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The New World: the reconstruction of urban utopia in late nineteenth century France
Anthony Vidler

“A MARSHLAND FLANKS THE MOUNTAINSIDE . . . THE DRAINING OF THIS NOXIOUS MARSH WILL BE THE CULMINATION OF OUR LABORS . . . I WILL OFFER THESE VAST PLAINS TO MILLIONS, THAT THEY MIGHT LIVE THERE FREELY, IF NOT SECURELY. A PARADISE ON EARTH! I PLEDGE MY FAITH IN THIS THOUGHT, WHICH IS THE ULTIMATE END OF WISDOM . . . WOULD I WAS ABLE TO ENJOY SUCH A SPECTACLE, TO LIVE WITH A FREE PEOPLE ON A FREE EARTH.” GOETHE, *FAUST*, PART II.

“A moment comes”, wrote Léon Blum in 1898,⁽¹⁾ “when the world appears in an unexpected guise, lit with an unknown and inevitable glimmer. Truly we arrive at a new earth. This is the unexplored continent whose reality we do not suspect, and which, until this point, had no place in our world system, but which, nevertheless, exists and extends, infinite and virgin, beneath our feet.” Blum was speaking as he imagined a contemporary Goethe might, conversing for a second time with his old friend Eckermann, and describing his resolve to create a third Faust, a Faust that would more closely correspond to the needs and aspirations of the late nineteenth century preparing for the twentieth; a character through whom Blum would be able to project some of his own feelings as to the shape of the future world. “My hero”, he had Goethe affirm, “should be a symbol of human activity”. Between 1832, when the second part of Faust was published, and 1898, new forms of activity and more imperative goals had emerged as critical for the moral and social progress of mankind. Whereas, he recalled, Goethe’s friend Schiller, “essentially a political mind”, would talk fervently of liberty, the coming happiness of man, and his promised future, giving perhaps too much emphasis to the idea of simple *physical* liberty, the second Goethe felt a deeper concern for the true security that justice alone could command. The mere freedom to travel, work and speak, the passionate enthusiasm of Schiller’s *Ode to Liberty*, provided no answer to two fundamental questions: if, as Heine had stated, the earth could produce enough bread to feed all the children of man, how was it that some still lacked bread, and further, that others eat bread that was not the product of their own labor? If science could indeed increase the riches of mankind beyond all measure, should not some preparation be made first for their equitable distribution? The first condition of Schiller’s *liberty*, was then in the light of these questions, the guarantee of subsistence to each member of society. Freedom from political restraint would not automatically emancipate the populations of the world.

The first Goethe had left Faust, blind and dying, standing in the great forecourt of his magical palace. Hearing the sound of Mephistopheles’ laborers digging what was to be his own tomb, he imagined that they were at last embarking on the great constructive works that were his lifelong dream and his final redemption: the draining of the marshes and the settlement of a happy people on the re-claimed land in freedom and har-

mony, would rid mankind for all time from oppression and poverty. A *healthy* and *open* city would be the generator of a healthy and open people: the creation of a new environment would result in the emergence of a new man.

But this was Faust, for all intents and purposes, at the beginning of the century, when Ledoux had declared his own resolve to transplant mountains, drain the marshes surrounding Paris, build new grand boulevards, and in this way, architecturally construct the monumental symbolization of new social virtues, and thereby the society itself.⁽²⁾

The year of Ledoux’s death, 1806, had in fact seen the cutting of the initial stage of the Rue du Rivoli, the first step in the realisation of a Napoleonic Paris: in 1832, the year of Goethe’s death, the Saint-Simonians had proposed their plan for the rebuilding of the capital, in both practical and visionary terms,⁽³⁾ a plan that was to be the inspiration of the second Napoleon. Belief in the ability of public works to stimulate the founding of the revolutionary society was then profound: Napoleon I, supporting the Institut de France, and enlarging the Ecole Polytechnique with the admittedly short-lived support of the ideologues, epitomised such faith. Saint-Simon, living across the street from the Ecole, holding impromptu seminars on the relation between biology, physics and the new society, never ceased to call for a grand alliance of industry, science and the arts to carry out his dream; he imagined the institution of a new Parliament, under the auspices of the scientists and the artists, to be divided into three Houses: one of invention, one of review, and one of practical application. The most important task of the first, which would be composed of civil engineers, architects, poets and musicians, was to be “draining, clearing, cutting new roads and opening canals”, leading eventually to the transformation of all France into “a superb English park, embellished with everything the fine arts can add to the beauties of nature.”⁽⁴⁾

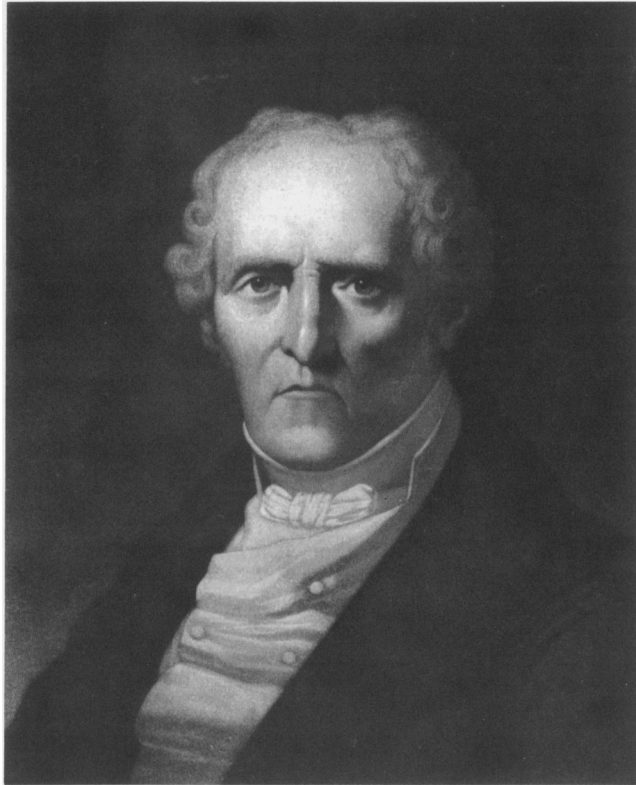
Similarly, Charles Fourier, the shy commercial clerk from Besançon, filled with admiration for Ledoux’s magnificent utopia only a few miles from his home, would wait in his garret at noon, every day of his life, in hopes of receiving the prince who would use his fortune to support the establishment of an experimental Phalanx, herald of the New Industrial World. Indeed, the attainment of Harmony ultimately rested on the development of a new architecture: “buildings are needed for its foundation”, Fourier wrote to a friend

1. Léon Blum, *Nouvelles Conversations de Goethe avec Eckermann*, Paris, la Revue Blanche, 1897-1900.

2. Claude Nicolas Ledoux, *Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l’Art, des Moeurs et de la Législation*, Paris, 1804.

3. Charles Duvreyrier, *The New Paris*, Le Globe, 1832

4. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, *L’Organisateur*, vol. 1, 1819.



