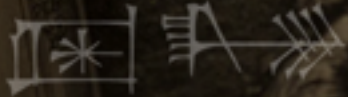


**David M. Hart, “Unfortunately, hardly anyone listens to the Economists”:  
The Battle against Socialism by the French Economists in the 1840s.  
[CIS, 8 July, 2014]**



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In an Appendix to his *The Theory of Money and Credit* (1912) the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) discussed the value of a silver coin issued by Gelon the King of Syracuse in 480 BC. A picture of the coin was used on the original cover of the ...



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Deirdre McClosky is over the halfway point of her 4 volume work on *The Bourgeois Era*. Two volumes have already appeared, *Bourgeois Virtues* (2006) and *Bourgeois Dignity* (2010), and a third is close to appearing. This Liberty Matters online discussion will assess her progress to date with a ...



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*The Correspondence and Articles on Politics*

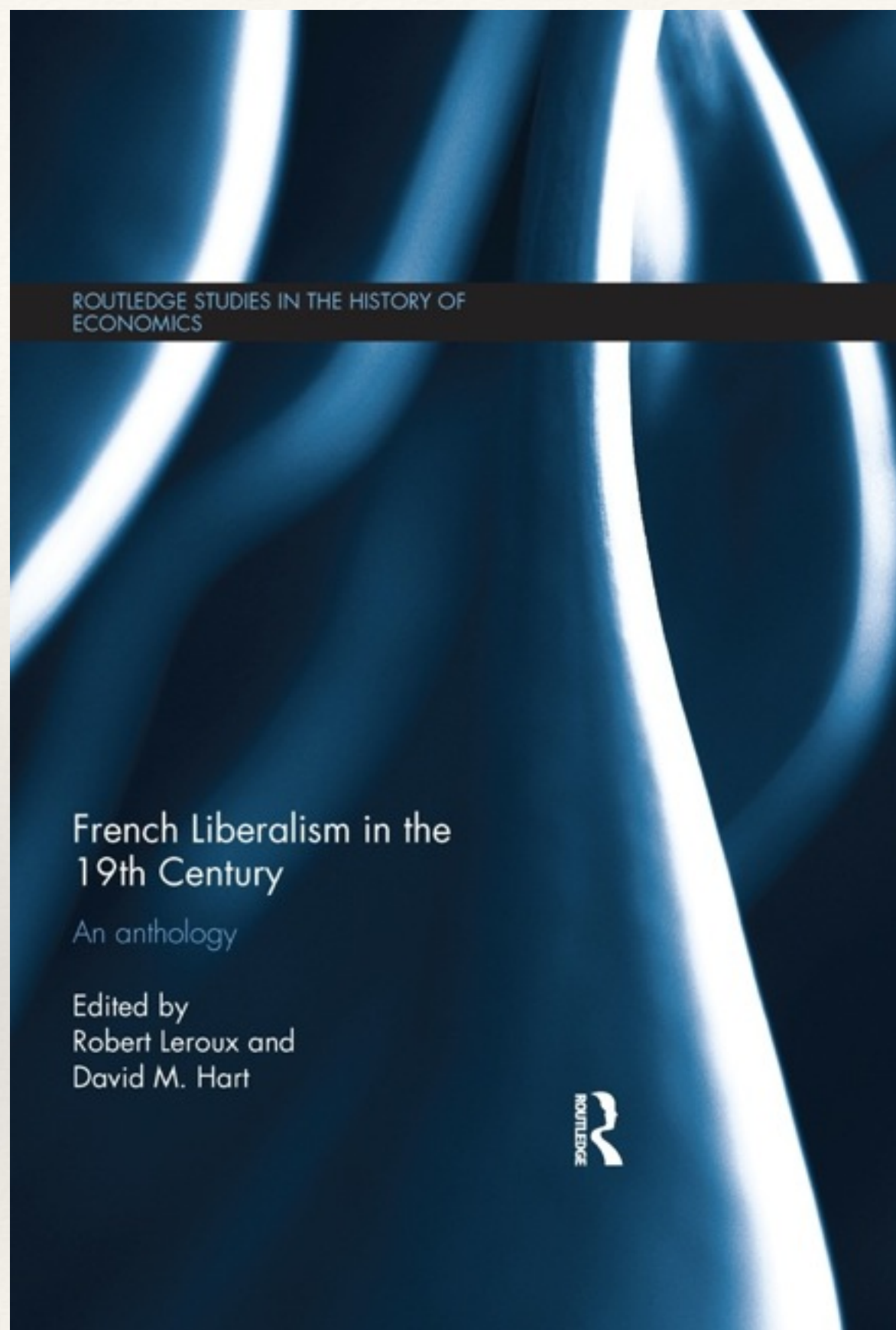
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT



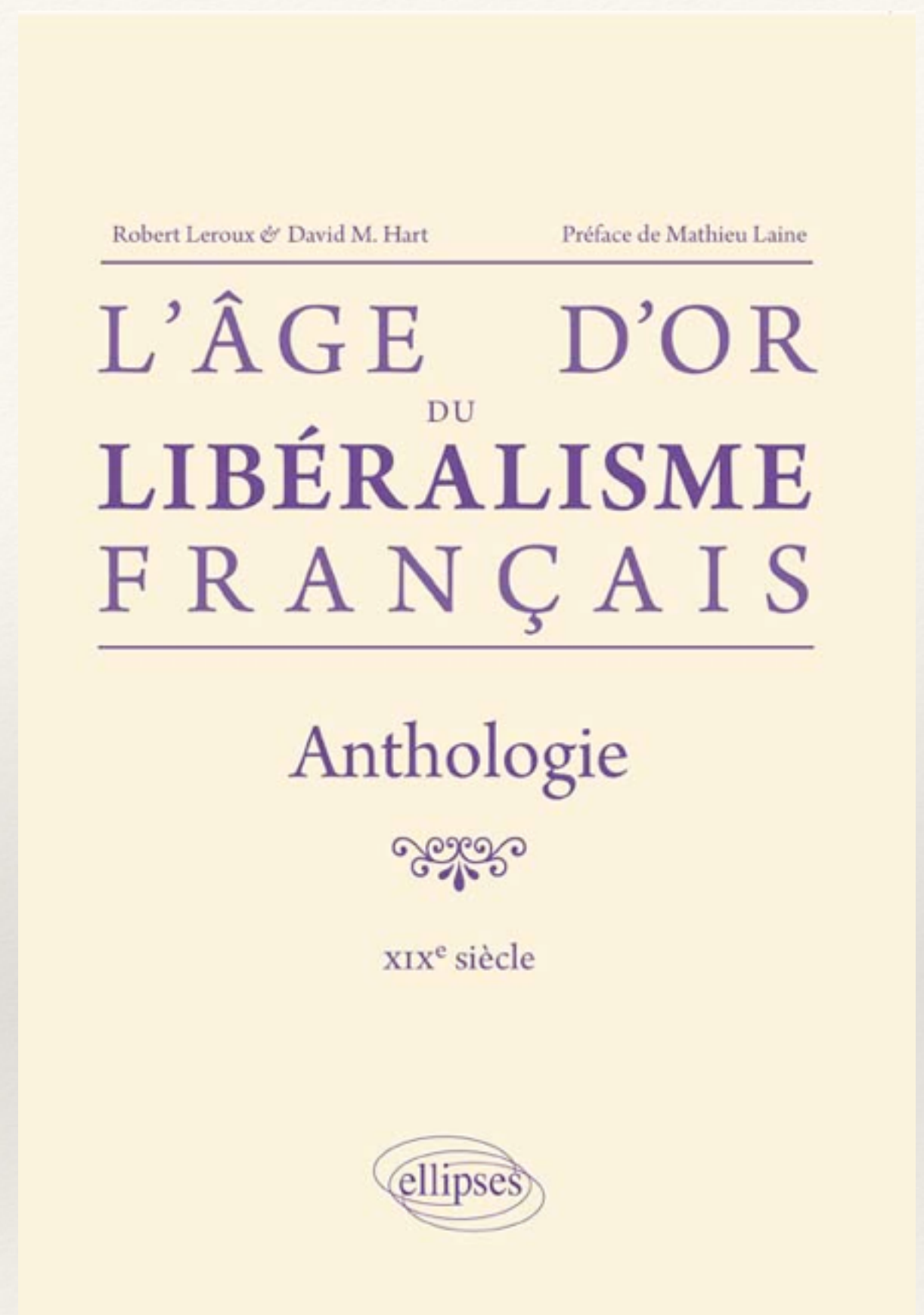
*Place Bastiat, Magon, France*

Jacques de Guenin, General Editor

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- ❖ Vol. 3: *Economic Sophisms and "What is Seen and What is Not Seen"* (in production)
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- ❖ Vol. 6: *The Struggle Against Protectionism: The English and French Free-Trade Movements*
- ❖ General Editor - Jacques de Guenin
- ❖ Academic Editor - Dr. David M. Hart
- ❖ Translation Editor: Dennis O'Keeffe



*French Liberalism in the 19th Century: An Anthology*  
(London: Routledge, 2012)



*The Golden Age of French Liberalism:  
An Anthology from the 19th Century* (Paris: Ellipses, 2014)



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Gustave de Molinari, *Evenings on Saint Lazarus Street:*  
*Discussions on Economic Laws and the Defence of Property* (1849)  
[Edited and with an Introduction by David M. Hart]

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**EVENINGS ON  
SAINT LAZARUS STREET:  
DISCUSSIONS  
ON  
ECONOMIC LAWS  
AND  
THE DEFENCE OF PROPERTY**

By M. G. DE MOLINARI

Member of the Political Economy Society of Paris.

“It is necessary to refrain from attributing to the physical laws which have been instituted in order to produce good, the evils which are the just and inevitable punishment for the violation of this very order of laws.” F. QUESNAY.

PARIS,

GUILLAUMIN ET CIE, LIBRAIRES,

Editors of the Collection of Principal Economists, the Journal des Économistes,  
the Dictionary of Commerce and Trade, etc.

