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La mise en scène icarienne:
The Construal of Utopian Space in Nauvoo, Illinois, 1849-58

A Thesis in
Art History

by

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Exemplified by the hundreds of utopian communal colonies established throughout the nineteenth century, building utopia meant constructing an archetype, a model that would prove communism’s practicability in an unjust world needing reform. With the utopian novel written by their leader, Etienne Cabet, in hand, a group of French communists employed *Voyage en Icarie* as a guide in building their own Icaria on the *tabula rasa* that was the American frontier. As a site for their first functioning settlement, Nauvoo, Illinois, posed several paradoxes for the Icarian communistic idealism of a classless model of reform. Nevertheless, between 1849 and 1858, these emigrants, consisting of primarily Parisian artisans and working-class laborers, realized their vision in Nauvoo more closely than they would in their next attempt at establishing a more “true” Icaria on the plains of Iowa.

Conceived as an application of Icarian ideology to be demonstrated rather than a designed plan for utopia, Nauvoo presents a surprisingly apt example of the reformative model despite contradictions that arise between their idealism and any values they might have exported from their homeland. My argument addresses how the Icarians used the space of their community (more so than how they designed it) as a display of their hope for the direction of human behavior and even humanity at large. A close inspection of the implementation of Cabet’s vision, the various sources that may have directly or indirectly influenced their application of building elements, and the means by which these operated physically (spatially) in Icarian Nauvoo illuminates the two ideals essential to their reform: that of education and of leisure. The Icarians construed the signification of their
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Therefore, when I turn over in my mind the most prudent and holy institutions of the Utopians, who have very few laws and yet manage so well that virtue is rewarded and yet, since everything is equalized, everyone has plenty of everything, and then when I contrast their customs with those of other nations, always issuing ordinances but none of them all ever achieving order, where whatever a person can get he calls his own private property, where a mass of laws, enacted day after day, are never enough to ensure that anyone can protect what each calls his own private property or even adequately distinguish it from what belongs to someone else (as can easily be seen from the infinite lawsuits which are always filed and are never finished), when I consider these things, I say, I have a higher opinion of Plato and I am not surprised that he would not deign to make any laws for people who would not accept laws requiring that all goods be shared equally by all. In his great wisdom he easily foresaw that the one and only path to the welfare of the public is the equal allocation of goods; and I doubt whether such equality can be maintained where every individual has his own property.

Thomas More, *Utopia*, 1516

Arise, workers stooped in the dust,
The hour of awakening has sounded.
To American shores the banner is going to wave,
The banner of the holy community.
No more vices, no more suffering,
No more crimes, no more pain,
The august Equality advances itself:
Proletariat, dry your tears.
Let us found our Icaria,
Soldiers of Fraternity,
Let us go to found in Icaria,
The happiness of Humanity!

*Chant du Départ*
(to the tune of *La Marseillaise*)
Chapter 1

Introduction

Building Utopia

To build utopia is not only a messianic act; it is a demonstrative act as well. In completion, it is intended by its builders to be redemptive and reformative. Yet, above all else, a realized utopia should be the exempla. Though descriptions of places where “everything is equalized, everyone has plenty of everything” had been proffered by numbers of idealistic authors in Western literature since Thomas More’s publication of *Utopia* in 1516, physical manifestations of such imaginary communal Edens were not seriously undertaken until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, perhaps contrary to the myth of the American pioneer, they were built primarily in the United States. Regardless of the diverse spattering of religious, political and social views that emerged within the hundreds of such established communities, all of these builders of utopia were allied by a kindred mission: to establish a model of salvation for humanity that could be repeatedly emulated.

Among the utopian settlers on the American frontier, the French Icarians attempted no less than five times to construct their vision of a reformed society.  

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2 Icaria (near present Denton), Texas (1848-49); Nauvoo, Illinois (1849-58); Cheltenham, Missouri (1856-64); Icaria (near present Corning), Iowa (1858-98); Young Icaria (near present Corning), Iowa (1878-83);
It was their preoccupation with theater and education, however, which distinguished their project—most clearly as it was realized at Nauvoo, Illinois (1849-58)—from those of their communitarian neighbors. It is these interests that present the making of Nauvoo into the Icarian utopia a particularly germane approach to building or, more to the point, demonstrating the redemptive model. The circumstances of the site at Nauvoo reveal that the planning and designing of utopia as a physical manifestation of perfection was less of a concern for the Icarians than it was for so many of the other utopian colonists. Instead, they depended on the actual presence of their bodies and use of the spaces in order to project their prototype for the salvation of humanity.

It should be noted, however, that although Nauvoo was the first functioning Icarian settlement, it was not intended to be the permanent site for their utopia. Because the town was already established as a commercial port along the Mississippi River, Nauvoo could not sustain a true realization of the Icaria described by the movement’s visionary, Etienne Cabet (1788-1856), in his romantic utopian novel, *Voyage en Icarie.* As Cabet explained in an extended publication of *Colonie Icarienne,* the newspaper published at Nauvoo, “Icaria was at first intended to be found in Texas; it was only accidentally that it was moved to Nauvoo; it has been established here only temporarily.” On the surface, this declaration appears to contradict its use as a case of Icaria-Speranza (near present Cloverdale), California (1881-86). Robert P. Sutton *Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), passim.

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3 Etienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie* (1840; 1848; repr. Clifton, NJ: August M. Kelley Publishers, 1973). This is the version used throughout this argument. The first section of this work has been translated into English only recently. See Cabet, *Travels in Icaria,* Leslie J. Roberts, trans. and Robert Sutton, intro. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

4 Typewritten transcript of “Progress of the Colony, M. Cabet to Julien,” *Colonie Icarienne* (Nauvoo, IL), 19 July 1854, photocopies from Illinois State Historical Library Collection in Baxter-Snyder Center for
the redemptive model, and to be certain, this incongruity is only amplified as the details of the experiment at Nauvoo are unfolded. In fact, it seems that several paradoxes might contest its applicability.

A fundamental problem emerges when attempting to layer a study of the Icarian spaces at Nauvoo into the already extant material regarding the ideological motivations of these early communists. Unlike many of the communitarian colonies that dotted the unsettled frontier, Nauvoo was not conceived as a designed, perfected landscape removed from the vices of the yet-to-be reformed world. Rather, that was its former life as a Mormon settlement from 1838-46, under the guidance of the prophet, Joseph Smith.

Less in the secular tradition of More’s literary humanism, the Mormon city (similar to the majority of the American utopian experiments) stemmed from radical millenarian beliefs that had thrived in the “burned-over district” of eighteenth-century New England. These utopias served primarily as prepared sites for the second coming of

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Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University Libraries (Macomb). This text was published several times from 1854-56 including a separate pamphlet by the same title in French (see chap. 2, n. 39) as well as in American newspapers (for instance, New York Herald, 29 July 1854).

5 Although Cabet and his followers were considered among their contemporaries as “communists” (Cabet was known to the police as well as the general public as the “chef des communistes”), in this pre-Marxian context, it is significant to point out the incipient nature of this communism. Engels recognized it as a “crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctual sort of communism…powerful enough among the working class to produce the Utopian communism, in France of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling.” Nevertheless, Icarian ideology was, in all sense of the word, basically communist as its primary tenet was the elimination of private property. For Engels’s remark, see Engels, "Preface to the English Edition [of the Communist Manifesto of 1888],"in Lewis Feuer, ed., Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy (Garden City, 1959), 4. For an enlightening discussion regarding this pre-Marxian era, see Christopher Johnson, “Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian Experience,” The American Historical Review 76, no. 3 (June 1971): 642-689.

6 Arthur E. Bestor divides the communitarian settlements into two types, those based on reformed religious principles and those with a more secular cause. The Icarians, though viewing themselves as something like “primitive Christians,” did not base their vision on a reformative religion. See the introduction in Bestor, Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian Origins and the Owenite Phase of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970). Regarding Icarian spirituality, see chap. 2, n. 104.
Christ and his prophesied thousand-year reign on earth. When the Icarians purchased the property in 1849, from the Mormons, these millenarians had all but abandoned the town, leaving several unoccupied structures at exceptionally reduced prices on this commercially active river port along the increasingly trafficked Mississippi.

As a project that was essentially undesigned—in this instance, developed primarily through the adaptive use of existing buildings and infrastructure—Icarian Nauvoo does not welcome what Dell Upton has termed as a traditional architectural history that assumes “aesthetic universals, the individual work (whether building, ensemble, or urban plan) as the unit of analysis, and the distinction between creator and audience.”7 In fact, the structures that were built by the Icarians were essentially vernacular buildings—none of which has survived—and, to dig the hole even deeper, very little visual documentation of Icarian Nauvoo even exists.8 If, as claimed earlier, Nauvoo actually presents an appropriately precise example of the utopian model, then a different approach to it as a study of utopian space is necessary.

The Space of Utopia

Despite the abundance of scholarship dedicated to the variety of utopian ideologies, very little attention has been given to the spatial character of these attempted

8 This is not to take Nikolaus Pevsner’s definition of vernacular as non-architecture. Nor is it limited to associations with the adjectives that Upton and John Michael Vlach have pointed out many great scholars typically employ such as “the old, the rural, and the domestic” or “ordinary, everyday, and commonplace.” See Upton and Vlach, ed., Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), xv.
constructions. In fact, the only publication dedicated to the spatial qualities of utopias is Dolores Hayden’s Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975. While this volume contributes seven well-documented and critically assessed studies, the Icarians are only mentioned in the introductory chapters and primarily in general, comparative terms. On the other hand, Robert Sutton’s Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America offers an excellently constructed historical account of the Icarian experiments in the United States, but essentially composed as a narrative history, it includes very little spatial discussion of these places as environments of this ideology.9

Nevertheless, this overlooked (or merely under-attended) aspect of the American experiments presents a specifically attentive illumination of the very raison d’être of these exercises in building utopia. Though the study of Nauvoo resists a more paradigmatic application of architectural history as taken by Hayden, the occasions of its paradoxes actually point to a method that accommodates not only intention but use as well. Assuming Nauvoo to be a cultural landscape “on which imaginative structures can be projected and through which they can be invested with tangible existence,” rather than a utopian or even an urban plan, will allow both the proposed as well as the ideal utopian space to become “the fusion of the physical with the imaginative structures that all inhabitants of the landscape use in constructing and construing it.”10

Yet, even if this cannot be a study of planning *per se*, it does not preclude that buildings as well as a vision were not in operation in the construction and construal of Nauvoo as a utopian space. In fact, Cabet’s *Voyage en Icarie* had inspired thousands with his vision of a fictional Icaria, and it was this text, along with the abundance of other writings published by Cabet, that became the guides for the Icarians attempting to build their utopia in America.

For the purposes of this study, then, *Voyage en Icarie* is an invaluable companion to the imagination of the Icarians as they conducted their activities of a reformed life. I will clarify here that I do not make pretensions that Cabet’s words are facts. Rather, they are a view, a construal of sorts in and of themselves, or even more accurately, they are a framework for construing Icarian space in the paucity of visual and physical evidence of it. With little to build an architectural discussion that would typically depend on the physicality of the space (whether in photographs, drawings, or extant), I have relied mostly on the only other remaining evidence: words. They, instead, have become the evidence of use and construal serving as a window into the Icarian imagination.

**Leisure in Utopia**

In *Voyage en Icarie* the reader follows an Englishman, Lord William Carisdall, as he travels through a country not too dissimilar from More’s Utopia. In this “community of goods,” where money was abolished and private property was eliminated, Carisdall vacillates between two romantic relationships as he witnesses the superiority of Icaria by learning about the political and social system. Throughout the novel, his lessons from
resident Icarians are supplemented by attending the theater, dances and family gatherings. It was, for all intents and purposes, Cabet’s idea of a perfected, albeit romantically nostalgic, imperial France complete with a Revolution followed by a benign ten-year reign of a dictator. As critic Lewis Mumford described, whether realizing it or not, Cabet “idealized the Napoleonic tradition; and in Icaria he consummated it.”

Demonstrated especially by the novel’s characters living in Cabet’s vision of a perfected Paris (the capital city, Icara), this utopia provided for the needs of its society so completely that an easy life, a relatively leisurely life, was inevitable.