Charles Fourier

“there is no way of using those of civilization”.⁽⁵⁾

While those Phalansteries that were built failed without exception to attract the correct mingling of personalities or capital to ensure their success, the material realization of the Saint-Simonian order, the growth of railways, canals and roads, the Hausmannisation of Paris, and the development of philanthropic housing settlements, seemed to prosper throughout the century. But the hoped-for social transformation did not immediately follow. Indeed, the remarkable progress of science and industry, far from hastening its advent, seemed to be accomplished at the expense of any egalitarian or revolutionary ideal, and finally emerged as the hall-mark of imperial domination, the servant of Napoleonic delusion.

At the same time, the idealism that had sustained the late eighteenth century utopians throughout the Terror, and into the apparent haven of the Restoration, was increasingly subjected to attack: the utopians' apparent disdain for empirical circumstance and deliberate isolation from the political and social realities of their time, caused their disciples to turn away from them, or at best to strip their visions of all the panoply of eighteenth century cosmology and mysticism, retaining only the *cadre social*, a mechanistic frame for the elaboration of political and economic sectarianism. Such was the fate of Charles Fourier, whose image of the *tourbillon* or passional vortex, a quasi-Newtonian idea comprising echoes of Swedenborg, Kepler and Restif de la Bretonne, was transformed, by the ardent young polytechnicians of the twenties, led by Victor Considerant, into the economic unit, phalanstery.⁽⁶⁾

One by one, as their originators died, so their grand designs were little by little reduced to utilitarian projects for communal living; any attacks, actual or implied, on the established values of the comfortable middle class were quietly suppressed. The family was re-instated as the basic unit of the social structure, and the vexed question of female emancipation passed over in silence: the dialectical counterpart to Fourier's *Nouveau Monde Industriel*,⁽⁷⁾ the *Nouveau Monde amoureux*⁽⁸⁾ was sternly omitted from his published works by moralistic followers. If any mysticism did remain it was as an extreme type of religious fanaticism, but even the high minded Père Enfantin, self-appointed leader of the Saint-Simonian fraternity, who once searched the east for a queen worthy to become his wife and the mother of the sect,

5. François Charles Marie Fourier, letter to Just Muiron, 1819.

6. Fourier used the term *Tourbillon*, or Vortex, consistently in his early works; this was changed to *Phalanstère* in later editions by his disciples.

7. Charles Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire*, 1829.

8. Charles Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde Amoureux*, 1816–1822, Editions Anthropos, 1969.

and who inspired the poet Charles Duvreyrier to proclaim the anthropomorphic form of the new Paris, even Enfantin eventually settled down to become the manager of a small railway company near Lyons.

Thus, despite the prolific series of ideal commonwealths to be proposed and many times attempted throughout the century, they were essentially anomalies, propelled only by the ever decreasing momentum of enlightenment idealism: the utopian impulse finally exhausted itself in paternalistic attempts to solve the housing problem, attempts so scornfully rejected by Engels. As the Fouriers and Saint-Simons grew old, the development of positivism, then of dialectical materialism, caused them to seem gently mad, their speculations safer confined within the asylums of Charenton or exiled to the vastness of the New World, than seriously confronted.

In turning away from utopianism, less than ten years after Fourier's death, Marx and Engels nevertheless recognised a single important element of his thought: despite the fact that he had committed the unforgiveable error of constructing the future in his own mind,⁽⁹⁾ rather than relying on the evidence of material fact, he had however correctly realised his contemporary situation, criticising it with irony and humor: in this respect they heralded him the forebear of critical materialist sociology. This sociology, as demonstrated by Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, and supported from the right by social scientists like Frederic le Play, attempted to do no more than grasp and demonstrate the existing social condition: as Marx stated in *The German Ideology*, "where speculation ends in real life, there, real, positive science, as the representation of practical activity and the practical development of man begins." Such investigation was bound to reveal situations requiring reform, the inevitable result of the existing economic and political order; it was Marx's hypothesis that only revolution would lead to any change. Evolutionary solutions, and the paternalism of the ruling class had failed to generate new answers, and it seemed to many that nothing short of the final acting out of the class struggle could provide the grand scale of re-construction needed.

Yet, by 1880, two revolutions had already failed miserably, engendering hardship and exile for those who took part, and reaction on the part of the establishment. Even as the early utopians had had their belief in peaceful change strengthened by their common ex-

perience of the Terror, so those of Blum's generation, were dispirited by the abortive revolution of 1848, and heirs to the bloody events of the Commune. Thus it was that Léon Blum, at the beginning of his life, felt a desperate need for a new Faust figure, who, at the same time as he recognised the limits of simple utopianism, would not dispense altogether with idealism, while avoiding the procrastination of those who observed without acting. The first Faust, as Blum's re-created Goethe understood, had, in the manner of his contemporaries, been thinking only of the advance of *civilization* and the regeneration of the arts and sciences: that of society as a whole had hardly been touched upon, or at most it had been assumed that with the triumph of art and science all else would follow. The course of the century had convincingly demonstrated that the promised reign of justice was as far away as before the Revolution: "and I understand," wrote Blum, "that in order to make a people truly free, that is to say, to create a *just* society, it is not enough to drain marshes."⁽¹⁰⁾

The task of a new Faust would be to instill justice within mankind, and, to this end, two possible means suggested themselves to Blum's mind. Faust, the absolute master of his magical realm could remain as before, and through his supreme power dictate all the measures necessary to re-create the state in the image of his dream; or, alternatively, Faust could be projected into contemporary society, that of *fin de siècle* France, and attempt to struggle with all conflicting forces. Blum, speaking for Goethe, selected the second mode, and endowed Faust with the character of a socialist orator, with a noble and pure heart, rejecting all thought of personal gain, political power and even love to accomplish his task. His tragedy, and the inevitable cause of his struggle with Mephistopheles, at first an apparent friend and fellow socialist, stemmed from his belief in a peaceful and fraternal revolution. Tender, with a horror of bloodshed, he thought it possible to convert those who enjoyed wealth to a feeling for the injustice of the world, to persuade them to renounce all privilege, wealth and goods. Rational and against violent polemic and doctrinaire propaganda, he believed in the beneficent effects of education. Yet, forced time and again into confrontation with the less scrupulous Mephistopheles, he was bound to temporise and often lose: "Mephistopheles", stated Blum, "is the pernicious influence which, through imperceptible deviations, diverts and perverts

9. c.f. Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848.

10. Léon Blum, op. cit., note (1).

every action." But Blum allowed himself a certain optimism in the face of a half century of unremitting materialism; he ended, "I believe you want, above all, to know if in my view, undertakings like those of Faust have any chance of success. As far as I am concerned, I am certain that they do."

