

Government's disposal, since that part of their income consisting of salaries is inevitably proportionate to the level of taxation.

The members of the House of Commons who are not functionaries are mostly idle property owners who hope to obtain Government posts in order to increase their incomes and their esteem. Thus, they are, apart from some minor differences, in the same position as functionaries.

After recognising that the English House of Commons was badly composed, we should have looked for a way of improving the composition of our own House; and we would easily have discovered this means had we looked for it, since it occurs quite naturally to the mind: the expression House of *Commons* clearly indicates this.

The House of Commons should be composed of the principal members of the commons, that is, the chiefs of the various kinds of industrial operations, for these chiefs are the citizens most interested in economy in public expenditure and most opposed to arbitrariness, because taxation cannot be to their advantage and arbitrary power cannot be exercised by them: the task of conserving and increasing their wealth through the success of their operations takes up all their time and makes it impossible for them to accept posts in the Government.

*Thus, in third place, we should have improved the parliamentary regime by ensuring that the Chamber of Deputies was composed entirely of the chiefs of all branches of industry.*

## SIXTH LETTER

Having done these three things we would have been ready to proceed to the establishment of the new political system, because the new composition of the House of Commons would have enabled it to establish the social organisation required by the present level of enlightenment, and the House of Commons is invested with supreme political power, since it votes taxation.

I shall show what course the House of Commons (composed, as I said in the previous letter, of the industrial chiefs) should have followed. In order to explain myself more resolutely and more quickly, I shall allow the House itself to speak:

*'A first Chamber will be formed and called the Chamber of Invention.*

*This Chamber will consist of three hundred members, and will be divided into three sections which may meet separately but whose work will only be official when they deliberate together.*

*'Each section will be able to call a joint meeting of the three sections.*

'The first section will consist of two hundred civil engineers; the second of fifty poets and other literary inventors; and the third of twenty-five painters, fifteen sculptors and architects, and ten musicians.

'This Chamber will apply itself to the following tasks:

'At the end of the first year of its formation it will present a project for public works to be undertaken in order to increase France's wealth and improve the condition of its inhabitants in every useful and pleasing respect. Then, each year it will give its advice on additions to be made to its original project and on ways in which it thinks it might be improved.

'Drainage, land clearance, road building, the opening up of canals will be considered the most important part of this project. The roads and canals to be built should not be conceived only as a means of facilitating transport; their construction should be planned so as to make them as pleasant as possible for travellers.\*

'This Chamber will present another report providing a project for public festivals.

'These festivals will be of two kinds: festivals of *hope* and festivals of *remembrance*.

'These festivals will be celebrated successively in the capital and chief towns of the departments and cantons, so that capable orators (who will never be very numerous) may spread the benefits of their eloquence.

\*Fifty thousand acres of land (more, if it is thought right) will be chosen from the most picturesque sites crossed by roads or canals. This ground will be authorised for use as resting-places for travellers and holiday resorts for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

Each of these gardens will contain a museum of both natural and industrial products of the surrounding districts. They will also include dwellings for artists who want to stop there, and a certain number of musicians will always be maintained there to inspire the inhabitants of the canton with that passion whose development is necessary for the greatest good of the nation.

The whole of French soil should be turned into a superb English park, adorned with all that the fine arts can add to the beauties of nature. For a long time luxury has been concentrated in the palaces of kings, the residences of princes, the mansions and châteaux of a few powerful men. This concentration is most detrimental to the general interests of society, because it tends to establish two different grades of civilisation, one for persons whose intelligence is developed through habitual viewing of productions of the fine arts, and one for men whose imaginative faculties undergo no development, since the material work in which they are exclusively engaged does not stimulate their intelligence.

Present circumstances favour making luxury national. Luxury will become useful and moral when it is enjoyed by the whole nation. The honour and advantage of employing directly, in political arrangements, the progress of the exact sciences and of the fine arts since the brilliant age of their regeneration, have been reserved for our century.



'In the festivals of *hope* the orators will explain to the people the plans for public works approved by Parliament, and they will encourage the citizens to work with energy, by showing them how their condition will improve once the plans are executed.

'In the festivals dedicated to *remembrance* it will be the task of the orators to show the people how their present position is better than that of their ancestors.

'The nucleus of the Chamber of Invention will consist of:

'The eighty-six chief engineers for bridges and roads in the departments,<sup>61</sup>

'The forty members of the French Academy;<sup>62</sup>

'The painters, sculptors, and musicians in the Institute.

'Each member of this Chamber will enjoy an annual salary of 10,000 francs.

'Every year a sum of twelve millions will be placed at the disposal of this Chamber to be employed to promote the inventions it considers useful. The first section will dispose of eight millions, and the other two sections will have two millions each.

'The nucleus will itself arrange for the rest of the seats in the Chamber to be filled.

'The Chamber will constitute itself, that is, it will determine who may vote and who may stand for election. Its members may not be elected for more than five years, but they will be eligible for re-election indefinitely, and the Chamber may adopt whatever method of substitution it chooses.

'This Chamber may have one hundred national and fifty foreign associate members. The associates will have the right to sit in the Chamber, and will have a consultative vote.

'A second chamber will be formed with the name Chamber of Examination.

'This Chamber will consist of three hundred members: one hundred physicists working on the physics of organic bodies, one hundred working on the physics of inorganic bodies, and one hundred mathematicians.

'This Chamber will be given three tasks:

'It will examine all the projects presented by the first Chamber, and will give its detailed and reasoned opinion on each of them.

'It will draw up a project for general public education, which will be divided into three grades of teaching, for citizens of three different levels of wealth. Its aim will be to ensure that young people are as capable as possible of conceiving, directing, and carrying out useful work.

'As every citizen is at perfect liberty to practise whatever religion he chooses, and may consequently bring up his children in the one

he prefers, on no account should there be any question of religion in the Chamber's education project. When the project has been approved by the other two Chambers, the Chamber of Examination will be responsible for its execution and will continue to supervise public education.

'The third task involving this Chamber should be a project for public festivals of the following kind: men's festivals, women's festivals, boys' festivals, girls' festivals, fathers' and mothers' festivals, children's festivals, managers' festivals, workers' festivals. In each of these festivals orators nominated by the Chamber of Examination will make speeches on the social duties of those in whose honour the festival is being celebrated.

'Each member of this Chamber will enjoy an annual salary of 10,000 francs.

'Every year a sum of twenty-five millions will be placed at the disposal of this Chamber, to be employed on the expenditure required by public schools and on ways of hastening the progress of the physical and mathematical sciences.

'The Chamber of *Examination* will be constituted according to the same conditions as the Chamber of *Invention*.

'The Class of Physical and Mathematical Sciences at the Institute will provide the nucleus of this Chamber.

'The Chamber of Examination may have one hundred national and fifty foreign associate members, who will have consultative votes.

'The House of Commons will be reconstituted once the first two Chambers have been formed. It will then assume the name Chamber of *Execution*.

'This Chamber will take care that in its new composition every branch of industry is represented, and that each branch has a number of deputies proportionate to its importance.

'The members of the Chamber of Execution will not have any salary, since they should all be rich, being chosen from the most important heads of industrial houses.

'The Chamber of Execution will supervise the execution of all approved projects. It alone will be responsible for the imposition and collection of taxes.

'The three Chambers will together form the new Parliament, which will be invested with sovereign power, constitutional as well as legislative.

'Each of the three Chambers will have the right to summon Parliament.

'The Chamber of Execution will be able to direct the attention of the other two Chambers to those subjects it considers suitable.

'Thus, every project will be presented by the first Chamber, examined by the second, and will only be definitely adopted by the third.

'If a project presented by the first Chamber is ever rejected by the



second, in order to save time it will be sent back to the first without being considered by the third.

Now, my dear fellow countrymen, I shall tell you the first three things the new Parliament should have done. I shall speak in its name, in the same way that I have just expressed myself in the name of the House of Commons.

'All Frenchmen (and jurists in particular) will be invited to propose a new system of civil laws and a new system of criminal laws in conformity with the new political system. Property should be reconstituted and founded on a basis which will render it most favourable to production.

'All projects presented to Parliament will be published at the nation's expense.\* Parliament will choose the best projects for civil and criminal codes. It will give an important reward to their authors, and will admit them to the Chambers when their codes are discussed, giving them a consultative vote in this discussion.

'All Frenchmen (and military engineers in particular) will be invited to present a project for the general defence of the territory. This project should be conceived so as to require the smallest possible number of standing troops. The authors of these works should not lose sight of the fact that all means employed for the defence of our territory will become useless and will have to be abandoned as soon as neighbouring peoples adopt the same political system as the French nation.

'A national reward will be given to the author of the plan which is preferred.

'A loan of two thousand millions will be contracted with a sinking fund, to indemnify those persons with financial interests damaged by the establishment of the new political system.

'A national reward will be given to the author of the work which best fulfils the following three conditions:

'1. It must prove the superiority of the new political system over the old.

'2. It must establish the best method of allocating the indemnity of two thousand millions granted to those whose interests are damaged by the establishment of the new system.

'3. It must show that the sum of two thousand millions granted as indemnity to persons interested in opposing the establishment of the new system is extremely insignificant compared with the advantages that the peaceful establishment of the liberal regime will secure for the nation.'

There, my dear fellow countrymen, is the first survey of what I think we should have done, what we must do.

[*Oeuvres*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 36-61.]

\* The proposals will not be printed in full. Only extracts will be published, and these extracts may not comprise more than one printed sheet.



second, in order to save time it will be sent back to the first without being considered by the third.'

Now, my dear fellow countrymen, I shall tell you the first three things the new Parliament should have done. I shall speak in its name, in the same way that I have just expressed myself in the name of the House of Commons.

