

COLONY OR REPUBLIC

OF

# ICARIA

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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## ITS HISTORY

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*Icarian System or Doctrine. — Social and Political organization.*

*— Icarian Commune. — Advantages of Community. —*

*Icarian Constitution — Principal Laws of the*

*Colony. — Mode and Conditions*

*of Admission.*

BY

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and now President of the above Community.

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Journal of the

# ICARIA

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## GENERAL IDEA OF THE ICARIAN COLONY.

The Icarian Colony was founded in America for the purpose: — 1st. to clear, cultivate and civilize a portion of the desert; by establishing in it all the useful industries, for making or producing everything which is necessary to the existence of a People; — 2nd. to create, if it be possible, a State or a County; — 3d. to create, at first, a *township*, then another, and so on successively; — 4th. to insure to all the members a good living, resulting from their labors; — 5th. to offer an asylum to all the proscribed Republicans, who will adopt our principles, who possess the requisite qualities, and who are willing to comply with our conditions of admission; — 6th. to make an experiment for the sake of Humanity, for ascertaining the system of political and social Organization the most perfect, the most favorable to progress, and the most capable of insuring happiness to the Human Race.

*The system of the Icarian Community* (applied to a country which we have called *Icaria*, and explained in a work published under the title of a *Voyage in Icaria*), appearing to us the most perfect, is the first which will be tried in the Icarian Colony.

This Colony, then, does not resemble any other, since it has, for its object, not only the interest and happiness of its members, but the interest and happiness of entire HUMANITY.

It is not exclusively French or German, American or English, &c., &c., but it is *universal*, in the sense that it admits emigrants from every land, provided they adopt its

principles, its system, its social contract or constitution and its laws, and that they fulfill the conditions of admission, hereafter explained.

We will say, in the first place, a few words concerning the *History* of this Icarian Colony up to the present time, & concerning its preparatory station at Nauvoo; we will then give a general idea of the Icarian System whether it be for a State or Township; and lastly we will make known the Icarian Constitution, the law of the General Assembly, the conditions, the form and the effect of admission.

## CHAPTER 1st.

### A FEW WORDS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF ICARIA.

#### *Conversion of Mr. Cabet to Communism.*

During an exile of five years, from 1834 to 1839 (for having said that the Government of Louis Philippe would inevitably lead him to the slaughter of the citizens and to his own ruin), Mr. Cabet consecrated all his time, at London, to the composition of such works as he believed would be most useful to the People.

He prepared for the press three abridged popular histories: a *Universal History*; — a *History of England*, — and a *History of the French Revolution*.

As history, at every page, revealed nothing but disorder and calamity, he sought the cause and the remedy of it.

He saw the cause in an *unsound Social Organization*, and the remedy in, of course, a *new and a better organization*.

Seeing everywhere and always a war going on between *Aristocracy* and *Democracy*, he thought that, to establish peace, it was necessary to suppress one of these belligerent armies and to give the preference to Democracy. And as he perceived no where a pure Democratic organization, he sought the means of organizing a Nation into a Democracy.

He soon found that it was impossible to organize a Democracy with *opulence* and *misery*, with the rich and the poor, or while there existed an inequality in fortune.

He then arrived at the conviction that it was impossible to establish an equality of fortune, abundance and comfort, without a COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

He tried then to organize, upon paper, a grand Community (a Commune or State), and he saw at once that Community resolved perfectly all the social questions, that it was realizable, possible and even easy if the world desired it; that it would realize immense *economies*; that it would augment immensely the production; and that it would insure abundance, comfort and happiness, to all its citizens and to all men.

He consulted all the Philosophers of ancient and modern times, and examined all the philosophic works of the immense library of London; and he discovered with as much joy as surprise, that all of them, with Jesus Christ at their head, admitted Community to be the most perfect Social System. He wrote then his *Voyage in Icaria*.

#### VOYAGE IN ICARIA

This is an imaginary voyage in an imaginary country, like the *Republic of Plato*, the *Apocalypse of John*, the *City of God* by St. Augustin, the *Utopia* by Thomas More, the *City of the Sun* by Campanella, &c., &c.

But, under the form of a *Voyage of Romance*, it is, in reality, the description of the Political and Social Organization of a Community; it is a *scientific and philosophic treatise*, under the most palpable, the most intelligible and the most popular form.

The work is divided into three parts.

PART. 1st. The first six chapters contain the dangers of voyages in the old society;—the charms of a voyage in Icaria;—a glance at the cities, &c.;—the routes;—the inns;—the country;—a glance at the social and political organization;—a description of Icaria, the Capital.

Chapters 7 to 16 describe:—the nurture,—clothing,—lodging,—education,—the organization of labor and of industry,—the health,—the physicians,—the hospitals,—the authors and learned men,—the judges, the lawyers, &c.,—the workshops of the women and the romances.

Chapters 17 to 19 relate to Agriculture and commerce.

Chapters 20 and 37 relate to Religion.

Chapters 21 to 26 relate to the political organization and the journals.

Chapters 15 and 27 relate to marriage.

Chapters 28 to 35 relate to the promenades,—the theatres,—the *fêtes* and the plays.

Chapt. 40 relates to the women.

PART. 2nd. Chapter 31st relates to the vices of the ancient political and social Organization.

Chapters 4 to 6 relate to the establishment of a Community in an ancient Society and the transitional Regimen.

Chapters 7 and 8 contain objections and their refutations.

Chapters 9 and 10 contain a historic *tableau* of the progress of Democracy and Equality.

Chapter 11 contains a *tableau* of the progress of industry.

Chapters 12 and 13 contain the opinions of the Philosophers concerning Community.

Chapt. 14 contain the future of Humanity.

PART. 3d contains Doctrines and principles of Community.

To prove that Icarian Communism and Christianity are one and the same thing, Mr. Cabet composed the *True Christianity*.

#### TRUE CHRISTIANITY.

This work is divided into two parts.

The 1st. Part, or the Introduction, sets forth the religious ideas of the first inhabitants of the earth, of the Egyptians and the Hebrews;—the mosaic dispensation,—some remarks concerning the history of the Jews and of John the Baptist.

The 2nd. Part, or *True Christianity*, contains:—a glance at the history of Jesus Christ from his birth to the commencement of his ministry;—his *doctrine* concerning God;—the reign of God;—Fraternity,—Equality,—Liberty,—Democracy,—Unity,—Association,—Opulence,—Misery,—Work and Salary,—Community of Goods.

It contains also the morality of Jesus

Christ, — his ideas of future perfection, — his Religion and his *Worship*.

It contains further his propaganda; — his triumph; — his crucifixion and resurrection; — the history of the Apostles; — their Community; — their writings; — the Gospel and the Epistles; — and finally the identity of Communism and Christianity.

#### OTHER WORKS OF M. CABET.

On his return from exile, Mr. Cabet published: — his popular *History of the French Revolution* in 4 volumes; — 6 political Pamphlets concerning the crisis of 1840; — 5 Pamphlets against the Bastiles — and the bombardment of Barcelona.

Then he published his *Voyage in Icaria*; *True Christianity*, and 30 or 40 writings to expose still more his Icarian Communism: (viz): Why am I communist? — My communistic Creed; — My straight line; — The guide of the citizen; — Woman; — The workman; — State of the social Question; — Short popular dialogues; — The Icarian Almanac, since 1843; — the *Populaire*, since 1841.

To refute all objections, all criticisms and all attacks, he published: — *Refutation of the Humanitaire*; — also of the *Atelier* and of the *Abbé Constant*; — *The Democrat become a Communist in spite of himself*; — *The glove thrown to Communism*; — *The Salvation or Ruin*; — *The Social Cataclism*; — *The whole thruth to the People*; — *The veil lifted*; — *The Masque torn away*; — *Down with the Communists*; — *Inconsistencies of Lamennais*; — *Water upon Fire (a Response to Cormenin)*; — *Biography of citizen Cabet*.