The model that Blum took for his characterization of Faust, and his hope for a more just future for mankind, was of course the great orator and radical socialist Jean Jaurès,⁽¹¹⁾ whom Blum had met through the librarian of the Ecole Normale, Lucien Herr, and who, as a recent convert from humanistic republicanism, had transformed Blum's own youthful vision of the world. At the Ecole Normale, as Eduard Herriot was to recall, Blum had seemed no more than a young poet and man of letters, "dreaming of love among the gardens"⁽¹²⁾; under the influence of Jaures and Herr, he had in 1898, offered his services as legal counsel to support Emile Zola in his defense of Dreyfus. It was Jaurès' grand aim to at last reconcile and synthesize the various factions that comprised the French left after the debacle of the Commune. Since the general amnesty of 1880 the socialist movement had split into a number of groups, more or less distinct, but with overlapping aims and ideals, from the anarchist, *possibilist* party led by Bakunin's friend and fellow exile, Paul Brousse, to the *Parti ouvrier français*, led by the stern marxist, Jules Guesde, and Marx's son-in-law, Paul Lafargue. Jaurès, as a historian⁽¹³⁾ and philosopher, attempted to demonstrate to utopian and materialist alike what he saw as the very real interdependence of both viewpoints. History could not be divided up into two spheres of interest according to its content; dialectically materialism and idealism interpenetrated each other in a very organic way, rather as "the cerebral mechanism and conscious spontaneity interpenetrate in the organic life of man". Human development, Jaurès held, could not be explained solely by "the economic relationship of production"; from the very beginning humanity had "an obscure idea, an initial presentiment of its destiny" and was guided by the pure ideals of "humanity, justice, and right". Looking toward the next century, he affirmed, "I wish to realize in the future I see before me, an aim, an intention, an end; in the same way as my present thought, as well as it is determined by a series of previous thoughts, seems inspired by an idea of the future." At the end of a century when justice and truth had been as blatantly suppressed as in the Dreyfus case, and at the beginning of

one that seemed to promise unprecedented scientific expansion, some such ideal for the future was desperately needed; "man has only been able to aspire to justice", Jaurès concluded, "by aspiring to a social order less contradictory to man than the present order."⁽¹⁴⁾

It was for the right form of this future order, that a number of writers, politicians and urbanists were led to search during the last decade of the nineteenth century; and idealist and quasi-romantic as this movement became, they were drawn increasingly to the utopian social hypotheses of the first quarter of the century, and, compelled by their enthusiasm for this lost idealism, they resurrected, but in a radically modified form, many of the post-revolutionary utopian schemes. The self-conscious eclecticism of the later part of the century had rendered all ideas, no matter what their original intent or context, susceptible to being reinterpreted to suit the needs of the present. Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Babeuf, Cabet, Proudhon, and their more notable disciples, Enfantin, Bazard, Renaud, Duveyrier, Considerant, Buonarroti and the rest, were ransacked for possible futures. All the latent idealism of the early socialist movement, subordinated for a time under the strictures of Marx and Engels, reasserted itself; knowledge of the obscure forerunners of social thought was eagerly sought after, and their historical study legitimized. The merits and limitations of each theory were debated with passion, and new amalgams built up from the fragments. Perhaps, after all, the failure of a few ill-advised, ill-run and poorly financed ventures in community living in Europe and the New World had neither disproved nor de-valued their underlying aspirations; perhaps the deleterious effects of *grande industrie* were not the inevitable results of industrial development *per se*, but rather the result of mismanagement, misplaced resources, and a crude technology; perhaps, finally, evolutionary progress would naturally replace the age of satanic mills with clean, silent, electrical utopia. Even the uncompromising Marxist, Jules Guesde, so far forgot himself as to describe the nature of this future to Emile Zola: "a golden age; every one working less and enjoying themselves more, cultivating the arts, idling, feasting and making love while the machines do the work."⁽¹⁵⁾

Supporting this flowering of idealism, was of course the notion of scientific evolution, the perfection of technology as an emancipating force for the laboring classes. Paul

11. Jean Jaurès (1859–1914), a professor of philosophy, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies as a Republican in 1885, and again in 1893 when he joined the Socialist Party.

12. Eduard Herriot, *Jadis*, vol. 1., Paris, 1948.

13. Jean Jaurès, *Histoire Socialiste*, 12 vols., 2nd edition, 1924.

15. quoted in F.W.J. Hemmings, *Emile Zola*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1966.

14. Jean Jaurès and Paul Lafargue, *Idéalisme et Materialisme dans la conception de l'Histoire*, Arras, 1894.



Emile Zola

Lafargue countered the mid-century call for "the right to work", slogan of the 1848 revolution, with his *Right to be Lazy* of 1898: attributing all "the individual and collective misery" of modern society to the "furious mania for work" that exhausts and debases the individual, he called for the restriction by law of the working day to three hours. In futurist tones he proclaimed, "Our machines, with fiery breath, indefatigable limbs of steel, wonderful inexhaustible power of creation, perform their holy work by themselves; . . . the machine is the emancipator of mankind, the God who will liberate men from *sordidae artes* and from wage labor, the God who will bring them leisure and freedom." For many, positivists, materialists and idealists alike, the future of technology and science was synonymous with the future of society.

"I recall my student emotion", wrote Eduard Herriot many years later, "when, in 1890, the book, *The Future of Science* appeared".⁽¹⁶⁾ This work, written by the positivist philosopher Ernest Renan as a response to the revolutionary events of 1848, but not published until forty-two years after, celebrated this new religion of science, that "transcendent doctrine according to which the aim of humanity is the contribution of a superior conscience". The march of evolution, to Renan, confirmed "this invincible confidence of humanity in the future". Paradise, secularized, was attainable, this time not through mystical formulae, but through scientific progress leading toward "the light, to perfection, beauty, and together with this, happiness".⁽¹⁷⁾ For Herriot, as for many others at the end of the century, this belated optimism seemed to teach "the necessity of utilizing one's life to the full, the link which unites, in energetic minds, beauty and truth, the relation of science and poetry, the duty to instruct and educate the people without debasing thought."

Indeed, science, for the artists and writers of the Republic, had need of such an energetic apostle in philosophy: when approached by an inventor of new machinery who was uncertain whether to publish or destroy the results of his research in the face of increasing unemployment, Léon Blum's Faust had hesitated, allowing Mephistopheles the opportunity to lead the workers in a Luddite revolt, smashing the offending machines. Blum wondered whether "science will ever survive the terrible reign of justice." Equally, Emile Zola, with all his belief in scientific progress, and the scientific approach to the novel, was, by the mid-eighties less sure of its benefits: "it was inevitable", he wrote in

16. Eduard Herriot, op. cit., note (12).

17. Ernest Renan, *L'Avenir de la Science*, Paris, 1890.

L'Oeuvre, "all our activity, our boastfulness about our knowledge was bound to lead us back again to doubt. The present century has cast so much light on so many things; but it was bound to end under the threat of another wave of darkness . . . we are resentful because, in a matter of a hundred years, science has not given us absolute certitude and perfect happiness." But Zola, like Léon Blum, ended on a more optimistic note: "we are in a transition, the beginning only of something new . . . we are moving towards the reason and solidity that only science can give."