Though doctrinaire at times, *Voyage en Icarie* (dressed in the guise of a love story) became considerably more accessible than much of the literature produced by Cabet’s predecessors and even his contemporaries. Following the travelogue presentation as established by More’s *Utopia*, it is a work of fiction rather than a sociological or political treatise such as the works produced by fellow “utopian

12 David Harvey notes that *Voyage en Icarie* was merely one among many “books and pamphlets that offered critical commentary on social conditions while exploring alternatives.” To list a few: Proudhon’s *What is Property*; Flora Tristan’s *Promenades in London*; Louis Blanc’s *The Organization of Work*; Pierre Leroux’s *On Humanity*; and, Agricol Perdiguier’s *Book of Compagnonnage*. A few pages later he proposes, “Cabet and Proudhon were indefatigable polemicists and organizers, and by the late 1840s the former’s Icarian communist movement had become substantial, drawing support mainly from the working classes as then defined rather than from educated professionals (who tended to be Fourieristic or Saint-Simonian in orientation), or from the déclassé radicals who supported Blanqui or the more radical wing of communism.” See Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge Press, 2006), 71, 76. Furthermore, Christopher Johnson notes: “Cabet the utopian was also Cabet the man of action. Because of this he broke the barrier that kept Fourierism and Saint-Simonism in the rarefied atmosphere of intellectual dilettantism, at least so long as these doctrines remained unified wholes.” See Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 298. Albert Shaw distinguishes the movements in their members: “Only a few [Icarians] had been men of mark in France. Saint-Simonism had appealed to the highly intellectual classes, and so, to a less exclusive degree had Fourierism; Icarianism had gone home to the *ouvrier* class, --the sturdy young tailors and shoemakers and mechanics of the provincial towns all over France.” See Shaw, *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1884), 156.
socialists,” Charles Fourier or Henri de Saint-Simon. Perhaps this explains why Cabetism (later to be known as Icarianism) grew primarily as a working-class movement appealing less to an intellectual bourgeoisie and becoming only increasingly popular among artisans and laborers as economic divisions intensified under the July Monarchy.

Underscoring the entire tale, all the while, is the ultimate hope of Icarian communism, the promise of leisure—in the form of dances, theatrical performances, family gatherings, etc.—through complete cooperation. That is, in a social structure where private property is eliminated, collective (non-hierarchical) participation in productive labor would allow for shortened work hours, the temporal prerequisite of leisure. Often in explaining the doctrine of Cabet and his followers, especially as they were about to undertake their first settlement in the United States, newspapers emphasized, more than any of their relatively radical ideals of communism, the

13 The often-used label of “utopian socialist” for such philosophes of the nineteenth century comes from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels publication of “Manifesto of the Communist Party” where the authors criticize such movements: “They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class… all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognised in their earliest indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.” To be noted, this treatise was written over the winter of 1847-48 and published in London just as the first Icarians departed for the United States to attempt the building of their Icaria. See Marx and Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: 1845-48, vol. 6 (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 515-16.

14 Johnson labels Cabet’s movement in France as the “first large communist working-class ‘party.’” He describes the Icarians in France as “overwhelmingly from the urban working classes, above all from among distressed artisans whose livelihood was threatened less by the direct impact of machinery than by concentration of ownership, increasing division of labor, and generally more efficient modes of organization in their still largely handicraft occupations.” See Johnson, Utopian Communism in France, 297, 16. Harvey, who has come to similar conclusions regarding the situation of the artisan in nineteenth-century Paris, paints an image of Icarianism as not always having been defined as such: “Cabet’s efforts at class collaboration with reform-minded republicans were, however, rebuffed, forcing him to recognize by the late 1840s that his was a workers’-only movement.” See Harvey, Paris, Capital of Modernity, 78.
availability of free theater in the fictional Icaria. It is on this point, too, that Cabet and the Icarians at Nauvoo seem to have directed considerable (though certainly not all) social and cultural attention in their demonstration of reform.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Thorstein Veblen asserted that leisure in the lives of the upper class essentially operated as a performance. If we accept leisure to have a similar role in other classes, or even a supposedly classless society such as Icaria, it would seem that, the cooperative work of communism and its inevitable outcome of leisure would almost comfortably coincide with the Icarian affinity for theater and their attention to rewarding life outside of labor. We might even further conclude that the display of leisure through the implementation of theater and non-labor activities was the device by which the utopian space in Nauvoo could have been conceivably construed as the setting for the performance of reform, that *raison d’être* of all built utopian experiments.

Certainly, as T. J. Clark has maintained, the idea of leisure in the nineteenth century crystallized “out from the rhythms and caesuras of work.” As one of the many myths of modernization goes, only with the progression of applicable technology did the

15 These accounts could only rely on the Icaria as presented in Cabet’s novel, thus the outrageous proportions proposed: “And what does the reader suppose is one of the first delightful reforms which greets the traveler in this model commonwealth? It is so characteristically French, that it must be prominently noted. *The theatres are to be free.* In the capital city, there are to be fifty theaters, each to contain 13,000 persons.” Originally published in the *London Quarterly Review*; this account taken from *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), 19 August 1848. Also, “This preacher of fraternity and collector of muskets, is the author of a book entitled *Travels in Icarie;* prominent on the title page of which are the words ‘fraternity, peace, morality, order, union, &c.’ In this imaginary land of promise Papa Cabet describes the most delightful state of communism, that could be imagined; in the first place *the theatres are free to all!*” *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), 8 December 1848.


caesuras actually enter as a factor into a trade balance between labor and leisure. Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued conversely that it was leisure, allowed by the simplicity of the life of the “savage man” in the first place, that such “conveniences” could be invented. With use, he continues, these work-saving devices transformed into necessities, losing “almost all their power to please” and becoming “the first yoke they unwittingly imposed upon themselves and the first source of evil they prepared for their descendents.”

No matter the proverbial egg, the increase of leisure remains the desired product from labor in both cases, thus pointing out desire as the impetus, the real crux of the equation.

This was especially relevant in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries where, as observed by Frank and Fritzie Manuel, “The harmony of the Rousseauan vision was irreparably disrupted by the spread of science and technology, when desire became dynamic and infinite and was virtually identified with need.” Developing as a necessity, desire—notably that for leisure—could no longer be distinguished from the other staples of human nature. Consequently, it could just as easily be commodified. But, as Clark illuminates:

> It was not just that [the subcultures of leisure and their representations] were one main form in which everyday life was colonized in the later nineteenth century—given over to experts, addicts, entrepreneurs, consumers—but that there was such active disagreement over who had the right to plant the flag in the new territory. The colonies were claimed by various uneasy fractions of the middle class; by those who wished to reaffirm a status which had previously been made in the world of work, but seemed no longer to be available there; and by those who believed

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they had a right to the same status, even if their conditions of employment still seemed menial in many ways. The world of leisure was thus a great symbolic field in which the battle for bourgeois identity was fought; the essential warring claims were to forms of freedom, accomplishment, naturalness, and individuality which were believed to be the keys to bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{20}

The question should be asked, then, how could such an activity that aligns so closely with a nineteenth-century bourgeois vision become also the banner of an egalitarian communist movement? Here, we must evoke Clark’s words again, when he notes that “we should be clear about the liberties being taken and beware, for example, of calling things ‘inherently bourgeois’ when what we are pointing to is relation, not inherence.”\textsuperscript{21} From this standpoint, Christopher Johnson’s assertion becomes especially pertinent when he notes that Icarian communism was a consequence of the circumstances of its time and place in that “French society was in that amorphous stage of transition in which new class lines could not yet be clearly perceived.”\textsuperscript{22}

Within the idealism of Icaria, class was eliminated. What could not be removed nor forgotten was the attachment of class identity to specific environmental arrangements. Whether intended or not, the environmental ideas held by the Icarians could not escape many of the spatial associations that may have operated in their former Parisian (or even provincial French) lives. Impelled by the circumstances of nineteenth-century America, their communist idealism, and their mission to reform humanity, it was the ways in which they reconstructed these ideas through their use of recognizable spaces that such conventions were questioned and could be redressed in egalitarian terms.

\textsuperscript{20} Clark, \textit{The Painting of Modern Life}, 204.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{22} Johnson, \textit{Utopian Communism in France}, 300.
Even in the face of mounting contradictions, the circumstances of the site as a constructed and construed cultural landscape situates Nauvoo as a considerably worthy model and even less paradoxical than the more idealized version of Icaria on the unsettled plains of Iowa. By studying the “buildings but also the spaces between them…design and intention, but also alteration and use,” Nauvoo, in fact becomes, more than any of their other experiments, the closest realization of the Icarian vision of the utopian model as a setting for the performance of reform while at the same time an outward performance in its own right.\(^\text{23}\)

\(^{23}\) Upton, “Another City,” 63.
Chapter 2
Construal of Nauvoo

“Allons en Icarie!”

In offering existing structures and promising easy accessibility, Nauvoo was a light in the dark to the earliest Icarians. Their first attempt to establish Icaria in an unsettled region of eastern Texas had only ended in disaster with nine deaths over just one year.24 Departing from France barely a month before the February Revolution in 1848, sixty-nine Icarians had arrived in New Orleans, embracing one another’s waist and marching through the streets proclaiming in song their enthusiasm to traverse the unclaimed lands of Texas and build their utopia.25 They had been dispatched as the *première avant-garde* of the Icarian communists, an increasingly popular movement in

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25 “The Icarians in Texas,” *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), 8 December 1848. Certainly, the unforeseeable events of February put a wrinkle in the Icarian migration to the United States. Cabet noted on 12 March 1848, in *Le Populaire*, the Icarian publication in Paris, that because of the revolution, immediate plans for emigration to the United States had changed; the “general design,” however remained. But, by 9 April 1848, according to the same publication, many of the proposed emigrants had changed their minds. Cabet writes in his account of the Icarian colonies in the United States, “…many Icarians, hoping the revolution in France would bring progress, no longer wished to emigrate; many others, being ruined, no longer could depart nor make any sacrifice.” («Mais beaucoup d’Icariens, espérant le progrès en France avec la Révolution, ne voulurent plus émigrer ; beaucoup d’autres, se trouvant ruinés ne purent plus ni partir ni faire aucun sacrifice. ») See Cabet, *Colonie icarienne aux Etats-Unis d’Amérique : Sa constitution ses lois sa situation matérielle et morale après le premier semestre 1855* (1856; repr. New York: Lenox Hill Pub. and Dist. Co., 1971), 13.
Western Europe that according to Frederick Engels in 1843, numbered more than half a million people.\textsuperscript{26}

By the summer of 1847, though, it seemed the French communists could no longer tolerate the mounting economic and political injustices. Cabet announced on the front page of \textit{Le Populaire}, the propagandistic voice of the movement, “Let’s go to Icaria!”\textsuperscript{27} Leaving monarchial France in order to establish their vision of a democratic state seemed to be the only option, but it was not until December of that year that Cabet finally revealed the location for Icaria: “C’est au Texas!”\textsuperscript{28} With little doubt, “The free soil of happy America now afforded the only place where there was the hope and prospect of being able to bring about the complete re-organization of society!”\textsuperscript{29} Sadly, Texas did not prove so accommodating to utopia.

The million acres of “salubrious” and “fertile land” in the “temperate climate” of Texas promised by Cabet and his recruiters were, in all actuality, checkerboard parcels of land shared with the state of Texas and an agent for a land company based in Cincinnati, William Smalling Peters.\textsuperscript{30} (Figure 2) Cabet had learned of the availability of this

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Le Populaire} (Paris), 9 May 1847. « Allons en Icarie! »
\textsuperscript{28} Jules Prudhommeaux points out quite wittingly that this announcement in \textit{Le Populaire} (Paris), 14 November 1847, though on the front page was modestly placed in a section of information bearing little importance. Prudhommeaux, \textit{Icarie et son foundateur, Etienne Cabet} (Philadelphia : Porcupine Press, 1972), 212.
\textsuperscript{29} This is taken from a speech given at the Shakespeare Hotel in New York City where Cabet explained the arrival and motivation of the Icarians in the United States just before he was to sail to New Orleans to assemble with the remnants of the \textit{première avant-garde}. Originally reported by the \textit{New York Herald Tribune}; this account taken from “A Voice from Icarie,” \textit{Daily Evening Transcript} (Boston), 10 January 1849.
\textsuperscript{30} Announcing his choice of Texas after considering all other “adequate regions,” Cabet promoted it as having such “advantages” listed here as well as being easily reached by the Red River. « Après avoir examiné tous les pays convenables pour une grande émigration, nous avons choisi le Texas, dans sa partie
seemingly free land from fellow utopian visionary, Robert Owen, to whom Peters had initially offered the opportunity for a second chance at building his vision in the United States. Owen declined and instead suggested it to Cabet on his visit to London in September 1847. Though he knew nothing of the deal making that had already occurred between Owen and Peters, Cabet did understand the impossibility for a unified community within the arrangement of lots allowed by the Peters Concession. Regardless, the land was purchased and almost immediately promoted.