Since 1848, he has published: *Good and Evil*; — *Danger and Safety*; — *eleven discourses to the fraternal Society*; — *The Insurrection of June*; — *Realization of Community*; — *Letter to the Archbishop of Paris*; — *2 letters to Louis Napoleon*; — *My Process and my acquittal*.

#### PROPAGANDA.

Convinced that such a System of Community, founded upon Fraternity, could not establish itself by constraint and by force, Mr. Cabet adopted, according to the example of Jesus Christ, a legal and pacific propaganda; he demanded the establishment of Community by persuasion, by conviction, by the free consent of individuals.

He addressed himself only to public opinion; he exhorted the People to renounce secret societies and conspiracies, uprours

and insurrections, to apply themselves to their instruction and moralization, and thus prepare themselves for Community.

This doctrine of Icarian Community and Fraternity, this legal and pacific propaganda, had abundant success and made more converts than any other doctrine.

After only six years of written propaganda, the masses of the workmen in the large cities, the *elite* of the workmen in every industry, became Icarian Communists.

And if the Government had permitted to Mr. Cabet to deliver lectures or to make oral and public explanations in the popular meetings either at Paris or in the Departments, as the Fourierists were permitted to do, there is not the least doubt that the population, to-day, would generally be converted to Icarian Communism.

Or, if they had have permitted him to test his principles in France, he would certainly have found all the Icarians and all the money necessary to have made one or more townships in France; and the problem of the suppression of misery and pauperism, to-day, would have been solved.

#### PERSECUTION.

But the Government, the Aristocracy, the Privileged, the Conservators of the ancient abuses, and the high Clergy, leagued themselves together for the purpose of calumniating and persecuting the Icarians, as formerly the Pharisees and Pagans persecuted the Christians.

The Revolutionary party itself, especially the party of the *National* and that of the *Reform*, united themselves with the enemies of the Icarians, to calumniate and persecute them for their legal and pacific propaganda.

While the former proscribed the Icarians as Revolutionists, the latter proscribed them as anti-Revolutionists.

#### EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

At length, to evade this general persecution, in May 1847, Mr. Cabet repeated to his followers the words of Jesus Christ: "If they persecute you in one City, go you in to another."

And he proposed that an Icarian emigration should go courageously and found Icaria in the deserts of America.

To found Icaria in America, beyond the seas, 2,000 or 3,000 leagues distant, in a new climate, by the side of men speaking another language, was an enterprise ex-

tremely expensive and much more difficult than it would have been in France.

It was natural then that the proposition would rise many objections and draw forth much opposition. But Mr. Cabet responded to all; nothing could intimidate or dampen the ardor of the Icarians, who listened only to their devotion to Humanity.

And accordingly, on the 3d of February 1848, a van-guard, composed of 70 men, to whom Mr. Cabet gave the title of Soldiers of Humanity, charged with the work of choosing, exploring and preparing the new home, started for Texas, where more than a million of acres of land had been ceded to them in the North West along the borders of the Red River.

Other companies were to follow every two weeks; the families were to depart in September, and Mr. Cabet was to accompany them.

But the Revolution of the 24th of February 1848 came suddenly to overthrow all their plans and to destroy their means.

#### REVOLUTION OF THE 24th OF FEBRUARY 1848.

The Icarians everywhere showed themselves courageous and devoted; everywhere they were applauded for their bravery, generosity and disinterestedness.

On the 25th, Mr. Cabet caused to be posted on all the walls of Paris a proclamation (since become celebrated) in which he exhorted the Icarians to unite around the Provisional Government and to sneer at it; to be moderate and generous (no vengeance! no outrage upon property!). He exhorted them to adjourn their Icarian enterprise, and to act only as Frenchmen, Patriots, Democrats and Republicans.

It has since been said of his proclamation that, perhaps, no greater service was ever done for Society.

#### NEW PERSECUTION.

It is horrible! The men of the *National* and *Reforme* parties, for a long time the enemies of the Icarians because their policy was *pacifist*, seized upon the Provisional Government, and were still their enemies either through rancor or vengeance, or because they desired a *bourgeois* Republic, while the Icarians demanded a *popular* or democratic Republic.

Soon after its establishment, the Government adopted against the Icarians, not only at Paris but throughout all France, a vast

system of calumny and persecution, to exclude them from the elections and from the offices, from the National Guard and from the National Assembly. The Communists were treated as outcasts and proscriptions!

On the 16th April, the Government cried or caused to be cried, by the Army and by the Reaction: "Down with the Socialists!! Death to Cabet!"

The events of the 15th of May and of the 23d June were perfidiously attributed to the Communists; the Reaction charged treacherously upon Mr. Cabet the direction of all the movements; mandates of arrest were hurled against him; he was continually threatened with assassination and arrest, and was forced to conceal himself.

However, in spite of these frightful difficulties, two other van-guards and four large companies of families, in all about 500 Icarians, departed for Texas in 1848; the second van-guard there joined the first.

But, on their arrival at New Orleans, the others met the first two divisions, who were returning from Texas.

#### RETREAT OF THE FIRST TWO VAN-GUARDS.

Carried away by its ardor and its enthusiasm; neglecting precautions and counsels; braving too much the fatigue and the sun; at first deprived of news from France, then alarmed at the disasters of April, of May and of June, at the false sinister rumors which were freely circulated, and especially at that of the death of Mr. Cabet by assassination; and disheartened by the ravages of the fever which had already made some its victims; the first van-guard unfortunately abandoned Texas and returned to New Orleans with the 2nd, at the moment when the 3d was arriving from France.

The desolating news of this unhappy retreat, which was impossible to foretell by the letters received, came upon Mr. Cabet like a thunderbolt, at a time when he was prosecuted by the most iniquitous persecution, before a tribunal which, influenced by its reactionary prejudices, condemned him to one month imprisonment: however, he started to America without delay, not without difficulties, declaring at Boulogne his intention to return and undergo the imprisonment.

#### DEPARTURE OF MR. CABET.

Mr. Cabet left Paris on the 13 December 1848, for London, Liverpool, New York, and lastly New Orleans, which was rava-

ged by the cholera when he arrived on the 19th January 1849.

He immediately called together the general Assembly of the Icarians, obtained all possible information, and proposed to abandon the enterprise, if they were unanimous in wishing it; or he proposed to continue it with those who would be resolute, and to give 40 dollars to each of those who might wish to retire.

The majority, 230 (of whom 142 men, 74 women and 64 children), were willing to persevere in the enterprise. After giving about 4,000 dollars to those who left, the remainder started on the 1st March by steam boat, for Nauvoo, situated on the upper Mississippi, in the State of Illinois.

This City was selected because it was situated on a navigable stream, because the climate was healthy, the land fertile and, above all, because having been recently abandoned by the Mormons, who had gone to establish themselves in the desert, it offered the advantages of all the houses necessary for lodgings, workshops, &c.

#### ESTABLISHMENT AT NAUVOO.

The Colony arrived at Nauvoo the 15th March 1849.

It rented some dwelling houses, one farm and other lands.

A short time after, it bought the ruins of the Mormon Temple, which was burnt two years before and which still had the four walls standing. This, with the enclosure of four acres, was bought for the purpose of building on it a house for a school or an academy.

The old houses were repaired immediately, and all the necessary furniture was made;—two schools were organized, one male and the other female;—two infirmaries and a pharmacy were established,—a large kitchen and a dining hall where all could eat in common;—a bakery;—a butchery;—an ironing and wash house. On the farms, gardening and agriculture were organized;—stables were built for the horses and cattle.

In a short time a steam flouring mill with a distillery was bought, to which has since been added a saw mill.

Small boats were built and nets were made for fishing, which proved very profitable, while the hunters furnished game for the infirmaries.