L'Oeuvre had been published in 1886: two years before, Zola had completed what was to be perhaps his finest novel, *Germinal*, and if, in the former he had exhibited a certain scepticism toward the immediate triumph of science, so in *Germinal* he demonstrated even less faith in the outcome of socialist revolutionary doctrines. "Every time now that I begin a study, I come up against socialism", he wrote, and in the preparation for *Germinal* and for *La Terre*, its rural counterpart, Zola came to know and understand more fully, although he was far from accepting their premises, the nature of the socialist movement. As a 'realist' he could not fail to be impressed by Marxian arguments for scientifically verifiable historical law; added to this, such a vision as Guesde had described only reinforced his belief that science would one day liberate humanity. But in *Germinal* the intimations of social revolution were described with deep pessimism: the Commune was fresh in Zola's mind, and mob action hardly seemed to be the way to a glorious future.

The dawn, if indeed it would ever rise over the cowed and despondent miners would be lowering and livid with the terror of violent revolution. From the beast caged within the mines, subdued by the *bête-machine* of industry and capitalism, could only arise bestial response. Spring might be germinating but it was also vengeful. The hero of *Germinal*, Etienne Lantier, a convert to intellectual socialism, and thereby unwittingly to the middle class, turned away from the insensate violence he had in large measure provoked, and left his mining comrades with mixed feelings of hope and fear: "on and on, ever more insistently, his comrades were tapping, tapping, as though they too were rising through the ground. On this youthful morning, in the fiery rays of the sun, the whole country was alive with this sound. Men were springing up, a black avenging host was slowly germinating in the furrows, thrusting upwards for the harvests of future ages. And very soon their

germination would crack the earth asunder." Even ten years later, Zola's doubts for the future of socialism outweighed his fears for the unbounded progress of science; in *Paris*, he has the scientist Bertheroy re-state this creed, "science alone is revolutionary, the only thing which, above the miserable political events, the vain agitation of the sectarian and the ambitious, works for the humanity of tomorrow, preparing for truth, justice and peace." The Great Exhibition of 1889 seemed to confirm this once and for all. Only Léon Blum, younger and less sure, had reservations; he commented in his column for *La Revue Blanche* that there seemed to be "a great deal of self-deception and a kind of fetishism in waiting docilely for science to rebuild society." Without proper controls, without a restructuring of the traditional social order the very dominion of science might prove to "promote injustice and propagate iniquity."⁽¹⁸⁾

It is the more surprising then, in the light of Zola's antipathy to social utopian polemic, and his hitherto uncompromising defence of the independence of art from social affairs, that his position by 1898 was almost completely reversed, and further that his impassioned attack on Dreyfus' persecutors served to unite, and even in some cases to convert, a large number of liberal republican writers, politicians and artists to the cause of Dreyfus and a radical socialist position, in so doing providing leadership for the undercurrent of idealism that had been gaining ground for the last two decades. Only four years later, by the time of his death in 1902, Zola had succeeded in epitomising these ideals in his final series of novels, the *Quatre Evangiles*

Zola himself dated the beginning of his active allegiance to socialism, following a lifetime of 'objective naturalism', from the writing of *J'Accuse* in 1898, a shift he had foreseen scarcely two years before, when he had spoken of himself as "an old republican, looking towards the socialist I will doubtless end up by becoming."⁽¹⁹⁾ Other republicans too, like Léon Blum, Eduard Herriot, the future Mayor of Lyons, and Jaurès, were awakened by *J'Accuse*, which, in Blum's words had appeared at "one of those moments when all faith ebbs away, leaving one feeling lost and alone in an eternally hostile world"⁽²⁰⁾ the moment when Esterhazy, against all predictions was incredibly acquitted of the crime he had so obviously committed, and for which Dreyfus was in exile. Zola fled to London to escape imprisonment for his article, and, in the spring of 1899, walked in the gardens of the Crystal

20. Léon Blum, *Souvenirs sur l'affaire*, 1935.

18. Léon Blum, *Les Livres: Emile Zola, "Paris"*, *Revue Blanche*, vol. xv., 1898.

19. Emile Zola, *Nouvelle Campagne*, Paris, 1897.

Palace with his new friend and comrade in arms, Jean Jaurès. He confided, "How this crisis has done me good! How it has rendered me insensible to many of the petty vanities to which I, like so many others, was too strongly attached! And how it has revealed life to me, how it has opened up many of its problems to depths I had not suspected! I want to devote all my efforts to the liberation of men. I want our group of humanity to issue forth more valliant and fraternal from the trials we endure. Already it seems to me, our highest hopes are being confirmed. But who will tell us what are the surest, most unified and gentle routes for humanity to advance towards justice and happiness? . . . For myself, I read, I search, not in order to imagine a new system after so many systems, but to extract from the works of the socialists whatever relates best to my sense of life, love of activity, health, abundance and joy. A friend has lent me Fourier, which I am now reading, dazzled by it. I do not know yet what will come out of my researches, but I want to glorify *labor*, and by this oblige those who profane, enslave and soil it with ugliness and poverty, to finally respect it."⁽²¹⁾ Zola was already at this time embarked on the first of the three last novels, *Fecondité*. Together, the *Quatre Evangiles* — *Fécondité*, *Travail*, *Vérité*, and the last, *Justice* which was never begun, — represented a summation and affirmation of the idealistic underground of the nineteenth century, and for Zola, the naturalist novelist *par excellence*, they represented a departure from objectivity as radical as that proposed by Jaurès from dialectical materialism. They were, Zola stated, "the natural conclusion of my whole life's work; after the long consultation with reality, an extension into the future." These last works would celebrate "in lyrical fashion, my love of strength and health, of fertility and labor, my need for truth and justice finally triumphant. I open the next century."⁽²²⁾

"That was the sink he wanted to purify, the ancient prison of the working classes he wanted to raze with all its iniquities and its terrible cruelties, finally to heal mankind of its age old corruption. And he would rebuild on that very spot the City of truth, justice and happiness, whose white houses he already saw, as he evoked the image of the future city, sparkling amidst the verdure, free and fraternal beneath a great sun of joy." Emile Zola, *Travail*, Book II.

Even as Proudhon with all his attempts to rid himself of utopian trappings, ended his life with an almost Saint-Simonian cry of

hope, so Emile Zola, in rejecting his early uncommitted naturalism, turned, first to Proudhon himself, and then to his predecessors, Charles Fourier and Henri Saint-Simon as the inspiration for his new found idealism. In the closing passages of *Paris*, Zola described the city as a manifestation of optimism, a symbol of the restitution of a golden age of rural fecundity: in the evening the roofs blazed like corn under the setting sun, "a veritable field, boundless and enveloped in fertility, . . . unfolding in its glory, the future harvest of truth and justice". *Fecondité*, *Vérité* and *Justice* were of course to be the titles of three of the *Quatre Evangiles: Fécondité*, the first of these, was completed as a natural sequel to *Paris* a year later, and reads as a hymn to Saint-Simon's new world, populated through fertility, colonised and brought under cultivation, communications opened up throughout, and all watched over by the ever present and all embracing mother figure of Père Enfantin's dream: "the earth", Zola concluded, will then "have fulfilled its destiny. And the divine dream, the generous utopia soaring in the heavens, the family established within the nation, the nation within humanity, a single fraternal people forming a unique city of peace, truth and justice for the whole world."