RUE RICHELIEU, 14

1849



Claude Monet, series on “La Gare Saint-Lazare” (1877)



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David M. Hart

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David Hart is an historian and a libertarian with interests in the history of the classical liberal tradition (especially the French), war and culture, libertarian class theory, and film. He has a PhD from King's College, Cambridge, a masters from Stanford University, and a BA Honours degree from Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. He taught in the Department of History at the University of Adelaide in South Australia for 15 years before moving to the US where he now works for a non-profit foundation.

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# “The Locomotive of Revolution” 1

“Isn't it even more necessary than ever to study the organisation of society given the existence of a revolution which is so vast and so deep, whose impact should unquestioningly be for the benefit of civilisation, but which because of the ignorance of some and the destructiveness of others could be deflected from its natural path and turned towards dangerous cliffs? Human beings have at their disposal new forces which their intelligent labours have pried from nature's grasp. Couldn't these forces be the cause of more good or harm according to the good or harmful direction to which they are directed? A locomotive which carries at vertiginous speed several hundred passengers provides a greater service than a horse drawn cart, but doesn't a locomotive which derails cause much more disastrous accidents than a horse which has bolted?



Chemin de fer du Nord, "Catastrophe de Pampoux  
(9 Juillet 1845)



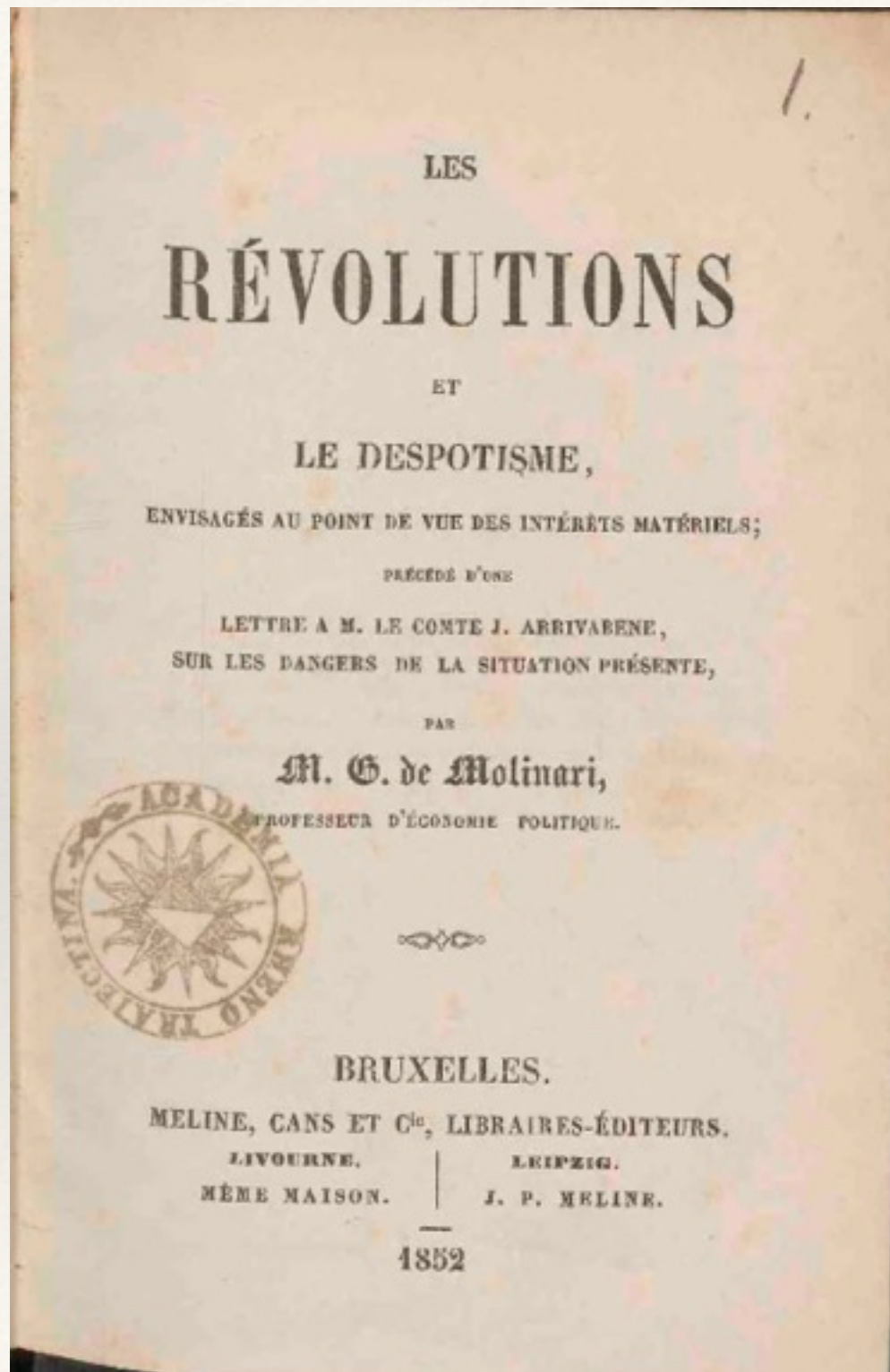
# “The Locomotive of Revolution” 2



As the mechanism of production expands and grows for the benefit of the human race, wouldn't it lead to even more fearsome catastrophes if this mechanism is pointed in the wrong direction? **The deep study of social organisation, a study which is the subject of political economy, has therefore become even more of a necessity since the arrival of large-scale industry, because it alone can show the means to prevent this powerful locomotive from derailing.**



# “Unfortunately, hardly anyone listens to the Economists”



“Political economy is the mother science of real liberalism...”

The economists are the bookkeepers of politics...

Unfortunately, hardly anyone listens to the Economists.”



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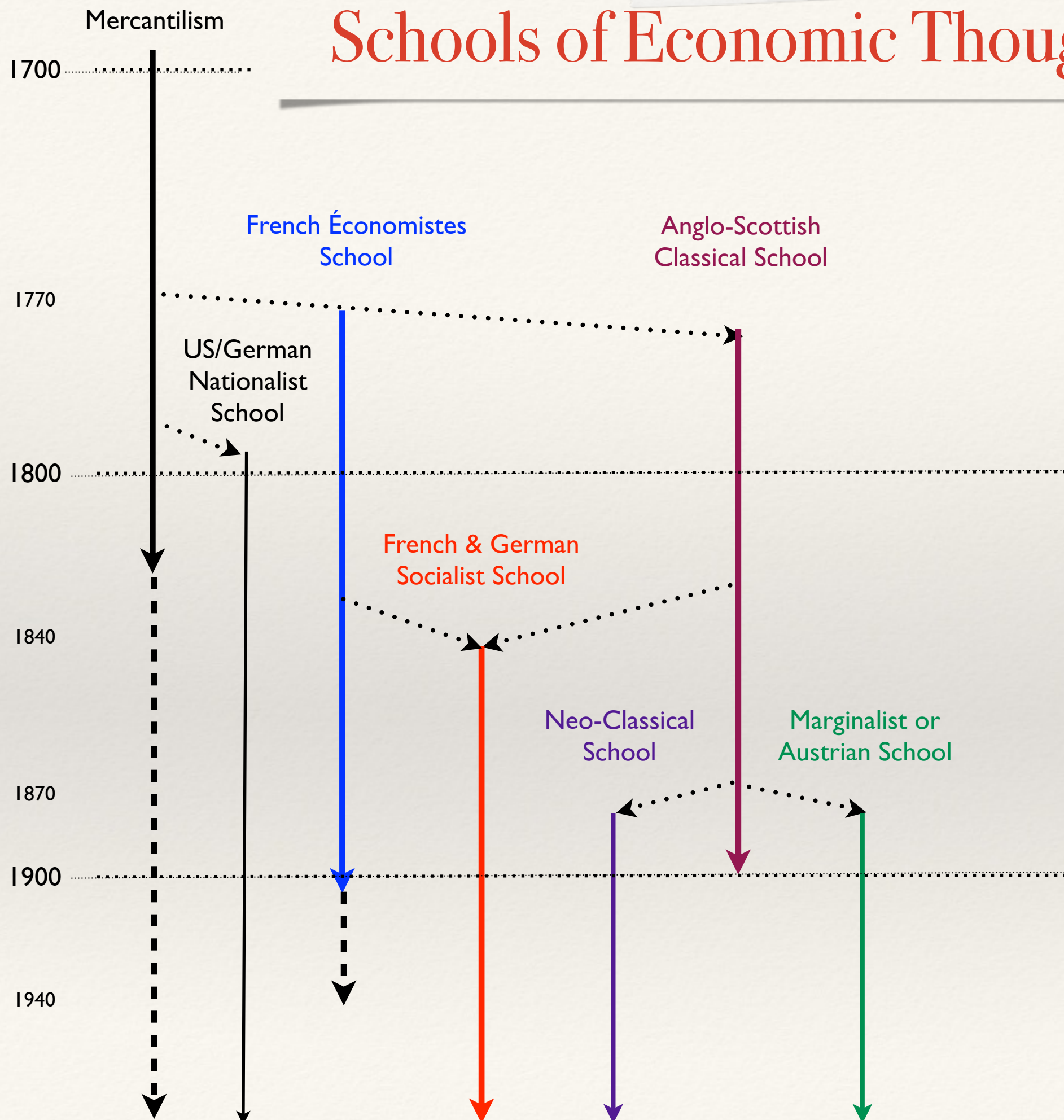
# Outline

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- ❖ **French Classical Liberalism (CL)** is a very important but relatively unknown part of the CL movement
- ❖ the **period 1840-1860** were crucial in the development of both socialism and CL
- ❖ French socialists developed a **comprehensive critique of the Free Market (FM)** during the 1830-40s
- ❖ 1848 Revolution - the **first attempt by socialists to create a modern welfare state** (government guaranteed (taxpayer funded) unemployment relief, make work schemes, and the "right to a job" for all workers)
- ❖ **opposed ideologically and politically** by the Economists during 1840s and early 1850s
  - ❖ important role played by "the Seven Musketeers" of French political economy (Minart)
  - ❖ created many organisations to promote FM ideas and oppose protectionism & socialism
  - ❖ developed a set of key arguments against socialism which we still use today
  - ❖ used multiple strategies: academic publishing, journalism, public associations & meetings, teaching, electoral politics, popularization of economic ideas
- ❖ the battle against socialism forced the Economists to **rethink their political and economic theories** in new and important directions