Workshops were organized for — the tailors, shoemakers, mattress-makers, ma-

sons, plasterers, carpenters, joiners, turners, cart-wrights, coopers, engineers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, gunsmiths, tinner, watch-makers, weavers, tanners, gardeners, husbandmen, wood cutters, bakers, butchers, millers, cooks, &c.,

For the women, workshops were also organized, for streamstresses, washerwomen, ironers, cooks, &c.

General Assemblies were organized, and elections, for the Gerance, for the Bureau of the Assembly, for the Directors of the workshops, for the Commissions, &c., &c.

Pleasures and plays were organized, country promenades, instrumental and vocal music, concerts and a theatre, courses and lectures in common, &c.

The Colony established, at St. Louis, a magazine for selling boots and shoes, clothing, linen, flour, whiskey, and other productions of the workshops.

A mine of stone coal was opened to furnish fuel for winter.

A printing and lithographing office was started for publishing important writings; and two *journals*, one in the English and one in the German language, were published by the Colony.

The Colony has also a library, a small cabinet of phisic and chemistry, and a small arsenal for the arms of the chase.

All the members of the Colony work, and are distributed in the different workshops of the men and women.

Each workshop elects its director.

When agriculture requires an unusual amount of labor, laborers are furnished from those workshops which can spare them with the least inconvenience.

In the summer, work is suspended during the hottest portion of the day.

There are no domestics; each woman does her own house work.

Every one goes to the workshop, and returns from it at the same time.

The women who are nursing, or are prevented by other causes from going to the workshop, are privileged to work at their own rooms.

The breakfast, dinner and supper, are eaten in common.

Equality reigns in the repasts as in other things.

The members of the Gerance are then the servants of their brothers.

After supper, there are recreations, plays, reunions, readings, general assemblies, discussions, &c.

The Constitution of the Colony, divided into 176 articles, was discussed during nine sittings and passed unanimously.

The law concerning the General Assembly, and the law concerning the admissions, withdrawals and expulsions of members, also occupied much time for discussion and voting.

The legislature of the State of Illinois passed an act incorporating the *Icarian Community*.

Mr. Cabet was twice unanimously elected President of the Colony, in 1850 and 1851, and also a third time during his absence in 1852.

A fire which destroyed one of the stables, an inundation which damaged the mill, and a storm which blew down the walls of the Temple at the time preparations were being made to reconstruct it, caused heavy losses to the Colony; but it has built a large refectory, with a kitchen, capable of accommodating 800 persons, commenced the construction of a fine stone school house, &c., &c.

Some inhabitants of Nauvoo (whose commercial interests or whose prejudices ruffle them towards it), have shown the Colony but little benevolence; but the generality of citizens have manifested a lively sympathy for it since its first arrival.

The Colony fraternizes with the citizens in the celebration of the anniversary of the day of American Independence, in admitting them to its sports, its banquets, its concerts, its spectacles, and its balls.

There have been some deaths and some withdrawals; but also some marriages, (even with some girls of the country), some births and some admissions; and at present (the 1st of July 1852), the Colony numbers 365 individuals, men, women and children; and, had it not have been for the Revolution of 1848, it certainly would have numbered from 10 to 20,000.

But Persecution did not lose sight of it; it pursued it from France to America; and for the purpose of destroying the Colony, the Icarian Community and Communism, it endeavoured morally to kill its President and Guide.

#### PROCESS AGAINST MR. CABET.

We affirm without fear of contradiction, that no one, perhaps, has shown more devotion to the cause of the People and of Humanity than Mr. Cabet, since

1830, especially when, for the purpose of succoring his brothers, in the midst of the winter of 1848, aged and suffering, he quitted his family, traversed the ocean to the distance of 3,000 leagues, braved the cholera and the deplorable consequences of a first disaster.

Perhaps, also, no one has been more calumniated and persecuted since 1830, solely on account of his devotion to the People.

We have already spoken of the cries of death (a burning shame for France!) urged publicly against him on the 16th April, by the National Guard or by the Reaction.

A short time before the Revolution of February, he was arrested at the moment of his return from a voyage to England, and accused either of a conspiracy to overthrow Louis Philippe and take his place, or of swindling, by obtaining money from the Icarians under the pretext of taking them to Icaria without having the intention of doing it.

This second accusation rejected by a multitude of protestations from the Press and especially from the Icarians, was so absurd that it was unanimously annihilated by the Tribunal of St. Quentin and even abandoned by the accuser.

But Mr. Cabet had not more than departed in 1848 when all the reactionary journals, profiting by his absence, leagued themselves together for the purpose of crushing him by their calumnies and attacks.

Urged on by the Reaction, the Government of Louis Napoleon prosecuted him anew, accusing him of swindling, declaring that his Colony was only a *fictitious, false and imaginary* enterprise gotten up for the purpose of swindling the Icarians, and that his *Voyage in Icaria*, his *True Christianity*, his *Populaire*, and his forty or fifty other writings had been composed and published during the last ten years only to prepare and consummate his swindling.

Nothing evidently could be more monstrous!

Also, as soon as this new accusation was made known, protestations sprung up from all sides, from the Icarians, from the Colony, and from the accused himself who demanded time to return from America to France, to defend himself.

But the accuser carrying his ignorance or his bad faith so far as even to deny the

existence of a Colony at Nauvoo and even to deny the existence of Nauvoo, the Correctional Tribunal refused the asked for delay, judged Mr Cabet in his absence, declared him guilty under the false pretext that he had no land in Texas, and condemned him to 2 years imprisonment, and deprived him of his political rights in order to prevent his being elected as Deputy.

All the reactionary journals in France, and even their accomplices in Germany, in Engand and in America, published the condemnation as a triumph; "Behold, said one of them, a man who, in March and April 1848, was on the point of being made Dictator, is condemned as a swindler!

But hundreds of addresses, signed by thousands of Icarians and Democrats in France, in England, in America, and above all in the Colony, protested against the monstrous iniquity of this condemnation, as shameful for France as the cry "*Death to Cabet*," urged by the National Guard, on the 16th April, under the eyes of the provisional Government.

The electors of Paris also protested by choosing Mr. Cabet, although he was absent, as their candidate, in all their subsequent elections.

He himself protested by writing many public letters to Louis Napoleon, complaining of his treatment, to the President of the Tribunal to induce him to revoke his judgement by default, to have the privilege of appealing to a superior Court, pledging himself to travel from America to France to face it as soon as the progress of the Colony would justify him in leaving without the fear of injuring it.

#### MR. CABET'S RETURN TO FRANCE, — HIS TRIUMPH.

Finally, on the 15 May 1851, Mr. Cabet left the Colony for London and Paris, where he arrived after having travelled 3000 leagues, by steam boat and railroad, in the space of 23 days.

Nearly all his friends in England and in America opposed his departure, convinced, they said, that it was a political affair, either for crushing the Colony and Communism, or to prevent his election, and therefore that he was infallibly condemned in advance.

But he persisted, convinced that it would be impossible to condemn him after having heard him, convinced moreover that it was

his duty to brave the danger of the condemnation, resigned to every thing, even to martyrdom, and persuaded that the Colony was sufficiently organized, sufficiently united, sufficiently courageous, and sufficiently strong to support his absence, and even his condemnation.

Immediately on his arrival at Paris, he gave himself up as a prisoner for one month; then he appeared before the Court, carrying the contract in which the Peters Company had ceded to him a million of acres of land in Texas.

Amongst other things, he said and demonstrated to the Court that, if he had been ambitious or covetous, it would have been easy for him to obtain all he desired, power, honors and fortune, first with Louis Philippe, then with Louis Napoleon whom he had known during their common exile in London in 1838, and then with the provisional Government; that if, in the place of making his proclamation of the 25th February, to persuade the People to moderation and generosity, he had wished to enter into the provisional Government, he could have done it, and that in all the subsequent events, in March, in April and in May, his name had always been inserted, unknown to him, amongst the members of a new Government or Dictature.