Paradox on the Frontier

Despite the presumable hardships faced by the première avant-garde in their attempt to establish an Icarian colony, a few of the very devoted maintained their idealism, abandoned the malaria-infested land scandal in Texas, and returned to New Orleans to await the arrival of Père Cabet. Because staying in the already crowded New Orleans was not an option for these hopeful builders of utopia, a new location had been

nord-ouest, comme celui qui présente le plus d’avantages sous le rapport de la salubrité, du climat tempéré, de la fertilité du sol, de son étendu, etc.... Nous avons déjà plus d’un million d’acres de terre le long de la Rivière-Rouge, beau fleuve navigable jusqu’à notre établissement et nous pouvons nous étendre indéfiniment. » *Le Populaire* (Paris), 12 November 1847.

31 Owen had undertaken his own utopian building project at New Harmony, Indiana, that was circumstantially similar to the eventual Icarian project at Nauvoo. Owen and several recruited intellectuals had purchased the site of a former Rappite community, German millenarians who had recently relocated to western Pennsylvania, in 1825, and attempted to maintain a communitarian settlement for a brief time. For more about Owen’s relations with Cabet, see n. 81.

32 See Sutton’s argument for this conundrum in *Les Icariens*, 46.

33 Vallet, *An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 17. Vallet writes in his description of Cabet, “Many called him ‘Father’ and a second Christ.” *An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 15. Prudhommeaux notes that all were not pleased with the situation in New Orleans nor the failure of the Texas expedition, and that “already the prospect of returning to France…would begin to impose on the worried spirit of the leader.” See *Icarie et son fondateur*, 243. “Déjà la perspective du retour en France...commençait à s’imposer à l’esprit inquiet du leader.”
scouted just before Cabet arrived from France in the spring of 1849. Nauvoo, it was reported, had buildings ready to be purchased and re-occupied, farm land available for sale just outside the town, and most importantly, it was on the Mississippi River and could be reached easily by steamboat. No land travel would be necessary. Within weeks the recent emigrant leader and his remaining followers moved upriver to the former Mormon settlement where they hoped to regroup and begin to experiment living communally. Finally, their Icaria could be founded.

However, as already mentioned in the introduction to this argument, Nauvoo, in the end, was not nor could it be considered as an ideal site for their utopian vision. It could not offer the *tabula rasa* of the American frontier that Cabet and the Icarians had found so appealing in contrast to France where “the establishment of our Community will always be more difficult and slower…than in a new country.” Indeed, upon his arrival, Cabet confirmed that this “new country” could be none other than the United States:

Happy America!...it is here only in this free land alone, we may henceforth hope to realize all the glories of the regeneration of social life, which

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34 Once the remaining members of the *première avant-garde* had reconvened in New Orleans, they began almost immediately looking for a more agreeable location to establish the colony. Two search missions were sent out, one to the Gulf of Mexico and the other up the Mississippi River. From the latter commission, Jean Jacques Witzig, a German railroad engineer, returned with the news of the evacuated Nauvoo on 15 February 1849, and on 1 March the Icarians departed New Orleans for the two-week journey. The commission’s report was printed in *Le Populaire* (Paris), 1 July 1849. Cabet’s letter to the Icarian Paris Bureau, describing their trip, was printed in *Le Populaire* (Paris), 20 May 1849. See also Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son fondateur*, 243; Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 59, 62.

35 Cabet described in his letter to *Le Populaire* dated 25 March 1849, just a week and half after their arrival, the display of sympathy and desire for the Icarians to establish their colony. *Le Populaire* (Paris), 20 May 1849. « Les habitans [sic] nous ont montré beaucoup de sympathie et paraissent désirer vivement que nous formions ici un établissement. »

36 This is extracted from an advertisement for recruits in *Le Populaire* that appeared continuously throughout 1848-49 ending with the January publications in 1850. “Grande Émigration pour aller fonder en Amérique la Communauté d’Icarie,” *Le Populaire* (Paris). « ...l’établissement de notre Communauté sera toujours plus difficile et plus lent en France que dans un pays neuf. »
Fourier in the old world and Greeley in the new, have held out to the gaze and admiration of the enlightened portion of mankind!\(^{37}\)

As evidenced by the hundreds of collective communities that dotted the growing United States throughout the nineteenth century, Cabet and the Icarians were merely one of many who found the virtual emptiness of the western United States to be perfect for their experiments. (Figure 3) Against the myth surrounding the American frontier—the pioneers, the individualist spirit of conquering nature for humanity—the idea of communism appears entirely antithetical. However, in the European imagination, America had been conceived for some time, as itself, a utopia.\(^{38}\) And, as Arthur Bestor concludes, “The experimental aspect of communitarianism found ready echo in a nation of experimenters, in a nation that viewed even itself as an experiment.”\(^{39}\)

The convenience of Nauvoo could hardly be beaten, though, despite the contaminating fact that it was already populated by nearly a thousand Americans, had been platted as a township and incorporated as such more than a decade earlier, and was in the midst of high commercial activity for independent gain. Nevertheless, when the first boat of Icarians arrived in Nauvoo, it was to be their Icaria. Then, in the summer of 1851, Cabet suddenly changed his tone, and by 1854, intention was entirely rewritten: \(^{40}\)

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\(^{37}\) See above, n. 6.

\(^{38}\) Loren Baritz has traced this notion through Western European thought in his article, “The Idea of the West,” *American Historical Review* 66, no. 3 (1961), 618-40. See also Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times*, 70-71.

\(^{39}\) Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 16.

\(^{40}\) Cabet mentions in several published texts in 1854 that the settlement at Nauvoo was only to be temporary, two of which were “Compte-rendu par le Président de la Communauté Icarienne a l’Assemblée Générale, sur la situation de la Colonie,” in *Colonie Icarienne*, 162; *Progrès de la Colonie Icarienne établie à Nauvoo, États-Unis d’Amérique, M. Cabet à Julien, Icarien disposé à venir en Icarie* (Paris: 3 Rue Baillet, 1854), 20. The latter was translated and later published in the colony’s newspaper. See chap. 1, n. 4.
We arrived here the 15th of March 1849 to provide a provisory and temporary establishment while waiting until it would be possible to form, in the West, a permanent Colony, keeping Nauvoo as a preparatory Station for an Icarian Novitiate.\textsuperscript{41}

Once the permanent Icaria could be founded, the idea was, Nauvoo would become only a port of entry, a place of transition for future Icarians to learn through example how to leave the individualistic ways of the old world behind in order to become fully prepared to operate in the true Icaria. Cabet believed that Nauvoo presented to the Icarians “the disadvantages of the prejudices and biases of the old social organization against the Community,” and he had no qualms about revising the record in order to project the enterprise already undertaken as still relevant and successful.\textsuperscript{42} Nauvoo was only temporary in that it was not intended to be Icaria after 1851; it was intended, however, to be a place of display.

\textbf{The Performance of Reform}

Cabet’s proprietary decisions, once in Nauvoo, speak loudly of the Icarian attention to the idea of display as a performance.\textsuperscript{43} Even though large amounts of

\textsuperscript{41} This is excerpted from a petition to the United States Congress for a concession of land to the Icarian cause. Typewritten transcript of “Petition of the Icarians to the Members of Congress of the United States of America,” \textit{Colonie Icarienne} (Nauvoo), August 1854, photocopies from Illinois State Historical Library Collection in Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University Libraries (Macomb, Illinois).

\textsuperscript{42} Cabet, \textit{Progrès de la Colonie Icarienne}, 20. « ...la ville devait nous présenter l’inconvénient des préjugés et des préventions de la vieille organisation sociale contre la Communauté. »

\textsuperscript{43} Display and performance are used throughout this argument with the understanding that such terms may evoke the idea of spectacle as theorized in Guy Debord’s Situationist text, \textit{The Society of the Spectacle} (1967). However, they are only intended in part (for instance, as in the discussion regarding the attachment of leisure to such terms) as a framework for the discussion of the “capitalization of everyday life,” much as employed and described by Clark in \textit{The Painting of Modern Life}. While on the other hand, in the case of
deserted property within town, as well as farmland near the township, were available at a reasonable price, Cabet spent almost the entirety of the remaining collective fund on the purchase of the most prominent plot of land in Nauvoo. Temple Square, supposedly visible from ten miles’ distance, overlooked the Mississippi from the bluffs at the western-most point of the township.\textsuperscript{44} (Figure 4) Emile Vallet’s depiction from his adolescent years in Icarian Nauvoo suggests the visual dominance that the site atop the bluffs must have commanded as travelers along the Mississippi River either passed or stopped by the port. (Figure 5) Compared with a contemporary photograph from the lower plain, it is clear that the square with the former Mormon temple was just as prominent, if not more so, than the painting depicts. (Figure 6)

Situated within a westward bend of the middle Mississippi River, Nauvoo was a hub of river activity in the mid-nineteenth century as it was the last port downriver before the twelve-mile stretch of the dangerous Des Moines Rapids. While Nauvoo, formerly named Commerce City, attracted settlers as a convenient location for trading activity along the river, it had experienced explosive growth with the establishment of Joseph Smith’s second “City of Zion” for his Mormon followers, becoming the largest city in Illinois at the time.\textsuperscript{45} Following Smith’s assassination at Carthage, Illinois, however, the Mormons were expelled by the state of Illinois from their “Zion,” and they left Nauvoo

\textsuperscript{44} Vallet, \textit{An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo}, 20.
\textsuperscript{45} Robert B. Flanders, \textit{Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi} (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 1. Shaw notes that where Nauvoo had nearly 15,000 inhabitants while Chicago’s population at the time was only 8,000. Shaw, \textit{Icaria}, 47.
only half populated in 1846 as they began their Great Trek to their new Zion in the Utah Territory.

The Mormons had relocated their first “City of Zion” (now Independence, Missouri) in Nauvoo during the winter of 1838-39, for the same reason they eventually had to leave it. In scouting new locations, these builders of the New Jerusalem found the land to be reasonably affordable in the busted speculation of Commerce City just across the river. Establishing a new colony for the preparation of the millennium, Smith renamed the area “Nauvoo”—claiming it derived from Hebrew and conveyed a meaning of “beauty and repose”—and platted the town by simply modifying the plans he had already designed for the first “City of Zion” in Independence.46 (Figure 7)

With a total area of one mile square, the city was divided into four-acre lots that were then sub-divided further into quadrilateral sections.47 Though intended to be a replica of the Heavenly Jerusalem that is described in Revelation 21:16, the grid-iron plan for the new city recalled more locally the typical American method of platting a city. John Reps has identified this checkerboard pattern as not only a characteristic of American town planning but of “virtually all other periods of wholesale colonization in world history” as well. As he concludes, the geometry of the grid-iron plan likely prevailed because it was the “most economical to survey, quickest to build, and easiest to understand.”48

46 See Flanders, Nauvoo, 1-56 passim; Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 113.
47 Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi, 23.
Likewise, as Upton notes, “By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the grid had acquired great power as an emblem of a vigorous and rational commercial life.” Even though this kind of capitalism might be entirely antithetical to Icarian communism, it rather facilitated the aspirations of the Mormons in developing their individual lots, both commercially and aesthetically, so that all surplus income could be contributed to the community for the building of their two great monuments of Zion, the Temple and the Nauvoo House. In doing this, they believed, their place in the coming Lord’s favor might be improved.

