail, owing to the uniformity of the land surface. It will, therefore, be necessary to select a diversified region, like the surroundings of Lausanne, or, at the very least, a fine valley provided with a stream of water and a forest, like the valley of Brussels or of Halle. A fine location near Paris would be the stretch of country lying between Poissy and Conflours, Poissy and Meulan.

A company will be collected consisting of from 1,500 to 1,600 persons of graduated degrees of fortune, age, character, of theoretical and practical knowledge; care will be taken to secure the greatest amount of variety possible, for the greater the number of variations either in the passions or the faculties of the members, the easier will it be to make them harmonise in a short space of time.

In this district devoted to experiment, there ought to be combined every species of practicable cultivation, including that in conservatories and hot-houses; in addition, there ought to be at least three accessory factories, to be used in winter and on rainy

I call their attention to the fact that in reducing a mechanism, its system is perverted, unless all the parts are retained: we can reduce a huge belfry-clock to proportions small enough to be enclosed in a minute case, to a watch an inch in diameter; but this watch contains all the parts of the large mechanism, even the arrangement for striking; hence, the system, though reduced, is not changed.

It is not so with a mechanism of the passions: in order to reduce it in the same proportion as the cathedral clock to a little watch, we should have to have miniature people, Lilliputians half a foot high, and animals and vegetables of proportionate dimensions.—(N. M., 380.)

days; furthermore, various practical branches of science and the arts, independent of the schools.

Above all, it will be necessary to fix the valuation of the capital invested in shares; lands, materials, flocks, implements, etc. This point ought, it seems, to be among the first to receive attention; I think it best to dismiss it here. I shall limit myself to remarking that all these investments in transferable shares and stock-coupons will be represented.

A great difficulty to be overcome in the experimental Phalanx will be the formation of the ties of high mechanism or collective bonds of the Series, before the close of the first season. It will be necessary to accomplish the passional union of the mass of the members; to lead them to collective and individual devotion to the maintenance of the Phalanx, and, especially, to perfect harmony regarding the division of the profits, according to the three factors, *Capital, Labour, Talent*.

This difficulty will be greater in northern than in southern countries, owing to the difference between devoting eight months and five months to agricultural labour.

An experimental Phalanx, being obliged to start out with agricultural labour, will not be in full operation until the month of May (in a climate of 50 degrees, say in the region around London or Paris); and, since it will be necessary to form the bonds of general union, the harmonious ties of the Series, before the suspension of field labour, before the month of October, there will be barely five months of full practice in a region of 50 degrees: the work will have to be accomplished in that short space.

The trial would, therefore, be much more conveniently made in a temperate region, like Florence, Naples, Valencia, Lisbon,¹

¹ Nature supplies every globe with a focus, or central seat of government. Our focus is Constantinople, a locality favoured with every species of perfection.

Mouth of a great and splendid salt-water river, which bears vessels of the largest size, and which, issuing from a sea, forms neither alluvia nor deltas.

1° Gigantic harbour, as convenient as it is magnificent.

2° Small fresh-water river, very pure, situated at the head of the harbour, and adequate for the required supply.

where they would have eight to nine months of full cultivation and a far better opportunity to consolidate the bonds of union, since there would be but two or three months of passional calm remaining to tide over till the advent of the second spring, a time when the Phalanx, resuming agricultural labour, would form its ties and cabals anew with much greater zeal, imbuing them with a degree of intensity far above that of the first year; it would thenceforth be in a state of complete consolidation, and strong enough to weather the passional calm of the second winter.

We shall see in the chapter on hiatuses of attraction, that the first Phalanx will, in consequence of its social isolation and other impediments inherent to the experimental canton, have twelve special obstacles to overcome, obstacles which the Phalanxes subsequently founded would not have to contend with. That is why it is so important that the experimental canton should have the assistance coming from field-work prolonged eight or nine months, like that in Naples and Lisbon.—(U. U., iii., 427, 429.)