# Schools of Economic Thought



**The Nationalist School**  
**Alex. Hamilton (1755-1804)**  
**Henry Clay (1777-1852)**  
**Friedrich List (1789-1846)**

**The French School**  
**Turgot (1727-1781)**  
**J.B. Say (1767-1832)**  
**F. Bastiat (1801-1850)**  
**G. de Molinari (1819-1912)**

**The Socialist School**  
**Saint-Simon (1760-1825)**  
**P.J. Proudhon (1809-1865)**  
**Karl Marx (1818-1883)**

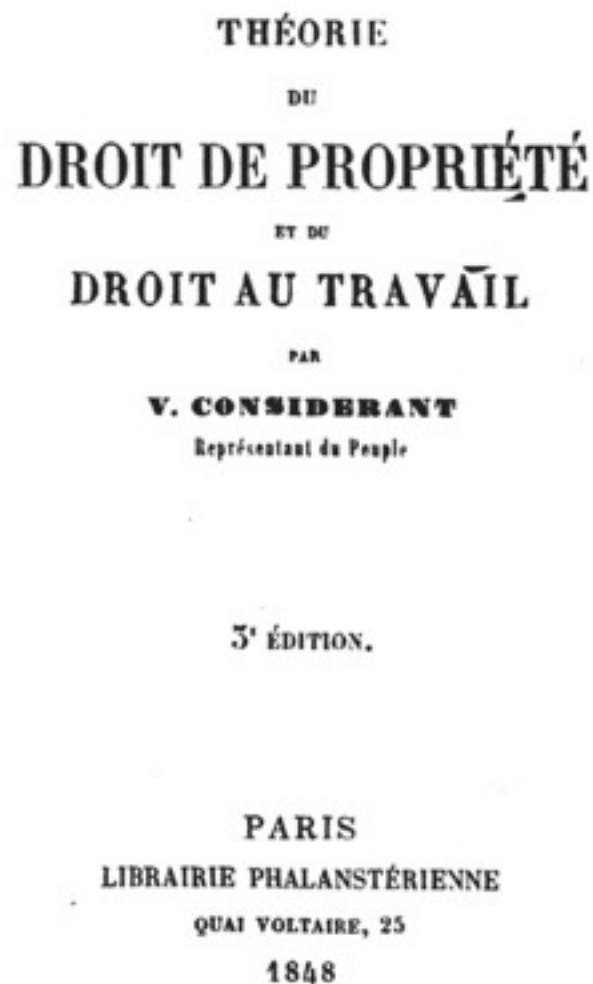
**The Classical School**  
**Adam Smith (1723-1790)**  
**David Ricardo (1772-1823)**  
**J.S. Mill (1806-1873)**

**The Neo-Classical School**  
**Alfred Marshall (1842-1924)**  
**Irving Fisher (1867-1947)**  
**J. M. Keynes (1883-1946)**

**The Marginalist**  
**Léon Walras (1834-1910)**  
**W.S. Jevons (1835-1882)**  
**Carl Menger (1840-1921)**



# Key French Socialist Texts (1839-52)



- ❖ Louis Blanc, *Organisation du travail* (1839)
- ❖ Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* (1840)
- ❖ Alphonse de Lamartine, *Du droit au travail et de l'organisation du travail* (1844)
- ❖ Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques ou Philosophie de la misère* (1846)
- ❖ Victor Considerant, *Droit de propriété et du droit au travail* (1848)
- ❖ Louis Blanc, *Le Socialisme. Droit au travail, réponse à M. Thiers* (1848)
- ❖ *Le droit au travail à l'Assemblée nationale* (1848)
- ❖ Proudhon, *Le droit au travail et le droit de propriété* (1850)
- ❖ [Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848); *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852)]



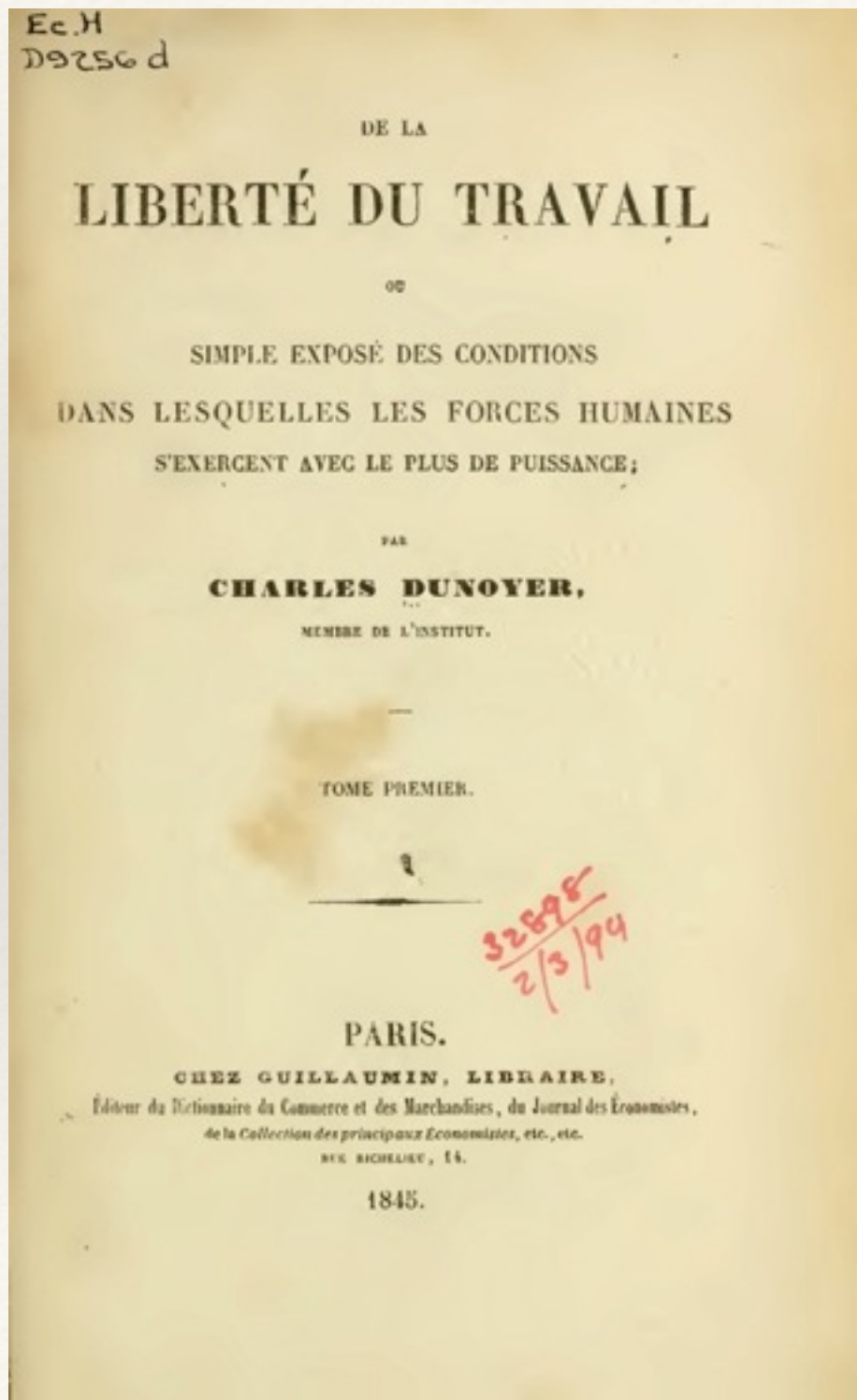
# The Revolutionary Socialism of Karl Marx



- ❖ Marx in Paris 1843-45, Brussels 1845-48, Paris 1848, 1849
- ❖ early Marx
  - ❖ *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*
  - ❖ *Wage Labour and Capital* (1847)
  - ❖ *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848)
  - ❖ *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852)
- ❖ mature Marx
  - ❖ *Grundrisse* (Sketch of a Criticism of Political Economy) (1857)
  - ❖ *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)
  - ❖ *Capital*, Vol. I (Das Kapital) (1867)



# Key Anti-Socialist Texts (1845-52)



- ❖ Charles Dunoyer, *La Liberté du travail* (1845)
- ❖ F. Bastiat, *Economic Sophisms I* (1846) and II (1848)
- ❖ Adolphe Thiers, *Discours prononcé à l'Assemblée Nationale sur le droit au travail* (1848)
- ❖ Adolphe Thiers, *De la propriété* (1848)
- ❖ Léon Faucher, *Du droit au travail* (1848)
- ❖ Michel Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Organisation du travail* (1848)
- ❖ Frédéric Bastiat's series of 12 anti-socialist pamphlets (1848-1850)
- ❖ Molinari, *Les Soirées de la rue Saint-Lazare* (1849)
- ❖ Bastiat and Proudhon, *Gratuité du crédit* (Oct. 1849 - Feb. 1850)
- ❖ Bastiat, *Economic Harmonies* (1850-51)
- ❖ Molinari, *Les Révolutions et le despotisme envisagés au point de vue des intérêts matériel* (1852)