But, for the second of the Four Gospels, *Travail*, Zola turned to Fourier: he noted, "*Travail* is the work that I wanted to create with Fourier, the organisation of Labor, father and regulator of the world . . . with him I create the City, a city of the future, a kind of Phalanstery." *Travail* seems to have been Zola's answer to Emile Verhaeren's *Villes Tentaculaires* published five years before. The images drawn by Verhaeren of the great industrial cities devouring the de-populated countryside, *les campagnes hallucinées*⁽²³⁾ were extended by Zola, while the final section of *Villes Tentaculaires*, entitled *L'Aurore*, a vision of the red fires of the mills as a token of revolutionary promise, was exactly countered in *Travail* Luc, the hero of Zola's novel, looked down on the steelworks and the town he was ultimately to save: "suddenly the sky lighted up, a red flame shone over the roofs of Beauclair, over the Monts Bleuses and the countryside around. It was a flame from the blast furnace of *la Crêcherie*, and Luc had at first mistaken it for the sunrise. It was not dawn; it was like a shower of shooting stars. Old Vulcan, tortured and chained to his anvil was sending forth his last flames. Labor should henceforth bring health and joy to the workers for the glad morrow was already at hand." The potential horrors of the 'red revo-

21. quoted by Jean Jaurès in *La Petite République*, 23 April 1901.

22. Emile Zola, *Notes for the Quatre Evangiles*, 1897. published by Maurice le Blond, *Les Projets littéraires d'Emile Zola* . . . Le Mercure de France, October 1927.

23. Emile Verhaeren, the Belgian poet and champion of the Impressionist movement, published *Campagnes hallucinées* in 1893, and *Les Villes Tentaculaires* two years later.

lution' intimated by Verhaeren were to be avoided at all cost; only the gradual substitution of a peaceful order could save mankind. The natural mechanisms of Fourier provided an alternative path to outright violence.

Zola himself had only discovered this aspect of Fourier as late as 1899, as is indicated by his remarks to Jaurès in London: in *Travail*, his young hero was similarly presented with a sudden revelation, provided, naturally enough by the same work that Zola had read with such enthusiasm, Hippolyte Renaud's exposition of Fourier's doctrine, *Solidarité*.⁽²⁴⁾

Following the model of Blum's Goethe, Luc experienced a moment of comprehension as to the means to transform the miserable conditions of the workers. Unable to sleep, tormented by nightmares, Luc wandered into his host's library, assembled over the course of a century by a learned Saint-Simonian. Although Luc had come across many of the works before, never had he seen such a complete collection: Fourier, Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, Proudhon, Cabet, Pierre Leroux, "a phalanx, an advance guard of the future century, who would, little by little, be followed by an immense army of peoples." Luc selected *Solidarité*; in this he found the whole of Fourier's system. The basis of the new industrial world was to be the free development of the passions, a proposition that appealed strongly to Zola's anti-Catholicism. The passions in the free society of the future would produce as much good as they had previously generated harm: "the long and disastrous error of Catholicism was to have wanted to dull them . . . to destroy man within man, to enslave him to its tyrannical God." The unrestrained interplay of the passions, the instincts and the senses together, followed the laws of *universal attraction*, the passionate equivalent to Newton's gravitational attraction, ultimately leading to "unity, working amidst obstacles to fuse in final harmony." From this would stem the re-vitalisation of labor, "labor re-endowed with honor", replacing dogma and religion as "dignity, health, gaiety, the very law of life". Indeed, to reorganize society as a whole it would be sufficient to reorganize labor. Labor as Jaurès remarked in his review of *Travail*,⁽²⁵⁾ became in Zola's imagination the God of modern humanity in place of all others; it was "the creative force *par excellence*" and was invested with a sacred mission. Association as demonstrated by Fourier and the progress of science would liberate mankind to practice such labor. In this, Zola hoped to deny the awful portents of

Germinal, a re-affirmation of the laws of evolution of which he saw Fourier a minor prophet. The central desire was not to revolutionize the world at one blow, but to begin on a small scale as Fourier suggested, "experimenting with the system in a commune of a few thousand people" to create a living example, a microcosm of the new order. And to make this order more tangible, this initial phalanx would build itself a *maison-commune*, or phalanstery. Thus Zola saw Luc, in his capacity as an engineer, acting as the individual awaited so long by Fourier, seeing the city at once as object and idea. Only by establishing the individuals, Luc and the scientist Jordan, whose wills would impell the formation of the new order, could Zola reconcile his belief in the survival of the species through individual rather than collective triumph with an otherwise Proudhonist and egalitarian utopia where the collectivity was supreme; with the passions of mankind allowed free interplay, individuals could rise above the monotony of a socialist levelling. The city itself was invested with Darwinian overtones by Zola: throughout the novel the image of the growing city and what it replaces, concretized the evolution of the new society. The new town founded by Luc, *la Crêcherie*, gradually displaced the old works, *l'Abîme*; the one "eats the other" Zola noted. This was the "irresistible democratic movement" set in motion by Renaud's little book, a work that accomplished its mission "at the hour marked out by evolution". Jordan, the old scientist and Luc's mentor, was clearly modelled after the character of Darwin, patiently exploring the forces of life in his laboratories. For Jordan, the unique truth of his and all life rested in Labor, "a continual labor of chemical and mechanical forces". Ultimately it was the energy released by Jordan's labors, the power of electricity generated by turbines, that was to transform the nature of life and work, and illumine the new *cité radieuse*.

And yet, inevitably, the new industrial world, as Fourier had first conceived it, emerged for *Travail* completely transformed, with large scale industry, rendered clean and healthy, taking its place beside the individual houses of the city. No longer was the Phalanstery the sole unit of industry and living, a small scale rural commune never to increase in size beyond a carefully calculated number of personality types. Now the Phalanstery became merely the *maison commune* for the city, a center for social events and the rallying point for labor. The land occupied by Luc's

24. Hippolyte Renaud, *Solidarité, Vue synthétique sur la doctrine de Charles Fourier*, Paris, 1842.

25. Jean Jaurès, *La Revue Socialiste*, June, 1901.

city was the property of all the inhabitants; as Proudhon had written over fifty years before, "all human labor being the result of collective force, all property becomes in consequence, collective and unitary. To speak more exactly, labor destroys property."⁽²⁶⁾ At the center of the new town, at the foot of the Monts Bleus, Luc first built the *maison-commune*, with schools, a library, assembly halls, baths, game rooms and feast halls. This was the only remembrance of the phalanstery, Zola stressed: for the rest, each individual was to be allowed to build in his own way, with no forced alignment, "recognising only the community's need for certain public services". Behind the *maison-commune* were the covered markets and cooperative stores. Stretching along the side of the gentle slopes of the mountains, advancing as it grew toward the old town which it was to re-place, the city proper was composed of the workers' houses, "each built in the middle of a garden, houses of well-being wherein the life of the family would flourish". Below, and laid out on the plain by the river Mionne, were the factories, rebuilt out of iron and glass: "the infernal cave of the Cyclops had given way to vast clear workshops, shining and gay". All was served by the clean running water of the mountain springs which "cleansed the factory and the *maison-commune*, watered the gardens thick with verdure, and poured into each dwelling, the source of health and joy." Electricity, at first generated from the river tributary, then by Jordan's turbines, was plentiful and cheap; a resource for all, taking its place beside the free waters of the springs and the fresh air. The factories worked silently and efficiently with this new power, as did all the vehicular transport of the city.

