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AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE
SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENTS IN THE
UNITED STATES. II.

SEIJIRO TAKAGI.

C. The Fourierite Communities.

In 1840 Albert Brisbane published in New York a book entitled "Social Destiny of Man," which was an exposition of Fourier's doctrine. This book made a great impression on the reading public, and such brilliant men as Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana were converted to Fourierism. This was the beginning of the meteoric Fourierite movement in the United States. Numerous Communities were started in various states, and of these experiments thirty-two were saved from oblivion. Eight of them were tried in Ohio, six each in New York and Pennsylvania, three each in Massachusetts and Illinois, two each in New Jersey, Michigan and Wisconsin, and one each in Indiana and Iowa. Their alphabetical list, with their respective dates of establishment, memberships, etc., is as follows:

FOURIERITE COMMUNITIES

COMMUNITY	STATE	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	LENGTH OF EXISTENCE	MEMBERSHIP	LAND OWNED (ACRES)
Alphadelphia Phalanx	Michigan	1843	2 years, 9 months	400-500	2814
Brook Form	Mass.	1841	6 years	115	200
Brooke's Experiment	Ohio	1844	—	few	—
Bureau Co. Phalanx	Illinois	1843	—	"	—
Clarkson Industrial Association	New York	1844	2 years	420	900
Columbia Phalanx	Ohio	1845	—	—	—
Garden Glove	Iowa	1848	—	—	—
Goose Pond Community	Penn.	1843	a few months	.60	—
Grand Prairie Community	Ohio	1853	—	—	—
Hopedale	Mass.	1842	16 years	170	500
Integral Phalanx	Illinois	1845	17 months	30 families	508
Jefferson Co. Industrial Association	New York	1843	a few months	400	120
Lagrange Phalanx	Indiana	1843	—	—	—
Lerovsville Phalanx	"	1844	8 months	40	300
Marboro Association	Ohio	1841	4 years	24	—

Makean Association	Penn.	1843	—	—	—
Moorhouse Union	New York	1843	a few months	—	120
North American Phalanx	New Jersey	1843	11 years	112	673
Northampton Association	Mass.	1842	4 years	130	500
Ohio Phalanx	Ohio	1844	15 months	100	2200
One-Mentian Community	Penn.	1843	1 year	—	800
Ontario Phalanx	New York	1844	brief	—	—
Prairie Home Community	Ohio	1844	1 year	—	500
Raritaw Bay Union	New Jersey	1853	—	few	268
Sanganon Phalanx	Illinois	1845	—	—	—
Skaneateles Community	New York	1843	2 years, 6 months	150	354
Sodus Bay Phalanx	"	1844	short time	—	1400
Spring Farm Association	Wisconsin	1846	3 years	10 families	—
Sylvania Association	Penn.	1843	2 years	145	2394
Trumbull Phalanx	Ohio	1844	2 years, 6 months	—	1500
Washenaw Phalanx	Michigan	1843	—	—	—
Wisconsin Phalanx	Wisconsin	1444	6 years	180 (32 families)	1800

THE ALPHADELPHIA PHALANX.

This Community, or Phalanx, as it was called like some others of the Fourierite Communities in accordance with the name Fourier gave for the scheme, was founded in 1843 principally by the exertion of Dr. H. R. Schetterly, a disciple of Albert Brisbane. It was situated on the banks of the Kalamazoo river in the State of Michigan. General mismanagement is said to have been responsible for the final dissolution of the Phalanx two years and nine months later.

THE BROOK FARM.

This famous intellectual picnic was at first not a Fourierite movement but an undertaking of some of the members of the Transcendental Club, which had as its members such well-known men and women as George Ripley, Sophia Ripley, William Ellery Channing, Margaret Fuller, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry P. Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John D. Peabody, Elizabeth P. Peabody, etc. The community was established in 1841 on a farm in West Roxbury about nine miles from Boston. The place was originally a milk farm having 200 acres. The official title of the establishment was the Brook Farm Institute for Agriculture and Education, and its main purpose was to establish "the Kingdom of God on earth." In 1844 the Farm came under the influence of Fourierism which was then sweeping over the country, and it was converted into a Phalanx. This undertaking at first

seemed to be a great success and attracted a wide attention. Many applicants for admission were turned away for lack of accommodation, which was taxed to its utmost by the membership of a little over one hundred. In 1846, however, the Palace, or the new building of the Phalanx almost completed, in which much of the farm's capital had been sunk, was destroyed by fire. The members were greatly disappointed, lost all courage and enthusiasm, and the establishment was given up in the following year.