The grid-iron platted city seems to have served Cabet’s vision of Icaria as well. In Voyage en Icarie, Cabet describes the capital city of Icara: “Look at the streets, all straight and wide! There are fifty large ones that cross the city parallel to the river and fifty perpendicular to it.” Before Baron Haussmann’s reordering of the city of Paris that began with projects in 1853, this attention to straight streets had been only undertaken in small doses, such as Napoleon’s Rue de Rivoli, but as Anthony Sutcliffe makes a theme in his survey of Parisian architecture, the perspective afforded by the straight street was a fascination that is evident in much of Parisian urban design and was often associated with the removal of slums, the easing of traffic flow, preventing the erection of barricades, and

49 Upton, “Another City,” 69.
50 The Nauvoo House was a communal structure planned by Smith to house a large portion of the Mormon population as well as serve as his own residence.
51 Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 118. It was this kind of active capitalism that Hayden believes to be the source of the Mormons’ continuous evictions from communities, not their radical beliefs. See Hayden, 141.
52 Cabet, Voyage en Icarie, 21. «Voyez les rues, toutes droites et larges! En voilà cinquante grandes qui traversent la ville parallèlement à la rivière, et cinquante qui la traversent perpendiculairement. »
especially for the use of establishing views of monarchial or imperial monuments. To Cabet, the straight street was more likely a manifest sign of cleanliness and hygiene, even monumentality, and less the promise of a latent commercial enterprise.

Coinciding with prevalent sentiments toward hygiene in much of nineteenth-century Europe, the theme of cleanliness permeates throughout Voyage en Icarie. It is especially evident in a description of the capital city where Lord Carisdall’s French friend, Eugene, writes in a letter:

I will not dwell on the safety measures taken for healthiness, for the free circulation of air, for keeping the air pure or its purification. Inside the city, there are no graveyards, no unhealthy factories, no hospitals. All these establishments are at the edge of the city in well-ventilated locations, near running water or in the country. I will never be able to give you an idea of all the precautions devised to ensure the cleanliness of the streets. Not only are the sidewalks swept and washed every morning and kept perfectly clean—it is all simple—but the streets are paved or constructed in such a way that water never collects on them, for there are frequent openings through which the water goes into underground canals.

There is little doubt that Cabet had in mind his hope for his native city when writing this. Prior to the Second Empire’s restructuring and ordering of the city, the condition of Paris was not an image of health. Mirroring almost every issue that Cabet had presented as resolved his in Icaria, Shelly Rice describes the reality of Paris in her discussion of early Parisian photography, “Covered with mud and makeshift shanties, damp and fetid, filled

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54 Cabet, Voyage en Icarie, 41-42. « Je ne te parlerai pas des précautions prises pour la salubrité, pour la libre circulation de l’air, pour la conservation de sa pureté et même pour sa purification. Dans l’intérieur de la ville, point de cimetières, point de manufactures insalubres, point d’hôpitaux : tous ces établissements sont aux extrémités, dans des places aérées, près d’une eau courante ou dans la campagne. Jamais je ne pourrais t’indiquer toutes les précautions imaginées pour la propreté des rues. Que les trottoirs soient balayés et lavés tous les matins, et toujours parfaitement propres, c’est tout simple : mais les rues sont tellement pavées ou construits que les eaux n’y séjournent jamais, trouvant à chaque pas des ouvertures pour s’échapper dans des canaux souterrains. »
with the signs of poverty as well as the garbage and waste left there by the inadequate and faulty sewer system, these narrow roads hardly seemed worth celebrating in jewelike, metallic ‘sun pictures.’”

To these builders of utopia, a city that becomes overcrowded due to the nearly haphazard arrangement of buildings along filthy, narrow streets only implies unhealthy conditions, especially since the cholera epidemic that had swept through such streets in Paris in 1832. Perhaps this explains why the Icarians, immediately upon arrival in Nauvoo, quickly buried their deceased passengers “at night all over town, not to awaken the suspicion of the inhabitants.” Indeed, victims of cholera would not bode well for their model of reform.

The Performance of the Model

Aside from the site, the temple, itself, was certainly the most distinguishable feature in Nauvoo. By the time the Icarians arrived, however, the abandoned temple had already suffered from a fire that pitted the building’s wooden interior and destroyed the steeple, leaving only the masonry walls. To Cabet, this was an opportunity to adapt the structure to his vision of a communal building that would not only provide a central place for all activities outside that of labor but would be highly visible atop the

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56 Ibid. These associations and conclusions are drawn from Rice’s discussion of the matter.
57 Vallet notes that only three were lost on the trip upriver. See Vallet, *An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 18. Shaw on the other hand claims that about twenty died of cholera. However, he might have been including into this number those who had died at sea on the trip from France as well as those who died during the stay at New Orleans. Shaw, *Icaria*, 48.
bluffs. Housed in a single place would have been the refectory where all members of the community could dine at once, as well as a school, a library, a meeting hall, and communal storage. Cabet planned to maintain the temple’s original form with only the modification of a terrace that surrounded the roof and “from which will be seen one of the finest views in the world.”

A desire for a similar sort of visual dominance over the landscape has been discussed by Hayden in her study of the utopian Perfectionists, the Oneidans in New York, where she parallels this act of viewing the “physical breadth of their estate” with “the members’ sense of themselves and their domain.” As their primary communal structure, the Oneidans had designed and constructed their Mansion House complete with two towers for just such a purpose. (Figure 10) By being able to view the entirety of the community at once, Hayden seems to suggest that the members would, then, have something of an overall image with which they could associate with as “the Community.”

With the addition of the balcony around their new communal building, the Icarians would essentially be afforded the same device for structuring identity. The renovated temple would not only stand as an object to be seen but from which to see as well. Unfortunately, this endeavor was stopped short when a tornado swept across the bluffs blowing over the sixty-foot high walls. (Figure 11) Nevertheless, the programs

58 Originally reported in St. Louis Republican; this account is taken from “The Icarian Community,” Daily Evening Transcript (Boston), 28 April 1849.
59 Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 196.
60 This event is recounted by Vallet as well as an abundance of American newspapers. See An Icarian Communist, 22-23; to list a few: “The Nauvoo Temple Again Destroyed,” Sun (Baltimore, MD), 21 June 1850; “ Destruction of the Temple of Nauvoo,” State Gazette (Trenton, NJ), 21 June 1850; Daily Alabama Journal (Montgomery), 28 June 1850. The image of these ruins inspired accounts in later descriptions of the community that recall, somewhat, Romanticism and the sublime that influenced European painting and
that would have fit within the single envelope of the former temple were realized in a variety of structures that lined the grid-iron plat of Temple Square, but the refectory, constructed in 1850, singly served most of these multiple and layered functions. (Figures 12, 13)

Two descriptions of this building exist. The first is given by Cabet in his report as President of the Community of the Situation of the Colony at the end of the 1855 season. Although Cabet describes a building slightly shorter than that given by Vallet some thirty years later, the variations of one serves to fill in the gaps left by other. Vallet notes that the upper floor of the refectory was divided into equally-sized rooms (16 feet by 20 feet) that were used as apartments for sleeping. Furnishings for these rooms were sparsely but adequately provided by the community. Each couple occupying the room—whether they were married or two single members of the same sex—was given a table, a chair, and each a bed. Additionally, every room had a window and a door, twelve of each as observed by Cabet, which accessed the realized vision of a balcony that surrounded the structure.

The use of balconies in Parisian residential design proliferated in the decade just before the departure of the Icarians for America. Recurring almost endlessly in Victor Caillet’s comparison of Parisian houses during the July Monarchy are examples of literature earlier in the century. “The blackened walls of the Great Temple looming up like some old Egyptian ruin, above the river…” New York Tribune, 2 July 1853.

61 See Appendix A.
facades lined with balconies. Sutcliffe traces the popularity of this feature to its implementation on the imperial-funded projects along the Rue de Rivoli. Recalling Cabet’s apparent affinity for imperial France, perhaps this connection could be drawn. The upper stories of many of these structures often had only window-guards (much like the rapidly-built, working-class housing on the edges of the city), but along the piano nobile continuous balconies, much like that of the refectory, typically extended across the new apartment buildings. This being the level most commonly occupied by the bourgeoisie, and usually the most expensive or at least appearing so, again it is a wonder that the Icarians might employ such blatant symbols of class division. Yet, it should be pointed out that everyone living in the refectory had access to this balcony from their sleeping quarters.

Perhaps a more relevant comparison could be made with another utopian vision, that of Charles Fourier. In the late eighteenth century, Fourier described his utopian community, a Phalanx, in which “the street galleries,” once seen, would render “the most elegant civilized palace as a place of exile.” These “continuous peristyles” would wrap the upper floors of every building in the community and would be used by the inhabitants to avoid the mud of the streets as well as the weather and noise of carriages. According to Fourier, there would be no walkways exposed to the elements

since all foot traffic would be contained within the levels of the street galleries.65 As Walter Benjamin so aptly compares, Fourier’s galleries echoed the same practical functions of the arcades and galleries that became popular in the early half of the nineteenth century, but “their reactionary metamorphosis with him is characteristic: whereas they originally serve commercial ends, they become, for him, places of habitation.”66 They were to be places of gathering, for the opportunity of communication and interaction among the members.

Assuming a similar social role for the Icarian balcony does not seem improbable, but to accept this influence wholly is problematic. The Icarians were interested in the demonstrative aspect of their activities for the purpose of their utopia to reform humanity. A covered gallery would only hide this performance. The Icarian balcony, on the other hand, was open, and it should be noted, the experiments of Fourier’s vision in American phalanxes also employed open porches. Building on limited funds were likely a prevalent factor in both cases, but in the instance of Nauvoo, this modification of Fourier’s utopian vision served the purpose of the Icarian mission. (Figure 18)

The ground floor (40 feet by 120 feet with an extension of 30 feet, presumably perpendicular to the long end) was divided, according to Vallet, into three sections: the kitchen built as an “aisle,” the dining room, and four women’s workshops.67 The core of Icarian activity in this communal structure, however, was the dining room where the

communists not only dined together four times a day, but they held their weekly assemblies every Saturday evening after work hours there as well. Icarians worked six days each week, either in the fields, the workshops, the laundry, the distillery, or the mill. Excepting the mill, which was on the banks of the river, all of these structures encircled the space of the interior of Temple Square. Within the center remained an open space. Referred to by Cabet as an “esplanade,” it was there that many Icarians filled their hard-earned leisure time. Sunday, much as was the practice in Paris, was reserved as a day of rest, and the Icarians typically occupied themselves with one of a variety of leisure activities—if not a picnic on the Temple Square, then either a walk along the river led by Père Cabet or in the colder months they would listen to recitations of their leader’s writings in the refectory. All of these activities, while certainly pleasing to the Icarians who enjoyed them, additionally served the larger cause of the model Icaria as a presentation to as well as a performance for the yet-to-be reformed both visiting and living in Nauvoo.

When the dining tables were moved, the refectory operated well as a performance hall. In fact, at the end of the dining room a stage had been erected so that the Icarians could hold theatrical performances on their free Sunday evenings. Unlike the arrangement of the space for their Assemblies where the table of the President and the head officers were elevated, the space of the refectory during theatrical performances was definitively egalitarian. It was strikingly dissimilar to Parisian theaters, both operatic and vaudeville; even the space in Oneida that served similar purposes of community

68 See Appendix A.
meetings and theatrical entertainment provided an upper tier of seating. In Icaria there were no boxes, no orchestra seating, no peanut-gallery. Everyone sat on the same benches, all at the same height.

The Icarians did not charge admission to their plays, and they invited all members of the community as well as anyone else who could fit into the refectory. Though the performances were all in French, they did not imagine that their performances were solely for the good of the already-reformed community. Like the space of Temple Square or the balconies surrounding the refectory, the theater when in use was also a space that connoted the supposedly leisurely (that is, the pleasurable, sociable, and cultural) lifestyle afforded by Icarian communism. It was a place for the outward performance of the model. Cabet imagined that the collection of everyone at the theater was “a spectacle which represents so well a family gathering. Our children have recited their fables here, have played and will play in little plays, and everybody will sing here perhaps soon in chorus. Is that not progress?” Additionally, for the purposes of this study, is that not Carisdall’s Icaria as well?