The architecture of this purist utopia was white: from the innocence of the *crèche*,⁽²⁷⁾ whose cradles, "in the vast white room . . . were all white, ranged along the white walls", to the assembly rooms of the inhabitants and the factories. The buildings opened out onto green verdure, and flower-filled gardens; in the gardens were set gymnasiums, and courts for games, "so that the body was made healthy and strong together with the mind". There was no prison, and the old church in the original town was left to decay and eventually remained as a monument to the vanquished constraints of the old religion. The old town itself was transformed: its general aspect "was that of an immense garden, where the houses had been naturally spaced, amidst the verdure, from a need for fresh air and free life." The wide pedestrian

avenues crossed the gardens, rather than forcing the houses to a rigid alignment. At the crossing points of these avenues were built the public buildings, "immense constructions where iron and steel triumphed with bold frames"; these belonged to all the people, the "museums, libraries, theaters, baths, laboratories, the halls for reunions and games, were only *maisons-communes* open to the entire nation". As Fourier had hoped, many of the great avenues were glazed, ventilated in summer, warmed in winter. The creed of the new architecture was stated by Zola: "magnificence was created through simplicity, by the logical accommodation to use, intelligent choice of materials and decoration." This was to be a beauty that was of the people, no longer the prerogative of aestheticism: each was able to build his own house as he pleased, and held within him the inherent good taste of the craftsman.

"Surely all the arts were intended to march in line, and evolution, which was bringing about such changes in literature, painting and even music was going to lead to a revision of architecture too. If there ever was a century in which architecture should have a style of its own, it was the century shortly to begin, the new century, new ground ready for reconstruction of every kind, a freshly sown field, the breeding ground of a new people. Down with the Greek temples; there was no use or place for them in modern society! Down with the Gothic cathedrals; belief in legends was dead! Down with the delicate colonnades and the intricate tracery of the Renaissance, that classical revival crossed with medieval art, which produced architectural jewels but could never house modern democracy! What was wanted . . . was an architectural formula to fit that democracy, the power to express it in stone, building it could feel was its own, something big and strong and simple, the sort of thing that was already asserting itself in railway-stations and market-halls, the solid elegance of metal girders, developed and refined still further, raised to the status of genuine beauty, proclaiming the greatness of human achievement." Emile Zola, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886.

The dawn that Zola prophesized for the new century, a dawn that would carry with it the birth of a new and more perfect social order, would, he felt, inevitably provide a climate for the regeneration of the arts and the development of new forms of expression to serve and symbolize the new society: indeed, the evolution of the arts toward perfection would itself stimulate and hasten its coming.

26. Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?*, Paris, 1840.

27. The *crèche* described in *Travail* is very similar to the *crèche-modèle* built by J-B Godin for the *Famillistère* and illustrated in detail in Godin's book, *Solutions Sociales* which Zola had read before writing his novel.

The laws of Darwinian progress applied equally to art and literature as to biological and social organisms. As early as 1886, in *L'Oeuvre*, Zola presaged such an evolution in architecture. The old and tired forms of late nineteenth century life and art were in their final moments; Zola balanced a profound pessimism as to the possibilities for reform in the next decade by an emerging optimism for the future. The once fiery Bongrand, the fashionable but always outspoken artist of the Salons, walked away from the grave of *L'Oeuvre's* revolutionary artist hero, Claude Lantier, deeply troubled by Lantier's failure to win recognition in his own time. Perhaps the greatness of his painting would never be realized, or his genius never fulfilled by the growth of a new school of painting; "we're living in a bad season" Bongrand lamented, "in a vitiated atmosphere, with the century coming to an end and everything in process of demolition; buildings torn down wholesale; every field being ploughed and reploughed and every mortal thing stinking of death." In the end, the century would die, as Lantier had died, by his own hand, hanging before the unconsummated vision that had been his life's work: the uncompleted painting, that symbolized the mythical regeneration of Paris itself, of a "great nude woman in the middle of the Cité". This, for Zola was the death of the grand Saint-Simonian dream, immortalized by Charles Duveyrier in his prose poem *The New Paris* of 1832, that was ultimately the ruin of the Second Empire. It almost seemed that Victor Hugo had been correct in his assumption that, *l'imprimerie tuera l'architecture* in the nineteenth century.⁽²⁸⁾

The fragile social premises of the century's utopian urbanism were only too susceptible to attack from the critical standpoint of Engel's sociology, and the deleterious effects of abortive form and grand design alike, only too evident. Certainly, since the publication of Ledoux's eighteenth century Ideal City of Chaux in 1804, two years before he died abandoned and destitute with his biographer remarking that "his species of utopia has been incessantly postponed, and will probably remain so for a very long time", since then no architect had attempted such a complete formulation of a utopian model comprising a new social structure ratified by a new architecture. For a hundred years, until the private exhibition of Tony Garnier's *Cité Industrielle* in 1904, the realm of urban utopia remained in the hands of the social philosophers: architects contented themselves with the construction of the New Industrial World

as it was emerging in fact, or in the perfection of their own art functionally and formally to correspond to its differing demands. It was their wild eclecticism in the face of real technological developments,⁽²⁹⁾ and their ivory-tower aestheticism in front of evident social misery that infuriated the followers of Saint-Simon and Fourier. To Victor Considerant, the conclusion that the printed word had killed architecture showed only Hugo's immense self-satisfaction with his own art: "M. Hugo the poet, who because he creates poetry with a pen, has taken it into his head that mankind could no longer create poetry except with pens . . . The Architecture they will tell you is dead and buried has still a long way to grow to attain its height!"⁽³⁰⁾ And yet Considerant's conception of a social architecture was itself suppressed by the critical printed word for a half century, before architects had realized its power or politicians its necessity. The only built example of Fourier's *l'architectonique sociétaire*, by which the architect would have become the savior of the social world, was designed by an industrialist and paternal socialist, Jean Baptiste Godin for the workers of his iron foundry at Guise in France, and even this, despite its proven success, was castigated by conservatives (the project was not even placed in Louis Napoleon's exhibition of *cités ouvrières* in 1867), and revolutionary socialists alike. To the Marxists, the *cités ouvrières*, conceived by utopians, and applied by paternalistic capitalists, were simply the logical extension of the ancient ghettos, in Jules Guesde's terms, "an admirable *instrumentum regni* for the authority of the bourgeoisie".⁽³¹⁾ In the light of Napoleon III's para-military *casernes "ouvrières,"* and the breaking up of whole social neighborhoods by Hausmann's works, forcing the poor into even more crowded quarters while applying the elegant veneer of civilization to the boulevard façades, the only solution to the *Housing Question* seemed to Engels and his followers to be the immediate and complete expropriation of property on behalf of the working class. Paul Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law and spokesman for Guesde's *Parti ouvrier français*, indicated the ensuing redistribution of accommodation in an article entitled "The Aftermath of the Revolution" published in 1892. The task of the revolutionary authority to be set up in each town would be the housing, clothing and feeding of all the inhabitants: "to this end it will decree all built property national property; it will make a new inventory of apartments, chasing the idle rich out of their hotels and installing the workers, re-

28. Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, 8th edition, Paris, 1832.