THE CLARKSON PHALANX.

This was established in the spring of 1844 and situated at the mouth of Sandy Creek on Lake Ontario. At one time the membership numbered four hundred and twenty. But the undertaking was soon found not successful and was given up in less than two years.

HOPEDALE.

This Phalanx was founded in 1842 on joint-stock basis by Rev. Adin Ballou who served as its first President. It was located at Milford, Mass., and was intensely religious in character, although not sectarian. The Community prospered, and, while Rev. Ballou was President, had one hundred and seventy members. But after he was succeeded by one Drape, the management was neglected and the establishment had to be abandoned in 1858.

THE JEFFERSON COUNTY PHALANX.

This Phalanx was established in 1843 in Jefferson County, New York State. Its membership rose at one time to nearly four hundred. But the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the members and the mismanagement of the part on the officers led to a speedy dissolution after an existence of a few months.

THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX.

This Phalanx, which was established in the State of New Jersey in 1843, was at first a financial success. The original investment was only \$8,000, but the inventory of 1852 showed that the property was worth \$80,000 in that year. But the destruction by fire in 1854 of the mill of the association built at a cost of about \$12,000, cast a gloom among the members, who broke up in the same year.

THE NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION.

This Association, which was more or less independent of the Fourierite influence and non-religious in character, was established near Northampton, Mass., in April, 1842. But it soon proved to be a failure, and members left at the slightest pretext, until it was finally given up in 1846 after an existence of four years.

THE OHIO PHALANX.

This Phalanx was established in March, 1844, and great things were at first expected of it. But after an existence of fifteen months, it was dissolved in June of the following year. The important causes assigned for the failure were "the deficiency of wealth, wisdom and goodness; or if not these, the fallacy of the principle."

THE SKANEATELES COMMUNITY.

This was situated at Skaneateles in the State of New York and established by John A. Collins towards the close of 1843 with one hundred and fifty members, who had answered the call of Collins. The scheme was, however, unsuccessful due partly to the constant quarrels among the members who had no common interest or sympathy nor any high moral sentiment. It was dissolved after an existence of a little over two years and a half.

THE SYLVANIA ASSOCIATION.

Horace Greeley was interested in this association, which was the first purely Fourierite Phalanx to be established in America. It was located in the township of Lackawaxen, County of Pike, State of Pennsylvania, and began its operations in May, 1843. The Association, whose membership was at one time about one hundred and fifty, proved soon an utter failure and was dissolved towards the

close of 1845. The principal causes for its failure are said to have been "an ungrateful soil and ungenial climate, which unfortunately characterize the domain on which it is settled."¹

THE WISCONSIN PHALANX.

This Phalanx was established in May, 1844, in the County of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, and dissolved in 1850. Of all the Fourierite experiments, this Phalanx was the only one which came out a financial success in the end. When it was dissolved, the investment was paid back at \$1.08 on the dollar. The dissolution was due to a disagreement among the members over the question of "unitary house," a common dwelling.

CONCLUSION.

Of the thirty-two Phalanxes or Communities of this period, some of which have been briefly described above and the others omitted on account of their comparative unimportance, the length of life of twenty-two is more or less definitely known. Six of these lasted less than one year, twelve between one and five years, two between five and ten years, and two between ten and twenty years. Allowing six months for each of the "brief"s and "a few months"s, which is a liberal allowance, we find that the average length of life of these twenty-two Phalanxes was three years and one month.

¹ Noyes: History of American Socialism, p. 247.

On the other hand, the number of the associations whose membership is known more or less definitely, is only nineteen. Of these, seven had less than one hundred members; nine, between one hundred and two hundred; and three, between four and five hundred. Allowing fifty members for each of the "few"s and also allowing five members to each family, the average number of members of these nineteen Fourierite communities was one hundred and fifty-one. If we allow this number to the other thirteen Phalanxes, the total number interested in the movement was 5,132. But this is doubtless an overestimate. If we allow fifty men each to those whose membership is not definitely known, the total number becomes 3526.