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69 Hayden does not specify who, in particular, sat in the balcony areas; however, judging from her following discussion regarding the seating arrangement in the dining hall, the seating was essentially by chance. One sat beside whomever he or she was standing beside in the serving line. It was designed, she points out, “to permit only random contacts,” an important factor in Oneidan social life. See Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 212.


71 The importance, almost necessity, of having a performance space is underlined by the fact that within days of arriving in Nauvoo, the Icarians had built a stage of “four planks which bent under the weight of three or four actors.” By 1854, according to Cabet, the theater had been moved to the refectory and significantly improved. “Progress of the Colony, M. Cabot to Julien,” Colonie Icarienne (Nauvoo, IL), 19 July 1854.

72 Ibid.
The Performance of Education

Perhaps this emphasis on theater that received such considerable attention from both the Icarians and the Americans grew out of the same developing interest that had been occupying the evenings of post-Revolutionary Parisians of the working class since the development of the Théâtre de l’Ambigu on the Boulevard du Temple. Indeed, as a contemporary noted regarding its popularity, “The taste for theater, which has spread throughout all social classes in recent years, seems to have become a mania even more than a need.”

Yet, for the Icarians, theater was not merely an outlet of entertainment that provided relief to the laborious week. As the inscription written (in French) across the stage curtain attested,

To amuse
In order to unite, instruct and moralize.
In the Icarian Community
All of the Beaux-Arts are glorified
Fraternity, Equality, Liberty
for the pleasure and the happiness
Of all equally.

The theater was a voice, educational and propagandistic, and the performance of plays was only one act in the performance of Icarian reform for the outside world that consisted, in part, of all the activities housed in the refectory.

Veblen interprets the performance of leisure to include the “criteria” which would “commonly take the form of ‘immaterial’ goods” such as “quasi-scholarly or quasi-artistic accomplishments and a knowledge of processes and incidents which do not conduce directly to the furtherance of human life.”\textsuperscript{75} Similar to, yet markedly different from Veblen, the Icarians viewed their performances in the refectory probably much as Cabet described theater in his fictional Icaria: “the theater is a school where the teachers are the beaux-arts themselves, charged with joining all their talents together to instruct while they amuse.”\textsuperscript{76} Unlike Veblen, the Icarians believed that leisure could serve to instruct daily life, not only morally, but even vocationally, while at the same time remaining pleasurable. Indeed, it is leisure time that provides the opportunity for education, but it would not be an education of the quasi-scholarly accomplishments such as the “dead languages and occult sciences” as described by Veblen. Instead, an Icarian education includes a physical education that entails maternity courses, medicine, and exercise as well as an intellectual education that focuses on natural science, agriculture, mechanics, and industry rather than wasting “precious time” with Latin and Greek.\textsuperscript{77}

This sort of practical education was undoubtedly influenced by a model that had become increasingly popular in the late eighteenth century, rapidly extending across educational circles in Western Europe, and even reaching the United States by 1808. Interested primarily in the education of the poor and working class, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi published his novel, \textit{Lienhard und Gertrud: Ein Buch für das Volk}, in 1781.

\textsuperscript{75} Veblen, \textit{The Theory of the Leisure Class}, 45.
\textsuperscript{76} Cabet, \textit{Voyage en Icarie}, 225. « …et le théâtre et une école où les professeurs sont les beaux-arts chargés d’unir tous leurs prestiges pour instruire en amusant. »
\textsuperscript{77} Veblen, \textit{The Theory of the Leisure Class}, 45; Cabet, \textit{Voyage en Icarie}, 75-82.
Like Cabet, it was through his imaginary utopia that he formulated the bulk of his ideas which centered on education as demonstration. As Pestalozzi explained in a letter, “The first rule is, to teach always by things, rather than by words.”

Robert Owen, a pronounced follower of Pestalozzi’s method, translated this idea into his own views on education where he found them to be most applicable in industrial communities such as his plans and execution at New Lanark, England, in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Similar to Pestalozzi’s incentives, Owen emphasized vocational education as imperative to the reformation of society. Only, Owen’s translation held within it the moral undertones of honesty and utility as well. With the proper education focused on training, the worker would desire to continue being engaged in such productive activity rather than to remain or become idle. The school, spatially and ideologically, would become something of a microcosm of the community as a whole.

If according to the Icarians the “theater is a school,” it is also a demonstration of the community. Having met Owen during his exile in London and likely having discussed matters of reformation, Cabet may well have extracted some of Owen’s views regarding education. While Icarian education echoes the Pestilozzian method of object-based

78 See Bestor, “Educational Allies of Communitarianism,” *Backwoods Utopias*, chap. VI. Bestor summarizes Pestilozzi’s novel writing, “[it] tells of the transformation of the village of Bonnal into a model community, largely through the agency of a new school, established with the deliberate purpose of reforming social conditions in the hamlet. The climax comes, in typical communitarian fashion, when the Duke appoints a commission to determine ‘whether it were possible to extend…[the] innovations to other villages, and so through the whole country.’” See Pestalozzi, *Leonard and Gertrude*, trans. Eva Channing (Boston: Ginn, Heath, and Co., 1885).


80 Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias*, 135, 141.

81 In 1834, Cabet had been convicted of libel against the monarchy after he had criticized Louis-Philippe in *Le Populaire* saying he was “resolved, if necessary, to have French men shot, gunned down in the streets.”
demonstration, the association of morality and productivity with education certainly mirrors Owen more directly. Out of the web of ideas that had been already increasingly tangled, it becomes clearer that in Icaria (especially as demonstrated by Temple Square and the refectory) education, theater, performance, leisure, and even labor were conceived as interconnected themes of living that were inextricable from the Icarian vision of a reformed world.

At the same, it was education that was considered the underpinning of all these other acts of living. Reiterated time and again was any number of variations on Cabet’s assertion in *Voyage en Icarie*, “we consider education to be the basis and the foundation of our social and political system.” This is probably most evidenced by the placement of the Icarians’ new school. Using the fallen blocks from the Mormon temple, they constructed the only masonry building that would be erected in any of their colonies.

It did not occupy the exact site of the destroyed temple, but it was placed to the farthest western edge of Temple Square; likely then, as discussed earlier, it was easily seen from the river. The schoolhouse was a two-story structure that, unlike the refectory, See “Crimes des rois contre l’humanité,” *Le Populaire*, 19 January 1834. His sentence was a fine of 4,400 francs and the option between two years in prison plus four-year suspension of his civil rights or five years in exile. Cabet fled to Brussels initially but was forced to leave by the Belgian government and take residence in London. While there, he devoted his energies to establishing an English Icarian movement and spent much of his time in the British Museum’s Library studying European history. During his exile he wrote a history of the French Revolution as well as the first edition of *Voyage en Icaire* that he would have published in France under a pseudonym. By this time Owen had returned to England after his disappointment in attempting to establish his utopian model in New Harmony, Indiana. Judging from other authors’ observations that Cabet was influenced by Owen through visits and letters, it was likely in the same manner that he would have been introduced to Owen’s thoughts on education. See Shaw, *Icaria*, 22-23, n.1; Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France*, 45.

82 Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, 74. «...car l’éducation nous paraît la base et le fondement de tout notre système social et politique. »

83 The stone structure was the last remaining Icarian building in Nauvoo until it was purchased and demolished by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1972 to clear Temple Square for the reconstruction of the Temple. *Nauvoo Independent*, 5 April 1972.
suggested an attention to symmetry and proportion. The surviving undated photographs of this building indicate the existence of a porch, yet according to a sketch of Temple Square (dated 1853), this feature does not appear to be endemic to the structure.\(^{84}\) (Figures 22, 23, 24) It recalled school houses that had been constructed in Paris in the first decade of the July Monarchy in the attention to regularity, the hipped roof, and even the string course dividing the two levels. (Figure 25) Its austere appearance of the sheer, unornamented ashlar walls, though not uncommon in Paris certainly, but much less likely on the frontier, would have starkly contrasted the collection of clapboard-siding, wood-framed structures that occupied the remainder of the block. (Figure 26)

In relation to the function and use of the schoolhouse, this dissimilarity would be entirely appropriate. In Icarian society, children remained with their parents until the age of two when they were placed in the care of the *Cours Icarian*. From this young age until either sixteen for females or seventeen for males, the children lived in the dormitory that was located above the classrooms. They attended lessons daily and ate their meals separate from the rest of the community.

On Sundays, however, they were allowed to visit their parents and enjoy the various leisure activities for the day, including the occasional theatrical performance. This almost complete severance from the community was believed to be a precaution against the contaminating influence of the old world that might remain with the habits of the older members.\(^{85}\) The perpetuation of this reformed way of living depended on the

\(^{84}\) The construction of this porch recalls more the bungalow porch that was applied abundantly to American housing at the turn of the century.

education of the next generation, and, perhaps the reflection of this in the structure of the Icarian school could not be more bluntly stated than when Cabet wrote in the *Colonie Icarienne*, as the school was under construction, “the school will be our finest edifice as our children are our most solid hope.”^86^  

Further distinguishing the school on the space of Temple Square is the definition of a yard. The sketch depicts what appears to be a wooden fence that encircles the structure entirely on the corner of the block almost coinciding with Cabet’s description of the school having “two yards quite large and enclosed.”^87^ (Figure 24) Though not likely providing an exact and reliable visual reconstruction, the author does seem to differentiate the maintenance of the landscape within the fence from that surrounding it, thus implying the care probably taken to make this a usable space.  

Although Cabet does not describe exactly what sort of activities the children would have engaged in within this space, he does mention that they had made little gardens around the recently planted shading acacias and “aside from their studies the girls have a sewing shop…wash the dishes for the two schools, clean the vegetables for the Colony and fold our newspapers and our pamphlets.” He continues, “The little boys carry food, water and fuel. Several times they have been sent to work in the gardens…fields, and other little tasks.”^88^ Referring to Cabet’s vision for the development of the school, such activities, though not leisurely, were probably considered by Cabet to be actions worthy of display:

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^86^ “Progress of the Colony, M. Cabet to Julien,” *Colonie Icarienne* (Nauvoo, IL), 19 July 1854.  
^87^ Ibid.  
^88^ Ibid.
What a spectacle and what propaganda in action, if we had thousands of little girls in uniform, and thousands of little boys dressed the same, like sisters and brothers in a great family, practicing fraternity among themselves, all disciplined and docile, all respectful and polite, all learning and working, all acting and judging themselves for the mutual good and happiness of the Community!  

The fence delineated this space of the children from the rest of the community essentially placing their activities on the stage that was the yard of their school. Separated from interaction with their elders, the children were undoubtedly viewable to the members of the community as they went about their chores and games. Indeed, they were expected to perform the “hopes for the realization of communistic life.”

**Establishing the Proscenium**

The idea of separation from the old world was not confined to the children of Icaria; rather, it extended to the whole of the experiment. In fact, as discussed earlier, it was this anxiety to maintain a distance—that is, a distinction—from the American population that primarily contributed to Cabet’s re-characterization of the Nauvoo settlement as temporary. Icaria, if it was to continue beyond the first visionary generation, necessitated not only distance (removal even) from the temptation of selfish gain and individualism but also a virgin site, untainted by the existing world of capitalism, on which to build this utopia. The American frontier perceived somewhat as a utopia itself—democratic, free, and essentially unsettled—promised to be an ideal place for such an experiment.

89 Ibid.
Cabet seemed to realize the urgency of relocation most forcefully upon his return to Nauvoo in the summer of 1852. Writing to Jean Pierre Beluze, Cabet’s appointed head of the Icarian Paris Bureau, he lamented the situation as he found it in Nauvoo where in his absence many of the community’s laws had been considerably relaxed. Reform was necessary. Two days prior to this letter, Cabet had introduced his idea for such a reform to the Assembly, and by the end of the year the Icarians at Nauvoo almost unanimously voted to accept Cabet’s Forty-Eight Articles.