He also made known to the Court some of the most important principles of his Icarian system and Icarian doctrine, reviewing rapidly what he had done in Icaria, and proved that no doctrine was more moral, more pure, and more impressed with humanity, fraternity, equality and liberty, with justice and order, with disinterestedness and devotion.

More than once did he draw tears from the eyes of his judges, and even his accuser was constrained to address to him, in the name of Society, his solemn thanks for the immense service he had rendered it by his proclamation of the 25th February.

Finally, after 4 days of debate and a defense of 4 hours length, pronounced by the accused himself, in the presence of a numerous auditory, the Court annulled the condemnation by default, of the Tribunal.

And one of the journals formerly opposed to Mr. Cabet could not refrain from saying, that he had come off in the combat with all the honors of victory. And if the Icarians had been free to express their sentiments by banquets, either at Paris or in the Departments, hundreds of thousands

of Communists, of Socialists and of simple Democrats would have celebrated the triumph of the Icarian chief as their own.

#### ARBITRARY EXPULSION OF MR. CABET AFTER THE 2d DECEMBER.

But while Mr. Cabet was preparing to return to Icaria, the *coup d'Etat* of the 2d of December suddenly burst forth; his offices were invaded, searched and devastated; he was forced to conceal himself for more than a month; at last he was arrested at his own house on the 26th January, imprisoned in a secret prison of the fort of Bicêtre, and then taken from his prison to be transported immediately, by force, to England, on the 1st of February, as the *Chief of a school of Socialists*, and because he was, as they said, a *political* *flag*.

But Mr. Cabet could not remain in London; his duty called him to the Icarian Colony in America; and he departed again in June 1852, to realize there his first project of a great Community in the desert.

#### ARRIVAL OF MR. CABET.

Letters from London had announced his departure for the 18th of June. He embarked at Liverpool on the 19th, on board the steamer *Africa*, and arrived at New York the 31st of June, and at Nauvoo on the 23d of July:

The whole Community went to meet him with their band of Music.

#### MR. CABET TO THE ICARIANS.

Icarians!

We are persecuted, exiled and proscribed!

And we are persecuted because of our love of Republicanism and Democracy of Liberty and of Equality, of Justice and of true Religion, the Fraternity of men and of Peoples.

In France and in Europe we have many adversaries and enemies, all those who wish the continuance and perpetuity of those abuses which have produced misery to Humanity, and all those who have been deceived by calumnies against us.

But we have for our friends, all the friends of Progress and Humanity.

Before my first departure from France in 1843, my enemies affirmed that I would not go to partake of your devotion and of your fate; — but I did depart and came to you to give the lie to their predictions.

When, after my departure, the most absurd accusation was raised against me, in my absence, our enemies again affirmed that I would not return to France. — But I did return and confounded my accusers.

And, after a most brilliant judicial triumph, our enemies again declared that I would not return to America; — but behold, I am here in the midst of you!

All hail! America, the land of Republicanism and of liberty, and the refuge of the proscribed!

All hail! Americans, bravest of People, who have conquered and preserved your Independence and liberty, and who to-day are hope of the World!

All hail! Icarians, who, by your union, your perseverance, and your courage, during my absence, have demonstrated the power of Icarian Communism!

A new Era is about to commence for us. While we will retain Nauvoo as a preparatory station, we will go towards the regions of the setting sun there to found our first Icarian *Commune*, then another, &c., &c.

We will call to us all who will adopt our principles, who will partake of our sentiments, and who will fulfill our conditions of admission.

We will increase our propaganda by making our principles completely known.

To-day, even, we commence, the necessary formalities to obtain our naturalization and to enjoy the privileges of American citizens. We will preserve our love for France; we will offer our vows for her; but in adopting the American Republic as our new country, we will share in its glory and happiness, and we will work without ceasing for the good of Humanity.

#### NEW PROPAGANDA.

I shall try in America, then, to make the propaganda which I have made in France, for more than ten years. I shall expose all our political, religious and social system by republishing in English and in German my principal writings which have been published in France, adding to them all the new writings which are necessary. I will make known the different socialist systems which are advocated in Europe. I shall, also, examine all the socialist opinions and doctrines which are taught in America. I shall address myself particularly to wri-

ters and journalists, to all men of study and experience, to all philanthropists, to all the friends of Progress and to the legislators of the country. I solicit in advance their objections and their criticisms or their approbation, and sincerely request all those who partake of our opinions, of our sentiments and of our desires, to aid us with their advice, with their counsels and with all their sympathy.

#### ICARIAN TOWNSHIP IN IOWA.

##### *New Establishment.*

In 1853, the Icarian Colony, provisionally established at Nauvoo, will take up its march for Iowa to found here, first an Icarian Township, then two, &c., then a County, if it is possible, or an Icarian Republic.

#### STATION AT NAUVOO.

Nauvoo will be retained as the place of disembarkation, of acclimation, of apprenticeship, where the emigrants will be received provisionally to try the Communitistic life during four months, and from whence, after their definite admission, they will set out for the Icarian Township.

Let us now take a rapid glance at the Icarian System or Icarian doctrine.

#### CHAPTER 2d.

##### GENERAL IDEA OF THE ICARIAN SYSTEM.

##### *Doctrine or Principles.*

*Nature; God.*—We Icarian Communists cannot think that the Universe is the effect of *chance*, and we love to admit a *first Cause*, all wise, all foreknowing and all powerful, which is called the *Creator*, *Supreme Being*, *God*, *Nature*, *Providence*.

We believe it to be useless and dangerous to search for the origin, the form, the essence and the habitation of this *first Cause*. It is useless, because we are satisfied that it is a mystery and that human intelligence has not the necessary senses, organs or faculties, to pierce this mystery. It is *dangerous*, because the examination of this question leads to discussions, which degenerate almost always into disputes and divisions, and even into hate.

*God; Perfection.*—But we consider God as *Superiority* and *Onnipotence*, as *Infinity* and *Perfection* in all things.

*God, the father of the human race.*—We love to consider God as the FATHER of the

human race, as *Love*, *Goodness*, *Justice*, *Indulgence*. We imagine that he is the most perfect, the most just and the most tender father; that he is the best of fathers, who has only love for his children; and that he loves them all alike.

*Destiny of Humanity; Happiness.*—We love to admit that God, who is the most perfect father, has wished for the *happiness* of his children upon the earth. We see that he has provided all things (air, heat, light, water and the earth with its metals, its fruits and its 'beasts') to render them happy, satisfying all their wants (nourriture, lodging, clothing, defense, &c., &c.); and we believe that the *instinct*, *intelligence* and *reason*, which he has given them, would suffice, with his other gifts, to insure the happiness of the human race.

*Evil, Unhappiness.*—The history of all nations, however, in all times, shows us that *Evil* every where exists; *misery* of the masses by the side of the opulence of a feeble minority; *vices* and *crimes*, the offspring of opulence as well as of misery; ignorance and oppression; despair and insurrections; the poor continually menacing the rich and troubling their security; massacres and tortures; revolutions and reactions springing without ceasing from new despairs; new insurrections and new calamities; in a word, we see man *unhappy* almost always and everywhere.

But we cannot believe that this is the destiny of Humanity; we cannot believe that the Evil is without a Remedy; for man, who is essentially *sociable*, is also eminently *intelligent* and *perfectible*.

*Sociability; Natural Goodness.*—Every thing proves that man is naturally *sociable*, and, towards his fellow men, sympathetic, compassionate, affectionate and good.

*Intelligence.*—Every thing proves also that man is eminently *intelligent* and *reasonable*.

*Perfectibility.*—Everything proves moreover that man is *perfectible*, and that, at the present age, Humanity is enlightened, instructed and perfected by the experience of all preceding Generations.

But what is the Remedy for the evil we have spoken of? In the first place, what is the Cause?

*The cause of the Evil.*—The cause exists in a *political and social organization*, which is *bad*, resulting from the ignorance, the in-

experience and the error of the human race in its infancy.