As for the selection to be made among the candidates, rich and poor, various qualities which are accounted vicious or useless in civilisation should be looked for; such are:

A good ear for music.

Good manners of families.

Aptitude for the fine arts.

3° Purifying eddy, skirting, sweeping the harbour, and carrying off the surplus of fresh water.

4° Situation, semi-central in the great continent, and accessible by sea from the small one.

5° Locality within reach of the products of all zones.

6° Meeting-point for all lines of communication by sea and land.

7° Surpassing beauty of its diversified sites, and of the view, both near and distant.

The most propitious and the most grateful climate, after correction of the temperature by general cultivation and transformation of the noxious winds of the Black Sea, caused by the uncultivated condition of the east and the north.

Favoured with so many advantages, that site will be selected for the capital of the globe, with the advent of the third generation of Harmony; after the time required to rebuild the city, and divide it among urban phalanxes, that will not tolerate our unwholesome dwellings.—(F. I., 8.)

And various rules which are contrary to philosophic ideas should be followed.

To prefer families having few children.

To have one-third of the organisation consist of celibates.

To seek characters regarded as peculiar.

To establish a graduated scale respecting age, fortune, knowledge.

In view of the necessity of uniform education and fusion of the classes among children, I have advised, what I now reiterate, the selection, for the experimental Phalanx, of well-bred families, particularly in the lower class, since it will be necessary to have that class mingle in labour with the rich, and to make the latter find a charm in this amalgamation. That charm will be greatly dependent upon the good breeding of the inferiors; that is why the people in the environs of Paris, Blois, and Tours will be very suitable for the trial, provided, of course, that a proper selection is made.—(N. M., 104, 178.)

Let us proceed with the details of composition.

At least seven-eighths of the members ought to be cultivators and manufacturers; the remainder will consist of capitalists, scholars, and artists.

The Phalanx would be badly graded and difficult to balance, if among its capitalists there were several having 100,000 francs, several 50,000 francs, without intermediate fortunes. In such a case it would be necessary to seek to procure intermediate fortunes of 60,000, 70,000, 80,000, 90,000 francs. The Phalanx best graduated in every respect raises social harmony and profits to the highest degree.—(U. U., iii., 431.)

One is tempted to believe that our sybarites would not wish to be associated with Grosjean and Margot: they are so even now (as I believe I have already pointed out). Is not the rich man obliged to discuss his affairs with twenty peasants who occupy his farms, and who are all agreed in taking illegal advantage of him? He is, therefore, *the peasant's associate*, obliged to make inquiries about the good and the bad farmers, their character, morals, solvency, and industry; *he does associate in a very direct*

and a very tiresome way with Grosjean and Margot. In Harmony, he will be their indirect associate, being relieved of accounts regarding the management, which will be regulated by the regents, proctors, and special officers, without its being necessary for the capitalist to intervene or to run any risk of fraud. He will, therefore, be freed from the disagreeable features of his present association with the peasantry; he will form a new one, where he will not furnish them anything, and where they will only be his obliging and devoted friends, in accordance with the details given regarding the management of the Series and of reunions. If he takes the lead at festivals, it is because he has agreed to accept the rank of captain. If he gives them a feast, it is because he takes pleasure in acknowledging their continual kind attentions.

Thus the argument urged about the repugnance to association between Mondor and Grosjean, *already associated in fact*, is only, like all the others, a quibble devoid of sense.—(U. U., iv., 518.)

The edifice occupied by a Phalanx does not in any way resemble our constructions, whether of the city or country; and none of our buildings could be used to establish a large Harmony of 1,600 persons,—not even a great palace like Versailles, nor a great monastery like the Escorial. If, for the purposes of experiment, only an inconsiderable Harmony of 200 or 300 members, or a *hongrée* of 400 members is organised, a monastery or a palace (Meudon) could be used for it.