Comparing the Fourierite period with the Owenite, we find that the former had more than three times as many communities, as far as known, as the latter. The average length of life of the experiments in the later movement was also nearly three times as long as in the earlier. And, if we compute the total number of persons interested in the Owenite undertakings in the same way as we have done in the case of the Fourierite movement, we also find that the total number of men and women connected with the later movement was nearly three times as large as that of the earlier.

The greater success of the Fourierite movement may in part be explained as due to its advantages over the Owenite in that it was introduced into the country by an American. However able and

respected Robert Owen might have been, he was a foreigner and had to contend against whatever national prejudice there was against foreigners. Albert Brisbane, on the other hand, was a well-known citizen of the United States, and although the doctrine which he strove to introduce into his country was just as foreign as Owenism, he had a great advantage over Robert Owen in having many personal friends and admirers, and was in no way interfered with in his work by prejudice. Men like Charles A. Dana and Horace Gleeley, who were interested in the movement, greatly contributed to the temporary success of the scheme. The use of the columns of the "New York Tribune" for disseminating the theory must also have had a favorable effect. Moreover, it appears that the free and unrestricted relation between the sexes which was part of the programme of some of these communities, while repulsing some men and women and turning them away in disgust, did attract a number of persons who were not admirers of the rules of conventional society.

Turning now to the economic conditions of the time when these experiments first began to be tried, we find that they were somewhat favorable to such undertakings. The crop, on which so much of the country's prosperity depends, had failed in 1837 and again in 1838. These misfortunes were aggravated by the panic of 1837, in which "the value of real estate in New York had in six months depreciated more than \$40,000,000; in two months there had been more than 250 failures;

there had been a decline of \$20,000,000 in the value of the stocks of railroads and canals which centred in New York; the value of merchandise in warehouses had fallen 30 per cent; and within a few weeks 20,000 persons had been discharged by their employers."¹ This crisis was repeated two years later, and the country was very slow in recovering from the effects of these disasters. The circulation of notes which had amounted to \$149,000,000 in 1837, continued to contract, and in 1842, was only \$83,000,000.² The proceeds of the sale of public lands, which had risen in 1836 to \$24,000,000, fell in 1837 to \$6,776,000, and, in the following year, to only \$3,730,000. In 1839 the government revenue from the same source rose to \$7,361,000, but, in the very following year, it fell again to \$3,411,000. In 1841, it still decreased and was only \$1,365,000 and, in 1842, \$1,350,000.

As to the ultimate failure of the Fourierite movement, very much the same causes as for that of the earlier experiments are assigned, such as mismanagement, disillusion, quarrels over various matters, selfishness, lack of interest, etc. But, again turning to the economic conditions of the second half of the decade, 1840 to 1850, we find that they were complete antitheses of those during the first half

¹ Dewey: *Financial History of the United States*, (Second Edition, 1903), p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

of the same decade. It was during this first half of the decade that twenty-eight Phalanxes out of the thirty-two were founded, and all of them, with one or two exceptions, were laid quiet in their grave during the second half of the decade. But this very second half of the decade, 1840-1850, was the beginning of that historic period of great industrial prosperity of the nation which extended from 1846 to 1857.¹ The increase of population between 1840 and 1850 was only 40 per cent, but the increase of depositors in the savings-banks during the same period was more than 200 per cent, the increase of their deposits nearly 250 per cent, and the increase of railroad mileage in operation was also 250 per cent. The circulation of money in 1840 was \$ 186,305,488 but, in 1850, it was no less than \$ 278,761,982. In the former year, the circulation of money per capita was only \$ 10.91 but, a decade later, it rose to \$ 12.02. In 1840, the number of immigrants was less than 100,000, but, in 1850, it was more than 300,000.