# Socialist Critique of the FM & Wage Labour

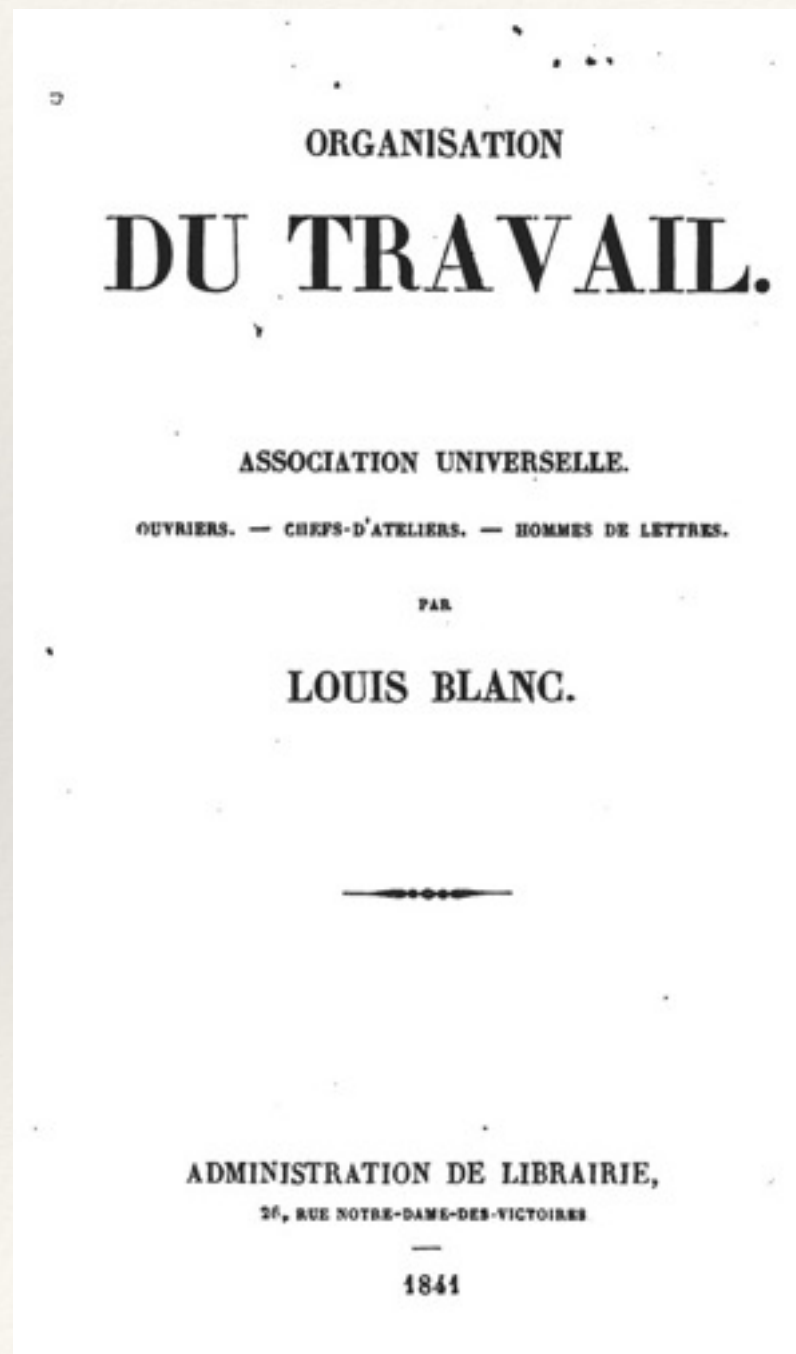
PRINCIPES  
DU  
**SOCIALISME**  
MANIFESTE  
DE LA  
**DÉMOCRATIE AU XIX SIÈCLE.**  
PAR  
**V. CONSIDERANT,**  
Ancien élève de l'École Polytechnique, membre du conseil général  
de la Seine.  
SUIVI DU  
**PROCÈS DE LA DÉMOCRATIE PACIFIQUE.**

PARIS  
LIBRAIRIE PHALANSTÉRIENNE,  
RUE DE BAYONNE, 2,  
ET QUAI VOLTAIRE, 25, EN FACE DU PONT-ROYAL.  
M. D. CCC. XL. VII.

- ❖ Smithian/Ricardian **labour theory of value**
  - ❖ labour was main source of the creation of value
  - ❖ workers not given full value of their labour
  - ❖ profits to owners was therefore "unearned"
- ❖ **"unearned" nature of land rent**
  - ❖ agriculture was gift of soil, sun, therefore charging land rent was wrong
  - ❖ should be eliminated or reduced, and
  - ❖ land redistributed to propertyless
- ❖ **heartless Malthusianism**
  - ❖ inevitable impoverishment of the WC due to population pressure & "iron law of wages"
  - ❖ need for government regulation, redistribution



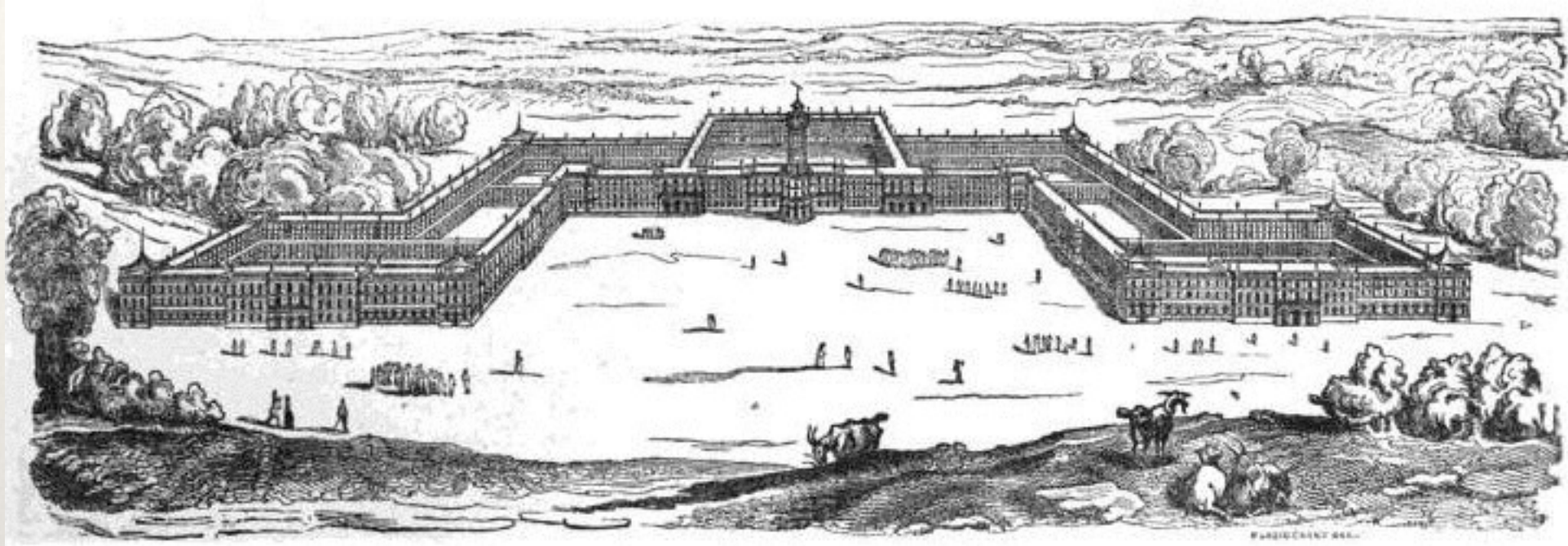
# The Socialist Solution (1)



- ❖ “organisation” and “association” in favour of workers
- ❖ end of wage labour & businesses run for profit
- ❖ socially (communally) owned and run workshops - “ateliers sociaux”
- ❖ “le droit au travail” (the right to a job) - govt. (taxpayer) funded work programs
- ❖ low or zero interest loans through “Peoples’ Banks”
- ❖ confiscation and redistribution of property (land)
- ❖ protection & subsidies for national industry
- ❖ govt. support for old, sick, orphans



# The Socialist Solution (2)



❖ four strategies to achieve socialism:

1. **Utopian socialism:** Fourier's voluntary communities - "phalansteries" (experimental communities in Texas, Illinois, Indiana)
2. **Democratic socialism:** Louis Blanc's National Workshops - street activism & "direct action" (Feb.-May 1848)
3. **Bureaucratic socialism:** imposed by charismatic leader - Bonapartism of Napoléon III
4. **Revolutionary socialism:** Karl Marx - revolution & dictatorship of proletariat (failure of 1848 showed him need for dictatorship to prevent electoral backlash or coup d'état)



# Attempts to Implement the Socialist Program in 1848 (1)

## **ATELIERS NATIONAUX.**

### **ORDRE DU JOUR.**

Attendu que les travailleurs embrigadés aux Ateliers Nationaux ont demandé, avec justice, que le travail disponible fût réparti entre eux de la manière la plus égale et la plus équitable;

Attendu qu'il n'existe de travaux que pour 16,000 hommes, et que le nombre d'hommes embrigadés dépasse 50,000;

Il est convenu que jusqu'à nouvel ordre, et en attendant mieux, chaque compagnie, à partir de Lundi 17, travaillera 2 jours par semaine.

*Le Commissaire de la République,  
Directeur des Ateliers Nationaux,*

**ÉMILE THOMAS.**

14 Avril 1848.

Paris. — Typ. et Lith. de A. APPERT,  
passage du Caire, 54.

- ❖ 22-24 Feb. - the Three Revolutionary Days which overthrew the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe and the government of Guizot
- ❖ 23 February - socialists seize the Hôtel de Ville and form a **provisional government** which consisted of 12 men, Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, "Albert", Marie, Arago, Marrast, Flocon, Garnier-Pagès, Pyat.
- ❖ 25 Feb. - declaration of the Second Republic by Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin. Formation of an armed guard of 24,000 unemployed workers; **declaration of "the right to work"**
- ❖ 28 Feb. - creation of the "Commission du gouvernement pour les travailleurs" (**Luxembourg Commission**) headed by Louis Blanc which will organize the **National Workshops**
- ❖ 6 March - the creation of the **National Workshops**



# Attempts to Implement the Socialist Program in 1848 (2)



- ❖ 23-24 April - elections for the Constituent Assembly (more moderate republicans elected)
- ❖ 16 May - the Luxembourg Commission is closed down
- ❖ 21 June - abolition of the National Workshops program
- ❖ 23-26 June - the “June Days” riots in Paris which are suppressed by General Cavaignac with loss of thousands of lives; 24 June declaration of “state of siege” (martial law) which lasts until 19 October
- ❖ 29 Aug. - the Constitutional Commission agrees to remove the phrase “le droit au travail” from the new constitution
- ❖ 2-4 November - final reading of the new Constitution which is passed 739 to 30, promulgated 12 November. An amendment to include in the new constitution a clause defending “the right to work” is defeated
- ❖ 10 December - election of Louis Napoléon Bonaparte of the “Party of Order” as president of the Republic



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# The “7 Musketeers” of French Political Economy (1)

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**Frédéric Bastiat**  
(1801-1850)