'All Frenchmen (and jurists in particular) will be invited to propose a new system of civil laws and a new system of criminal laws in conformity with the new political system. Property should be reconstituted and founded on a basis which will render it most favourable to production.

'All projects presented to Parliament will be published at the nation's expense.\* Parliament will choose the best projects for civil and criminal codes. It will give an important reward to their authors, and will admit them to the Chambers when their codes are discussed, giving them a consultative vote in this discussion.

'All Frenchmen (and military engineers in particular) will be invited to present a project for the general defence of the territory. This project should be conceived so as to require the smallest possible number of standing troops. The authors of these works should not lose sight of the fact that all means employed for the defence of our territory will become useless and will have to be abandoned as soon as neighbouring peoples adopt the same political system as the French nation.

'A national reward will be given to the author of the plan which is preferred.

'A loan of two thousand millions will be contracted with a sinking fund, to indemnify those persons with financial interests damaged by the establishment of the new political system.

'A national reward will be given to the author of the work which best fulfils the following three conditions:

1. It must prove the superiority of the new political system over the old.

2. It must establish the best method of allocating the indemnity of two thousand millions granted to those whose interests are damaged by the establishment of the new system.

3. It must show that the sum of two thousand millions granted as indemnity to persons interested in opposing the establishment of the new system is extremely insignificant compared with the advantages that the peaceful establishment of the liberal regime will secure for the nation.'

There, my dear fellow countrymen, is the first survey of what I think we should have done, what we must do.

[*Oeuvres*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 36-61.]

\* The proposals will not be printed in full. Only extracts will be published, and these extracts may not comprise more than one printed sheet.





Scherer, where I deserted on the spot and declared that I would never be a merchant. This was like refusing marriage at the door of a church. Then I was led back to Rouen, where I deserted a second time. In the end I was broken to the yoke, and my best years lost in the workshops of falsehood, where from all sides the sinister augury rang in my ears, "A very honest boy!" In effect I was duped and robbed in all that I undertook. But if I am worth nothing in the practice of commerce, I am worth something when it comes to unmasking commerce's practices.

AP, pp. 68-70

### III. WORK AND THE ECONOMY

#### FOURIER'S VOW AGAINST COMMERCE

Bringing to light the underhanded maneuvers of the stock market and the brokers is to undertake a Herculean task. I doubt that the demi-god, cleaning the stables of Augeas, felt as much repugnance as I do in excavating this cesspool of moral filth, this gambling den of stockjobbing, the stock market—a subject that science has not even superficially examined. What is needed, in order to deal with it, is a practitioner brought up in the midst of the commercial sheep-pens, as I was from the age of six. From that time on I noted the opposition which prevails between commerce and truth. I was taught in catechism and at school that one must never lie; then I was taken to the shop to be trained at an early age in the occupation of lying, *the art of selling*. Shocked by the chicanery and fraud that I saw, I proceeded to take aside the merchants who were the victims and to reveal the deception to them. One of them, in complaining, maladroitness gave me away, which cost me a thorough spanking. My parents, seeing that I had a taste for truth, cried out in a tone of reprobation, "That child will never be worth anything in commerce." In fact, I conceived a secret aversion for commerce and at the age of seven I swore the oath which Hannibal had sworn against Rome—I vowed an eternal hatred of commerce.

I was enlisted whether I liked it or not. Lured to Lyon by the promise of a journey, I was taken to the door of the banker

#### ON COMMERCIAL CAPITALISM

... Let us begin by posing the question in a familiar way. Is the present system of commerce sensible or absurd? What must one think of it, judging from the acknowledged results such as bankruptcy, double-dealing, the proliferation of middlemen, exterior and interior monopoly, stockjobbing, cornering the market, usury, and other achievements of free competition? Are all these truly the "perfection of perfectivism," as our modern philosophers claim?

In every mechanism, whether material or political, true economy consists in simplifying the play of cogs and wheels and reducing the number of machines; in diminishing rather than increasing the expense and the middlemen. This seems a paltry truth, since it is so obvious.

Keeping this principle in mind, what would one think of an industrialist who, seeing a mill in good condition and able to grind a thousand pounds of grain a day, proposed to replace this mill by another having ten times as many wheels and grindstones, and requiring ten millers instead of one in order to grind only the same quantity of grain? Almost anyone would point out to this industrialist that he is as crazy as a loon to want to increase the grinding action tenfold, and that, on the contrary,



an effort must be made to reduce the machinery, preferably by simplifying it.

Our savant would answer that by increasing tenfold the number of grindstones, wheels, middlemen, millers, carpenters, stonecutters, etc., more money will be earned, and that will *give a better living to everyone*. Yes, but this is unproductive work, work done at the expense of the consumers, who still end up supporting the cost of this new investment. But, the industrialist will say, this new mill will be so overloaded with such complicated machinery, so confusedly arranged, that the eye will get lost looking at it; an inexperienced bourgeois will understand nothing of its workings, he will not be able to follow his grain or his wheat in the complicated process, and as a result the miller will be able to steal three or four times the amount of grain that he presently steals, and that will *earn a better living for millers*. Another absurdity! Our response to the industrialist is only to say that we seek to keep from being cheated by millers; we do not seek to give them new means of fleecing us—they do that enough already.

In short, everyone will see that the industrialist's proposal is the height of effrontery, that this man is an impudent rascal, and that to accuse him of lunacy would be giving him too much credit. Anyone would know how to refute his sophistical argument about the advantage of feather-bedding; anyone would be able to point out that *the workers who increase productivity* are those who should be paid for their labor, while the middlemen and the machinery which increase production costs without increasing production must be reduced. This very simple judgment is enough to overturn the theories of all economists whose commercial system has no goal other than to employ ten times as many middlemen and capital than natural, or social, or true economy would require.

One is convinced of this by the proliferation of tradesmen who have cropped up during the last thirty years but whose range of services has not varied or increased. In some cities it is possible to count up to thirty merchants of the same sort, while in 1789 there were only three. Has money therefore in-

creased in value? Have merchants become more honest? Far from it. Extortion and chicanery have increased immeasurably, and this swarm of commercial partisans has become so refined in cunning and the art of selling, that today one is deceived even in buying matches which are now made of fake sulphur and coated in such a way that they no longer light. All other forms of banditry, bankruptcy, monopoly, etc. have been similarly perfected, as I will illustrate presently. It is obvious that the science called political economy, that of free competition, has duped society in every way through the intricacy of its deceit and through the complexity and cost of unproductive middlemen, misappropriated capital, and other losses and wastes which ultimately fall back upon the consumer. It is the consumer who pays for the profits and the fraud of these numerous merchants, not to mention bankruptcy from which the merchant profits at the expense of the public.

When a science is found to bring about such grotesque results, is it not thereby condemned? Is this science not the counterpart of the charlatanism which I just described: of the mill where the number of wheels and middlemen are increased tenfold in order to mill only the same quantity of grain in the same amount of time to facilitate pilfering? Such is the state to which free competition has led us. To praise this proliferation of middlemen and cheating is as if one were to advocate filling in or blocking the canals to give a living to the truckers, wheelwrights, and innkeepers in whose interest it would be to abolish water transport.

Why is the vice of complexity extolled in commerce, while modern administrators are ceaselessly reproached for the same error of multiplying civil servants who are obviously unproductive, since doubling or tripling their number does not even accomplish the same amount of work? Is this proliferation justified by saying that the creation of these parasitic jobs provides a living to many people? Does economy consist in allowing a privileged few to earn a living at the expense of the multitude? It is certain that if one court of law, sufficiently served by twenty judges, is suddenly enlarged to employ sixty judges, all receiving



the same salary as that of the original twenty, this tripling will support forty families. But it will be at the expense of the 40,000 families under their jurisdiction, and will add nothing to either the product or the functions useful to the producer.

At the time when the ports of France were blocked, and Marseilles and Rouen were unable to communicate by sea, the inland port of Chalon-sur-Saône was the pivot of a great movement of transport by water and by land. Can it be claimed that the closing of the seaports was an advantage because it gave work to people at Chalon-sur-Saône and along the trade route? The population of a single suburb of Lyon grew to 2000 inhabitants as a result of the profits of that parasitic industry which caused the cost of transportation from Marseilles to Rouen to be ten times more than it was by sea, disregarding the deterioration of the transported goods, much greater in the case of inland transport.

Let us conclude that rather than looking out for the profit of commerce—a true bloodsucker seeking only to pressure producers and consumers, who are a hundred times more numerous than the businessmen—one should look out for the good of the producing class and the consumers, who make up the immense majority and who pay for, in a decrease of profit and an increase of cost, the profits that the traffickers reap in distributing goods and products. This truth can be more succinctly expressed—real economy consists in favoring the services of those who increase the production of goods, and in reducing those services which add to the production cost without augmenting production. Is this thesis not shown to be true by the examples cited above of adopting machinery and filling in canals? If so, by what reasoning have economists been able to persuade us that it was an advantage to triple or to increase tenfold the mass of tradesmen, whose intervention, far from adding to production, introduces into the distribution of goods a horde of evil-doing criminals?