29. Proudhon remarked in *Du Principe de l'Art* . . . : "we persist in demanding the new from architects; they can only reasonably give us the old. The more we demand the new from them, the more, to satisfy us, do they fall into the irrational and the absurd, into ridicule and ugliness."

30. Victor Considerant, *Considérations sociales sur l'architectonique*, 1834-8.

31. Jules Guesde, *le Citoyen*, 19 June, 1882; quoted in Roger-H. Guerrand, *Les origines du logement sociale en France*, Paris, 1967.

serving the better sited houses for families with children. In Paris and in the large towns where there are houses six to seven stories high, it will reserve the first floors for old women and relegate the fat-bellied capitalists to the fifth and sixth floors degrading them by forcing them to use the stairs. The insanitary slums where the workers are crowded in poverty will be demolished and purified by flames; to do this job more quickly they will be razed by dynamite. The torch will not be carried to the châteaux as the anarchists would have it, but rather to the garrets and thatched cottages: it is time that the working class inhabited the palaces and hotels it helped build."⁽³²⁾

This then was the radical outcome of Fourier's gentle dream of palaces for all men, the *Maison-Palais* of Godin's *Familistère*, and it was over the means to achieve this dream that utopians and revolutionaries divided. Unlike Lafargue who believed with Engels that "humanity will only re-discover its primitive health when the capitalist society is destroyed and the communist society created", Jaurès turned the Marxian critique of utopian method in upon itself. Such a perfect world could hardly be attained, as the revolutions of the century had repeatedly demonstrated, by violent and destructive acts alone: the world depicted by Lafargue and Guesde, a world where "man will be healthily fed and housed, combining physical and mental labor, the work of the fields and that of the workshop", was, Jaurès felt more likely to spring from a combination of all the forces of society, especially in the union of all socially concerned groups with the architects and engineers. Whereas Lafargue envisaged the occupation and redistribution of the existing housing stock, Jaurès saw social architects building in a new style; inspired by the example of Horta's *Maison du Peuple* dominating Brussels, he made the plea, "Ah yes, we will have to multiply the collectives, and, as in Belgium, we will promise them a grand aim: we are going to propose to them the creation of vast *Maisons du Peuple*, to be halls for assemblies and feasts, palaces of the organized proletariat; and when the proletariat wants to construct a *Maison du Peuple* on the heights of Paris, like the one which, high above Brussels dominates the whole of Belgian capitalist society, on that day it will have to send for the architects, painters, sculptors and musicians; send for those who are at least capable of understanding the new ideal. And when the proletariat, through the very development of these cooperatives comes into contact with

the artistic elements or the artistic power of today's society, will you then reproach it with having lost its way, of dissipating itself in every kind of dilettanteism? No, no, it will have called upon its head the flame of art, the radiance of art and thought, it will have prepared the way for this communist society where all men will be called upon to enjoy thought and science!"⁽³³⁾

For Jaurès, the natural process of taking possession of the cities by the workers' syndicates presupposed some form of collaboration with the capitalist machine: the evolutionary development of society would in the end create identity of interest between all classes. Jaurès wrote this passage in 1900, and the same year Emile Zola wrote to the young naturalist poet, Maurice le Blond, with enthusiasm for the then recently founded *Collège d'Esthétique Moderne* of which Zola was the honorary president; finally the novelist recognized the pressing need for action. "It is a social crime not to act", he wrote, "youth refuses to shut itself up any longer in the ivory tower, where for so long its elders have wasted their time, waiting for the truth of tomorrow to appear on the horizon". Despite his distaste for academic prescription and aesthetic doctrine, he understood le Blond's desire "to speak his ideal loud, to affirm in the finished work of art, the need for life, human truth and social utility." This, for Zola, represented his final acceptance of a social role for art, the full argument for which he had initially found in Proudhon's *Du Principe de l'Art et de sa destination sociale*, published after the author's death in 1865. Zola's first reaction to Proudhon's thought was equivocal, and in his criticism of the book, he castigated the anarchist philosopher with denying the individuality so necessary for the full development of genius. Much of the social idealism Zola was later to espouse with fervor in the *Quatre Evangiles*, was, twenty years earlier, decisively rejected: "I consent to live in his city", he wrote of Proudhon's new world, "I will, without doubt, be bored to death". The *ville-modèle* envisaged by this grandson of Fourier had no place within its walls for the artist, that individualist spirit who "does not believe in equality". Against Proudhon's definition of art as "an idealist representation of nature and ourselves, with a view to the physical and moral perfecting of our species", Zola replied, "art perfects . . . but it perfects according to its own fashion, by contenting the mind, and not in preaching, by addressing itself to reason." Proudhon made the artist first and foremost a citizen and a man: Zola

32. Paul Lafargue, *Le Socialiste*, no. 105, September, 1892.

33. Jean Jaures, *Bernstein et l'évolution de la méthode socialiste*, 1900.

would "squarely sacrifice the humanity of the artist", in favor of his full individual development. Proudhon's city was too calm, its inhabitants numerically ordered and passive: in Zola's words, "his *rational art*, his realism to him is truly only a negation of art, a flat illustration of philosophical commonplaces. My art, to me, on the contrary, is a negation of society, an affirmation of the individual, outside of all rules and all social necessities."

And yet, as was later revealed in Zola's change of heart, there was much in Proudhon's aesthetic idealism that did not contradict his own philosophy: both shared a desire to raise the level of all the arts to that of the sciences; both aspired towards the simple and precise expression of truth in form; both in the end, despite Zola's earlier denial, tended to see art and society marching together in the evolution to social perfection. The sentiments of the radical hero of *L'Oeuvre*, Claude Lantier, echo almost word for word the theories of Proudhon who, while stressing the need to conserve "our scientific gravity and industrial positivism", nevertheless dreamed of "other *means* to employ, other *forms* to create, other *orders* to imagine". The *naked truth*, held Proudhon, was the only way to fully express the ideal in art: "its aim once fulfilled, the *useful* once realized, art as the search for expression, must stop there." Such a purist notion of form led him to claim, like Claude Lantier, that "if the decorative value of a monument is to reveal its function through its exterior, the architectural masterpieces of Paris are without doubt the Mazas prison and the Central Markets." The inescapable conclusion for Proudhon, and ultimately for Zola, was that, "art, the product and exciter of consciousness, is born with man and society . . . art envelops humanity like a mantle of glory: it is its destiny, its end." The realization of the socialist world order would be with the collaboration of all the useful arts: "the earth must become, through cultivation, like an immense garden, and labor, through its organization, a vast concert." This was the ideal around which Zola constructed his last three novels, and which transmitted in this way, became the inspiration for the first great urban utopia of the new century, Tony Garnier's *Cité Industrielle*. With its creation between 1900 and 1904, Tony Garnier finally synthesized for architecture and urbanism, as Zola had for literature, the utopian and the materialist currents of the nineteenth century, and in a form that was to be profoundly influential for the twentieth.