*Principal vices of the present social organization.*—The social and political organization of almost every country appears to us imperfect, vicious and bad, because it has the principle of *Individualism* or *Egoism*, attended by *inequality of fortune*, by the opulence of the few and the misery of an immense majority, by the institution of *individual property* and of *money*, by the political privilege and the domination of an *aristocracy*, of the nobility, of the priesthood, or of riches.

REMEDY. — We believe that the remedy lies in a *better social and political organization*.

*Bases of a better social organization.* — We believe that this better social organization should be based upon principles contrary to those which are the cause of the evil; that is upon *Fraternity*, *Equality*, *Solidarity*, the suppression of misery and of individual property; in one word, upon *Community*.

We believe that the Remedy is in a fraternal and equalitary association which we call *Community*.

*Community.*—Community is a great association or a great general *Society* organized and based upon the principle of human fraternity with all its consequences, in which the associates consent to place in common all their goods, all their faculties and all their labor, to produce and enjoy in common.

*SOCIETY.*—Community is a veritable *Society*, in which there is no exploiters nor exploited, but all are real brothers and equals.

It is a *universal society* which comprises all the interests and all the wants of the associates.

This *fraternity* is itself the consequence of that other principle which was announced at the commencement, that the Supreme Being or God is the *father* of all men; from which it follows that all men are his *children*, that all are *brothers*, and that the Human Race forms only one Family of which all the members should love each other, and devote themselves reciprocally to the common interests and the common happiness, as the most perfect brothers do.

We believe that the consequences of

fraternity are, *Solidarity*, *Unity*, *Equality*, *Liberty*, the suppression of *individual property*, of *money*, the perfection of *education*, the purification of *marriage* and of *family* and the organization of labor.

This principle of *fraternity* is a principle, at once, philosophic and religious, social and political.

To us it seems the idea the most advanced and the most fruitful; it is the principle of the Gospel and of Christianity, so that we believe that even now our Icarian Communism is the purest morality, the meekest philosophy and the most sublime Religion, since it is nothing less than Christianity in its primitive purity, such as Jesus Christ instituted it.

#### ICARIAN COMMUNISM IS TRUE CHRISTIANITY.

When Jesus Christ first appeared amongst men, a great reform was already necessary. In order to effect it, Jesus Christ brought a *new law*, a *new social doctrine*, a new system of organization or society which he called the *Reign* or the *Kingdom of God*, the *New City*. According to him, God was the *Spirit*, the *Love*, the *Life*, the Father of Humanity. He called himself sometimes the *Son of God*, sometimes the *Son of man*, the *brother* of other men, especially of the poor, the oppressed and the unhappy. He repeated without ceasing that all men are the *Sons* of God and brothers.

He limited himself to two principles, or general and principal commandments; the first, *Love God*, (that is, the spirit, the love, the life, justice, goodness, omnipotence, infinity, perfection in all things, the father, &c., &c.), and the second, *Love thy neighbor or thy brother as thyself*; and he added, these two commandments are but one and contain all the law and the prophets.

His great social principle was then the *fraternity* of men and of Peoples; and he said "Love to be loved, succor to be succored."

He adopted these philosophic maxims: "Thou shalt not do to another what thou wouldst not that he should do unto thee"; and "do unto others that which thou wouldst that others do unto thee".

As secondary principles he proclaimed, *association*, *equality*, *liberty*, *progress* and *indefinite perfection*.

He combated everywhere *miser* or *poverty*; and to suppress it, he recommended *Community of goods*, declaring that riches would prevent one from entering into the kingdom of God.

His Apostles, the fathers of the church and the first Christians practiced Community; and if, instead of making Communities of men alone, or of women alone, they had made Communities of men and women, with marriage and family, agricultural and industrial Communities, Community would now be established over all the earth.

Since then, however, the Barbarians have invaded the Christian Empire and, by conquest, have established in it individual property over the earth and over man; but again serfdom and slavery and feudal property have ceased; progress has kept pace with revolution and reform; the *Bourgeoisie* has emancipated itself; *Communes* has been established and enfranchised; Communities and Corporations have everywhere been organized, the proletariat has reconquered his liberty; the American and French Revolutions have proclaimed anew the doctrines of Fraternity, Equality and Liberty.

All this has been accomplished through the influence of the Gospel and of Christianity; and we Icarian Communists have devoted ourselves to continue the progress, by continuing to realize the doctrine of Jesus Christ.

#### DEMOCRACY, REPUBLICANISM.

And as we wish that its fundamental principle, *Fraternity*, with its consequences, *Equality* and *Liberty*, be the principle and soul of all the usages, in the Community, we can say also that our Community is the realization of Democracy and Republicanism.

To conclude our remarks upon the *General ideas*, we will add few words concerning *miser* or *poverty* and the establishment of Community by the free and voluntary consent of individuals.

**MISERY**:— All Antiquity (vide *True Christianity*, 2nd part, ch. 33, pag. 177), even before Jesus Christ, cried continually against the misery of the masses and against the opulence of the few which necessarily engendered it.

The extinction of *miser* was the most habitual cause of solicitude of Jesus Christ

who, for the purpose of accomplishing it, established *Community of goods*.

The fathers of the Church, after his example, wishing to suppress *miser*, established Community. *St. Chrisostome*, Patriarch or Pope of Constantinople, says :

"It is less horrible to be bitten by one possessed with a devil than to be tormented by *poverty*; a bite will get well or may be cured, whilst *poverty*, more cruel than a ferocious beast and more burning than a furnace, will tear you and burn you without relaxation."

The suppression of *miser* or *poverty* has, then, always been and still is the great social, religious and political problem, and it is because Community alone can realize at once the suppression of *miser* and christian fraternity that we insist upon Community, as Jesus Christ, his Apostles and the Fathers of the church insisted upon it.

*The establishment of Community by free and voluntary consent.*— Jesus Christ, his Apostles and the Fathers of the church, demanded for the establishment of Community, neither spoliation by force, nor a division of the lands according to the agrarian law, but a *free and voluntary* consent of the proprietors; and we Icarian Communists demand the same consent, the same will, and the same liberty.

Again we fear not to repeat that our Icarian Communism is nothing more nor less than *Christianity* in its primitive purity.

#### CHAPTER 3d.

##### ICARIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

In the Icarian System, the Colony, or State, or Nation, forms a veritable *Society*.

This Society is perfectly voluntary and free, that is to say, that it imposes upon no one, that it forces (and even cannot force) any one to enter it: it comprises only those who voluntarily, freely, with a perfect knowledge of the cause, consent to make a part of it; and it only admits those who know well and who adopt completely its principles and its conditions, and who moreover are endowed with certain necessary qualities.

This Society makes its own social contract, or its constitution and its laws.

It determines upon its own social and political organization, institutes its public functions, and elects its functionaries.

It uses all possible means to prevent mi-

sery or poverty, ignorance or superstition, and to assure abundance and comfort, education and equality, order and liberty.

Its organization has Fraternity for its *fundamental and generative* principle.

And here we repeat that it is the purest morality, the meekest philosophy, and the sublimest religion.

It is also a Society of *mutual aid*, a *universal insurance*, a veritable family, of which all the members adopt each other as brothers, and engage themselves to practice the duties of Fraternity.

Here each one works for all, and all work for each one.

It has for its secondary principles Equality, Solidarity, Community and Unity, which are the necessary consequences of Fraternity.

It is a mixture of Communism and Individualism. The lodgings, for example, are individual, each one having a lodging for himself, his wife and his family. But the property, in place of being individual or personal, is social, undivided and common, or public and national.

Profoundly convinced by experience, that happiness is only found in *fraternal association* and in *equality*, the Icarians wish therefore form, together, a *society* founded upon the base of *equality* the most complete and the most perfect. All should be *associates*, *citizens*, *equal in right and duties*, without any kind of privilege for any one; all should partake equally of the *toils* of Association, each according to his *strength*, and of the *benefits*, each according to his *wants*.