The lodgings, plantations, and stables of a Society conducted on the plan of Series of groups, must differ vastly from our villages and country towns, which are intended for families having no social connection, and which act in a perverse manner; in place of that class of little houses which rival each other in filth and ungainliness in our little towns,¹ a Phalanx constructs an

¹ The principle of SIMPLE OWNERSHIP is the right of arbitrarily obstructing the general good, in order to gratify individual fancies. Accordingly, we see full liberty granted to the vandals who follow their fancy for compromising healthfulness and beauty by erecting grotesque constructions, caricatures, which are sometimes more costly than handsome, good buildings. These

edifice for itself which is as regular as the ground permits: here is a sketch of distribution for a location favourable to development.

The central part of the Palace or Phalanstery ought to be appropriated to peaceful uses, and contain the dining-halls, halls for finance, libraries, study, etc. In this central portion are located the place of worship, the *tour d'ordre*, the telegraph, the post-office boxes, the chimes for ceremonials, the observatory, the winter court adorned with resinous plants, and situated in the rear of the parade-court.

One of the wings ought to combine all the noisy workshops, such as the carpenter-shop, the forge, all hammer-work; it ought to contain also all the industrial gatherings of children, who are generally very noisy in industry and even in music. This combination will obviate a great annoyance of our civilised cities, where we find some man working with a hammer in every street, some dealer in iron or tyro on the clarionet, who shatter the tympanum of fifty families in the vicinity.

The other wing ought to contain the caravansary with its ball-rooms and its halls appropriated to intercourse with outsiders, so that these may not encumber the central portion of the palace and embarrass the domestic relations of the Phalanx.—(U. U., iii., 447, 455.)

The Phalanstery, or edifice of the experimental Phalanx, ought to be constructed of inexpensive material,—wood, brick, etc., because, I repeat, it would be impossible in that first attempt to determine precisely the dimensions suitable either for each individual seristry, the portion designed for the public relations of the series, or for the various workshops, storerooms, stables, etc.

An indication of the wrong spirit and impotence which prevail vandals, with a cruel avarice, frequently build unwholesome, wretchedly ventilated houses, into which they economically huddle a swarm of people; and these murderous speculations are dignified with the name of liberty. It were as well to license the quacks, who, abusing the credulity of the people, practise medicine without possessing any knowledge. They also can say that they are turning their industry to account, that they are availing themselves of *imprescriptible rights*.—(U. U., iii., 309.)

in this respect, is the fact that there is no law bearing upon *RELATIVE OBLIGATIONS*, as regards healthfulness and beauty. For instance, if a city buys and demolishes a collection of hovels which obstructed four streets, it is certain that the houses on the four sides adjacent to this collection will greatly rise in value; there will be a better circulation of air; instead of having an ugly mask opposite their façades, they will have a place ornamented with trees and fountains; they will, therefore, have gained considerably by this demolition, and increased their rents in proportion. They owe, in all fairness, a share in the resulting profit to the community which has, with its money, procured them this increase of the useful and the agreeable, this transition from the ill to the good. Nevertheless, no law compels them to indemnify it by relinquishing half of their profits. Far from it; the owner favoured by this improvement will not bequeath a groat to the community that has enriched him, and if it asks him for some subsidy, some share in the profits, be it but a fourth, he will answer ironically: "I did not request you to demolish the houses which masked mine; I do not owe you any indemnity for your outlay in improvements."—(U. U., iii., 309, 310.)

In civilisation the idea has never been considered of perfecting that part of our raiment which is called the atmosphere, with which we are in perpetual contact. It is not sufficient to modify it in the *salons* of some people of leisure, who, themselves, will take cold in going from their houses into the midst of the fog. The atmosphere must be modified by a general system adapted to all the functions of the human race; and this correction ought to be *COMPOSITE*, affecting that which is *essential*, or the general gradation of climates, and that which is *accessory*, or local gradation, which they do not even know of in our capitals; for we see in Paris an open Bazaar, called the *Palais Royal*, whose covered galleries are neither heated in winter nor ventilated in summer. It is the superlative of poverty, compared to the associative state, in which the poorest man will have heated and ventilated passage-ways, tents and shelters for all his functions; outside of a small class of public services, such as the post, which

must be carried on in the open air, whatever the temperature; but the exception of an eighth proves the rule. Besides, services of this sort will be consigned to individuals whose temperament can accommodate itself to it, and who will look upon it as play, considering the large profits obtained.—(U. U., iii., 37.)