- ❖ 1st generation born around 1800 (mid to late 40s in 1848);
- ❖ **Gilbert-Urbain Guillaumin (1801-1864)** - publisher): Guillaumin's publishing firm which published books, pamphlets, and the *Journal des Économistes* (1841-1940)
- ❖ **Charles Coquelin (1802-1852)** - economist on free banking, eloquent public speaker, editor DEP
- ❖ **Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850)** - FT activist, popularizer ec. thought, theorist, head of French Free Trade Association and editor of its journal *Le Libre-Échange* (1846-48)



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# The “7 Musketeers” of French Political Economy (2)

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**Gustave de Molinari**  
**(1819-1912)**

- ❖ 2nd generation born around 1820 (late 20s in 1848)
  - ❖ **Joseph Garnier (1813-1881)** - economics teacher, editor, peace advocate
  - ❖ **Hippolyte Castille (1820-1886)** - journalist, popular historian, wrote for *le Courrier français* and held regular soirées at his home on the rue Saint-Lazare (1844-48)
  - ❖ **Alcide Fonteyraud (1822-1849)** - specialist on Ricardo, translator, public speaker
  - ❖ **Gustave de Molinari (1819-1912)** - journalist, economic theorist, historical sociologist
- ❖ dispersed by 1852 through early deaths, political reaction, exile



# Key CL Organisations & Publications (1)



- ❖ **Guillaumin** publishing firm (founded 1835)
- ❖ the *Journal des Économistes* (founded November 1841)
- ❖ the **Political Economy Society** (founded 1842)
- ❖ Hippolyte Castille's "soirée" on the rue Saint-Lazare (1844-48)
- ❖ the **French Free Trade Society** (founded July 1846 - March 1848), headed by Frédéric Bastiat



# Key CL Organisations & Publications (2)



- ❖ the **Friends of Peace Society** (founded in 1843), meeting in Paris August 1849 [Joseph Garnier]
- ❖ the political club “**Club de la Liberté du Travail**” (March) [Alcide Fonteyraud] and street journalism: *La République française* (Feb.) and *Jacques Bonhomme* (June 1848) [Bastiat, Molinari]
- ❖ the *Dictionnaire de l'Économie politique* (1852-53) project [Ch. Coquelin]



# Strategies to Promote FM Ideas (1)

## EXTRAIT DU CATALOGUE

DE LA

LIBRAIRIE GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>ie</sup>.

**Publications nouvelles  
sur les questions économiques  
à l'ordre du jour.**

*Observations sur l'état des classes ouvrières*, par THÉODORE  
FIZ; 1 vol. in-8. Prix : 6 fr.

*Du Progrès social au profit des classes populaires non in-  
digentes*, suivi de : *Plan d'une réorganisation discipli-  
naire des classes industrielles en France*, 2<sup>me</sup> édition,  
revue et corrigée par F.-P. de LA FARELLE, membre cor-  
respondant de l'Institut; 4 vol. in-8. Prix : 6 fr.

*Essai sur les relations du travail avec le capital*, par M. Ch.  
DUROST WHITE, secrétaire général du ministre de la justice;  
1 vol. in-8. Prix : 6 fr.

*Les Droits du travailleur*, essai sur les devoirs des maîtres  
envers leurs subordonnés, traduit de l'anglais, par  
M<sup>me</sup> LOUISE BOTTELDOEN D'AUVICNI; 1 vol. in-12, format  
anglais. Prix : 2 fr.

*Sophismes économiques*, par M. FR. BASTIAT, membre cor-  
respondant de l'Institut, représentant du peuple; 2 jolis  
vol. in-16. Prix : 2 fr.

*Études économiques sur l'organisation de la Liberté indus-  
trielle et sur l'abolition de l'esclavage*, par M. GUSTAVE  
DE MOLINARI; broch. in-18. Prix : 75 c.

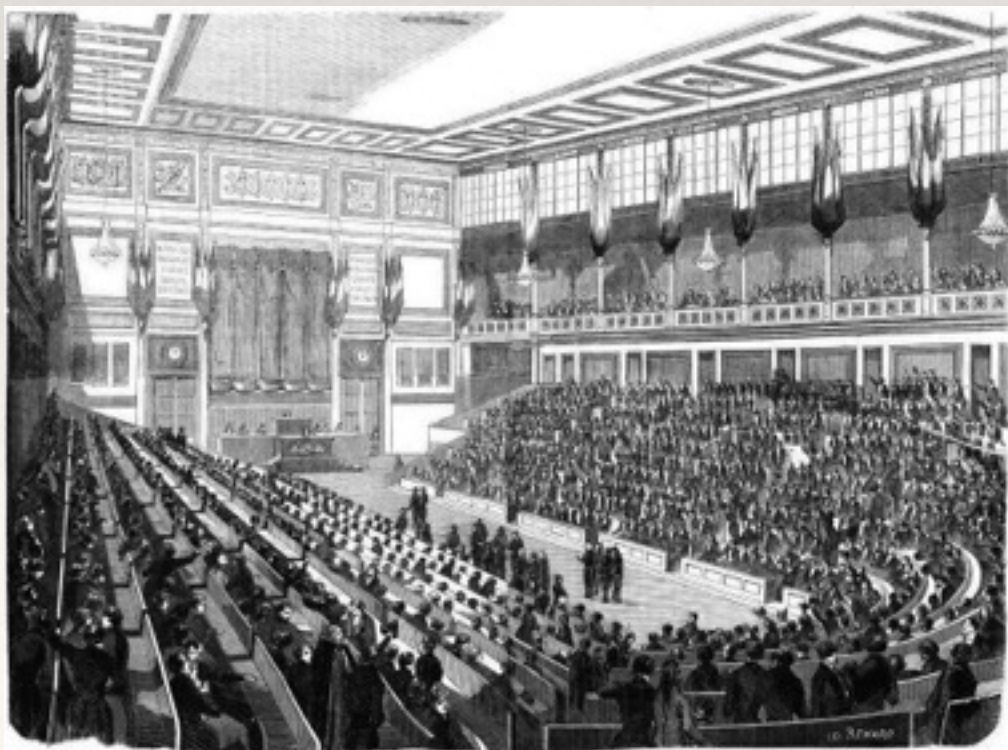
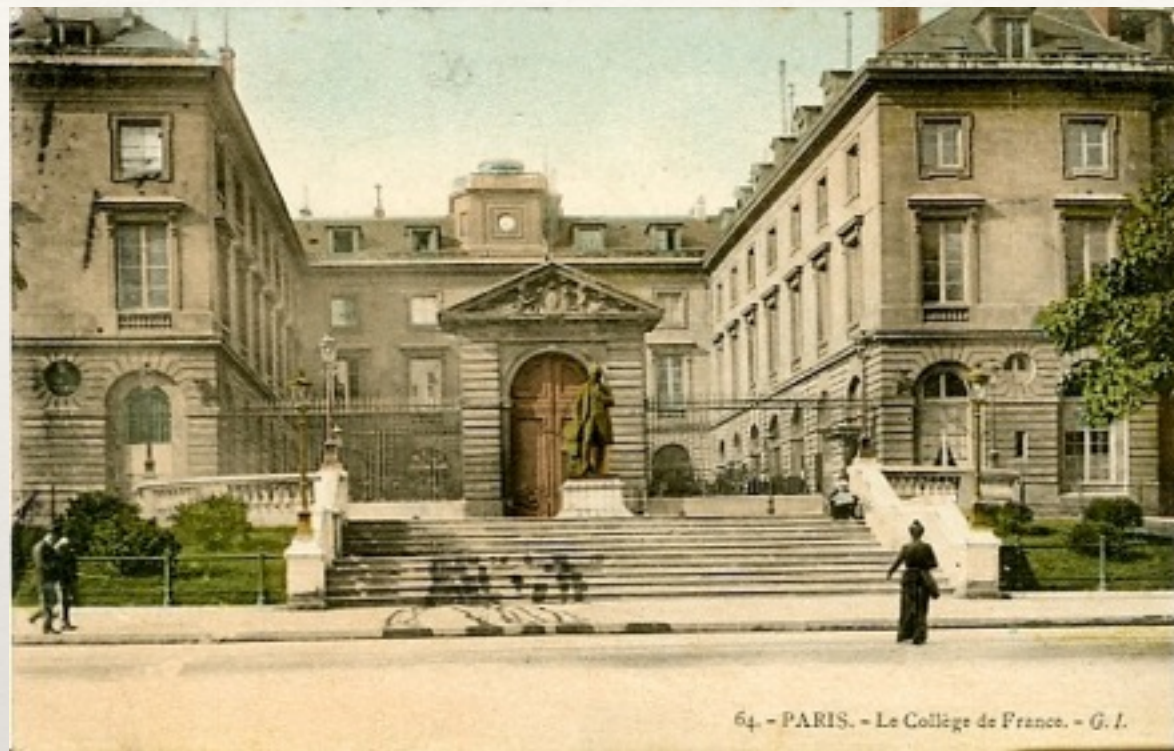
*De système social et des lois qui le régissent*, par AN.  
QUÉTELET, directeur de l'Observatoire de Bruxelles,  
membre correspondant de l'Institut de France; 1 vol.  
in-8 : Prix, 7 fr. 50 c.