All should form also only one individual *family*, of which all members are united by the bonds of Fraternity.

They should form then a People, or a Nation of brothers, and all their laws should have for their aim the establishment amongst them of *equality* in all those cases in which this equality is not materially impossible.

Even as they should form but one *society*, and one family, one People, so their *territory* with all its subterranean riches and all its superior productions and constructions, should form only one *domain* which is *social or national*; which would facilitate immense economies and perfection in improvement; which would assure an indefinite augmentation in production, abundance and comfort.

All the movable goods of the associates, with all the products of the earth, of agriculture and industry, form only *one capital* which, like the domain, is *social or national*, which places a great power at the disposition of the society, and gives it the means of producing abundance for all.

Thus the simple fact of association by putting all things in common, has innumerable advantages which no other social system can procure.

Community renders the administration of society and agricultural and industrial improvements easy and productive, realizing enormous economies, by augmenting prodigiously production, and by creating abundance and comfort for all without exception.

This domain and this capital shall belong indivisibly to the People, who cultivate and improve them in common, who control them directly, or by their agents, and who cause to be distributed equally all the agricultural and industrial products.

Labor being a natural necessity for the human race and all the Icarians being associates and equals, all should work; and as they all are alike interested, they should all exercise their intelligence to find out the means and especially the machines to render labor easy, short, without disgust, without fatigue, without danger, and even agreeable and attracting.

The instruments and materials of labor are furnished from the social capital, since all the products of agriculture and industry are gathered and deposited in public magazines.

All the associates are fed, clothed, lodged and furnished from the social capital, all equally according to their sex, age, &c.; and all are alike interested in adopting every possible amelioration.

Thus, the Society (or the family or the People) is the only *proprietor* of every thing, which distributes and organizes its workmen or citizens; which constructs its workshops and magazines; which procures the utensils and rough materials; which also cultivates the earth, constructs the houses, &c.; which makes all the objects necessary for nouriture, for clothing, for lodging, and furnishing; and which, in short, nourishes, clothes, lodges and furnishes, each family and each citizen; and it admits only of those industries which are necessary and useful, discarding those

which are hurtful or merely useless, limiting its productions to the wants of consumption and making every article *en masse*, in the large manufactories, for all the associates.

The Icarian Society, founded upon the principle of labor, has also for its base order and organization.

It is also founded upon education, marriage and family.

Education being considered as the base and foundation of Society, the Icarian Republic engages to furnish it to all, and to all equally, as it gives to all equally nouriture, &c., &c. All the children, girls as well as boys, receive the same general and elementary instruction, while besides, each one receives professional instruction, suitable to the profession which he chooses, and the object of this education is to form excellent workmen, excellent parents, excellent citizens, useful scholars and true men.

Conjugal union and family being the principal condition of happiness for men, for women and especially for the children, the social organization provides that all the Icarians should marry and have a family. It is for this object that the marriage portion is suppressed, that the young lady receives the same education as the young man, and that the Republic engages itself to nourish, &c., and bring up the children.

Every precaution is taken that marriage insures happiness to the married: if however this common life should be insupportable to one or the other, a divorce is granted; but every thing is calculated to render this remedy useless.

As every Icarian can marry without any obstacle being opposed to his marriage, the general rule is that all should do it, because marriage and family are the surest guaranties of order and peace in the Society, and of happiness for men, women and children.

In the Icarian Republic, the women have the same social right as the men, and the Icarians *en masse* consider it their first interest and their first duty to insure happiness to the women.

It is likewise the interest and the duty of all the Icarians, men and women, to protect the children, to take care of them in their sicknesses & infirmities, and to relieve, succor and respect the old.

The entire social organization is as well

calculated as possible to suppress the causes of sickness and disease (especially misery and poverty), to fortify the health and to perfectionize indefinitely the human species.

*Hygiene* is employed in preference to *medicine*.

The physician is a public functionary or workmen, interested in the progress of the public health.

One of the principal rules of the Icarian System is that it should, above all, seek for the *necessary*, then for the *useful*, and only to search for the *agreeable* in the last place; but it is also another rule of the System to search after the *agreeable* indefinitely with no limit but reason and equality in the enjoyment for all.

The Icarian System admits the pursuit of the *fine arts*, — a continual progress and a perpetual tendency toward perfection.

*Religious* opinions will be free and tolerated in Icaria as opinions upon all other matters; the Icarians however adopt *True Christianity*, in its primitive purity, with its principles of fraternity, of equality, of liberty, of association and of community.

As to external and public worship, it will be simple, without images, and disengaged from all superstitions, ceremonies and practices, principally consecrated to the admiration of Universe, acknowledgements and thanks toward the Supreme Being, instructions upon the social duties and the practice of fraternity. There will be no Clergy forming a sacerdotal body.

We here repeat that our Icarian Communism is nothing more nor less than *Christianity* such as was instituted by Jesus Christ.

We repeat that the Icarians are *True Christians*, the disciples, the imitators and the workmen of Jesus Christ, applying his Gospel, working to realize his *Kingdom of God*, his New City and his Paradise upon earth.

#### ADVANTAGES OF ICARIAN COMMUNITY.

We repeat also that our Community is perfectly voluntary, and also our whole Icarian System, (the placing in common of the lands and the capital, the developement of intelligence and of activity by instruction and education, the suppression of useless labor, the employment of all capacities and of all hands, the organization of labor, machines multiplied *ad infinitum*,) realizes

of such immense economies, and such an increase of agricultural and industrial production as to insure *abundance* and *comfort* for all, removing at the same time, misery and opulence, which are the sources of nearly all disorders.

In its turn, comfort united to fraternity, to education, to labor and to the suppression of celibacy, will generally destroy the root of nearly all vices and crimes.

#### CHAPTER 4th.

##### ICARIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

Since the Icarians are all brothers, all associates and all equal in rights, they are all members of the popular assembly, and all equally take part in the discussions, in the rule and in the administration of their common or public affairs.

All are members of the People; and of the public force, or of the civic or National Guard and of the Jury.

They do by themselves and directly everything which can thus be done and only appoint mandataries or functionaries when it becomes necessary.

All the functionaries are appointed for the good of the People; all are mandataries and servitors; all are elective, temporary, responsible and revocable.

The Government is a *Democracy*, radical and pure.

It is a *Democratic Republic*.

It is based not only upon fraternity and equality, but also upon sovereignty of the People, universal suffrage, liberty and respect for the laws.

The State is not a monarchy, nor a family, nor an oligarchy, nor an aristocracy; it is the People.

The People, being sovereign, has the right of making or of accepting, and revising its social organization and its laws.

It rules all which concerns its person, its actions, its property, its nouriture, its clothing, its lodging, its education, its labor even its pleasures.

Each citizen exercises his part of the sovereignty by his vote, by his right of initiative or of proposition, by his electoral power and his eligibility.

That the right of initiative and of proposition may be exercised more really and more usefully, the People are divided into committees amongst which all the different kinds of public affairs are distributed in such a manner that each committee occup-

ies itself specially in making propositions upon the peculiar questions which specially confided to it.

All things are so arranged that each one can easily exercise his rights; that each one may be perfectly independent of the others; and that any one may enjoy his rights with perfect liberty, as with a perfect knowledge of the cause.

A journal is prepared by the functionaries and distributed gratuitously to all the citizens, containing all the interesting facts, a knowledge of which would be necessary to a formation of their judgements and actions.

In as much as the People can all meet in one assembly, they exercise directly the legislative power; and when their number becomes so great that it is really impossible for them thus to meet, it will delegate to Deputies, temporary, responsible and revocable, chosen by it, the power to devise and prepare its projects of law, reserving to itself the right of accepting or rejecting them in the popular meetings.

In all cases, the executive power, charged with the execution of the laws, is essentially subordinate to the legislative power.