... Our century, having given credence to the sophisms of free competition and to the immoderate proliferation of tradesmen, is no longer capable of dealing with questions of natural

economy or the number of non-productive services. With regard to these questions, our minds are like faulty strings which are incapable of playing a true note. Commercial influence has truly distorted all the politicians' minds. Commerce today is comparable to the king's favorite who has invaded every domain of power and has subordinated all the state ministers to his will. Even agriculture counts only as an accessory to commerce. Princes have been seen to pass through a purely agricultural region ruined by a bad crop and to promise that *commerce will go well*. But what does it matter to these unfortunate farmers that there be trafficking and shady dealings in the large cities? That will not replace the ruined harvests; it will not give them the revenue to subsist on; this does not any less reduce them to living for the next six months on wild grass and nettles. Nevertheless one pretends to bring help to a starving village by praising the benefits of speculation from which it will not gain a farthing. Princes are led to believe that all is going for the best when speculators flock to the stockmarket. But ideas are so embroiled on this point that there is no end to the confusion. The fashionable word *commerce* designates all the branches of industry. All have been named when commerce has been named. Thus commerce profits from this infatuation by deriving advantages from all the political favors which the government thinks it is bestowing upon productive industry.

It will not be an easy task to dispel these misconceptions. They are to be seen in political and in economic illusions.

... The political illusions can be reduced to one fundamental error, that of wanting to enrich nations instead of individuals. Calculations and balance sheets show us that a certain nation, England for example, is colossally wealthy, and yet her cities swarm with beggars. I cannot repeat too often that London, from whence come schools of political economy that teach nations the art of becoming rich, that this same city contains 115,000 beggars, tramps, etc. And so it is in all England's cities. Could not one say to the English, by way of common sense, you have become a rich nation whose soil is covered with



the poor; try rather to become a poor nation whose soil is covered with the rich.

Our best minds know how, if necessary, to prove that pain is not an evil, that gout and stones cause no suffering; all of them know how to show us public wealth amid heaps of beggars. They all have the talent of an alchemist who teaches the art of making gold, while they make you spend your gold in pure loss. Good sense requires that the growth of public wealth be judged by that of each individual. The sovereigns, the nobles, and the financial tycoons will always have more than enough; it is thus the masses and not the notables who must be enriched. Such is the problem that eludes the learned; they pacify us with commercial illusions about the wealth of nations to mask the poverty of individuals and the absurdity of our system of distribution.

Of what importance is the prestige of colonial monopoly, the balance of trade, and the encroachment of industry that lead only to the production of a huge majority of poor as is seen in England, Switzerland, France, and in all of civilization? Our economists never take into account the suffering of the people, or the disaster of wars caused by ambitious speculation. Such a state, like the Old Regime of France, presents showy pictures of colonial profit and says nothing about commercial wars, irresponsible borrowing, and other calamities caused by colonial adventures. Neither do they mention the revolutions provoked by colonial pretensions. Was it not jealousy over sugar and coffee that caused England to provoke the revolution that led Louis XVI and the French elite to the scaffold, that took 4 million French lives, and cost 4 billion [sic] lives from among the clergy alone? Our economists take account of none of these scourges; they only see their account books balanced to the last penny.

After dispelling the political illusions we will do the same for the economic illusions, the erroneous notions about the commercial machine which prohibit us from distinguishing productive from nonproductive functions, and from distinguishing parasitic services that should be eliminated, like useless stock-jobbing, from indispensable services worthy of protection, such as transportation. All this is confused under the title of com-

merce—the good of commerce, the friends of commerce. This confusion must be eliminated.

AP, pp. 70-77

#### THE PLACE OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY IN HUMAN EVOLUTION

We have examined one of the most ancient themes of controversy, that of liberty; we will now treat of the most recent—the question of commerce, which has become the absorbing subject of interest in modern times.

The present system of commerce, based on anarchical competition, will furnish us a fine occasion for censuring science, which has not discovered that in commerce, as in any other branch of relations, *simple* liberty is a source of discord and disorder; that all liberty should be sustained by guarantees and counterpoises; in fine, that liberty should be *compound* and not *simple*, like that of the merchants, against whose frauds the social body has no guarantee.

The merchants at present are free, but the social body is not so in its relations with them, for people are obliged to make purchases; they cannot dispense with food and clothing, which can be obtained only by buying; they are then dependent on the seller, to whose extortions they must submit.

Such a mechanism is only *simple*, and not *compound* liberty; the liberty is all on the side of the seller, of whom the consumer is the dupe, and against whom he has no guarantee. To raise the commercial system to *compound* or *reciprocal* liberty, it was necessary to discover and introduce this guarantee.

Strange oversight, that after a hundred years of mercantile controversy it has not been observed that civilized commerce is of the simple and not of the compound mode; that it insures liberty and proper guarantees to but one of the contracting parties—to the *seller*, and *not the buyer*.

This truth is as new as was that announced by Copernicus, when he declared that it was the earth which turned and not the sun. But since the study of commerce dates back only a





century, ought we to be surprised at the errors which have been committed in regard to it, when on so many other subjects, especially that of liberty, we see errors lasting for centuries?

It is not surprising, then, that the mercantile controversy which is of comparatively recent date, should still occupy itself with the simple method, which is always the first tendency of the human mind. No one is to be blamed for being a *simplist* in a study which is only at its commencement; but after a hundred years of experience, is there any excuse for not perceiving that we are on the wrong track, that we are speculating on the simple mode, which is without guarantees? Is an age which talks so much of checks and balances, and of guarantees and equilibria, pardonable for having failed to recognize that there is not a shadow of guarantee, check, or balance in our commercial system?

There exists, nevertheless, in the present order a fine germ of truth supported by proper guarantees; men in earnest pursuit of the truth should not have failed to discover it in the monetary system. We shall point out in this system a clue to discoveries which have been shamefully missed by our economic sciences, which, in this matter, deserve censure.

Whoever seeks for real discoveries should know that he who proposes anything new is obliged to disregard the opinions of his age, and give a denial to its dominant prejudices. Could Kepler, when demonstrating that the earth turned on its axis, compliment his contemporaries who believed it immovable? I am in the same position—I bring a theory whence will spring riches, truth, and social unity; can I felicitate the age for having, under the auspices of its mercantile doctrines, fallen into the slough of indigence, fraud, and duplicity of action? As well compliment the goat for having been left by the fox at the bottom of the well. Men are blinded in respect to these enormities by the incense of the sophists who delude them with their flattering theories of progress and perfectibility; they would receive the same delusive flatteries from discoverers. But let no one be deceived in this—where there is incense for the age, there are no new ideas. If we sincerely desire new truths and real dis-

coveries, we must not demand flattery from him who brings them.

Commerce being the link or tie of the industrial system—being for the social world what the blood is for the body, it was in commerce that the attempt should have been made to introduce practical truth in place of that chaos of vices and frauds. Had the philosophers sought to reform the commercial system, they could have rendered a real service both to governments and peoples; instead of disorganizing the social world by their mania for overthrowing governments, they would have put it on the track of practical reforms.

In antiquity, commerce appeared contemptible to the philosophers, who looked upon it as the domain of falsehood and fraud; but since they have seen it grow to colossal dimensions by means of the invention of the compass and the discovery of the two Indies, they at least determined to study it.

The first thing which should have been remarked by men who were seeking for truth, was that it is wholly banished from commerce.

Another important observation which the examination of commerce should have suggested, was that in it are to be found the germs of various kinds of association.

Political science had then two problems to solve in the study of the commercial mechanism; the one positive, which consisted in developing the germs of association—the source of all economy—and in introducing it into agriculture; the other negative, which was to banish from the commercial system the fraud and falsity which pervade it generally, and which are the greatest obstacles to the activity of industrial relations.

These two problems were intimately connected, and the solution of the one would have led to the solution of the other; for guarantees of truth cannot be introduced into commerce without the aid of association, and the associative principle cannot be extended without discovering the guarantees of truth.

A fine and noble career was here opened to science. Governments and learned bodies should have united in encouraging the study, and, if necessary, in making it obligatory; with the



least success, it would have led the social world to the sixth society, called guarantism, which is a very happy state in comparison with civilization.

Political economists, to whom the analysis of commerce properly belongs, have made of it as of other branches of study an arena of controversy; they have basely bowed before the golden calf, and extolled the whole array of mercantile duplicities, the attack upon which should have been the first work of men sincerely seeking for truth. They could not have been ignorant that commerce in its present state of entire liberty is a sink of abominations, such as bankruptcy, forestalling, extortion, speculation, usury, monopoly, fraud, adulteration, and the like. These characteristics offered a collection of vices hideous enough to have stimulated the friends of truth; the scandalous fortunes of speculators, monopolists and commercial operators of all kinds, showed plainly enough that commerce is the vulture of productive industry; that under the pretext of serving, it audaciously spoliates it.

All these enormities have been without power to arouse the economists or any other class of philosophers. They who would carry reform into so many departments have not dared to attempt it in those relations where it was as easy as it would have been honorable to introduce it, and where they could have operated without causing either trouble or distrust; for no one is an advocate of commercial frauds which are as onerous to governments as to the producing classes. Had the philosophers sought to discover a method of true and equitable commerce, and declared open war against the system of falsehood, extortion, and complication which, under the name of free competition, reigns in commercial relations, they would have secured the thanks and approval of all classes.

In this examination, I accuse not so much the philosophers as the whole system of civilization which encourages corruption. If an age upholds a vice, writers who seek popularity will not fail to extol it. But in analyzing this labyrinth of corruption, I will commence with the errors of the philosophers in com-

mercial studies; we will then pass to those committed by nations.

The manner in which the philosophers have treated commerce proves clearly that the sacred fire is indeed extinct among them. Let us examine the opinions which an intelligent and honorable body of men would have entertained, and how they would have acted.

Nature is never at fault in the *collective impulses which she gives to the human race*. When a profession excites universal contempt, be sure that it conceals some latent vice. We find no nation despising government, the sacerdotal order, the judiciary, or the military profession. These functions enjoy everywhere general consideration; they enjoyed it before any philosophical theories existed. Whereas commerce has excited among all primitive nations a well-merited contempt.