Sutton claims that it was the Forty-Eight Articles that caused the eventual “civil war” in Nauvoo between the years 1853 and 1856. Whether or not they were the sole purpose, they certainly caused an uprising among the Icarians once fully instituted. Not only were tobacco, alcohol, hunting, and fishing for pleasure no longer allowed, but silence was mandatory in the workshops and all the laws and rules of Icaria had to be


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91 Cabet had been found guilty in absentia for accusations presented by members of the première avant-garde shortly after its return to Paris in September 1849. These former Icarians had filed charges against the leader claiming he had swindled their admission fees on what he knew to be a land scandal in Texas and had lied to them about the accessibility of the “million acres” he promised, essentially leaving them to die in the wilderness. Cabet, determined to clear his name, left Nauvoo in May 1851, to appeal to the court, convincing the judges finally to acquit him. Again, he left France, escaping the coup d’état that overthrew the Second Republic on 2 December 1851, by way of London and then New York arriving in Nauvoo 20 July 1852. For a more detailed account of these events, see Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son fondateur, 258-264; Sutton, Les Icariens, 69-71.

92 Cabet to Jean Pierre Beluze, 11 January 1853, Cabet Collection, Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University (Edwardsville). Accessed by microfilm in Baxter-Center for Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University (Macomb). A useful English translation of this key section of the letter can be found in Sutton, Les Icariens, 81.

93 The women of the community voted to accept the articles unanimously while the count among the men was 104 to 17 against. See Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son fondateur, 346-48; Sutton, Les Icariens, 83-84.

94 Sutton, Les Icariens, 85.

95 Prudhommeaux mentions prior dissentions from Icarians at Nauvoo as early as 1850 when sixteen ex-Icarians had protested Cabet’s Icarian system as realized at Nauvoo and had left the colony resettling in St. Louis. Many of their complaints foreshadow the complaints the same complaints of Icarians against Cabet under the Forty-Eight Articles. Their protest was published in France in Proudhon’s newspaper, Voix du Peuple and is reprinted in part in Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son fondateur, 252.
accepted \textit{sans critiques et sans murmures}.\textsuperscript{96} Yet, this was not even the worst of it. Cabet also initiated a system of eavesdropping and surveillance to ensure the observance of the Articles that eventually incited paranoia from all sides.

By the end of 1854 and throughout 1855, several of the Icarians found the conditions for living in Nauvoo intolerable and began to criticize Cabet and his followers publicly. Cabet fought back with speeches where he tried to re-rally support for his revised Icaria. Finally in December 1855, Cabet extended an ultimatum of seven conditions to the community, among which included complete cessation of the “systematic opposition.”\textsuperscript{97} Within the month the colony had split into two factions: the self-proclaimed Majority and the Cabetists.

Continuous fighting and bickering ensued throughout February ending the month with the compromise that Cabet would be re-elected President for only one year. However, over the following spring, a secret committee was established to find in some way how Cabet might have committed an offence against the Icarian Constitution. Indeed, that would be the only way to expel him from the community for the good of the rest. In April 1856, the charges against Cabet were gathered. Records had shown that, with Cabet’s approval, Beluze had kept seven out of every 10 francs donated to the Icarian cause in France rather than sending the entirety of the funds to the Nauvoo settlement. Cabet rebutted, but it was of no use. In September the charges were formally presented to the community, and Cabet was expelled.

\textsuperscript{96} The Forty-Eight Articles are reproduced in ibid., 348-61.  
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 367-70.
Throughout the civil war, the role of the refectory as the center of the community, the icon of the colony, became all the more apparent. With its varied functions it was the place associated socially with collectivity, physically with nourishment, culturally with the theater, and politically with the weekly Saturday Assembly. It was more than the city hall of Icaria; it was the physical embodiment of the principles on which Icaria had been founded. It became something of a monument as members of the opposition marched around it on December 21, 1855, singing *La Marseillaise* in protest to Cabet’s ultimatum; or, as it was decorated for the anniversary of the departure of the *première avant-garde* on February 3, 1856 during those briefly allayed moments; or, as charges from Cabet against the Majority were posted on the refectory door to the humor of the latter; and especially, as Cabet and his followers stormed the refectory on August 6, 1856, after being denied by the Majority access to communal clothing and housing for their refusal to work. Because it was the center of Icarian activity, it could be a place of demonstration, and from the actions taken by Cabet during the tumultuous time from 1853-56, such as the deliberate separation of tables between the Majority and the Cabetists after May, it is obvious that Icarians viewed the refectory as the focus of the scenery in their display.

In September 1856, the community formally expelled Cabet, and in November, he along with 179 Cabetists, departed Nauvoo to attempt to re-establish Icaria further south near St. Louis. But, within days of arriving at the new location, Cabet suffered from a
stroke and passed away on the morning of November 8, 1856.98 With his continuous reformative visions, Cabet had attempted to revise perhaps too much, too quickly. The separation onto the frontier may have helped to maintain solidarity in Cabet’s vision somewhat, but the old world pulse of revolution and the demand for the right to opposition remained in the veins of these French “soldiers of humanity.” No matter the promise of reform, tyranny was unacceptable, and even the illusion of the frontier as a proscenium could not disguise that.

Construing the Icarian Imagination

It was a matter of immediacy, in some sense, that likely made the tabula rasa of the frontier so appealing to the Icarians. On the open plains there would be no need to adapt an existing infrastructure and buildings to accommodate the Icarian lifestyle. Utopia could potentially be built from the ground up and, with enough funds, it could practically be done overnight. The problem with Icaria, however, was the same problem that, according to Marx and Engels, was suffered by all “utopian socialists” (among whom the Icarians were prominently listed): they expected that their remedies could cure the ills of civilization immediately “by peaceful means, and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel;” that is, without political action, without revolution.99

98 The full account of the events of the Schism are given in Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son fondateur, 346-416; Sutton, Les Icariens, 85-98; Shaw, Icaria, 55-59.
Published only a month before the departure of the *première avant-garde* from France, Marx’s and Engels’s *Communist Manifesto* would prove correct in predicting the difficulty of sustaining the ideal but, we should note for the Icarians, not for another fifty years. On the other hand, we must realize that the perpetuation of the community was only possible because with the relocation of Icaria to Iowa this small experiment, romanticized as the reformative model, became the epitome of the very critique put forth by Marx and Engels. In the case of Nauvoo, the criticism does not hold as much water. Sutton argues this point in his concluding remarks on the Nauvoo experiment, as he compares the utopian building attempts of the Fourierists in the United States to Icarian Nauvoo highlighting their belief in something of an immediate millennium by force of social science. Justifying the idealism of Cabet and the Icarians against the critique of immediacy given by Marx and Engels, he notes: “Icaria was a state of mind and they hoped confidently for the attainment of Cabet’s ‘earthly paradise’ some day in the future.”

After a few years in Nauvoo, though, it seems that Cabet realized that this river port would not be able to satisfy the hope for proliferation within the model. Several members in the community must have also foreseen this glitch in the reformative model of Nauvoo as they began to petition to Cabet the prospect of altering the vision to be


101 Cabet, “Petition of the Icarians to the Members of Congress of the United States of America, *Colonie Icarienne*, vol. I, no. 4 (August 1854). “In our situation, I do not desire that we be very numerous at first; but today if we have help, we are going to begin a vast propaganda, everything, especially the crisis in Europe, persuades me that we shall soon have a great number.”
“only a small number of members, occupied in assuring their individual welfare.”

However, Cabet could never imagine such a resignation:

This is a blasphemy against our principles, our mission and our purpose; it is a universal blasphemy abhorred by the Colony and especially by me; because, I have never consented and I shall never consent to devote myself for anything else other than for a Community in the interest of the People and of Humanity.\(^{102}\)

Icaria could not be small, but it could not be exposed to potential contamination either.

Despite Cabet’s constant revisions to other Icarian intentions, perhaps this was the only thing in which he was ever consistent.

In light of this fact, the use of his descriptions and revisionist histories of Icaria must seem absurd as pertinent historical information, especially as a single voice within the context of an argument that addresses the use and imagination of a communal space. I must clarify here that the entirety of the descriptive material used throughout this argument is meant to depict Icaria at Nauvoo only until 1855, the year before the community finally expelled Cabet for his aggressive surveillance and his almost counter-intuitive attempts to reform the Nauvoo Icarians, but until this point, it seems that the Icarians were united under a single vision, that of Cabet and his *Voyage en Icarie*. Even

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\(^{102}\) Cabot, “Progès de la Colonie Icarienne,” 25. « ...mais c’est un blasphème contre nos principes, notre mission et nos engagements [sic] ; c’est un blasphème universellement repoussé par la Colonie et surtout par moi ; car, je n’ai jamais consenti et je ne consentirais jamais à me dévouer comme je le fais pour autre chose que pour une Communauté dans l’intérêt du Peuple et de l’Humanité. » Harvey, conversely, agrees more with Marx (and Engels) on this point actually comparing the two in terms of geographical scale: “Cabot [sic] could never think much beyond the small-scale integrated community characterized by face-to-face contact and intimacy as the framework within which communist alternatives must be cast.” See *Paris, Capital of Modernity*, 78.
after the “civil war” that erupted within the community, the dedication to Cabot’s vision as described by Sutton remained surprisingly intact among the Icarians.103

As a possible device for this solidarity, it may be convenient to point to the admission requirement of the colony to be familiar with the extent of Cabot’s writings before becoming a member, but this stipulation was only formalized with Cabot’s Forty-Eight Articles. To present another alternative, since the founding of Nauvoo and until his departure for Paris in 1851, Cabot had held what he referred to as the *Cours Icarien*. On Sunday evenings (when there was no theatrical or musical performance and following the variety of leisure activities allowed for the day), Cabot read to a gathered community from one of his texts, primarily that of *Voyage en Icarie* or *Le vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus-Christ*.104 Explaining the role of the *Cours Icarien* and his hope for its revival to Julien, a prospective Icarian emigrant in France, Cabot writes in the summer of 1854:

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103 The same could even be said for the Icarians that moved to Iowa who, as the *New York Tribune* reports 29 January 1870, “[*Voyage en Icarie*] still serves as the text-book form them.”

104 The former has been introduced. The latter text was written just as the movement in France was transforming into a communism that Cabot envisioned as something like a “primitive Christianity” with Christ as the first communist. See Cabot, *Le vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus-Christ* (Paris: Bureau du Populaire, 1846). In the midst of growing secularization in France (stemming from Enlightenment ideologies, anti-clergy/anti-aristocratic sentiments, etc.) While certainly not straying from the foundations of Christianity, Cabot developed an alternative to the predominate Catholic dogma. Still, he did not intend for the Icarian movement to associate with any particular religious view. Instead, “Religious opinions will be free and tolerated in Icaria, as likewise opinions on all other matters. However, the Icarians have adopted the *True Christianity*, in its primitive purity, with its principles of Fraternity, Equality, Partnership and Communism. As for outward and public *worship*, it will be simple, without images, devoid of all ceremony and superstitious practices, principally devoted to the admiration of the Universe, thankfulness toward the Supreme Being, instruction on the social duties and the practice of Fraternity. There will be no clergy forming a sacerdotal body. We can even repeat that our Icarian Communism is none other than Christianity such as Jesus Christ instituted. We repeat it, Icarians are true Christians, disciples, imitators and workers of Jesus Christ, applying His Gospel and Teachings while working to realize His Kingdom of God, His new City, and His Paradise on earth.” Cabot, “History and Constitution of the Icarian Community,” Thomas Teakle, trans., *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 15 (1917): 243. In Nauvoo, only these principles applied to the spiritual education of the children in addition to a review of all religions in the world so that the child might be able to come to individual conclusions regarding spirituality.
But it is absolutely necessary that we awake, and we shall certainly awake. I will refer to the Icarian course, to treat here the principal interesting questions concerning Philosophy and Morality, Religion and History, social and political organizations, rights and duties, Fraternity and Union, Liberty and Equality, etc., etc. I shall discuss here especially Socialism and Communism in order to accomplish the instruction of the new Icarians and corroborate that of the former converts, even transforming them into apostles, capable of instructing and converting others.\textsuperscript{105}

Instead, by the end of 1854 another device for propagandistic distribution was employed, one that would be more consistent and operating much more passively. In the midst of growing dissent against his Forty-Eight Articles, Cabet initiated a program of inscriptions for the refectory walls. Those same principles he listed to Julien would serve as a constant reminder of the necessity for the unification of an ideology, not only surrounding the community while they dined, performed, sang, and assembled, but especially as the Icarian listening to Cabet’s recitations. As Prudhommeaux so eloquently stated, “In 1855, these inscriptions, of which the whole constituted a true course in Icarian philosophy, were beginning to appear on the white-washed walls.”\textsuperscript{106} Like the activity of the theater, the refectory as a space became a tool of education. It, in itself, was a demonstration.