It was also during the second half of this decade that gold was discovered in the sunny state of California, and young and old in the East gave up their trades and professions, left their wives and sweethearts behind, and went to the West in search of El Dorado. "On January 24, 1848," says a historian, "gold was discovered in the lower Sacramento Valley and when the news spread a mad

¹ Dewey: op. cit., p. 256.

rush thither began by land and sea from all parts of the world. The settlers already in California left their business to engage in mining, and soldiers and sailors deserted from the service of the United States Government to do the same. Everything was neglected except the search for gold, and labor rose at once to inordinate prices."¹

At this point, it will be interesting to see in what years the various Fourierite experiments were started. The following table shows the number of these enterprises started in each year between 1840 and 1853.

YEAR	NUMBER OF EXPERIMENTS STARTED		
1840	0	46	1
41	2	47	0
42	2	48	1
43	12	49	0
44	9	50	0
45	3	53	2

It will be seen that two-thirds of the undertakings were started in 1843 and 1844. The promise of these two years is made clear in the following diagram.

¹ Garrison: Westward Extension, chap. XX, p. 316.

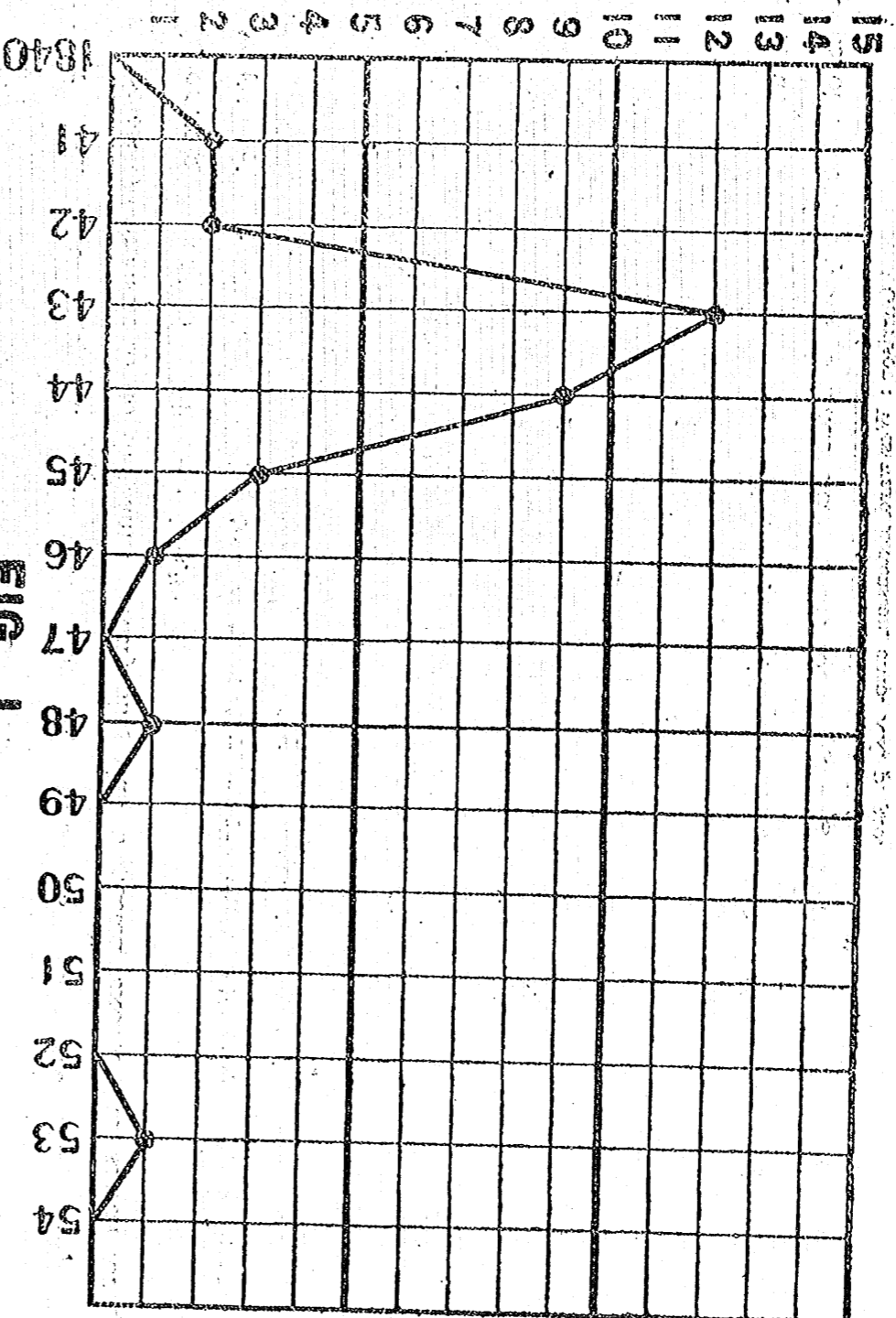


FIG. 1.