There have been cited as an exception to this rule certain ancient states which were devoted to commerce, as for instance, Tyre and Athens. But these states had no extended territory—the famous republic of Athens was not the hundredth part the size of France. A people without territory like the Athenians, or living on an ungrateful soil like the Hollanders, form an exception to the general rule; they devote themselves to parasite industry; they become industrial corsairs, monopolists, and traffickers. They may well tolerate the mercantile profession, which is their only resource, and by the aid of which they spoliates the producing nations.

It is nevertheless certain that all nations, with some rare exceptions which confirm the general rule, have exhibited an innate contempt for commerce. The Gospel makes no distinction between traffickers and thieves. Christ scourged the former and drove them from the temple, of which, says the evangelist, they had made a den of thieves.

At that epoch men and things were called by their right names. Hence Christ called the civilizes a race of vipers, and the traffickers a band of robbers. This was the frankness characteristic of the olden time. The merchants and financiers of antiquity were rogues on but a small scale; they did not devour



millions as at the present day. Now civilization being in the habit of sending small rogues to the gallows and extolling great ones, it was natural that the mercantile class should be despised, so long as it robbed in a small way. Horace and other writers of classic antiquity amused themselves at its expense, and openly ridiculed the arts of money-getting held in such high estimation in our days.

All this has changed since the discovery and conquest of the two Indies; the quantity of industrial products has increased tenfold, and as a consequence the profits of the merchants, thirtyfold; for to the regular profits of commerce must be added those of usury, stockjobbing, and monopoly. In a word the merchants of our days are no longer petty rogues like those which Christ scourged and Horace satirized. A stockjobber or a great speculator makes at the present day in a single year more than ten monarchs. It is stated that a house in London made the sum of sixteen millions of dollars in one year on French loans. Now where is the sovereign in Europe who could lay aside, not in one year but ten, sixteen millions after paying the expenses of his household? It is doubtful whether the sovereigns of Austria and of France, after deducting the expenses of the court and household, have at the end of the fiscal year a million left; neither of them then could save as much in ten years, as a great financial operator makes in one.

This gigantic development of mercantile industry has bewildered the philosophers; they have turned toward the rising sun and prostrated themselves before the god of speculation and stockjobbing. Their science did not cringe so low before the commercial and financial interests a century ago. This independence of opinion no longer exists; we see only insolent pretensions on the one hand, and the degrading humiliation of science on the other; the mercantile vampires call for incense, and obsequious science proclaims that such incense is their due; it teaches the nations respect for them and all their nefarious plots of monopoly and speculation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The term which Fourier uses in French is *agiotage*; there is no one word in English which expresses it fully. *Agiotage* signifies the

With a public sentiment thus corrupted, it was not surprising that no discoveries have been made which would have led to reform in the commercial system. The ancients were excusable for sneering at the commercial power while yet in its infancy, but at the present day the whelp has become the lion; it is a new power which disputes authority even with governments themselves. We have seen the civil power contend against the colossal influence of the clergy in the Middle Ages, but now when a new tyranny—that of the strong box and the monied interest, the worst of all tyrannies—would seize in its grasp kings and peoples, we see the whole scientific corps prostrating itself before the mercantile colossus, that parasite which, without producing anything, appropriates to himself the wealth of nations, and forms in the industrial system a new influence, more potent than that of potentates themselves, a vampire which, without legal sanction, enters into competition with the legal authorities, and arrogates to itself the lion's share.

The division is the more unequal from the fact that government levies its taxes in the *simple* mode, while commerce and banking reap their profits in the *compound*; that is, the former levies only on the products of its own country, while the latter levy indifferently upon those of all countries. Certain bankers, who are neither French, Austrian, nor Spanish, have, perhaps, at the end of the year levied from the imposts of France, Austria, and Spain, in the form of dividends on the national debts, a share larger than that of the governments themselves, from which must be deducted the expenses of the civil list; these deductions made, there remains much less to the governments from the product of the taxes than to the bankers who negotiate the national loans. After meeting the expenses of the different branches of the public service—war, marine, etc.—the surmanœuvres of financial and commercial operators to raise or lower the price of government and other stocks, and merchandise of all kinds, by means of combinations of capital, monopoly, financial contractions, plots, panics, etc. It comprises, consequently, stock-gambling, monopoly, and speculation, and in general all schemes for producing an artificial rise or fall in the market.—Note of A.B.



plus goes not into the hands of the administration, but falls to usurers and stock-operators.

Civilized states at present are in the position of embarrassed landholders, who find the usurer drawing from their domains much more than they themselves who cultivate them. And as national debts go on increasing, the mercantile power which shares in the authority of governments tends to become their superior, and to bring them under its influence, or at least to maintain an equal sway with them. Never was duplicity of action more evident.

The strong box is in civilization all-powerful; thus we have seen the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle hesitating to decide upon anything till the arrival of two great bankers. When a political emergency places the revenues of a country at the mercy of a class of money-lenders, they become, from this fact, the rivals and competitors of the government; this is the case at the present day with the financiers who manage national loans, and who see ministers at their feet. These *devourers of the future* give tone to public opinion and to the theories of the philosophers, and rule rulers themselves. So true is this, that any ministry wishing to thwart the machinations of the money-lenders and leaders of finance fails completely, and will continue to fail, until there shall be discovered a true and equitable system of commerce by which speculation, stockjobbing, usury, fraud, monopoly, and all other mercantile artifices lauded by the political economists, shall be abolished.

This state of things should have attracted the attention of science. It is clear that civilization has changed its character, and that monopoly and stockjobbing, which are two commercial characteristics, have overthrown the old order of things. Is this a subject of congratulation or of alarm? What is the final result foreshadowed by this monstrous irruption of the mercantile power, whose encroachments are constantly on the increase?

This is a question which should have occupied the attention of our learned bodies in connection with the two problems already stated, namely,

—To develop the germs of commercial association, and give the principle universal application.

—To combat the fraudulent system of commerce by the discovery of the true or equitable system.

These problems opened to genius a brilliant career, which it has entirely neglected.

The dependency of governments is constantly increasing, and the ascendancy of stockjobbers and bankers has attained such a height that the operations of the Exchange have become the index of public opinion. If the funds fall, it is an infallible sign that the administration is pursuing a wrong policy; this fall is often the effect of the intrigues of stock-gamblers who are more powerful than the ministry.

As soon as a cabal can put into operation this engine of political commotions—this fall in the public funds produced by intrigue—the public join in chorus against the policy of the administration. Nothing more is necessary to bring undesired disgrace upon a ministry, and often to compromise the welfare of an empire through the intrigues of stock-gamblers and speculators. Was ever bondage more thoroughly established? And can any government doubt that it is under the rod of these lords of finance whenever the State is in debt? that is, in every civilized nation, since national debts are a disease especially characteristic of the third phase of civilization.

Our philosophers, with their pretensions to profound analysis, know not how to analyze this monstrosity, and do not perceive in it a transition of the civilized order from the third to the fourth phase, according to the following table.

TABLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT  
OF CIVILIZATION.

Characteristics of the Entire Period and of each Phase.	
Pivots OF THE WHOLE PERIOD.	{ Individual Characteristic. SELFISHNESS. Collective Characteristic. DUPLICITY OF ACTION.





## INFANCY, OR FIRST PHASE.

Simple Germ. Exclusive Marriage, or Monogamy.  
Compound Germ. Baronial or Military Feudalism.

## PIVOT. CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE WIFE.

Counterpoise. Federation of the Great Barons.  
Tone. Illusions in respect to Chivalry.

## ADOLESCENCE, OR SECOND PHASE.

Simple Germ. Communal Privileges.  
Compound Germ. Cultivation of the Arts and Sciences.

## PIVOT. EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

Counterpoise. Representative System.  
Tone. Illusions in respect to Liberty.

## APOGEE, OR MATURITY.

Germ. NAUTICAL ART; EXPERIMENTAL  
CHEMISTRY.  
Characteristics. DESTRUCTION OF FORESTS; NA-  
TIONAL DEBTS.

## VIRILITY, OR THIRD PHASE.

Simple Germ. Mercantile and Financial Spirit.  
Compound Germ. Joint-stock Companies.

## PIVOT. MARITIME MONOPOLY.

Counterpoise. Anarchical Commerce.  
Tone. Illusions in Political Economy.

## DECLINE, OR FOURTH PHASE.

Simple Germ. Trust or Loaning Companies.  
Compound Germ. Trades monopolized and controlled  
by Capital.

## PIVOT. INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Counterpoise. Contractors and Managers of the  
Tone. Feudal Monopolies.  
Illusions in Association.

*Ascension or Growth.* The two phases of ascending vibration or movement effect the abolition of personal or direct servitude. *Declension.* The two phases of descending movement effect the increase of collective or indirect servitude.

The APOGEE is the epoch in which civilization assumes forms the least ignoble; I do not say the most noble, because this society is always ignoble, and varies in its four phases only by shades of *selfishness and duplicity*, which are always dominant because they are the pivots of the civilized mechanism.

Experimental chemistry and the nautical art are characteristics of the apogee; on these two branches of knowledge depend the perfection of industry, and the facility of communications.

As soon as the civilized period is provided with these two levers, it is ripe for passing to the next higher social period, and any delay becomes prejudicial, since it engenders the four characteristics of the descending movement or vibration. In that case, scientific achievements become an evil rather than a good. Many of the sciences become injurious and dangerous to the civilizees from the moment they have entered the third phase. Once possessed of the two characteristics of the apogee, this period is like a ripe fruit which thereafter can only deteriorate. Thus the increase of knowledge is desirable in civilization only as maturity is desirable for a fruit; as soon as it has arrived at the ripe state, it should be put to some use.