*Études d'économie politique et de statistique*, par M. L.  
WOLOWSKI, représentant du peuple, professeur de législa-

- ❖ publishing program of scholarly books, journals, economic statistics, encyclopedias, dictionaries (DEP)
  - ❖ impressive size of Guillaumin catalog
- ❖ journalism: "high, middle, and low brow"
  - ❖ from *JDE* to *Jacques Bonhomme*
- ❖ public associations and meetings
  - ❖ French FTA meetings (Montesquieu Hall); Club lib debates with socialists



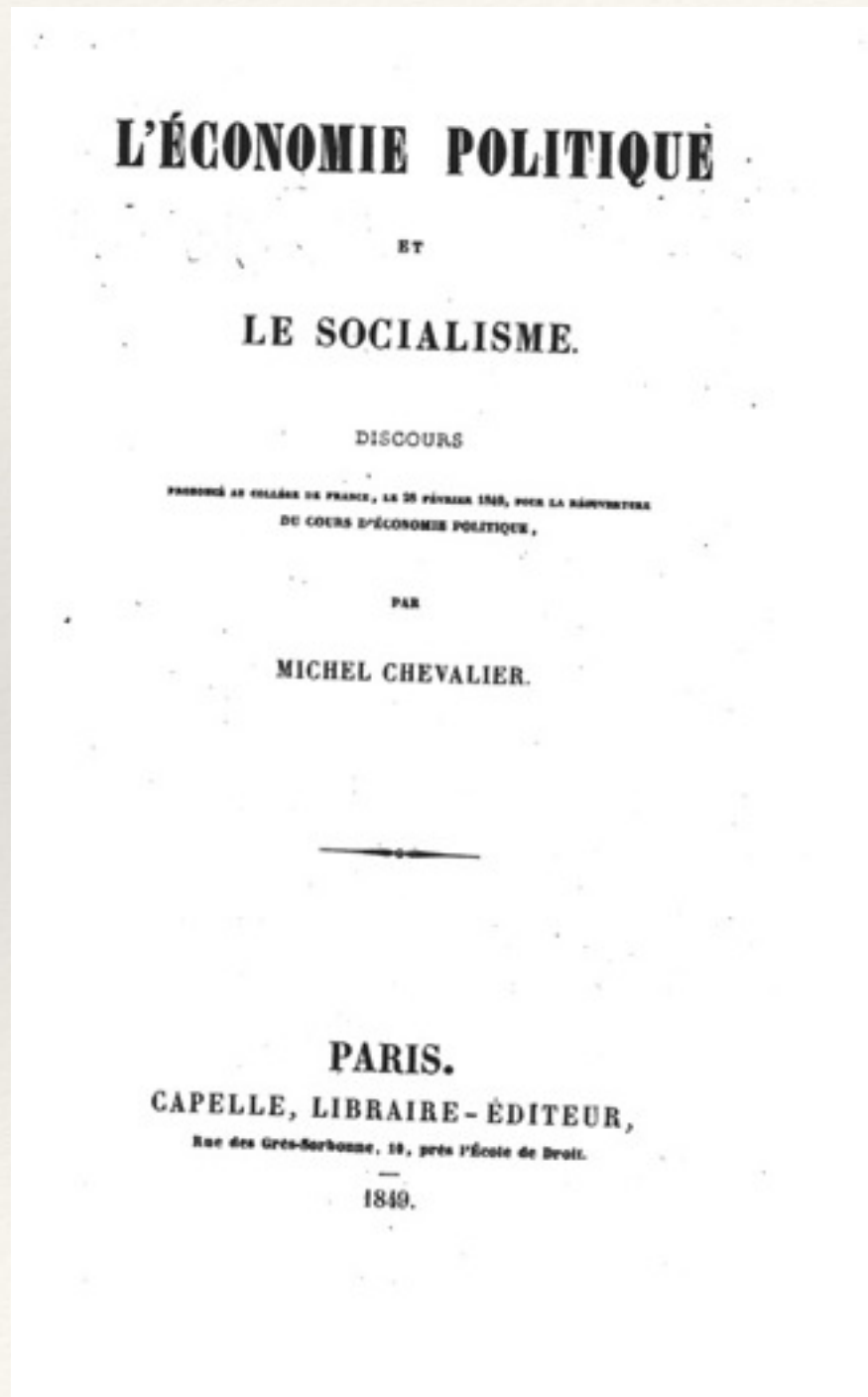
# Strategies to Promote FM Ideas (2)



- ❖ **teaching** in schools and colleges
  - ❖ Joseph Garnier at Athénée private school; Michel Chevalier at Collège de France (1841, sacked by prov. govt. 1848); FB and GdM public lectures in late 1847
- ❖ **membership of elite institutions** like Académie (reconstituted 1832)
- ❖ **politics**
  - ❖ lobbying Chamber (1847 debate on tariff reform); election to Chamber of Deputies; FB in April 1848 and finance committee; debate in Chamber on "right to work" clause
- ❖ **popularisation** of economic ideas (see below)



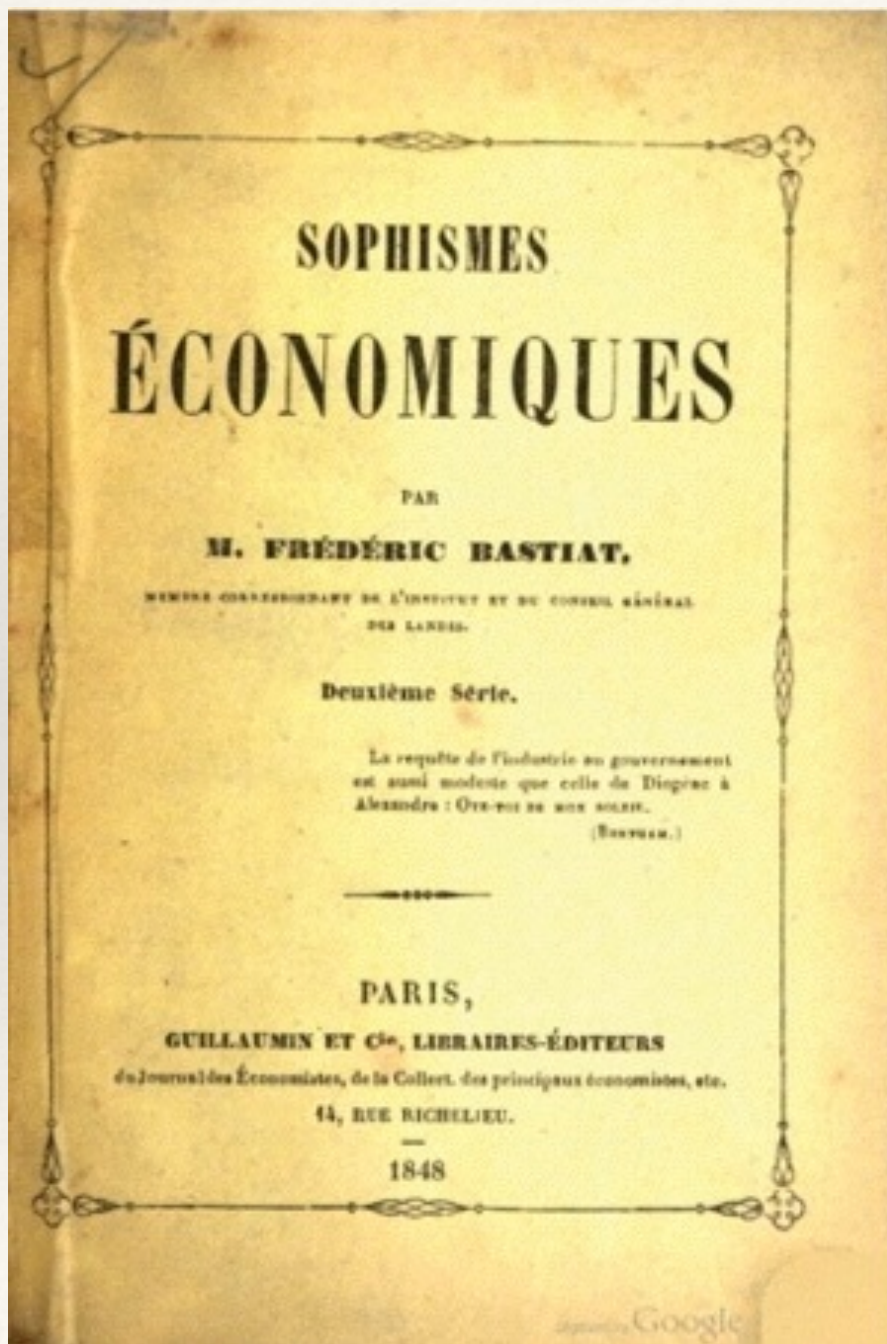
# The Economists' Critique of Socialism



- ❖ the incentive problem
- ❖ the division of labour problem
- ❖ the risk problem
- ❖ the injustice of expropriation
- ❖ the individual liberty problem
- ❖ the human nature problem
- ❖ the problem of ignoring economic laws (such as law of supply and demand)
- ❖ the “public choice” problem



# The Popularization of Economic Ideas (1a): Taking FM Ideas to the Streets



- ❖ the campaign for free trade 1846-47 showed the depth of **popular ignorance about FM ideas**
  - ❖ government can create jobs through legislation
  - ❖ regulation of economy is costless
  - ❖ promotion of "national industries" is in long-term interests of workers, consumers, and taxpayers
  - ❖ protection and subsidies is a good way to achieve prosperity
  - ❖ govt. bureaucrats and politicians are well meaning, unselfish individuals
- ❖ [Bryan Caplan, *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies* (Princeton UP, 2008).]
- ❖ Bastiat discovered he was a brilliant economic journalist - ridiculed popular fallacies and sophisms in *Economic Sophisms* (1846, 1848)



# The Popularization of Economic Ideas (1b): Taking FM Ideas to the Streets

- ❖ in Feb. 1848 FB & GdM turned to **revolutionary street journalism** to counter “socialism from below” - *la République fr.* (Fe.-Mar. 1848) and *Jacques Bonhomme* (June 1848)
- ❖ Economists best public speakers (Fonteyraud and Coquelin) organised "Club de la liberté du travail" (Club Lib) to take on socialists at their own game Mar. 1848





# The Popularization of Economic Ideas (2): Opposing “Socialism from Above”

CE QU'ON VOIT  
ET  
CE QU'ON NE VOIT PAS

OU  
L'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE EN UNE LEÇON.

PAR  
M. F. BASTIAT  
REPRÉSENTANT DU PEUPLE À L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE,  
Membre correspondant de l'Institut.