If we are to see the project at Nauvoo as a display, a performance, the apparent problems presented earlier actually begin to make sense. In some capacity, Cabet’s voice

\textsuperscript{105} Cabet, “Progès de la Colonie Icarienne,” 30. « Mais il faut absolument que nous nous réveillions, et nous nous réveillerons certainement. Je referai le \textit{Cours Icarien}, pour y traiter les principales questions intéressantes de Philosophie et de Morale, de Religion et d'Histoire, d'organisation sociale et politique, de droits et de devoirs, de Fraternité et de Solidarité, de Liberté et d'Égalité, etc., etc. J'y discuterai surtout le Socialisme et le Communisme, pour achever l'instruction des nouveaux Icariens et corroborer celle des anciens convertis, en les transformant même en apôtres capables d'instruire et de convertir les autres. »

\textsuperscript{106} Prudhommeaux, \textit{Icarie et son fondateur}, 315. « En 1855, des inscriptions, dont l’ensemble constituait un véritable cours de philosophie icarienne, commencèrent à apparaître sur les murs blancs à la chaux du réfectoire. »
did serve the whole of the community. In fact, for the community to operate as the reformative model, that “beacon light to the world,” a certain amount of solidarity was necessary. After the events of 1855, the single voice of Icaria dispersed into many, and grasping for a recovery, Cabet prolifically published documents, many of which have served this argument. They recalled that happier era from 1849-52 when, as a contemporary Nauvoo Icarian described for *Le Populaire*, many “profound, touching, and joyous memories” were made. It was during this brief span that the buildings and the spaces of Icarian Nauvoo were being construed as an outward performance of reform, and Cabet’s nostalgia for that relatively prosperous period provides useful, although perhaps romanticized, descriptions. With the fractures that came out of the civil war, those particular buildings and spaces (most notably that of the refectory and the space surrounding it), transformed in their role in the community. These spaces still performed, to be sure, but the performance had turned inward as revealed by the historical events that have been recorded, thus foreshadowing the new space of Icaria as it would be realized and construed on the frontier of Iowa.

107 Although in this instance Pierre Bourg is describing specifically the celebration on 3 February 1850 for the anniversary of the departure of the *première avant-garde*, as Sutton also uses this particular depiction in his argument, it serves to paint the picture of the relatively satisfied demeanor of the colonists during this period as they理想istically and somewhat naively initiated their utopia. See *Le Populaire* (Paris), 7 April 1850; Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 99. For additional optimistic accounts see chap. 3, n. 108.
Chapter 3

Coda

The Proscenium as Paradox

The construction of a romanticized Icarian Nauvoo should not lie solely on the shoulders of Cabet. Indeed, as Sutton has indicated, the Icarians were all involved in promoting “their enterprises with a bloated propaganda that concealed the harsh realities of communal life.”\(^\text{108}\) This, just as much as the solidarity in vision, was necessary in order to make at all convincing the argument to join in the Icarian reformation of the world. After some time in Nauvoo, it also became apparent that this argument could only be made in a place removed from the temptations of reverting to those vices that had to be reformed.

The remainder of the Icarians did not leave Nauvoo for the frontier until 1858. A bit disillusioned after the dictatorial oppression incurred upon them by Cabet in the last years of his life, they were encouraged nonetheless by the promise of finally founding

\(^{108}\) Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 100. Accounts given by the Icarians in the American newspapers paint quite a rosy picture of life in Icaria even in the midst of hardship. For example, it is noted by the *New York Tribune* in 1851 that Cabet reported Nauvoo to be “in a state of prosperity and that he regards it as successful,” even as the Icarians were still struggling to establish their crops and were eating primarily bread soaked with water at meals. However, the author of the article also reports that “none who have visited the Icarians on [Sunday] have been able to deny that they seemed happier than people in the common world without.” See *Semi-Weekly Tribune* (New York), 27 May. In the throes of their “civil war” a dedicated Icarian living in Nauvoo, H. Albrecht, continued to proclaim that there were “in this community more than five hundred persons tranquilly enjoying the fruits of their labors, free from the antagonism of competitive industry.” As well as, “The Icarian Community has been progressing steadily for the last two years, and is going on approaching nearer and nearer the great object of their aim: to show (even with limited means) the sublime example of a community of five hundred souls surrounding themselves with the substantial comforts of life by their own merited exertions.” See *Chicago Press*, 23 June 1856.
their permanent Icaria on the unsettled plains of southwestern Iowa. Since Cabet’s announcement in the summer of 1851 that the permanent Icaria lay somewhere out in the “desert” that is the frontier, plans to relocate began and the question became: “but where to go?” By 1852, the Icarians had chosen the site on the Nodaway River, and over the following year they purchased some livestock and 4,000 acres on which 71 Icarian settlers prepared for the eventual arrival of Cabet and the remainder at Nauvoo. On the frontier they could finally be isolated, protected within their constructed ideal world.

In fact, they had pushed far enough west into the untainted, open landscape that neither roads, railways, nor river travel connected their commune to the outside world at first. Upon arrival, the new première avant-garde constructed a grouping of log cabins that would serve the “permanent Icaria” until the settlement at Nauvoo could be relocated entirely. (Figure 27) This set the mold for the living arrangement in Iowa even after the relocation of the Nauvoo settlement, and after enough funds were saved from the sale of crops and goods, individual wooden framed structures became the norm for family dwellings. Children lived with their parents and attended a school established by the county, not the Icarians.

The primary consistency was the refectory. The construction of a log refectory (with the attachments of a wash house, bakery, the pharmacy, and the library) was begun the same year the first Icarians reached Iowa, but as the they began to collect large revenues from the Union Army (since the colony served as an outpost for goods during the Civil War) their savings allowed the rebuilding of the refectory as a two-story wood-

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109 Cabet, *Colonie Icarienne*, 162.
110 Ibid., 23,162
frame structure while maintaining many of the other functions within the old log structure. By the 1870s the cultural climate of Nauvoo began to return with small performances, dances, and musical concerts (with what they could gather from the remains of the Nauvoo orchestra and stage sets) held on a stage in the new refectory. A prominent member of the community had even reinitiated the Cours Icariens every other Sunday evening. Although the climate of family and education had altered, an admirable emphasis on seeking the pleasurable remained as an important component of Icarian life.\footnote{The details for this community have been gathered primarily from Sutton, \textit{Les Icariens}, chap. 9, as well as from an account of life as it was in the Iowa Icaria from the perspective of a child born and reared there, Marie Marchand Ross, \textit{Child of Icaria} (New York: City Printing Co., 1938).}

The Icarians seemed to have realized the significance their refectory could hold from their experiences at Nauvoo and translated this to its use and placement in the new settlement. It was now the central, most prominent building; a large school was no longer necessary since their numbers had been reduced with the relocation.\footnote{Ross, \textit{Child of Icaria}, 31. She notes that the first school was the reused old log refectory. Eventually, the county provided a school house for the Icarians, but as they were the only settlers in the area, only Icarian children attended. The teacher, who was also Icarian, received a salary from the county, and in turn, contributed it to the communal fund.} (Figure 28) There was no existing infrastructure as there had been at Nauvoo to define the space that encircled the building. Rather, the equivalent of Temple Square was created by the only thoroughfares in the area, the State Road, visible also on the drawing of the early settlement—at the farthest eastern edge of the colony—and the Old Village Road that appears to have only defined edges along the north and east. The western edge of this space was delineated by the framed homes of the Icarians, while the southern edge was
maintained with the near placement of the bakery and the first, and largest, frame home built for M. E. Fugier.

The idea of the Nauvoo refectory, with a display of the communal life projected to the outside world from the balcony, was replaced by a refectory that became the display itself, turned inward as a monument to and for the Icarians. Only, with this realization of their vision, a contradiction is presented, an ultimate paradox that outweighs all the others presented by Nauvoo itself. It is a paradox, in fact, inherent to the revised idealism that caused the Icarians to relocate to the essential emptiness of the frontier in the first place. As the refectory demonstrates, the model in its physicality and function was primarily for the purposes of the Icarians. It was a small experiment, indeed, that as Marx and Engels correctly prophesied, was “doomed to failure.”

In 1878, the Icarian colony again split into two camps. They could not halt the expansion of the rest of America as the frontier kept pushing farther and farther west nor could they continue to blissfully ignore the events going on outside of Icaria. Sutton synthesizes the turn in attitudes quite well, noting the arrival of several new Icarians to the Iowa settlement after 1870 whose vision to redeem humanity had been inspired anew by the uprising of the working class in the Paris Commune (1871). “To accomplish this goal they felt they had to revitalize an Icaria that had gone to seed, a utopia that had lost its fervor and commitment to the salvation of humanity.”¹¹³ They called themselves the “Progressives,” and they believed not only in reviving the mission of Icaria as set out by Cabet but also the introduction of true universal suffrage in the community, the same

¹¹³ Sutton, Les Icariens, 127.
rights for men as well as women. Under Cabet’s political structure, women had the right to vote in Assembly only on small matters concerning their workshops and in the election of the President. Otherwise, they could verbally voice their opinion without further voting.

The “Progressives,” in all their idealism, could not tolerate the growing individualism seen in the actions of the “Conservatives,” the adopted name of the other group: individual garden plots, houses painted different colors, even the existence of the individual homes. After several disputes and attempts to compromise, the colony finally split by order of the Adams County Court. It was decided by jury in August 1878 that all assets would be divided and the “Conservatives” would remain on the original site while the “Progressives” would relocate to the eastern edge of the Icarian property a mile away from the old settlement. Over the next twenty years, the colonies slowly dwindled with the eventual migration of the “Progressives” to a new site outside Cloverdale, California. The “Conservatives” remained in the old settlement until 1898, when the last eight members of the community agreed to apply to the Adams County District Court to legally dissolve their community.

By October 22, 1898, Icaria was no more. The necessity to be removed from exposure to the outside world with the intent to retain the model reformatory society, may have only revised the Icarian idealism slightly at first. However, as this removal transformed into the reality of the idealized Icaria on the relatively unsettled frontier, the cause for their vision also underwent a transformation. In removing the experiment from the presence of the potentially-reformed, the reformers essentially abandoned their original, crucial purpose of presenting the model.
As a case study of building utopia in nineteenth-century America, Nauvoo, on the other hand, contributes an instance that resolves, or at least abates, this paradox of building the utopian ideal. The circumstances of this commercial port were undoubtedly frustrating for the communists, but with a mission to reform the world through the application of their idealism there could hardly be a better locale than a place like Nauvoo that is small enough to allow frequent interaction with the outside, unreformed world while at the same time visible enough to make projecting an ideology worth the undertaking. The performance of reform would be ineffective without the attendant audience, and while all constructions of utopia are in some sense a performance, the Icarian community at Nauvoo, as evidenced by their construal of space, was especially conscious of being on display. Temple Square was a stage, the proscenium of which was defined not by a literal severance from society but by an idealism that ambitiously performed “in the interest of Humanity, to determine the best system of political and social organization which will be the most favorable to progress and the most capable of securing the happiness of the Human Race.”