Now what is the use or function of civilization in the social movement or the progress by the human race? It is to advance the race to the sixth period or guarantism. As soon as it has acquired all the means necessary, it *should escape from itself*; it should seek for an issue, and enter upon guarantism. If it delays this necessary step, its scientific acquisitions are only a burden to it; it grasps more than it can carry.

As a proof of this, do we not see that the nautical art, one of the finest achievements of human genius, has already engendered two characteristics of the third phase—*mercantile spirit and maritime monopoly*—together with other calamities which would have had no existence in the sixth period. The excess of knowledge and of industrial improvements has become detri-



mental to us in the same way that the most wholesome food becomes deleterious when taken in improper quantities; and it is to exceed the proper measure to *remain civilized* after we are provided with the levers of the sixth period. When we have attained the degree of social development which characterizes the *apogee of civilization*, we may be compared to the silk-worm which, having reached a certain stage of growth, has need to change its form and pass to the chrysalis state.

We had arrived at this industrial maturity as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. We then possessed the two characteristics of the apogee, and an issue from civilization should have been sought without delay.

The genius necessary to discover this issue, however, was wanting, and our sciences have become to us more pernicious than useful; they have produced only the germs of social convulsions and of political and moral corruption. In brief, we have traversed the third phase, and are about to enter the fourth or the decline of civilization.

Each one of the four phases has its point of plenitude or apogee like the entire society itself. It is evident that the third phase of civilization has passed the apogee, since we see the predominance of the two essential characteristics which distinguish it.

Let us remark that during the three phases of civilization already passed through, philosophy has never cooperated in social improvements, though it arrogates to itself that slight honor; it has always been *passive* in respect to the social movement. I have already offered some suggestions on this point, which I will state anew.

**1ST PHASE.** This phase arrives at its full by the concession of civil rights to the wife. This is something with which the ancient philosophers, like Confucius and those of Egypt and Hindostan, never troubled themselves; they did not even manifest an intention to ameliorate the condition of woman. The women of antiquity had even less liberty than those of the present day; they did not share in the various amatory rights, such as that of

divorce, and the moralists were indifferent as now to their welfare.

**2D PHASE.** Civilization entered upon this phase by the amelioration of the system of servitude. This improvement was the effect of the feudal system; slavery was first transformed into serfdom, and then the serf population was furnished with the means of collective and gradual emancipation. By attaching this class of bondsmen to the soil instead of to the individual, it turned to their advantage the benevolence or the selfishness of each feudal lord; and the *community* being able to obtain in one case a concession from the avarice of a father, in another a concession from the generosity of a son, advanced step by step toward liberty. This is a process of which the ancient philosophers had no idea.

**3D PHASE.** This phase is developed by the influence of the commercial policy, originating in colonial monopoly. This influence was not foreseen by the philosophers, and they have discovered no means of counterbalancing it, nor even of attacking it in its most oppressive form, that of insular monopoly. They have treated the subject of commercial policy only to extol its defects and vices, instead of combating them, as they should have done.

**4TH PHASE.** Civilization is tending toward this phase by the influence of powerful joint-stock companies, which, by forming combinations and securing special privileges, will control industrial relations and regulate the conditions of labor. These companies conceal the germ of a vast feudal confederacy, which will soon obtain control of the whole industrial and financial system, and will give rise to a vast **COMMERCIAL FEUDALISM**. This the philosophers have not foreseen, and while they are all infatuated with the mercantile spirit, the influence and tendencies of which they have so little understood, events are in preparation which are to change the existing state of things, and cause civilization to decline into its fourth phase.

But the philosophers do not trouble themselves with providing against future storms; they consider the social movement only in a retrograde sense, and occupy themselves with the past and the



present alone. Now that the commercial spirit is dominant, they will decide according to their custom that the present condition of things is the highest state of social development. They will restrict themselves to glorifying what they see before them, without presuming that the civilized order may assume new forms.

And when civilization shall have arrived at its fourth phase, when the commercial feudalism shall be fully established, we shall see the philosophers coming in after the change has taken place, and broaching new theories on the subject. We shall see them lauding the fourth phase with its vices, and writing volumes on the new order, in which they will then see the ultimate of human progress as they see it at present in the third phase with its commercial spirit.

We shall consider the foregoing table again, and go into an examination of the special characteristics of each phase. It is evident that civilization is tending to the fourth. The absorbing predominance of the commercial spirit and power denotes a speedy downfall into commercial feudalism or a universal monopoly of commercial relations, an alliance between the monied classes and the nobility or great landed proprietors, and a regular division of prerogatives and privileges between these two parties already united in interest.

When we see civilization elated with this declining and decrepit phase of its career, we are reminded of a faded belle who, boasting of her attractions in her fiftieth year, excites at once the remark that she was fairer at twenty-five. So it is with civilization, which, dreaming of perfection and progress, is constantly deteriorating, and which will find but too soon in its industrial achievements new sources of political oppression, crimes, and commotions. Commerce is tending to a participation in the functions of government, the policy of which is already subject to the *sanction* or the *veto* of the great bankers and capitalists. Theorizers, with their checks and balances, think they see in this unnatural alliance a political counterpoise; but it is only a league against the producing interests. Combinations like these for the purpose of acquiring power are not political coun-

terpoises; such counterpoises should be two-fold or compound in their action, like that of our gold and silver coin which, from the compound influence of foreign exchanges and the value of bullion, obliges government to keep it at its standard weight and fineness.

There is no real equilibrium of this kind in the present system of commerce; on the contrary, it is an abyss of fraud, rapine, and anarchy; it is an industrial corsair which should be muzzled by some kind of restraint. Instead of seeking for a remedy for this state of things, the age has become infatuated with all its excesses and abominations, under the impression that commerce is necessary.

Ten times the amount of commercial transactions will be necessary on the establishment of association, in which production will be three-fold and the amount of sales ten-fold greater than at present; for the demand for foreign commodities will extend to the whole mass of the laboring population in all the zones. But however great may be the development of the commercial system which shall be then in operation, it will not be carried on by fraud and deception.

Let me define more exactly the charges to be brought against the present system of commerce. It is a dishonest agent which produces *one*, and embezzles *ten*. It is a valet whose services are worth *ten* crowns, and whose thefts amount to a *thousand*. This will appear evident when I come to enumerate the special characteristics of the commercial mechanism.

Its first spoliation is to employ a *hundred* agents, when *ten* would suffice in a true system; the labor of ninety individuals is thus absorbed in functions which are parasitic, compared with *those of a true system of commerce*.

The plan of such a system was the problem to be solved; and the sciences should have been held to make an investigation of the true commercial method.

But did not honor oblige scientific men to denounce that system of commerce which constantly tended to engross the control of productive industry? Should they not at least have proposed some remedy against its encroachments, when the search for



such a remedy would have been attended with results so highly advantageous?

In conformity with a maxim of the philosophers—to proceed in the study of all intricate problems by *analysis and synthesis*—the science of political economy should have furnished an exact analysis of the characteristics of commerce; doubtless it lacked the courage to attempt it, for the portrait would not have been very flattering to the golden calf. It is an omission which I shall repair in this work; and as nothing is more important than to enlighten governments and the producing classes as to the enormity of mercantile extortions, I will present a brief analysis in tabular form of the present system of commerce.

First I will remark, that we find, among the most intelligent classes, men who are in entire ignorance as to the real nature of commerce. In a recent discussion in the public press on the subject, I remarked a mass of errors, one of which was to confound commerce with manufactures. To extol the former, it was stated that the Emperor Napoleon, on visiting the vast manufacturing establishment of M. Oberkampf, was so highly pleased that he took the cross of the Legion of Honor from his own breast to bestow it upon him. But what had this to do with the question of the commercial system? M. Oberkampf was a very useful manufacturer, and so great a stranger to commercial intrigues that two years afterwards he returned the decoration to the Emperor, declaring that he could no longer struggle against the machinations of commerce, which had raised the price of raw materials so high that manufacturers were obliged to close their factories and dismiss thousands of operatives, leaving them without work.

In this, M. Oberkampf was only the echo of daily complaints made by manufacturers who are constantly embarrassed by the schemes of speculators and monopolists.

Commerce is the natural enemy of manufactures; while feigning a solicitude to supply them with raw materials, it in fact labors only to spoliage and render them dependent. So in most of the manufacturing towns, it is well known that the manufacturer of small means works only for the dealer in raw mate-

rials, just as the small farmer often works only for the usurer, and as the humble attic student toils for the distinguished academician, who stoops to publish under his own name the fruit of the vigils of some poor and hired assistant.

In a word, the merchant is an industrial corsair, living at the expense of the manufacturer and the producer. To confound the functions of the merchant with those of the manufacturer is to ignore the alphabet of economic science.

Whence comes this extreme ignorance in respect to the commercial mechanism? Evidently from the fact that no one has ever made an analysis of commerce, and that men, in disputing on the subject, have had no real knowledge of it. A general idea of the question may be obtained by consulting the two following tables:

SCALE OF COMMERCIAL METHODS AS THEY EXIST.  
IN THE DIFFERENT SOCIAL PERIODS:

- In the primitive state, 1. Payments anticipated.  
In the savage state, 2. Barter or direct exchange.  
In the patriarchal state, 3. Traffic or indirect exchange.  
In the barbaric state. 4. Government monopolies, established valuations.  
In civilization, 5. Individual competition.  
In guarantism, 6. Collective and combined competition.  
In simple association, 7. Continuous consignments.  
In compound association, { Anterior valuations,  
Compensations by arbitration.

In conformity with the above table, we must analyze individual competition, the fifth or civilized method, which is a system of fraud and complication, and point out the errors which have prevented the human mind from discovering the sixth method—that of guarantism—with its system of combined, direct and equitable exchanges.