As shown graphically in Fig. 1, the establishment of almost the whole of Fourierite Communities falls within the first half of the forties, the number of those established during the latter half of the decade being practically negligible. But some of those communities survived the year in which they were established and a few of them even lasted for a comparatively long period, so that the total number of the communities actually existing in each year was much larger than that given in the above table. Yet, even if we take this total number of communities in actual existence in different years, it is not difficult to see what effect the hard time and the prosperity, respectively, in the first and the second half of the forties, had upon the Fourierite movement. The following table shows the number of experiments existing even for a short time in each year, including those established in that year:

YEAR	NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES	YEAR	NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES
1841	2	1850	3
42	4	51	2
43	16	52	2
44	18	53	4
45	16	54	2

第十行總 (四九四) 論 說

第五節 五三

第十圖 (四九七) 總 數

46	10
47	6
48	5
49	4

總 數 五 四

55	1
56	1
57	1
58	1

As indicated in the above table, the total number of Communities in the Fourierite period, which was only 2 and 4, respectively, in 1841 and 1842, suddenly increased to 16 in 1843 and then to 18 in the following year. But, in 1845, the number began to decrease and, in the ensuing year, dwindled to only 10, after which there was a slow but steady decline, except a slight recovery in 1853, until 1858 when the last survivor became finally extinct after a lingering existence. Fig. II presents graphically this remarkable ephemeral feature of the Fourierite movement in the United States.