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114 Cabet, “History and Constitution of the Icarian Community,” 214. (my italics)
Figure 1: Jules Prudhommeaux, “Les colonies icariennes aux États-Unis,” 1907. (Source: Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son fondateur, Etienne Cabet [Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1972], 665.)
Figure 2: The lots available through the Peters Concession were so dispersed that it would have been impossible for the Icarians to ever establish their vision in Texas. The shaded areas were the lots offered to Cabet, while the lots labeled “P” were held by the Peters Company and the areas marked “T” remained in the possession of the state of Texas. (Source: Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son fondateur, 226.)
Figure 3: Utopian experiments in collective living before 1860. (Source: Drawing by author. Information for locations taken from Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976], 8, 10-13.)
Figure 4: Plan of the City of Nauvoo, c. 1842. Note Temple Square (single darkly shaded plat in the southwest) (Source: John Reps, *Town Planning in Frontier America* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969], 415.)
Figure 5: Emile Vallet, *Nauvoo in 1850*, c. 1890. The view offered by the painting is from the Missouri side of the Mississippi. The dramatic shift in elevation, about 300 feet from the average level of the river to the top of the bluffs, allows the structures on Temple Square to be easily seen from below. (Source: Image Reproduction from Slide Collection, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University Libraries [Macomb]; Property of the Nauvoo Historical Society Museum.)
Figure 6: View from the Lower Plains of Nauvoo, c. 1850. (Source: Slide Collection, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, WIU Libraries [Macomb].)
Figure 7: Joseph Smith, “Plat of the City of Zion,” 1833. (Source: Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 112.)
Figure 8: Charles Marville, Rue Glatigny, 1865. Fortunately, photographers such as Marville did capture images of several of the narrow streets scheduled for demolition under Haussmann’s direction. (Source: ARTstor Digital Library.)
Figure 9: The Mormon Temple, Nauvoo, built in 1845, suffered from fire in 1848, destroyed by tornado in 1850. This daguerreotype was likely taken shortly after it was completed. (Source: Robert Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965].)
Figure 10: Erasmus H. Hamilton, Second Mansion House, Oneida, New York, c. 1861. (Source: Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 205.)
Figure 11: Watercolor sketch of the Temple in ruins after the tornado in the spring of 1850. (Source: Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi.)
Figure 12: Conjectural plan by author, Temple Square, Nauvoo, c. 1856. (Source: Information based on a variety of sources, particularly a sketch from the research of Ida Blume [1972] of Temple Square from the David Martin Collection, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, WIU Libraries [Macomb].)
Figure 13: Conjectural Plan by author, the Refectory, Nauvoo, begun c. 1851. (Source: Based on the descriptions of the Refectory given by Emile Vallet and Etienne Cabet as well as loosely on the only sketch of the structure [see Figure 24] and general accounts in American newspapers.)
Figure 14: Top: Maison, Boulevard de la Madeleine; Bottom: Maison, Imbert des Mottelettes (Source: Victor Calliat, Parallèle des maisons de Paris: construites depuis 1830 jusqu’à nos jours, 2 vol. [Paris: Bance, 1857, 1864], plates 67 and 117.)
Figure 15: Façade at 38 Rue des Petits-Champs, Paris, France, c. 1840. (Source: Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993], 78.)
Figure 16: Victor Considérant, View of a Fourierist phalanstery, 1848. (Source: Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 152.)

Figure 17: Charles Daubigny, “View of a Phalanx, a French village designed according to social theory of Charles Fourier,” c. 1848. (Source: Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 153.)
Figure 18: North American Phalanstery, Phalanx, NJ, 1849-52. Plan of the first floor with galleries built along the longest axis. These are not included on the second and third levels as seen in the photograph taken c. 1900. (Source: Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 169, 175.)
Figure 19: Top: H. Durand, Théâtre de Moulins (Allier), 1841; Bottom: Lenoir du Romaine and Jinjambe, Théâtre du Vaudeville, 1792; 1815 (burned in 1838). (Source: Normand, *Paris moderne, ou, Choix de maisons construites dans les nouveaux quartiers de la capitale et dans ses environs*, vol. 2 [Liège: D. Avanzo, (1834)], plates 148 and 97.)
Figure 20: Gustave Doré, Théâtre des Funambules, Boulevard du Crime, 1845. (Source: Harold Hobson, *French Theater since 1830* [Dallas: Riverrun Press, 1979], 14.)
Figure 21: Hall, Second Mansion House, Oneida, NY, 1870. This engraving shows the gathering of the Perfectionists at tables and in the balcony for a theatrical performance. (Source: Hayden, *Seven American Utopias*, 215.)
Figure 22: The Icarian School and Dormitory, Nauvoo, built c. 1854. In the 1960s, prior to its demolition, the building was adapted for the Nauvoo Historical Society. (Source: Photograph File, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, WIU Libraries [Macomb].)
Figure 23: The Icarian School and Dormitory, Nauvoo, built c. 1854. This photograph, perhaps from the turn of the century, shows the school house when it served as the post office for the city of Nauvoo. (Source: Slide Collection, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, WIU Libraries [Macomb].)
Figure 24: Unknown author, Pencil Sketch, Temple Square, Nauvoo, dated 1853. (Source: David Martin Collection, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, WIU Libraries [Macomb].)
Figure 25: Top: Gautheier, École chrétienne, Rue de Fréjus no. 5, 1835; Bottom: Haudeboult, École primaire supérieure, 1839. (Source: Normand, *Paris moderne*, plates 114 and 93.)
Figure 26: Icarian Apartment Houses (date unknown), the southeast corner of Temple Square, Nauvoo, construction date unknown. Each structure housed a total of 16 persons with two in each bedroom. Kitchens, of course were not included in these structures since all meals were served in the refectory. (Source: David Martin Collection, Baxter-Snyder Center for Icarian Studies, WIU Libraries [Macomb].)
Figure 27: “The ‘Old’ Icarian Colony, Established 1857.” The central long building included the wash house, the bakery, the water tank, the kitchen, the dining room, storage, the pharmacy, and the library. All of the structures shown here were of log construction. (Source: Icarian Community Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa Historical Research Library [Des Moines].)
Figure 28: “Frame Buildings erected in Icaria, 1870-71.” The refectory was situation perpendicular to the Old Village Road and was surrounded on all sides by residences and the bakery. (Source: Icarian Community Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa Historical Research Library [Des Moines].)
Bibliography


Icarian Community Collection. State Historical Society of Iowa, Historical Research Library, Des Moines.


Appendix A

« Célébration du septième anniversaire du départ de la première avant-garde »
from Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis d'Amérique : Sa constitution, ses lois, sa situation matérielle et morale après le premier semestre 1855

Description du Réfectoire

Notre Réfectoire, construit par nous en 1850, a 33 mètres de long du sud au nord, sur 10 mètres de large de l’est à l’ouest. Il y a 12 portes et 12 fenêtres. On y entre par la porte du côté de l’esplanade du Temple, et par d’autres quand il est besoin. On va dans la cuisine par deux portes et par l’une d’elles les plats sont apportés depuis la cuisine sur une espèce de long chemin de fer. Le pain est déposé dans et sur un grand buffet, et sur un autre petit buffet se trouve une fontaine avec de l’eau pour boire. – Le théâtre est au sud-est avec une salle qui en dépend au sud-ouest et contre la cloison de laquelle on pose les affiches de la Communauté.

Le plafond est supporté, au milieu, par 5 poteaux qui vont être transformés en colonnes. Pour le banquet, 34 tables de 10 personnes sont disposées avec des bancs and des couloirs dans lesquels peut entrer un petit wagon portant la vaisselle. Une jolie pendule est placée au-dessus de la table de la Gérance.

36 musiciens, dont 14 enfants, et à côté 15 à 25 chanteurs, sont placés entre le théâtre et les tables.

Pour le spectacle, toutes les tables sont enlevées et dressées contre les murs, et tous les bancs sont placés en face du théâtre, tandis que la musique se place par côté dans la partie sud-ouest.

Et pour l’Assemblée générale, toutes les tables sont également enlevées. Le Bureau est sure une table élevée ; la table de la Gérance est dessous et devant la table du Bureau ; tous les bancs sont rangés demi-circulairement autour du Bureau ; les femmes sont droit du Président, ensuite les admis provisoirement du côté du centre, puis tous les hommes admis définitivement.

Deux grand poêles, aux deux extrémités, chauffent la salle, et des chandelles l’éclairent dans toute son étendue.
Décorations du Réfectoire

Des stores en toile portant des inscriptions Icariennes peintes à l’huile couvrent toutes les croisées, en se déroulant sur elles à volonté, tandis que des châssis ou cadres en bois, couverts de toile, garnissant tous les intervalles entre les portes et les croisées au-dessus d’elles, tapissent tous les murs, et portent des inscriptions également peintes à l’huile, avec des encadrements et une corniche peinte qui règne tout autour de la salle.

Ces inscriptions contiennent tous les principes Icariens et toutes les maximes utiles dans le but (ainsi qu’on va le voir), de les rappeler sans cesse aux Icariens et de les exposer aux regards des étrangers visiteurs, pour lesquels nous imprimons un catalogue dans les trois langues : française, anglaise et allemande, avec des numéros correspondants, et la liste de tous les ouvrages Icariens.

Ces inscriptions, qui ne sont pas encore complètes (et qui ne le seront peut-être que pour la fête du 4 juillet), sont peintes avec une élégance, un goût et une variété de couleurs qui produisent un effet agréable, surtout pour celles qui sont devant les fenêtres, où la lumière les rend plus brillantes.

Comme tous les stores et les cadres sont mobiles, nous pourrons les transporter dans l’Iowa quand nous y transporterons la Communauté.

En attendant, c’est dans le réfectoire ainsi décoré, et devant ces inscriptions si parlantes, que nous allons recommencer notre Cours Icarien.

Toutes les inscriptions n’étant pas achevées, j’hésitais à les laisser placer pour la fête, parce que les unes sans les autres ne peuvent produire qu’une faible partie de l’effet proposé ; mais j’ai cédé aux désires qui m’ont été manifestés, et la vue des inscriptions déjà exécutées n’en a pas moins donné beaucoup de satisfaction. Voici ces inscriptions qui doivent faire le tour de la salle, dans un ordre aussi logique que possible. La toile de notre salle de spectacle sera probablement charmante quand elle représentera tous les Beaux-Arts.
Description of the Refectory

Our refectory, built by us in 1850, is 33 meters long from south to north, by 10 meters wide from east to west. There are 12 doors and 12 windows. The door facing the esplanade of the Temple is used to enter or through the other doors when it is necessary. The kitchen is accessed by two doors. The meals are brought from the kitchen through one of them on a length of rails. The bread is placed on the large buffet, and a fountain with drinking water is on the other small buffet. The theater is to the southeast with another room adjacent to it on the southwest side. The posters of the Community are posted on the partition that divides the two.

The ceiling is supported, in the middle, by five posts that are going to be transformed into columns.

For meals, 34 tables that can seat 10 people each on benches are arranged so that the aisles between them allow for a small wagon carrying the dishes to pass. A pretty clock is placed at the Gérance’s table.

Thirty-six musicians, fourteen of which are children, along with fifteen to twenty-five singers, are seated between the theater and the tables.

For a performance, all of the tables are removed and put against the walls. All of the benches are arranged to face the theater, while the band places itself on the southwest side.

And for the General Assembly, all of the tables are again removed. The Bureau is at a raised table, and the Gérance’s table is lower and in front of the Bureau’s table. All the benches are arranged in a semi-circle around the Bureau. The women are on the right of the President. The provisional members is in the center, and then all of the men that have been permanently admitted.

Two large stoves at the far ends heat the room, and candles light the entire space.
Decorations in the Refectory

Adjustable fabric roller shades bear Icarian inscriptions painted in oil and cover all the casement windows, while stretchers or wooden frames, covered with canvas, decorate all the upper intervals between the doors and windows, wallpapering all the walls, and bear inscriptions also in oil. There are frames around the doors and windows, and a painted molding dominates the room.

These inscriptions contain all the Icarian principles and all the proverbs useful for the purpose (as it will be seen), to continuously remind the Icarians of them and to exhibit them to foreign visitors. For them, we print a catalog in three languages: French, English, and German, with corresponding numbers and a list of all the Icarian works.

These inscriptions, which are still incomplete (and which may be ready for the Fourth of July celebration), are handsomely and tastefully painted with a variety of colors that produce a pleasing effect, especially those that are in front of the windows where the light makes them shinier.

Since all the window shades and the frames are portable, we will be able to take them with us to Iowa when we move the Community there.

Meanwhile, it is in this decorated refectory, and in front of these inscriptions that speak for themselves, that we are going to resume our *Cours Icarien*.

All the inscriptions are not completed. I hesitated whether to leave them or not for the celebration because having some without the others will only produce a meager part of the proposed effect; but, I have yielded to the desires that have been demonstrated to me, and the view of the already completed inscriptions have given nothing but much satisfaction. These inscriptions will encircle the room in an order that is as logical as possible. The stage curtain will most likely be delightful when it will represent all the Beaux-Arts.