The most poverty-stricken of the Harmonians, a man who hasn't a farthing, gets into a vehicle in a portico well heated and inclosed; he goes from the Palace to the stables through paved and gravelled underground passages; he passes from his dwelling to the public halls and the workshops through galleried streets which are heated in winter and ventilated in summer. In Harmony one can pass through the workshops, stables, shops, ball-rooms, banquet and assembly-halls, etc., in January, without knowing whether it is rainy or windy, hot or cold; and the details which I shall give upon this subject authorise me to say that if the civilised after 3000 years of research have not yet learned how to house themselves, it is little surprising that they have not yet learned to direct and harmonise their passions. When one fails in the pettiest material calculations, one may well fail in the great calculations concerning the passions.

This sheltered communication is all the more necessary in Harmony in that the changes there are very frequent, the sessions of the groups never lasting more than an hour or two. If the Harmonians were obliged, in crossing from one hall to another, from a stable to a workshop, to pass through the open air, the result would be that they would, in a week of rigorous wintry weather or fogs, be riddled with colds, inflammations, pleurisy, no matter how robust their constitution. A state of things which necessitates frequent changes imperatively demands sheltered means of communication; and that is one of the reasons why it will be very difficult to organise in a great monastery even the smallest of Harmonies, the minimum degree K., although that would be composed of the lower classes, quite inured to the rigours of the atmosphere.

The galleried street, or continued Peristyle, is located in the second story. It is not adaptable to the ground floor,

which must have openings at various points to admit of archways for vehicles.

Those who have seen the gallery of the Louvre, or *Musée de Paris*, may consider it as a model of the galleried street of Harmony—which will likewise have a floor and be placed in the second story—save the difference in the openings and in height.

The dove-tail method of progression (before spoken of) should be adopted; by means of which a man or woman residing in the centre, or ostentatious quarter, may be inferior in fortune to one who occupies a dwelling in the wings, since the best apartments in the wings, renting for six hundred and fifty francs, are more desirable than the poorest in the centre, renting for five hundred. This dove-tailing of values in progressive dwellings provides relief to the extreme series of the wings or winglets, and prevents the distinctions of the simple scale, which would in many instances be offensive to one's self-esteem. Too much care cannot be taken to avoid this evil, which would constitute a germ of discord.—(U. U., iii., 463-469.)

Each agricultural Phalanx forms seven classes in distributing its eatables; they are:

1st.	The heads,	about 50 individuals.	} 1500
2nd.	The sick and patriarchs,	"	50 "	
3rd.	The first class,	"	100 "	
4th.	The second class,	"	300 "	
5th.	The third class,	"	900 "	
6th.	The children from 2 to 4½,	"	100 "	
7th.	The caravansary,		unlimited number.	
K.	A lot of animals consuming the coarse eatables and the refuse.		—(U. U., iii., 48.)	

The consequence is that the dishes of the third class, consisting of the lowest stratum of people, will surpass in delicacy those which at present constitute the delight of our gastronomes. As to the variety of food which will be found upon the tables of the people, it cannot be estimated at less than thirty or forty dishes,

renewed by thirds every day, along with a dozen different drinks, varied at each meal.¹—(Q. M., 246.)