This study will require an analysis of the characteristics of the present or fifth method. The following is a table of them.

SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF  
CIVILIZED COMMERCE  
DISTRIBUTED IN A MIXED SERIES.

- |         |   |   |
|---------|---|---|
| PIVOTS. | { | Direct. COLLECTIVE INTEREST SACRIFICED TO THE INDIVIDUAL. |
|         |   | Inverse. INTERMEDIATE PROPERTY.                           |
| {       | { | 1. Duplicity of Action.                                   |
|         |   | 2. <i>Arbitrary Valuation.</i>                            |
| {       | { | 3. <i>Tolerated Fraud.</i>                                |
|         |   | 4. Absence of Concert and Combination.                    |
| {       | { | 5. Withdrawal of Capital.                                 |
|         |   | 6. Decreasing Salaries and Wages.                         |
| {       | { | 7. <i>Artificial Gluts or Over-supplies.</i>              |
|         |   | 8. <i>Depressive Abundance.</i>                           |
| {       | { | 9. <i>Inverse Encroachment.</i>                           |
|         |   | 10. <i>Policy of Competitive Exclusion.</i>               |
| {       | { | 11. Stoppage of Circulation, or Want of Credit.           |
|         |   | 12. Artificial Money.                                     |
| {       | { | 13. Fiscal Complication.                                  |
|         |   | 14. Fraud and Vice rendered Epidemic.                     |
| {       | { | 15. Obscurantism.   |
|         |   | 16. Parasitism.   |
| {       | { | 17. <i>Forestalling.</i>                                  |
|         |   | 18. <i>Speculation and Stockjobbing</i> (agiotage).       |
| {       | { | 19. <i>Usury.</i>   |
|         |   | 20. <i>Fruitless Labor.</i>                               |
| {       | { | 21. <i>Industrial Lotteries.</i>                          |
|         |   | 22. Corporate Monopoly.                                   |
| {       | { | 23. Fiscal or Governmental Monopoly.                      |
|         |   | 24. Exotic or Colonial Monopoly.                          |
| {       | { | 25. Simple or Maritime Monopoly.                          |
|         |   | 26. Feudal Monopoly.                                      |

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| { | { | 27. <i>Provocation to Fraud.</i>         |
|   |   | 28. <i>Waste and Depreciation.</i>       |
| { | { | 29. <i>Adulteration.</i>                 |
|   |   | 30. <i>Sanitary Lesion.</i>              |
| { | { | 31. Bankruptcy.                          |
|   |   | 32. Smuggling.                           |
| { | { | 33. Piracy.                              |
|   |   | 34. <i>Maximizations, Forced Levies.</i> |
| { | { | 35. <i>Speculation in Slavery.</i>       |
|   |   | 36. Universal Selfishness.               |

Quadruple Transition, Direct and Inverse, and in Simple and Compound Modes.

- |   |   |                                       |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| { | { | COMMERCIAL CORPORATIONS.              |
|   |   | COLLECTIVE AND REDUCTIVE COMPETITION. |
| { | { | SIMPLE INTEGRAL MONOPOLY.             |
|   |   | COMPOUND INTEGRAL MONOPOLY.           |

The number of frauds and vices in this table could be greatly augmented. I should extend it to sixty in a regular treatise on commerce.

Among the *thirty-six* characteristics, several are already known; for example, speculation, usury, and bankruptcy.

But can we find in the voluminous writings of the political economists a single definition of either of these three characteristics; that is to say, a description of

All kinds of bankrupts?

All kinds of usurers?

All kinds of monopolists and speculators (agioteurs)? We find nothing of the kind, which is a proof that in all the treatises on commerce, the first step has not yet been taken, namely, that of analysis and definition. A singular omission this on the part of men who lay it down as a maxim to proceed by analytic methods.

The same course has been pursued in respect to all the branches of science which have occupied the attention of speculative philosophy. Its authors do not analyze even the subjects



upon which they treat, so that, in fact, they have no clear conception of the problems they discuss. I have shown this in a preceding chapter in respect to liberty, an elementary analysis of which has not been made, that is, an analysis of its three modes, and of the seven natural rights and their pivots; nevertheless, how many volumes have been written on the subject of liberty, without the first condition being fulfilled or the first step taken required by philosophy itself, which enjoins on us to proceed by analysis and synthesis.

This should have been the first work of our modern economists when they began the study of commerce; and after this analytic dissection of the monster, their next step was to proceed to the countersynthesis, that is, to the construction of a commercial mechanism which would guarantee the extirpation of the thirty-six characteristics of false commerce, or individual and anarchical competition.

A regular study of commerce, then, like that of liberty, would have led to the conclusion that real and efficient guarantees should exist in all branches of the social mechanism—branches of which the civilized social order is wholly destitute. This need being recognized, it would have led to researches for a system of general guarantees, which constitutes the sixth period. It was to this point that the human mind should have been led; it should have been convinced that civilization is in no sense the ultimate social condition which it demands, since it calls everywhere for justice, based on guarantees which that order cannot secure.

The analysis of commerce would also have led men to speculate on the means of extending the germs of association, which we see springing up through the economic instinct of the merchants. A study of the development of these germs might have led to important discoveries in association. Thus a methodical analysis of commerce would have opened to the world several avenues of social progress.

Not only no positive knowledge has been acquired in respect to this subject, as I have shown by the two tables of methods and characteristics, which should have been the first in a regular

analysis, but the question has been obscured to the extent of confounding commerce with manufactures, of which it is the natural enemy, and of subordinating the latter to the various interests of the former. We see our manufacturers systematically sacrificed to the machinations of monopoly and speculation.

So long as a false system is popular and universally upheld, no one seeks to correct it; and this explains why it is that it has not occurred to our age to undertake a reform of our fraudulent commercial system. Governments and religion have been assailed, while the remedy for our social evils was to be found in a reform of commerce, an agency which has secured to itself the respect even of sovereigns, though it is their greatest enemy, since it leads them into national loans, which are the most fruitful cause of revolution; it is to them what the usurer is to a young man of family.

Commerce is the weak side of civilization, the point at which it should have been attacked. It is secretly hated by rulers and peoples; in no country does the class of landed proprietors and producers look with a favorable eye upon the parvenus who, entering our cities barefoot, soon make their hundreds of thousands. The honest landholder cannot understand this sudden accumulation of wealth; whatever care he may give to the management of his estate, he succeeds with difficulty in adding a few hundred dollars to his income; the profits of speculators and stockjobbers amaze him; he would give utterance to his astonishment, and express his suspicions of the whole system, but he is silenced by the political economists who hurl their anathemas against any one who dares to criticize *le commerce immense et l'immense commerce*.

Some governments have endeavored by coercive measures to put a stop to the excesses of commercial speculation and stockjobbing. But they failed. It is not by force that the mercantile hydra is to be overthrown; it is a serpent which has coiled itself around civilization, and resistance only causes it to contract its folds closer than before. There was but one means of opposing commercial rapine, and that was the discovery of a true and equitable system of commerce; a discovery of the highest impor-



tance, as it would have greatly increased the resources of governments, while doubling at the same time the profits of productive industry. For the sixth society, that of guarantism, yields a product double that of civilization, and we enter upon guarantism from the moment that we organize equitable commerce in the place of free competition, which is only a compound of fraud and complication.

The present system of commerce—the false and fraudulent system—was the growth of circumstances and accident. It is not a work of design, but the result of a rude and simple impulse—the tendency of the individual seller to defraud as much as possible for his own interest.

Never did a system better deserve condemnation as being vicious and corrupt; and it is clear that it should be counterbalanced by some means of guarantee against individual frauds, by some agency organized in such a manner as to unmask and prevent its extortions. With such a guarantee the commercial system would be changed from simple to compound; it would become what the grafted is to the wild fruit.

Now what is the power by the intervention of which commercial frauds can be repressed? It is the government. . . .

I am aware that in the present order it is not admissible—that if the government should interfere with the system of *simple* or fraudulent commerce, the effect upon general industry would be pernicious. But under the *compound* system, if the government should cease a moment to intervene for the guarantee of truth, everything would be thrown into disorder; just as false weights and measures would become general, if the administration should for a moment relax its strict supervision.

How should this intervention be exercised? What should be the mode? We have an example of the true mode under our eyes in weights, measures, and the metallic currency; these are the only branches of our commercial relations in which there exists practical truth; and yet they are under the exclusive regulation of the government—which is a very different thing from that fraudulent license that reigns in commerce, and produces

only fraud, anarchy, and the multiplication of parasitic agents to ten times the number necessary.

If the economists were really in pursuit of the truth, they should study to assimilate the commercial to the monetary system; the latter is not a simple government monopoly, like that of tobacco, for example, in France, but a system counterbalanced by the double check of commercial exchange and the value of bullion, which, as I have said, obliges the mint to maintain the coinage at a standard fineness. The gold and silver currency is, then, a compound fiscal monopoly, which, as in all operations of the compound order, insures practical truth.

Reformers who recommend us to proceed from the known to the unknown had here before them a fine guide; they might have made an application of the system by organizing commerce also as a counterbalanced monopoly, controlled like the coinage by the State. This would have been the means of realizing commercial truth, which would have led by degrees to association.

A sense of honor should have induced men of science to undertake this study. They are now openly sneered at by the merchants; with the banker and stockjobber, the name of savant is an object of derision. Hence science, to defend its honor against the outrages of this tribe of parvenus, as well as to establish the reign of truth, should have sought for means to correct the commercial system which it secretly despises, and to raise it from the simple and fraudulent mode to the compound and equitable. It would have found in this discovery an avenue to fortune for governments, for the people, and for men of science themselves. It has preferred the policy of truckling; it has servilely flattered traffic and stock-gambling, and has extolled their frauds and speculation, and has made the interests of commerce the rule of practical action. In thus neglecting a study which honor and the love of truth alike imposed upon it, it has failed in discovering the most direct issue from civilization; it has misled the social world, and lost itself.