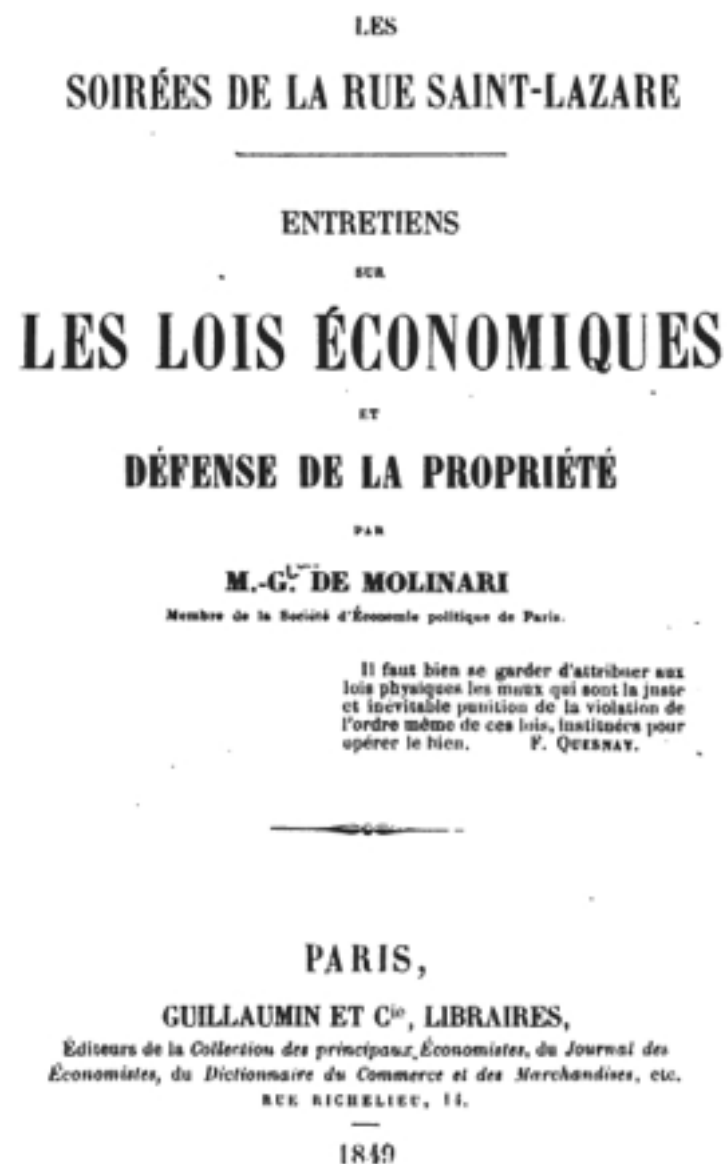
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PARIS  
LIBRAIRIE DE GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>e</sup>,  
ÉDITEURS DE LA COLLECTION DES PRINCIPAUX ÉCONOMISTES,  
DU JOURNAL DES ÉCONOMISTES, ETC.  
Rue Richelieu, 14.  
1850

- ❖ after immediate threat of “**socialism from below**” had passed by end of 1848 realized new threat posed by “**socialism from above**”:
  - ❖ academics, intellectuals, journalists
  - ❖ bureaucrats & elected politicians
  - ❖ the “Prince-President” Louis Napoléon
- ❖ FB’s series of 12 anti-socialist pamphlets (1849-1850)
  - ❖ “The State”, “The Law,” “Property and Plunder”
  - ❖ *What is Seen and What is not Seen*



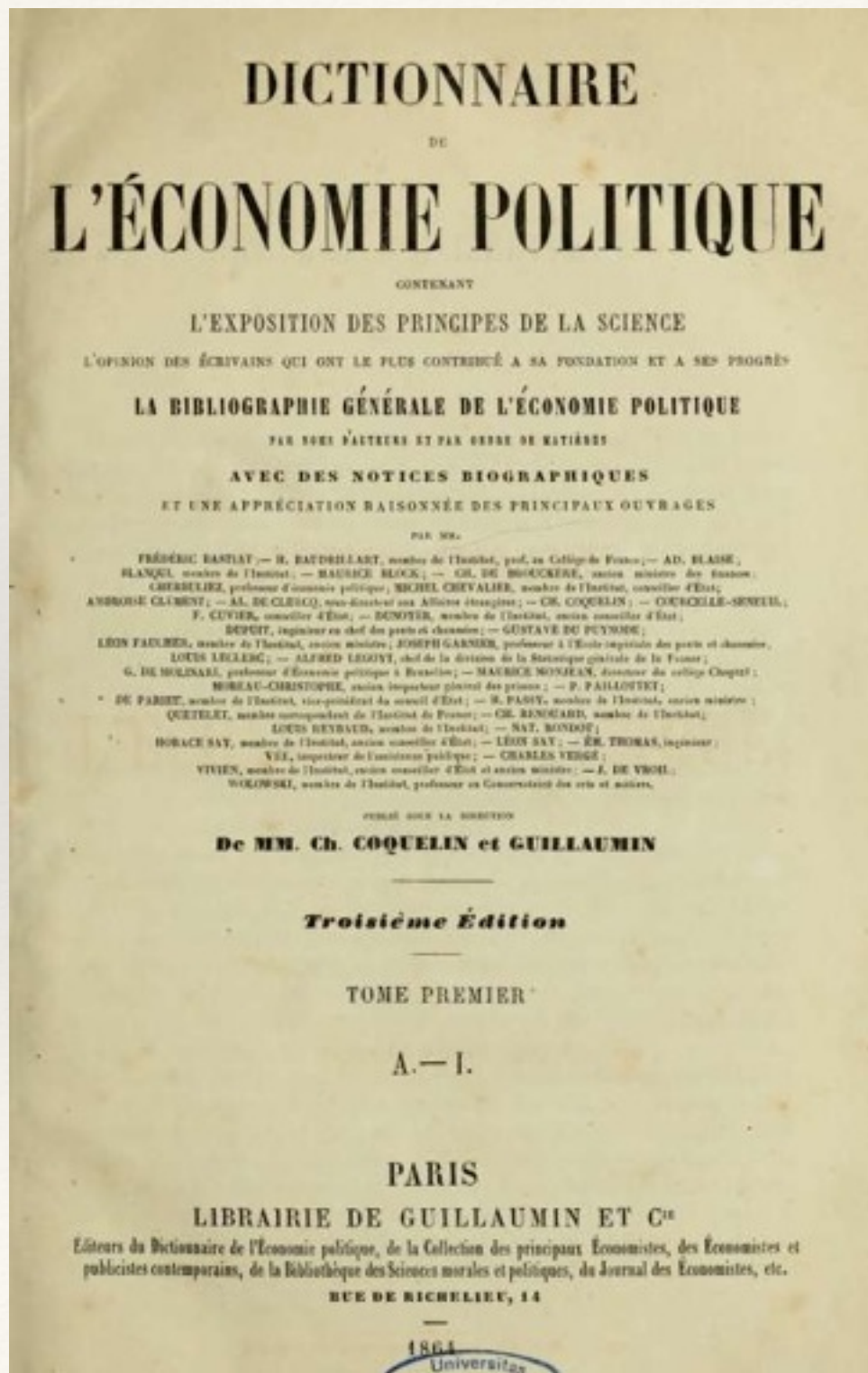
# The Popularization of Economic Ideas (3): Opposing “Socialism from Above”



- ❖ Molinari's *Les Soirées de la rue Saint-Lazare* - “discussions about economic laws and the defense of property” (Sept. 1849) between a Conservative, a Socialist, and an Economist
  - ❖ first ever one volume survey of CL thought with both theory and policy proposals for reform (compare Mises, *Liberalism* (1929), Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), Rothbard, *For a New Liberty* (1974))
  - ❖ idea of “markets *in* everything” (including all so-called public goods) and “entrepreneurs *for* everything” (entrepreneurs in the security business, entrepreneurs in the prostitution business)
- ❖ the *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1852-53) planned early 1849 - 2,000 page compendium of economic ideas for economists, bureaucrats, and politicians



# Rethinking CL Theory in Response to Socialism (1)



- ❖ the “**weak response**” - continue to work within Smithian / Ricardian Orthodoxy
- ❖ profit and rent so useful to the operation of market that they should continue in spite of suspect origins
- ❖ competition between capitalists and landowners would eventually reduce profits and rent to a minimum
- ❖ WC just had to learn to exercise "moral restraint" in limiting the size of their families
- ❖ the “**strong response**” - a small group wanted to completely rethink CL political economy [see over]



# Rethinking CL Theory in Response to Socialism (2)

## HARMONIES ÉCONOMIQUES

PAR  
*Frédéric*  
FRED. BASTIAT.

*Digitus Dei est hic.*

2<sup>me</sup> ÉDITION

AUGMENTÉE DES MANUSCRITS LAISSÉS PAR L'AUTEUR.

— Publiée par la Société des amis de Bastiat. —

PARIS.

GUILLAUMIN ET C<sup>ie</sup>, LIBRAIRES

Éditeurs de la Collection des principaux Économistes, du Journal des Économistes,  
du Dictionnaire de l'Économie politique, etc.

RUE ROCHEREAU, 14.

1861

- ❖ the “**strong response**” - rethink CL political economy
  - ❖ importance of **non-material goods (services)** (JBS) - labour only part of productive activity
  - ❖ rethinking nature of value and exchange - **all exchanges were mutually beneficial "exchange of one service for another service"** (FB)
  - ❖ **land rent**, just another exchange of services (Bastiat)
  - ❖ **radical anti-Malthusianism** - underestimated the productive power of the FM and FT (FB)
  - ❖ part of **socialist critique of existing property distribution was correct**, that ruling elites had seized land and other assets unjustly (GdM) - Bastiat’s “theory of plunder” & of the State
  - ❖ recognition of the important **role of the entrepreneur** (GdM - “markets in everything” and “entrepreneurs for everything”)
  - ❖ **free markets could better supply “public” goods and services** (GdM)



CE QU'ON APPELLE DES IDÉES NOUVELLES EN 1848. (62.)



Proudhon le démolisseur ayant horreur d'être propriétaire d'une idée neuve, emprunte tout son système à différents philosophes Grecs et Romains.



Pierre Leroux emprunte ses petits penneurs à un pensionnaire de l'établissement national de Charenton.



Le Pèlerin Cabet emprunte tous ses plans de colonisation à l'écossais Law premier inventeur du Mississippi et de l'Icarie.



Victor Considérant emprunte des queues phalanstériennes aux singes du jardin des plantes.



Le tribun Ledru-Rollin emprunte ses idées les plus neuves à Cambon, Danton et autres personnages décédés depuis cinquante ans.



Le Prince Louis emprunte toute sa défroque à son oncle.