We find in our great cities an imperceptible germ of progressive housekeeping; it is the *Circles or Casinos for men and women*; they are already causing people to desert the insipid family *soirée*. There one can at a slight cost enjoy balls and concerts, all manner of games, journals, and other kinds of diversion, which would be ten times as costly in a private house. Every pleasure proves economical there both in money and in effort, for the arrangements are left to the official members, as in the progressive household. But the *Circles or Casinos* are subject to equality, which impedes the developments of ambition, while the progressive household, being subdivided into rival and unequal groups, opens a vast field to the three ambitious intrigues of *protector, protégé, and independent*.—(Q. M., 175.)

One is dazzled by lingering a few moments over a picture of the enormous benefits which would be derived from the union of 300 households, in a single edifice, where they would find apartments at various prices, covered ways from part to part, tables of different classes, varied kinds of occupation—in short, everything that tends to shorten and facilitate labour and to render it attractive.

Let us enter into the details. I shall examine first the advantages of the associative loft and cellar.

The 300 lofts which are to-day used by 300 families of villagers (1500, 1600 individuals) would be replaced by an extensive and salubrious storehouse divided into special compartments for each commodity, and even for every variety of the different species. One could there secure all the advantages of ventilation, dryness, heating, exposure, etc., things which a villager cannot think of

¹ The father of a family on reading this sketch will say: "I take pleasure in dining with my wife and my children, and, come what may, I shall maintain this habit which pleases me." That is a very poor judgment: it pleases him now, in default of anything better, but after he shall have seen the customs of Harmony for two days, and been allured by the intrigues and cabals of the Series, he will wish to dine with his cabalistic committees, and will send his wife and children to the flock, while they on their side will ask for nothing better than to be freed from the dismal family dinner.—(U. U., iii., 447.)

doing; for it frequently happens that his entire hamlet is poorly conditioned for the preservation of commodities. A Phalanx, on the contrary, selects a favourable locality, both as regards the whole and the details, such as the cellars, lofts, etc.

The outlay for this extensive storehouse in building, walls, timber-work, roofing, doors, pulleys, fire-inspection, guarantees against insects, etc., would amount to scarcely a tenth of that involved in the villagers' 300 lofts, which are limited to one floor, while three could be put under one roof. The associative storehouse would use only ten doors and fastenings, while our villagers use 300 doors; and likewise of everything else.

It is, above all, in the precautions against fire, epizootics, and damage, that the gain would be immense. Any measure for general security is impracticable among 300 civilised families, some of them too poor, others unskilled or malicious. Accordingly we see, every year, the imprudence of a single household cause the conflagration of a whole village, the contagious infection of all the cattle of the neighbourhood.

The precautions against animals and insects likewise prove illusory in our villages because the entire community does not co-operate; thus, hunting wolves does not prevent these animals from increasing. If, by dint of care, you destroy the rats in your granaries, you will soon be invaded by those of neighbouring granaries, and of fields which have not been purged by general measures; these are impossible in civilisation, where even the getting rid of caterpillars cannot be effected, a measure yearly enjoined by the mayors, but never executed. There will not be a handful of caterpillars in the regions cultivated associatively; that is one of the insects that will disappear after the lapse of three years of combined exploitation.

Combined administration gives rise to a multitude of economies as to doings which we consider productive; for example, three hundred families of an agricultural village send to the markets, not once, but twenty times in the course of a year. The peasant delights in loitering about in the market-places and taverns; though he have nothing but a bushel of beans, he spends an

entire day in the city. And for the three hundred families, this constitutes an average loss of 6,000 days of labour, not including the cost of transportation, which is twenty times greater than in association, which sells all its commodities in large quantities, since, in that order, purchases are made only for Phalanxes numbering about 1,500 individuals.

While economising in the complication of sales—the abuse of sending three hundred persons to the markets instead of one, conducting three hundred negotiations instead of one,—economy is at the same time effected in the complication of labour. If a canton sells 3,000 quintals of wheat to three other cantons, the work of grinding and baking will not extend to nine hundred householders, but only to three. Thus, after saving 99 per cent. in distributive labour in the sales, this saving will be repeated in the labour and management of the consumer. There will, therefore, be a double saving of 99 per cent. : and how many more of a similar kind will occur !