In execution of the plan I proposed to myself in developing the Theory of the Combined Order, it was necessary to proceed



by successive steps, to give first a mere outline of the subject treated, then abridged essays on the same, and last, a full treatise.

In conformity with this method, I have limited myself in treating the questions of liberty and commerce to a summary exposition of the errors prevalent on these subjects. If I had gone more into details, I should have violated the plan which I had decided to follow.

The more especial object of these sketches was to prove the error of the prevalent opinion that the secrets of nature are impenetrable mysteries, and to show that the *most valuable scientific discoveries were more frequently the result of chance than of the diligent efforts of genius*. If our men of science will not undertake a methodical study of the LAWS OF NATURE, she certainly is under no obligation to reveal them, any more than she is bound to bestow harvests on the cultivator who will not plough or sow.

TSO, I, pp. 89-110

#### WORK IN THE PHALANSTERY

It is not in the material organization of the series that any serious difficulty is to be apprehended. The obstacle to be feared will be found in the play or action of certain passions, which our moral theories would lead us to repress. And yet a series, the most regularly organized, would lose all its properties, such as industrial attraction, direct accord of inequalities, indirect accord of antipathies, etc., if the three forces, which I have termed the distributive or regulative passions, were not developed and called into action. If, in a series, but one of the three is thwarted in its action, the series becomes deranged, its accords weakened, its enthusiasm and emulation reduced to a mere semblance, and its harmony and equilibrium destroyed, especially in the important problem of the division of profits.

We will now explain briefly the nature of the three regulative passions.

I will commence with the *alternating passion*. It is the desire felt by the soul of periodical variety, of changes of scene and occupations, of contrasted situations, of incidents and novelties calculated to excite charm, and to stimulate at the same time the senses and the soul.

This want is felt moderately from hour to hour, and strongly after an interval of two hours. If it is not satisfied, man falls into a state of ennui and apathy.

By means of short occupations or short industrial sessions of an hour and a half, or two hours at the most, every one will be enabled, during the course of the day, to take part in seven or eight different attractive pursuits, to vary them the following day, and join other groups. This system is the desire of the eleventh passion—the *alternating*—which tends to fly from one occupation or pleasure to another, and to avoid the excesses now committed by the civilizes, who prolong a party or fête for six hours, a labor for ten or twelve, a ball all night at the expense of sleep and health.

Our pleasures have at present no connection with industry, and are consequently unproductive; whereas in the combined order they will be connected with productive industry, which will itself be a succession of pleasures, when rendered attractive.

To facilitate the frequent changes of occupation which will be necessary, a spacious and elegant gallery, warmed in winter and ventilated in summer, will extend along one front of the palace of the association; passages on columns will connect the different ranges of buildings, and underground passages will lead to the stables. By this architectural arrangement, the residents can communicate with all parts of the edifice, with its public halls, dining-rooms, workshops, and the outhouses, without being exposed to changes of temperature, to the rain or wet. In the fields, large wagons for fifteen or eighteen persons will be employed to transport the groups.

Some persons will pretend that these arrangements will be very expensive; they will cost much less than the outer clothing and carriages which are rendered necessary by exposure to the





cold and wet, without taking into the account the colds, inflammations, and fevers caused by sudden changes of temperature.

It will also be asserted that the frequent changes of occupation will consume a great deal of time; they will require from five to fifteen minutes—less than a quarter of an hour on an average in agricultural pursuits, and half that time in in-door labors. They, who regret this loss of time, might regret also that devoted to sleep, and propose to suppress it. They do not know that activity and energy in labor are increased by brief periods of repose; the attractive industry of the future, prosecuted from passion, will be ardent; men will do more in one hour than is now accomplished in three by our hired laborers, who are slow, awkward, and without interest in their work, idling whenever an opportunity presents. In the combined order, the ardor of people in industry would become hurtful were it not frequently tempered by the suspensions which a change of occupation requires. I say this in answer to critics, who judge of the operations of association by the habits and methods of civilization.

I now pass to the examination of the two other regulative passions.

The emulative and the composite are in perfect contrast—the first is calculating and speculative in its character and action; the second, exhilarating, productive of enthusiasm, of exaltation, and of blind zeal and devotion.

The emulative gives rise to party spirit, to the love of management, diplomacy, and intrigue; it is strong, for example, with the ambitious, with courtiers, corporate bodies, and the commercial classes. Its distinctive feature is to combine calculation with passion. With the diplomatist or intriguer, all is calculation; every act, however trifling, is performed with reflection, and at the same time with celerity. The ardor of this passion then is controlled by reflection, forming a contrast with the unreflecting ardor and enthusiasm which are characteristic of the composite. They stimulate the groups of an industrial series by two contrasted impulses.

The love of intrigue is so imperious a want in man that in the absence of real intrigues it seeks for artificial ones, in games

of chance, in theatrical representations, and in works of fiction. If a company is assembled, means must be provided for satisfying this passion—by putting cards in their hands, or by some other device. There is not a more unhappy being than a courtier, exiled to a provincial town, where his love of intrigue finds no field of action. A rich merchant who, retiring from business, suddenly withdraws from commercial schemes and speculations, which are active and exciting, becomes often, in spite of his fortune, the most melancholy of men.

The principal function of the passion, in the serial mechanism, is to excite rivalry, create dissonance between groups so nearly alike as to dispute the palm of excellence, and balance suffrages. We shall not see three groups, cultivating three varieties of the butter pear, form an accord; on the contrary, these groups, occupied with contiguous varieties, are in rivalry and discord; it is the same with three groups cultivating the yellow, gray and green pippin.

Discord between contiguous shades or varieties is a general law of nature; in colors, scarlet does not harmonize with its contiguous tints, cherry red, pale red and orange red, but it harmonizes with its opposites, dark blue, dark green, black and white. In music, the note D does not accord with C sharp, or E flat, which are contiguous to it, nor with C and E natural, which are sub-contiguous. We repeat, in social harmony, discords are as necessary as accords.

But discords can not take place between groups, occupied with distinct varieties, like those cultivating the pea-pear and the orange-pear. There exists between these two little pears a difference too striking to admit of hesitation on the part of judges; they will say that they are both good, but too little alike to allow of comparison. As a consequence, rivalry and party spirit can not be excited between the two groups which cultivate them; the emulative finds no field of action.

We must then, in every series, whether of an industrial or other character, form a scale of functions or varieties nearly alike—the *compact scale* as I have elsewhere called it. It is the means of securing a free development and action to the passion



of emulation, of exciting great andor in all works, a close intimacy among the members of each group, and of giving to every product the highest degree of perfection.

We should fail, however, in securing this latter result if, on the part of consumers as well as of producers, great refinement of taste were not cultivated. Of what use would it be to perfect to the highest possible degree every variety of product, if the population of the combined order was uniform in its tastes, indifferent as to what it consumed, eating only to satisfy the appetite, and interdicting itself out of deference to moral precepts, all pleasures of the senses? Under such circumstances, general perfection in industry would fail for want of appreciation; the emulative spirit would lose its activity among the groups of producers and preparers; agriculture would sink back into the rude state in which we see it in civilization, where, out of a hundred persons, scarcely one is found capable of judging of the excellence of products; hence it is that so little care and attention are given to perfecting qualities, and that most articles of consumption are now of so inferior a kind.

The serial system must be applied to consumption as well as to production; it would fail if it were not. It is very easy to introduce it into the former; it is only necessary to establish two scales or series of tastes, one operating on the different modes of preparation, the other, on the different qualities. Groups will be formed, each with an inclination for some special mode of preparation or some particular quality; and the series, both in the kitchens and at the tables, will be organized.

We come now to the third of the regulative passions, the *composite*, which establishes accords and sympathies between groups and the members of groups, and creates enthusiasm and exaltation. The passion we have described, the emulative or party spirit, is not alone sufficient to stimulate the groups in their works; we must put in play the opposite force or motor, the composite, with its sympathetic leagues and enthusiastic zeal—the most romantic of the passions, the enemy of calculation and of reflection. This passion will be called into action and applied to the industry of the combined order; it will find there

a field for its play and development; it will be one of the stimulants that will render industry attractive. Together with the emulative, it will replace the low incentives, such as the fear of want or starvation, the necessity of feeding helpless children, the dread of the poorhouse, which, in civilization, impel the masses to labor.

Instead of such abject incentives, the combined order will, by the constant employment of the three regulative passions, stimulate the industrial groups by a four-fold charm—two of the senses, and two of the soul, thus creating four kinds of sympathy between the members of a group.

The two sympathies of the soul will consist in the accords of identity and of contrast.

There will be sympathy or accord of identity between the members of a group, for the reason that they will be necessarily identical in opinion and feeling in respect to a pursuit which they have chosen from passion, and which they can quit when they desire. The accord of identity becomes a potent charm with one who sees himself aided by a group of zealous co-operators, intelligent and affable; it is as agreeable as the association with the coarse, mercenary, and awkward hirelings of civilization is repulsive. Cooperation between polite and friendly persons excites ardor in the work or function with which they are engaged, a desire to renew the work, and to meet at repasts of the group at times when industrial operations are suspended.

The second charm of the soul is that derived from accords of contrast. I have said that to create it among the groups of a series, the groups must be distributed in a compact scale, and occupied with consecutive and contiguous shades or varieties; this distribution gives rise to accords and friendly leagues between groups of a different character, as it does to discord or rivalry between contiguous groups.