#### CHAPTER 5th.

##### ICARIAN COMMUNE OR TOWNSHIP.

The Icarian Commune or Township is the element of the Icarian State, composed of many townships.

It is a little *Democratic Republic*.

The population should never be more than could conveniently meet in one assembly, about 1000 or 1200, making, with their women and children, from 4 to 5000 souls.

The territory should be sufficiently large 1st for building particular habitations, workshops, magazines and public edifices or establishments; and 2nd for the agriculture necessary for the nourishment and other wants of the population.

The Icarian Township is not constructed irregularly, at hazard according to the caprice of each one, but after a *general* plan, discussed and adopted, combined according to the localities, indicating the places, the streets, the habitations, the workshops, magazines, public edifices, promenades, &c., &c.

All the edifices, lodgements, particular workshops, magazines, public monuments, &c., will be constructed according to par-

ticular plans, discussed and adopted by the People.

Each habitation will be constructed for a family, since every one should marry; and this habitation, simple in the first place, should be as commodious, as complete and as agreeable as possible, with a small garden for verdure and flowers.

The habitations have neither workshops, nor implements, nor magazines, nor stables, because all the labor is done in the great common workshops, all the productions are deposited in the great public magazines, and the horses are contained in one or many communal stables.

Every thing is concentrated for the purpose of exercising all possible economy, and controlling all possible power and all possible pleasure. Every where is association, union and unity.

There is, when it is possible, a workshop for each profession or trade. Each workshop has its magazine of implements, of rough materials and of products. Each workshop has also, surrounding it, its accessory workshops, to avoid loading and unloading, loss of time, damages, &c. &c.,

All the workshops are placed as convenient as possible to each other with reference to their affinity in business and even with respect to the beauty of the prospect.

The *unhealthy* or filthy workhouses, slaughter houses, &c., are removed far away from the dwellings.

All things are constructed *en masse*, for all citizens.

Each fabrication and each production is regulated with reference to the consumption ascertained by *statistics* kept for the purpose.

Each workshop elects its own director.

The workmen are divided according to the wants of each fabrication.

There is a large bakery,—a butchery,—one or more large kitchen,—one or more large restaurants for common repasts,—a large wash house, with its sink and dryer.

There is a school for all the children with its gymnasium,—a music hall,—an infirmary with a pharmacy,—a library,—a printing office,—one or more theatres;—some public plays,—a common hall, or *hotel de ville*, for the popular assemblies, for the administrations, for meetings, for courses of reading, &c., for balls, for concerts,—a temple, &c. &c.,

As soon as it shall be possible, there will

be one or more large *reservoirs* for distributing in all the buildings, light, heat and water, in such a manner that each family can have its one *bath*. Each one will have also its own little pharmacy, furnished gratuitously from the great communal pharmacy.

As soon as possible too, the Township will cause to be distributed to each family the necessary provisions for breakfast and for a collation in the evening, the grand repast of the day, after labor, remaining common as before, on the principle of fraternity, of economy and of harmony.

As soon also as it is possible, each workshop will have its little *vestiary*, where will be placed the garments of labor, to be taken by the workmen on entering, and left on departing, in order that each laborer may be properly clothed when he appears outside of the workshop.

The workshops and magazines being placed outside, the streets need not be littered and filthy, and the pavements can be as elegant, as clean and light as desirable.

#### COMMUNAL AGRICULTURE.

In the Icarian Township all the territory is communal, or common, or social, pertaining indivisibly to all the members of the Commune, managed, improved and cultivated by all in common and for the interest of all in such a way that all alike have ease and comfort.

To realize all possible economy, production and abundance, the territory is considered as only one *domain* which forms only agricultural improvements controlled by one plan for different purposes, for gardening, for fruits, for wood, for pasturage, for large herds of beasts, for irrigations and roads, for the distribution of the cultivators, for the workshops, the instruments, the machines, and even for the beauty of the scenery.

And as all the members of the township are equally interested in perfection in agriculture, all discuss and decide together all the questions which relate to the territory, to agriculture and to industry.

It is easy then to see the advantages which result from Community; we have only pointed out some of the principal (vide page 13. )

Let us see now how evil is suppressed in Community.

## CHAPTER 6th.

## EVIL SUPPRESSED BY THE COMMUNITY.

The mere fact of placing goods in common or the suppression of individual property, or of the existence of Community, brings with it necessarily the suppression of successions and partitions, — of selling and buying, — of money for home use, — of loans at interest and of usury, — of banks of credit and of discount, — of commerce and shops of trade, — of debts, of letters of exchange and of drafts, — of the exchange and stock jobbing, — of competitions and monopolies, — of failures, — of lawsuits, — of seizures, — of imprisonments for debt, — of civil tribunal, — of judges, — of advocates, lawyers and clerks, — of notaries, agents of exchange, &c., &c.

The suppression of money, of sale and of commerce, joined to the comfort of all, brings with it the suppression of robbery, of fraud under all forms, and of nearly all other crimes, — of criminal tribunals, — of prisons, &c., of jailors, &c., — of the police and of *gendarmes*, &c.

The organization of labor suppresses want of labor, — “*strikes*” for wages; — disgusting, extenuating and perilous labors, these being performed by machines, — excessive, useless and injurious fabrications, — idleness.

The suppression of useless labor, the employment of all hands, the perfecting of professional education, the employment of machines multiplied indefinitely, organization and concentration, realizing so many economies and increasing so much production and abundance, insure the suppression of *misery*, of pauperism, of proletarianism of beggary, of vagabondage, of all imposts (stamps, records, duties, passports &c. &c.,) other than those of labor.

Marriage of all insures the suppression of disorder and scandals in families; of many crimes, of debauchery and prostitution.

There is no more domesticity, no more salaries, no more loteries, no more houses of game and debauch.

Many maladies are suppressed: immense and rapid amelioration of the human species takes place.

There is no more oppression nor tyranny, nor state of siege!

There is no more conspiracies, nor insurrections, nor attempts upon life, nor civil wars, nor revolutions, nor reactions.

There is no more standing army no citidels, nor arsenals, nor barracks, nor manufactories of arms, nor the loss of the millions which they absorb.

## CHAPTER 7th.

## EXCELLENCE OF COMMUNITY.

Thus Community is the most perfect of all the social systems. It resolves all the questions, while nearly all the other systems are only *partial* and remedy only a portion of the evil.

But although the most complete, it is also the most *simple*, because it has unity everywhere, in production, in distribution, and in consumption.

It is further more the most *easy* to realize, because it perfectionizes everything at the same time, because it conciliates all interests, because it guarantees to all existence, because it produces the greatest possible power for procuring the well-being of all.

The existing Society contains evidently already innumerable communistic institutions: to organize *Community* we have only to increase the number of them. It is not even necessary that everything should be absolutely common; individualism should be preserved wherever it is preferable, in lodging for example; in all these things reason and utility should be consulted to be able to decide where individualism and where Communism should reign.

Community, then, is an association in which Communism is mixed with Individualism, but in which Communism predominates, for the purpose of being able to suppress misery, and in which especially property is common, in order that agriculture and all the industries may be most usefully exercised, and abundance and comfort produced for the general or common good.

The character of common, or social, or national property is not even a novelty; for the existing Society contains already a very great number of national or common or social properties, appertaining to families or voluntary associations, &c., &c. It is sufficient to augment in the place of diminishing the number of the common properties.

We may even say that the question of Communism, is only a question of exploitation, and that, in France and Europe, if the inhabitants of a Township consented to place all their lands, &c, and all their in-

dustries in common for employing them more fruitfully, this placing of things in common and this common exploitation, would be a thing most natural, simple and legitimate.

And we may add that in America the question is very different from what it is in Europe; since here the Government is about to give lands to all those who do not possess any. the new proprietors can, without difficulty, commence by placing their lands in common and improve them more easily and more usefully.