Let us observe, in this connection, that associative economy is almost always of a composite order ; like that which to the saving of expense to the vendor adds, by way of counter-stroke, the saving of expense to the consumer.

Let us pass from grains to liquids. The three hundred village households have three hundred cellars and vat-chambers, attended to with equal lack of knowledge and of skill. The damage in the cellars is even greater than in the lofts, the handling of liquids being a much more delicate and risky matter than that of solids.

A Phalanx, whether for its wines, its oils, or its dairy products, will have but a single repository.

As for casking, about thirty large casks would suffice, instead of the thousand small ones used by the three hundred civilised families. There would, therefore, be, besides the saving of nine-tenths upon the building, a saving of nineteen-twentieths upon casking, a thing very costly and doubly ruinous to our cultivators : frequently, with a great outlay, they cannot maintain the vessels in their cellars in a salubrious condition, and expose the liquid to

corruption, by a thousand errors which the associative management would avoid.

Wine-making is, of all the branches of agricultural industry, that in which the civilised are the most deficient. It is impossible for peasants, and even for good land-owners, to give wine the proper care.

In the course of the autumn of 1819, the district in which I lived lost 10,000 puncheons of wine by sprouting, for the weak qualities of wine require three sorts of attention which it is impossible to give them in civilisation.

1° Good cellars built in a favourable location, either upon rocky soil or upon elevated ground exposed to the north. Is the peasant able to fulfil these conditions ? not even the land-owner, who uses such a cellar as chance has given him.

2° Daily airing of the cellars and casks. We do not see these precautions observed in a village : the peasant possesses neither the time, nor the capacity, nor the means. It is only a passional series of the cellarists who can attend to such duties.

3° Crossing weak wines with those of a strong quality, thus properly fortifying the former. Neither the peasant nor the *bourgeois* can think of providing himself with the warm wines of Portugal, Spain, Calabria, Cyprus, etc. A Phalanx, which negotiates for 1,500 persons, corresponds with every country and readily procures, by the *veracious commercial method*, every commodity required, and of such quality as it desires.

None of those mishaps which paralyse civilised agriculture will be found to occur among the Harmonians. Moreover, the reaping is done in a graduated way ; and when the mingling of what is green, ripe, and over-ripe is avoided, much less chance is given to the germs of corruption ; a Phalanx avoids them in every instance, by appropriating special and enthusiastic groups to each kind of labour ; by that means they escape the enormous waste of which our statisticians forget to take account.

There is nothing in which economy is recognised as more urgently needed than in fuel ; this economy assumes vast proportions in the associative state ; a Phalanx has only five kitchens in place of three hundred ; namely :

The administrative, or extra ;

The first, second, and third classes.

The provision for animals.

The whole can be supplied by three great fires, which, compared to the 300 fires of a village, brings the economy in fuel to nine-tenths.

It will be no less enormous in shop fires : it will be seen in the treatise upon the passionate Series, that their groups, whether in their relations in domestic or in manufacturing industry, their relations in pleasure, balls, etc., always operate in large companies and in connecting halls or *Seristeries*, furnished with steam-stoves which it is necessary to heat only three hours for the twenty-four. Individual fires are very rare, except in the coldest part of winter, each one as a rule seldom returning to his quarters before the hour of retiring, when he contents himself with a little brasier while undressing.

Moreover, the cold is not felt in the interior of the phalanstery ; every portion of the main buildings is provided with covered galleries, by means of which one can communicate with all parts, sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather. People can go to the workshops, the dining-halls, to balls and assemblies without needing furs or boots, without exposing themselves to colds or inflammations. The closed communication extends even from the phalanstery to the stables, by underground gravelled passages or by galleries supported upon columns at the level of the second floor.