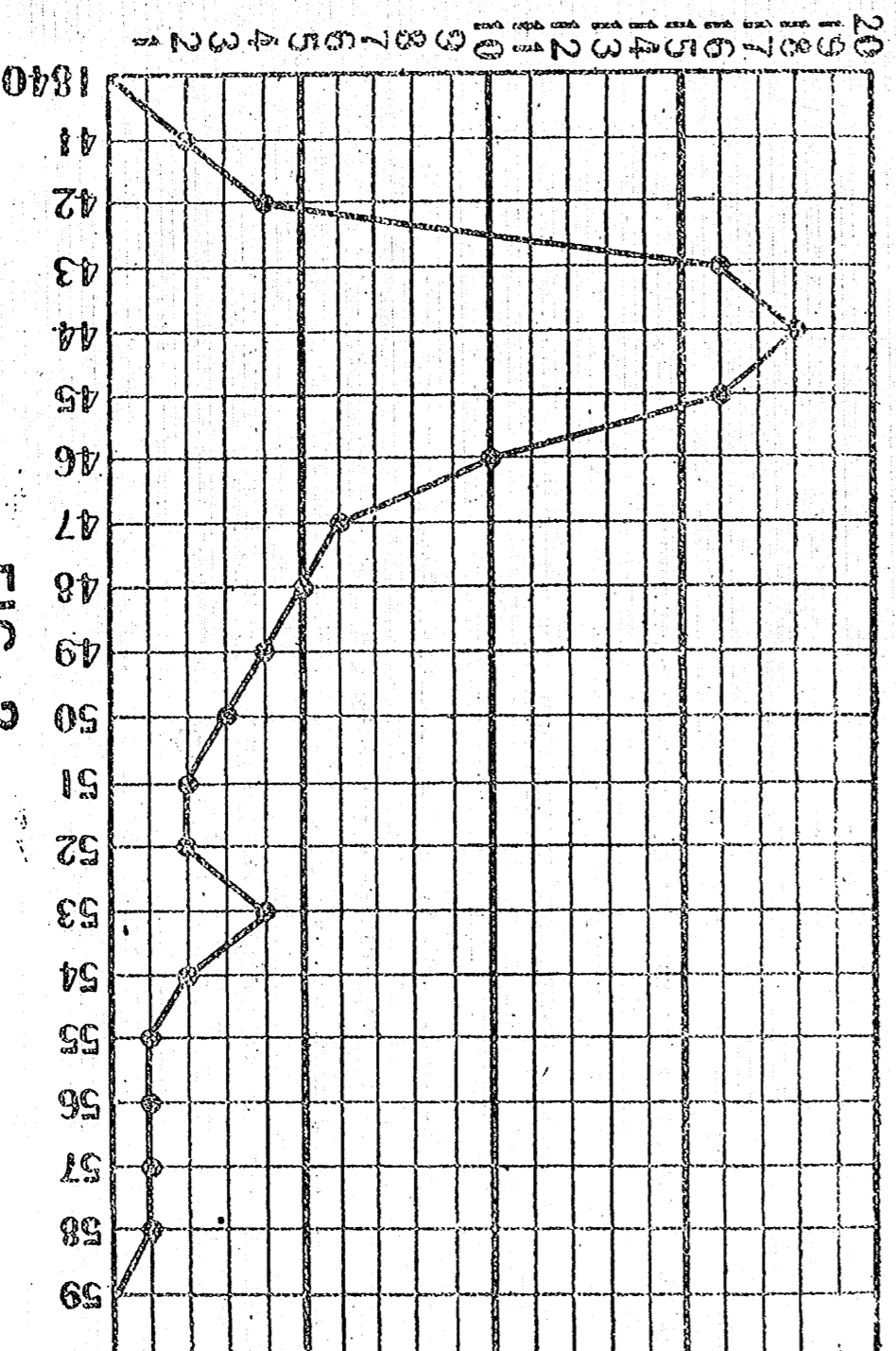


FIG. 2.

The curve in the above diagram seems to show clearly what effect the economic conditions of the time had upon the Utopian undertakings. In the great tide of prosperity that swept over the country in the latter half of the decade, 1840-1850, the numerous Fourierite barges were utterly helpless and were carried away and lost in the irresistible movement of the current.

D. The Icarian Communities.

Étienne Cabet, the founder of the Icarian Communities, was a Frenchman of good education. In 1839, he published a book entitled "Voyage en Icarie," describing a Utopian Community similar to that in Thomas More's "Utopia." Among the reformatory measures that he suggested in his book were progressive income tax, abolition of the right of inheritance, state regulation of wages, national work-shops, agricultural colonies, and above all, a thorough and liberal system of education.¹ The book was an immense success and many editions were published in Paris. In 1847 it was said that he had no less than 400,000 adherents among the workmen of France.

In the same year Cabet issued a call for volunteers to go to "Icaria," and many responded to the call. He went to London and sought the advice of Robert Owen as to the site of the new

¹ Hillquit: History of Socialism in the United States, p. 123.

experiment. On the recommendation of the English Communist, Texas was chosen, and Cabet contracted with an American land agent then in London for one million acres of land in Texas. In February of the following year, sixty-nine persons were sent to Texas as the first "advance guard." When they arrived in Texas, however, they could have only 10,000 instead of 1,000,000 acres contracted for. Moreover, the land was very unfavorably situated and distributed. They set to work under these disadvantages, but, during the following summer, four of them died of malarial fever and every one else was sick. When the second advance guard of ten persons arrived, it was decided to give up Texas and the settlers retreated to New Orleans where they were met by some others including Cabet himself. In January, 1849, the followers of Cabet numbered five hundred, but the number soon decreased to two hundred and eighty on account of dissensions among the members. In March, 1849, the Icarians, 260 strong, moved to the town of Nauvoo in Hancock County, Illinois, and took up the work of their Community in earnest. For five or six years, they cultivated 1,000 acres of land and were prosperous. Their number also doubled during the period. But dissensions arose again and the members were divided into two parties. The minority party was, led by Cabet, who, on account of his unlawful conducts, was finally expelled from the Community in October, 1856. His faithful followers, 180 in number, seceded and went with Cabet to St. Louis, where he

died on the 8th of December of the same year.