#### CHAPTER 8th.

##### ICARIAN CONSTITUTION, LAWS.

Before leaving France, Mr. Cabet declared that a sole and absolute Gerance during ten years appeared to him necessary to found such a Colony; and all the Icarians, adopting his opinion, accepted him for the sole and absolute Gerant, adding that they would consent to depart with no other chief, or upon any other conditions.

The first social contract was presented, and accepted upon this base.

But in America, in 1850, Mr. Cabet, voluntarily resigned his authority, and proposed a Constitution in which the Gerance should be multiplied, elective and annual.

This Constitution, containing 176 articles, was discussed during nine sittings of the General Assembly, slightly amended, and adopted unanimously on the 20 of February 1850, and again revised and slightly modified in 1851.

Mr. Cabet was unanimously elected President of the Gerance and of the Icarian Community in 1850, and 1851, and again in 1852 during his absence.

This Constitution is too long to be inserted in this place. It has been printed by the Colony as also the other principal organized laws, and distributed amongst all the members of the Community; and as it is only the application and often a repetition of the principles already announced, we will only give a summary, and state that any one can procure a copy by application at Paris, London, New York, Nauvoo, &c., &c.

##### *Summary of the Constitution.*

Chapt. 1st contains preliminary observations.

Chapt. 2nd contains the general princi-

ples; (viz) the Icarian Society; — Fraternity; — Equality; — Liberty; — Unity; — Solidarity; — respect for the Law; — Community.

Chapt. 3d contains the *Icarian Social organization*, comprising: common property; — the suppression of salary; — of emoluments; — of imposts; — organization of labor; — agriculture; — nouriture; — lodging; — clothing; — education; — marriage and family; — maladies and infirmaries; — women; — children and old-men; — religion.

Chapt. 4th contains the *political organization*; (viz) Sovereignty; — public powers; — the General Assembly; — the Legislative power; — the Executive power or the Gerance, (its prerogatives, its composition, division of its prerogatives, functions of the President, responsibility, public functionaries); — the Judiciary power, (misdeameanors, their presentation, judgment, penalties); — revision of the Constitution and Laws.

##### LAW CONCERNING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Here is the substance:

The General Assembly is composed of all the Icarians who are definitively admitted, and aged twenty years.

The women may assist in the deliberations without the privilege of voting; so, also may those provisionally admitted and young men from 15 to 20 years old.

The women, the provisionally admitted and the young men should be heard concerning anything which relates to their especial interest.

Each member has the privilege of offering motions.

The assistance at the General Assembly is not only a right, it is a duty; but everything is so arranged that this duty can be easily accomplished.

The Assembly has a President, two Vice Presidents and three Secretaries, elected by itself for a term of three months.

The President keeps order in the Assembly.

The most entire liberty joined with order and fraternity for each member, reigns in the sittings of the Assembly. Each one should have the floor, in his turn, and should be heard without interruption or murmuring.

The Minority should submit to the decision of the Majority, and should execute it without criticism or murmuring; but six months after, a revision of the law may be demanded.

LAW CONCERNING ADMISSION,  
WITHDRAWAL, EXCLUSION.

Admission is made in America, by the General Assembly, by a majority of two thirds, after verification that the applicant possesses the requisite qualities and has fulfilled the required conditions.

*It is provisional or definitive.*

Provisional admission endures for four months. It is a *noviciate* to ascertain that the applicant suits the Society and the Society suits him.

If one who is provisionally admitted withdraws, or is not definitively admitted, he has returned to him four fifths of his portion, his wardrobe, his bed and his utensils.

He who is admitted definitely can also *withdraw*. There is returned to him half of his portion (to wit) 20 dollars immediately and the surplus at a time fixed by the general Assembly; he gets also his wardrobe, his bed and his utensils; he can reclaim nothing more.

He who violates the laws and regulations may be excluded, by a decision of a two thirds majority of the General Assembly. He receives the same portion as one who voluntary withdraws.

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION.

Here is an abridgement of them.

1st. To know well the Icarian writings and to possess the principal of them (viz) *Voyage in Icaria*, - *How I am a Communist*, - *Communist Creed*, - *12 Letters concerning Communism*, - *True Christianity*, - *Icarian Colony or Republic*, - *Prospectus* of 1852.

2. Generally, to be able to read, write and sign the name, and to speak the French Language.

3d. To adopt completely the Icarian System.

4th & 5th. To be devoted to the cause of Humanity, of women and children.

6th to 11th. To adopt the principles of *Fraternity, Equality, Liberty, Community* and *unity*.

12 and 13. To bring with them all their effects, without concealing anything.

14. To have at least, 400 fr or 80 dol. (half the amount for each child less than 7 years old) with a wardrobe, bed and utensils.

15 to 18. Generally, to have a trade; — to engage to work in a workshop.

19h 37. To be laborious, vigorous, not too old, in good health, temperate, without having a *necessity* to use tobacco or strong drink, accustomed to cleanliness, decent in words and in acts, careful and economical.

38. To engage to get married.

39. To adopt *True Christianity* as their Religion.

40 to 41. To engage to never be hostile towards the Community.

42 to 44. To guarantee that the women and children possess the necessary qualities.

45. To consent that the Community dispose of the children and take charge of their education.

46. To accept the Constitution and laws already made. (\*)

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(\*) The law concerning admission, withdrawal and exclusion, the programme of the conditions of admission, the composition of the wardrobe, and the recommendations for the voyage, are printed in a separate Prospectus, which can be procured as well as other Icarian writings: at Paris, at the *Icarian Bureau* controlled by Mr. Beluze, rue Baillet, 3;—at London 13 Newman str. Oxford str.;—and in America by calling for them at the Colony at Nauvoo.

**APPEAL****TO THE ICARIANS OF EUROPE  
AND AMERICA.**

Icarians of all countries who know well our Icarian System and our Icarian doctrine, who will adopt them completely, who partake of our devotion for the cause of the People and of Humanity, who possess all the qualities necessary, who will fulfill all our exacted conditions, and especially who consent freely and voluntarily to place all your effects in common for the triumph of our system of fraternity and of community, of equality and of liberty, of democracy and republicanism, we invite you to come and aid us to found in the desert an Icarian Township and then a State! Come, brothers, and you will be well received!

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**APPEAL****TO PHILANTHROPISTS.**

And you who cannot come, but who have elevated spirits and generous hearts, you who are the friends of Progress and of Humanity, you Philosophers and Philanthropists of every class, you sincere and zealous Christians who desire to contribute by your acts to the realization of the true principles of Christianity, you philanthropic

Societies, we invite you to aid us with all your power and with all your means, in our grand and difficult, evangetic and humanitarian enterprise!

We have everything to create in the desert, our houses and our workshops, our villages and our cities, our roads and our bridges, our agriculture and our industries, our sciences and our arts, our schools and our temples. We will need land and beasts, machines and steamboats, &c., &c., that is, we will need money and a great deal of it. Aid us then with your intelligence, with your counsels, with all your resources, and above all aid us with your gifts and your loans.

There are many rich persons who desire to render themselves useful without knowing how efficiently to satisfy their desire. Should they contribute to the success of Icaria, the Icarians will gratefully remember them as the benefactors of Humanity!

CABET.

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## Fraternity.

Each for all.

All for each.

Solidarity.  
Equality.—Liberty.  
Eligibility.  
Unity.  
Peace.

LOVE  
JUSTICE

Education.  
Intelligence.—Reason.  
Morality.  
Order.  
Union.

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

MACHINERY FOR THE PROFIT OF ALL

INCREASE IN PRODUCTION

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCE

SUPPRESSION OF POVERTY

INCREASING AMELIORATION

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

CONSTANT PROGRESS

From each  
according to his capacity.

ABUNDANCE

THE ARTS.

To each  
according to his wants.

First the NECESSARY, then the USEFUL, and at last the AGREEABLE.

## Common Happiness.