I have just passed in review some of the associative savings : a successive examination of these shows them to amount always to three-fourths or nine-tenths, and frequently to ninety-nine hundredths. We have found it so in the case of the markets, the sale and purchase of commodities ; even in petty concerns which one does not to-day deign to take into account, and which assume great importance when the saving amounts to ninety-nine in a hundred, or even to forty-nine in fifty, like that of the milk-women. If a village is situated near a city, we find that the three hundred families will sometimes send a hundred milk-women with a hundred

cans of milk, the sale and transportation of which cause these women to lose a hundred mornings. I have observed that they can be replaced by a small cart drawn by an ass, and driven by a woman ; a gain of forty-nine fiftieths. The saving is doubled when we consider that the woman, distributing in two or three great establishments (called progressive households, which will constitute the associative *régime* of the cities), will return home in half the time which it would have taken the hundred women : this is a real gain of ninety-nine per cent., in time and in people.

The instances of saving I have just cited all relate to activities already known and practised ; we might enumerate a host of others which turn upon activities to be dispensed with : I shall term them *negative* savings,—in contradistinction to the preceding, which are *positive*, or diminution of labour without abolishment of the service.

Let us define some kind of labour to be dispensed with, or negative gain of Association : there is one that assumes vast proportions, and that is, the precautions against theft.

The danger of theft obliges three hundred families of a village, or at least the hundred in easiest circumstances, to make an unproductive outlay in enclosure—walls, barricades, fastenings, landmarks, dogs, ditches, day and night watchmen, and other means of defence against thieves. These useless and expensive devices will be done away with in Association, which possesses the property of preventing larceny, and dispensing with all precautions against danger. We shall see this farther on.

Under associative conditions, it would be impossible for the thief to reap any profit from the thing stolen, excepting in the case of money ;—but a people who live in ease and are imbued with sentiments of honour do not even conceive any projects for stealing. It will be shown that children, so essentially robbers of fruit, would not, in the associative state, take an apple off a tree.

Let us analyse, in the case of fruit alone, the damage caused by stealing. Everyone has had occasion to observe, in populous cities, the market filled with unripe and very unwholesome fruits, particularly stone-fruits. If the peasants are taken to task for

this premature picking, this vegetable murder, every one of them answers: *they will be stolen if I wait for them to get ripe.* We have shown above that such theft vitiates the quality of all wines by the practice of complete and simultaneous gathering, under the public regulation of the time of vintage. Stealing likewise vitiates other fruits, by compelling a premature gathering. On account of reaping not being done at the proper time and in three degrees, in order to avoid the mixing of the green, the ripe, and the over-ripe, it is difficult, indeed impossible, to preserve fruits. This inconvenience conduces, along with the lack of good fruiterers and of scientific methods, to reduce the amount of fruit preserved to one-twentieth, and to a reduction of a like proportion in the cultivation of these vegetable products.—(U. U., iii., 7-17.)

CHAPTER XIII

SERIES AND GROUPS

A THEORY of Groups!!!

What is its object? It is to ascertain by what methods the associative bond is established, so impracticable with the customs of civilisation. It can only be organised by the employment of industrial groups and series of groups, holding short sessions; there is no other means.

This is sufficient to indicate how much attention students ought to give to this summary, which is the foundation of the structure. One could not, without reading this chapter, proceed to that of the treatise.

The groups, or elementary modes of social relations, are four in number, in correspondence with the material elements of the universe. Following is the analogical table.

GROUPS.			ELEMENTS.
Major	{ of Friendship, of Ambition,	unisexual affection,	Earth
		corporative " "	Air
Minor	{ of Love, of Family,	bisexual " "	Aroma
		consanguineous " "	Fire
Pivotal,	of Unityism or fusion of bonds		Fire.

The pivotal group is only a composite bond, not an elementary one; it is applicable to each of the other four.

No other bonds can be discovered in the social man. If he does not form any of these four bonds, he becomes, like the wild man of the Aveyron, a brute beast in human shape. He progresses in sociableness (*sociabilité*) only in so far as he succeeds in forming one, or two, or three, or four groups. It is, therefore, by the analysis of groups that the study of the social