In May, 1858, about one hundred and fifty of these faithful followers of Cabot established a Community at Chekenham, about six miles west of St. Louis. They seemed at first to prosper, but, in the following year, old disputes over the manner of administration rose again, and the minority party of forty-two persons withdrew from the Community. This was the beginning of a gradual but steady stream of withdrawal until, in 1864, there were remaining in the Community only fifteen adults of both sexes and some children. They were no longer able to maintain the establishment under the circumstances, and it was dissolved in the same year.

Soon after the withdrawal of Cabot and his faithful followers, the rest of the settlers of Nauvoo moved to northwestern Iowa. But the place chosen was very unfavorably situated and the resulting hardship caused many to withdraw until, in 1863, the number of patient Communists was only thirty-five, including men, women and children. They experienced, however, a period of prosperity during the Civil War when they were able to sell their products at high prices, and their number was almost doubled in 1868. The completion of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad also gave a new impetus to their industries. But, as they became more prosperous and more numerous, political dissensions again came into existence and divided the Community into the party of young men

and the party of older men. In 1878, the divided house could no longer stand and was legally dissolved. The parties after that had separate existence for some time. The young party was, however, finally dissolved in 1887 and the old party in 1895.

In regard to the failure of the Icarian Communities, Jules Prudhommeau, the French historian of the movement, is of opinion that "Elle (Icaria) s'est trompée encore en hésitant à échanger des services avec autrui, échange de plus en plus nécessaire à mesure que besoins de l'homme croissent en complexité, et elle s'est condamnée par l'isolement à une vie précaire et indigente. Enfin, empruntant son personnel au vieux monde sans adaptation préalable, son malheur le plus grand peut-être a été de supprimer dans la organization du travail de seul mobile capable d'assurer une productivité normale, l'intérêt personnel, alors qu'il n'était pas en pouvoir de le remplacer par l'obéissance aux ordres d'une prophète, comme chez les Rappists, ou par l'idée d'une expiation voulue de Dieu, comme dans la trappe catholique."¹

Whatever may have been the cause of its final failure or of its comparative success in that the movement had a run, all told, of forty-seven years, it was essentially a French undertaking. The first members came all from France and their capital was supplied from Paris. Speaking of the

¹ Prudhommeau : Icarie, p. 666.

Iowa Community in 1874, an observer says that "Most of the people are French, and this is the language mainly spoken, though I found that German was also understood. Besides the French there are among the members one American, one Swiss, a Swede and a Spaniard and two Germans."¹ He also found that there were sixty-five members in all,² or fifty-nine French and six others, including one American.

Such homogeneity of personnel would tend, under ordinary circumstances, to insure success in any undertaking, but, in the Icarian movement, it was apparently a hindrance, for it had the tendency of accentuating the isolation of the Community. The fundamental cause, however, of the failure of Etienne Cabet's pet scheme is to be sought, as in the case of the Fourierite movement, in its untimeliness. When the French Community was first started in Texas in 1848, the Fourierism was already beginning to be given up and forgotten in the great wave of prosperity that was sweeping over the entire land. If a movement with native supporters could not succeed, it is not surprising that a similar undertaking by foreigners was attended with no better results.

¹ Northhoff: *Communitistic Societies of the United States*, p. 337.

² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

藝術と經濟(四)

阿部 秀助

以太利觀光の客は月光流るゝが如きアルノ河畔に於て偉大なる藝術的寶庫を發見するを得可し而して此偉大なる藝術的寶庫たるフロレンスの物的基礎が果して何れの點に存するやは余輩が主として以下考察せんとする處なり。(一)

蓋、中世紀末に於ける資本主義的運動を助長せし原因に就きては、一面當時の商業に負ふ處少からざるも、然かも他に二大原因の存するあり、即ち之れが一は最近エーレンベルヒ及びゾムバルトの諸氏によりて證明せられし戰爭の資金吸收熱と他は教會の課税となす。(二)

而して以上三個の原因中、余輩が本問題を考察する上に於て特に重要なる意義を有する第三の原因に就きて見るに、所謂教會税なるもの、仕拂方法たるや、其地