34. Most writers on Garnier have noted the similarity between Zola's novel and the *Cité Industrielle*, the most recent studies being those of Christophe Pawloski (*Tony Garnier et les débuts de l'urbanisme fonctionnel en France*, Paris, 1967.) and Dora Wiebenson (*Tony Garnier: the Cité Industrielle*, New York, 1969). Both these authors are persuaded that the relationship is fortuitous, however, as the novel *Travail* did not appear in *book form* until 1901, the year when Garnier exhibited his first scheme for the

Garnier himself was clearly very close to the sources of *fin de siècle* idealism in Paris: arriving in the capital from Lyons in 1889, the year of the completion of the Eiffel Tower, he entered the Ecole des Beaux Arts at a time when even that rigorously traditional institution was undergoing some change. Both Paul Blondel, and Scellier de Gisors, whose ateliers he studied in, were practitioners of a mildly classicistic but predominately functional aesthetic, reminiscent of the early Polytechnicians, Gilbert and Reynaud. In 1894, the elementarist theorist Julien Guadet had commenced his celebrated course of lectures in the theory of design, and the Ecole was still in ferment from the attacks of Viollet-le-Duc at the end of the Second Empire. Garnier, also, who remained in Paris for exactly ten years, cannot have remained unacquainted with the group of young idealists around the Ecole Normale, nor unaffected by the furor of *l'affaire Dreyfus*. His future patron as Mayor of Lyons, Eduard Herriot, had been accepted at the Ecole Normale in 1891, and, while the student of architecture learned classical precedent as 'principle' rather than as prescription from Guadet, the future politician and radical socialist studied the origins of agrarian socialism in Rome under the learned Gustave Bloch. Both Garnier and Herriot avidly followed the progress of contemporary literature, and its gradual assumption of social commitment; Garnier with an especial interest in Zola derived from his early membership of the *Société des Amis d'Emile Zola* in Lyons, and Herriot associating with Léon Blum, Paul Valéry and Stéphane Mallarmé. Their future partnership as social and physical constructors in Lyons seems, in retrospect, to be hardly a coincidence. Certainly the apparently abrupt change in Garnier's work, between his ten years at the Ecole and the four in Rome commencing in 1899, seems explicable in the context of similar transformations at the same time.

More than any other single work, however, Emile Zola's *Travail*, appearing in the intellectual periodical *L'Aurore*,⁽³⁴⁾ at the moment when Garnier was searching for a program on which to base his independent design in Rome, acted as the catalyst, and the literary program for the Industrial City. The two utopias are almost identical in intention and in form: the site that Zola assumed for *Travail*, was in fact, very close to St. Etienne, a town near Lyons that Garnier mentioned in his *Introduction* as a possible model for his own city. A comparison of the layout of the *Cité Industrielle* with Zola's sketches for the set-

city. It was serialized though in *L'Aurore, Littéraire, Artistique, Sociale*, a journal edited by the radical Ernest Vaughan. *L'Aurore* had carried most of Zola's articles in support of Dreyfus including *J'Accuse*, and had become widely read in intellectual circles. *Fecondité* had appeared in installments in Vaughan's periodical between May and October, 1899; *Travail* followed from December 1900 to March 1901.

ting of the novel, confirms this parallel. In almost every respect, Zola's descriptions of Luc's new city are carried into form by Garnier, from the central *Maison-Commune*, with (in the first version of 1904) the central markets; the form of the housing areas themselves; the siting and architecture of the industrial complex and its blast furnaces; the introduction of electrical power, air transport and agrarian communes; its lack of prisons and churches; to the development of a new aesthetic for the society of regenerated labor; all these correspondences are clear. Finally, on the walls of the *maison-commune* of the *Cité Industrielle*, Garnier inscribed two quotations from *Travail* as acknowledgement of his debt to Zola. Translated, they read, "This was the incessant production suitable for epochs of peace, rails and yet more rails, so that all frontiers might be passed over, and so that all peoples, reunited, might form a single people, on an earth entirely furrowed by routes. These were the great steel ships, no longer the abominable ships of war carrying devastation and death, but ships of solidarity and fraternity, exchanging the products of continents, increasing the domestic riches of humanity tenfold, to that point when tremendous abundance reigned throughout."

"It was resolved that the feast would take place in the open air, near to the town, in a vast field, where the high corn sheaves stood, like the symmetrical columns of a giant temple, the color of gold under the clear sun. The colonnade stretched to infinity, to the far horizon, sheaves and yet more sheaves, telling of the inexhaustible fertility of the earth. And there it was that they sang and danced, with the good smell of the ripe corn, in the middle of the immense fertile plain, from which the labor of men, reconciled at last, obtained enough bread for the happiness of all."

Together, these excerpts united the two major themes of nineteenth century utopianism: the one from Saint-Simon with its whole-hearted acceptance of the positive vir-

tue of mechanization as a life giving and communicative force; the other from Fourier, a vision of a fecund agrarian golden age, harmonious and passionate. This was the ideological program for a city, where, as Garnier concluded in his *Introduction*, "each understands that labor is the human law" and further, where "there is enough of the ideal in the cult of beauty and goodwill to make life splendid."

Sustained by such optimism, and following Garnier's precedent, the modern pioneers of architecture and urbanism elaborated their bold visions of *la ville radieuse*. Le Corbusier was well aware of these roots: he had visited Garnier in Lyons as early as 1907, and eulogized his accomplishment in *l'Esprit Nouveau*: on the publication of his own Radiant City in 1935, he wrote of the last years of the nineteenth century much as Léon Blum had perceived them to be: those "dazzling and radiant moments . . . however fleeting, when the lightning flashes out before us, our certain guide! And when that vision is followed by a full awareness of its meaning then a new stage has been reached."

Perhaps the nature of the modern movement's confrontation of the meaning of industrialization to society is in question today; the somewhat naive hope that scientific progress and the new urbanism might lead society to a new and higher level of fraternity has been shattered by two wars and the complexity of social problems themselves. Yet the originators of this hope, themselves heirs to a century of unrealized dreams, were not unaware of the problems an idealism like theirs might give rise to, and were troubled with grave doubts as to the validity of the scientific panacea. Any Faust figure in the new century, desiring to work actively for reconciliation and harmony, truth and justice, would inevitably be accompanied by his Mephistopheles: more often than not it was to be expected that Mephistopheles would triumph.