# What are called New Ideas in 1848

**Proudhon**



Proudhon le démolisseur ayant horreur d'être propriétaire d'une idée neuve, emprunte tout son système à différents philosophes Grecs et Romains.

**Pierre Leroux**



Pierre Leroux emprunte ses petits penults à un pensionnaire de l'établissement national de Charenton.

**Étienne Cabet**



Le Pèlerin Cabet emprunte tous ses plans de colonisation à l'écossais Law premier inventeur du Mississippi et de l'icarie.



Victor Considerant emprunte des queues phalanstériennes aux sanges du jardin des plantes.



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Le Prince Louis emprunte toute sa défroque à son oncle.

**Victor Considerant**

**Ledru-Rollin**

**Louis Napoléon**





Proudhon - “Property is Theft”



- ❖ The anarchist-socialist Proudhon, carrying a pick with which he destroys the foundations of the free market, is confronted by the Greek playwright Aristophanes, a Greek legislator, and a Roman soldier, who accuse him of having plagiarised their ideas about property being a form of theft and the need for agrarian laws to forcibly redistribute property among the poor.
- ❖ Proudhon wrote a very influential book in 1840 called *Qu'est-ce que c'est la propriété?* (What is Property?) to which he gave the notorious answer "Property is theft".
- ❖ In 1848-49 he attempted to establish a People's Bank which would be funded by subscriptions and make zero or low interest rate loans to workers, since he believed that charging interest on loans was unjust. It failed because it was unable to raise sufficient capital to open.



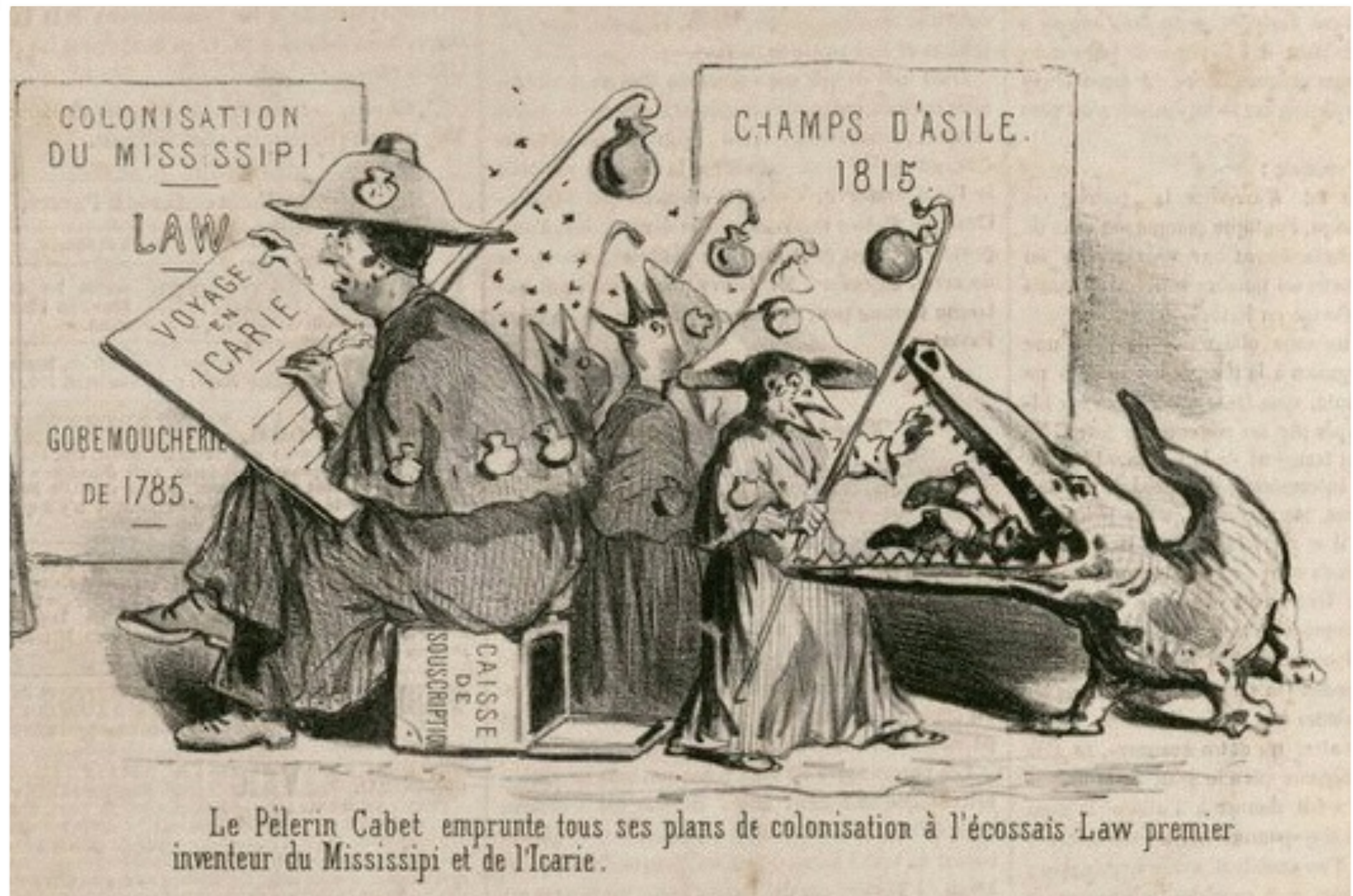


Leroux - “The Uniformity of the Poplar Tree”



- ❖ The socialist Pierre Leroux invented the word "socialist" to describe his ideal community in which everybody enjoyed liberty and equality without the injustices he believed were created by private property and the free market. He was elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1848 and drew up an elaborate proposal for a new constitution based upon socialist ideas.
- ❖ All aspects of the new society had to be drawn up in advance by the legislators, including the flag, the colours of clothing people were allowed to wear, and the national tree which had to be planted everywhere. The national colours were to be white, gold, azure, and purple and each of the main divisions of government would require the citizens who worked in it to wear the colour corresponding to their division - white for administrators, gold for those who worked in scientific occupations, azure for those who worked for the legislative branch of government, and purple for the executive branch. Outside of working hours, all citizens had to wear all four colours of the national flag to show their solidarity with the state.
- ❖ Leroux also chose the poplar tree as the state tree because its shape best exemplified the similarity and equality of all citizens. Every Commune in France would be required to plant rows of identical popular trees in order to make this point clear to the citizenry. In the cartoon a very grateful looking Leroux receives a gift of 4 small poplar trees by an inmate of the largest insane asylum in France - "Charenton." He is wearing bells which he uses to warn people that he is mad and that they should keep away from him. He is also carrying signs which refer to the philosophical idea of the self (the me) and the non-self (non-moi) perhaps suggesting that Leroux's socialist ideas would lead to the destruction of "the self" if his ideas about equality were implemented.





Cabet - “Utopian Communities and the Gullible”



- ❖ The utopian socialist Étienne Cabet believed in the equality of property ownership and the strict regulation and control of all economic activity by elected representatives of the community. He wrote a book in 1840 about his ideal society, called "Icarus", and went to America in 1848 in order to put his ideas into practice with communities in Texas, Illinois, and Missouri.
- ❖ In this cartoon Cabet is dressed like a pilgrim and is sitting on an empty contribution box, reading his book on Icarus. He is surrounded by hungry birds called "gobe-mouche" (fly gobblers) which also means someone who is very gullible. Posters on the wall refer to other failed attempts to set up communities or businesses in America.
- ❖ John Law was a Scottish financier who worked for Louis XV to set up the first central bank funded by fiat paper money, believing that paper money was preferable to gold. He consolidated all the government chartered companies in French-controlled Louisiana into one monopoly company called the Mississippi Company which issued shares. An over issue of these shares caused a speculative bubble which burst catastrophically in 1720.
- ❖ The Champs d'asile was a community established in Texas in 1817 for veterans of Napoleon's defeatd Grande Armée. It failed the following year. The reference to "Gobemoucherie de 1785" is not clear. Note that an alligator from Louisiana or Texas has swallowed one of the "gobe-mouche."





Considerant - “The New Socialist Man”



- ❖ Victor Considerant was a follower of the socialist Fourier and was the leading advocate of "the right to work" which the socialists attempted to enact in the early months of the 1848 Revolution. Fourier and Considerant believed that the creation of socialist communities and socialist ways of living and working would create a new kind of human being with different moral values (selfishness would disappear) and even new physical features.
- ❖ To bring this about people would be forced to live in small communities known as "phalansteries" which would house about 1,600 individuals who would live and work together communally. Fourier believed that the institution of monogamous marriage would eventually disappear and would be replaced by a system of free love. Considerant believed that human's physical shape would gradually change when they lived in highly regulated socialist communities.
- ❖ The cartoon refers to his idea that humans might eventually evolve "queues" (tails) which had an eye at the end of it. Considerant has such a tail and has gone to the monkey cage in the botanical gardens (zoo?) to cut off the monkey's tails to add to his collection for the new "Phalansterian Republic."





Ledru-Rollin - “Socialism from Above”



- ❖ The 1848 revolutionary politician Ledru-Rollin struts before Danton who was a political leader during the French Terror 1792-94. Danton leans against some of his most important revolutionary legislation such as the law issuing paper money (assignats), price controls (the "Maximum"), and the law imprisoning suspected enemies of the revolution. Ledru-Rollin when he was in the Provisional Government supported a 45% increase in taxes, the "right to a job" legislation, and the suspension of payments in gold by the central bank. To the right sits one of the notorious "knitting ladies" who supposedly sat watching the beheading of aristocrats, profiteers, and other enemies of the Revolution during the Terror.





Louis Napoléon - “The Socialist Prince-President”



- ❖ Napoleon Bonaparte wearing his underwear, gives his nephew Louis Napoleon his sword, grey coat and hat. Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Second Republic in December 1848 but had ambitions to become the dictator of France. He began calling himself the "Prince-President" and later seized power in a coup d'état in December 1851 and then suspended the constitution and declared himself emperor in December 1852. He was influenced by the socialist and interventionist ideas of Saint-Simon.



**MERRIE MELODIES**  
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

*"That's all folks!"*

PRODUCED BY  
**LEON SCHLESINGER**

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