Besides these two sympathies of the soul, one of identity, the other of contrast, an industrial group must be stimulated by two other motives which charm the senses—the first, the excellence and perfection of its products, eliciting the praises of judges;



the second, the charm caused by the display, the elegance and refinement that exist in the entire series.

To sum up, if the three distributive, combining, and classifying passions, which are the organic forces of the series, are not developed combinedly, industrial attraction will not be created, or if it appears, it will die out by degrees and cease.

Thus, to render industry attractive, the condition to be fulfilled is to form series of groups, subordinated to the play of the three distributive passions. They must be—

RIVALIZED by the *emulative*, which creates discords, generous rivalry and competition between contiguous groups, provided the groups are distributed in a compact scale, or scale formed of tastes and functions very closely allied.

EXALTED by the *composite*, which creates accords and sympathies that charm both the senses and the soul, and generates enthusiasm and devotion among the members of a group.

CONNECTED or interlinked by the *alternating or modulating passion*, which is the support of the two others, as it maintains their activity by means of short occupations, and the choice of pursuits and pleasures, thus preventing satiety and lukewarmness.

I insist on the importance of this latter passion, the most proscribed of the three—on the necessity of short and varied occupation, the absence of which in our civilized system of industry is its condemnation; let us observe its effects in a material and a passional sense.

In a material sense, it conduces to health and vigor. Health necessarily suffers if a uniform labor, like weaving, sewing or writing, which does not exercise successively all parts of the body, is prosecuted the entire day through. Even active occupations, like those of agriculture, are injurious when thus prolonged ten or twelve hours a day. One exhausts the members and viscera, the other vitiates the solids and fluids.

The evil is increased if the labor, whether active or passive, is continued for months and years. In some branches of industry, we see the working classes afflicted by special diseases, caused by the nature of their labors; while other branches, such as the

manufacture of various chemical products, are the death of the workman, and from the simple fact of prolonged application; he would be exempt from danger if the system of short periods of labor, say of two hours' duration, was introduced, and the labor repeated but two or three times a week.

The wealthy classes, for want of this system, are subject to other diseases, such as apoplexy, rheumatism and the gout. Obesity, which is common among the rich, denotes a radical defect in the equilibrium of the system, and a mode of life, which, in occupations and pleasures, is contrary to nature. Perfect health is only to be attained by this continual alternation of occupations, which, exercising successively every part of the body and every faculty of the mind, maintains both in activity and equilibrium.

In a passional sense, the alternating passion produces accord and agreement between characters, even of an opposite nature. For example, A and B are two persons of entirely dissimilar dispositions; but it happens that among the groups to which A belongs, there is a third in which his interests coincide with those of B, and in which he derives advantages of various kinds from the tastes of B, although the opposite of his own. It is the same with the tastes of B as regards A. As a consequence, without a real friendship existing between them, there is esteem, and an exchange of good offices.

Thus interest, which separates friends in civilization, may be made to unite enemies even in the combined order; antipathetic characters are conciliated by indirect cooperation, resulting from the connection and alternation of pursuits, which is the effect of short occupations.

These short periods enable a series, if composed only of thirty persons, to introduce its members into a hundred other series, and form with them ties of friendship and of interest. We shall see that this connection is indispensable to the solution of two important problems—first, the equitable division of profits according to labor, capital and talent; and second, perfect agreement in matters of collective interest, effected through self interest, which at present is the most fruitful source of discord.



It is, then, by means of one of the passions the most sharply criticized by the moralists and philosophers—the love of change and variety—that we shall solve so many problems in which they have failed.

Like the moralists, one must be the enemy of nature to deny this want of variety, the necessity of which in material matters is clearly evident. Any enjoyment, for example, which is long continued, becomes an excess, dulls the senses, and destroys the pleasure; a repast of four hours degenerates into an abuse; an opera of four hours wears the spectator. As regards change and variety, the soul is as exacting as the body; all the affections, even love, are subject to the law of alternation.

The animal and vegetable kingdoms require changes and crossings; without them, they degenerate. Our stomachs, in like manner, require change; an habitual variety of food facilitates digestion and promotes health; the stomach will soon repel the most delicate dish, if presented to it daily.

The mind, in like manner, becomes fatigued by the long continued exercise of one faculty; characters, in which the ALTERNANT is predominant, require the exercise of two or three passions at the same time, to read cumulatively two or three works, to be engaged in two or three studies.

The earth itself needs alternations of crops and modes of culture; the vegetable creations need to be reproduced by changes of seed, shoots and other means; the soil requires changes of manures. All nature seeks variety; it is only the moralists and the Chinese that desire monotony and uniformity; as a consequence, the Chinese are, from their habits of stagnation, the most perverted of races and the farthest removed from the paths of nature.

The three regulative passions, being the most strongly condemned by our moral theories which are in every way opposed to attraction, play as we may presume an important part in the social system designed by nature; they hold the rudder, for it is they which direct the series. A series is imperfect in which they do not act combinedly and freely.

They form, in the scale of the twelve passions of the soul, the neutral principle.

The active principle—the four affectional or social passions.

The passive principle—the five sensitive or sensuous passions.

The neutral principle—the three distributive passions.

The latter are neutral, because they are but the result of the play of some of the nine others; each one of the three can only act or be developed by calling into action at least two of the nine others. It is for this reason that they have escaped the observation of analysts, and that their existence has been overlooked. I was led to their discovery by calculations on the neutral principle which we find in all departments of nature, a principle not admitted by the moderns, but suspected by the ancients.

Let us observe that the three neutral passions lead to the great end to be attained—the harmony and equilibrium of the passions, and by means of which our moral theories are ignorant; we shall see that this harmony and equilibrium, so vainly sought, results from the action of the alternating passion, which prevents excesses by varying occupations and pleasures before they are carried to an extreme. It thus establishes balance and equilibrium in the action of the passions by a great variety of pursuits and pleasures, and not by a calculated moderation, inasmuch as it operates in conjunction with two impulses—the emulative and the composite—both of which tend to extremes, even in virtue, and would lead to excesses, were they not tempered by the influence of alternation, or periodical change.

Thus the industrial series will be actuated by three motors—by two contrasted impulses, tempered by inconstancy. Such is the secret of the equilibrium of the passions; it is attained by means the very opposite of our visionary theories of moderation and of frigid reason, that is, by their free and full development in an order suited to them.

Let me here remark that nothing is so well calculated as the theory of the passions to confound all our moral and philosophic doctrines, which hold that these springs of action, these motors in man were created at random, and that God has had





to leave to legislators and moralists the task of regulating and harmonizing them. The passions may, in the social mechanism, be compared to an orchestra of sixteen hundred and twenty instruments: our social guides in wishing to direct them resemble a band of children who, gaining access to the orchestra of an opera, and laying hold of the instruments, should produce a frightful charivari. Are we to conclude from this that music is the enemy of man, that we should suppress the violins, stop the bass-voles, and smother the flutes? Not at all; we must drive away these little intruders, and place the instruments in the hands of expert musicians. In like manner the passions in the more the enemies of man than are musical instruments; man has no enemy but our ignorant moral and philosophic guides, who wish to control the passions without possessing the least knowledge of the mode of action assigned to them by nature, and of the social mechanism to which they are adapted. When this social mechanism shall be tested, it will be seen that the passions are all good as God created them, and that when normally developed, they tend to social unity and harmony.

TSO, II, pp. 52-60

#### THE EFFECT OF ASSOCIATION ON THE PASSIONS

Our century felt this and has thus experimented with associative orders that choose the mass rather than the family as the pivot; orders that subordinate the harmony of the family to the harmony of the collective.

These associative and colonial experiments have all failed in Europe; Robert Owen, Van den Bosch and Arackchejew have fallen. I do not speak of the Moravians who are industrial monks, given to monstrosities like placing women in lotteries.

Neither do I cite in the list of experiments the Saint-Simonians, who had neither the knowledge nor the desire to attempt associative experiment even though it would have been easy at the time of their vogue to obtain contributions totaling a million. But this was not their secret objective. By means of

association they wanted to exploit the world. They wanted to use this as a steppingstone to found a religion and to grant themselves prelates in order to lay their hands on donations, heritages, and fortunes.

Lastly Francia, an audacious and quite ingenious daredevil, took a remarkable step in the art of associating in America. He sensed that the objective was to affect the solidarity of the masses in order to help the individual. But he bullied the problem instead of solving it. He went directly to the goal, but by the wrong means. He used a coercive and semi-monastic method, and created an ambiguous community without sufficient gradation of classes and thus stamped out liberty.

Now it is a matter of correcting that defective initiative which was devoid of truly attractive means. Francia partially knew how to get out of the rut of civilization, but he did not know how to innovate, or how to operate by the scales of inequality and the principle of attractive industry.

The problem is to *change the direction* of passion rather than to change or repress the passions and instincts. What are germs of evil today must be transformed into propitiary germs, like cupidity which forces the lower class into the role of petty thieves, and the higher class into the role of great thieves who hang the little ones.

Let us give an example of this metamorphosis applied to petty thieves, because the great ones merit respect.

In our society people steal for two reasons; because they lack what they need, and because they are able to get rid of the stolen goods. In the combined order these two motives will no longer exist. The people will enjoy abundance, and they will not be able to sell stolen objects. Furthermore they would be dishonored, ruined, exiled, and even banished. Let us look more closely.

Bastien is a skillful fisherman, a practicing officer in the series of groups which take care of the fish preserves and rivers. (I say practicing officer because each industrial series has two groups of officers, those of theoretical and practical production, and those of etiquette chosen from among the rich sectarians. The

