

INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM.



(1834)

By Pierre Leroux

AND OTHER WRITINGS ON
THE DOCTRINE OF HUMANITY

INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM.

(1834.—After the massacres on the Rue Transnonain.)

At times, even the most resolute hearts, those most firmly focused on the sacred beliefs of progress, lose courage and feel themselves full of disgust with the present. In the 16th century, when we murdered in our civil wars, it was in the name of God and with a crucifix in hand; it was a question of the most sacred things, of things which, once they have secured our conviction and our faith, dominate our natures so legitimately that there is nothing to do but obey, and even our most precious prerogatives are voluntarily sacrificed to the divine will. In the name of what principle do we today send off, by telegraph, *pitiless orders*, and transform proletarian soldiers into the executioners of their own class? Why has our era seen cruelties which recall St. Bartholemew? Why have men been fanaticized to the point of making them slaughter the elderly, women, and children in cold blood? Why has the Seine rolled with murders which recall the *arquebuscades* from the windows of the Louvre? It is not in the name of God and eternal salvation that these things are done. It is in the name of *material interests*.

Our century is, it seems, quite vile, and we have degenerated even from the crimes of our fathers. To kill in the manner of Charles IX or Torquemada, in the name of faith and the Church, because one believes that God desires it, because one has a fanatic spirit, exalted by the fear of hell and the hope of paradise, is still to have some grandeur and some generosity in one's crime. But to be afraid, and by dint of cowardice, to become cruel; to be full of solicitude for material goods, which in the end death will carry away, and to become ferocious out of avarice; to have no belief in eternal things, no certainty of the difference between the just and the unjust, and, in absolute doubt, to cling to one's lucre with an intensity rivaling the most heated fanaticism, and to gain from these petty sentiments energy sufficient to match in a day the bloodiest days of our religious wars—this is what we have seen, and what has never been seen before.

What indeed is the principle that the conquerors of the day have put forward? In the name of what idea have they declared in advance that they would bequeath to posterity the example of a decimated generation? And to what impulse have they given play to gain that victory? It is neither an idea nor a principle. Everyone knows it. It is not a secret to anyone that the great words "order" and "justice" today only conceal the interests of the shops. Business is bad, and it is the innovators, it is said, that stand in its way: war then against the innovators. The workers of Lyon associate in order in order to maintain the rate of their salary: war, then, and war to the death, against the workers of Lyon. Always, at the bottom of all of this, are the interests of the shops. In the days of mourning, so often renewed these past three years, the people have been

told: "Here is a holy, just, legitimate idea, by virtue of which you may kill men." It is not so. But on the eve of each riot they cry to the people: "Tomorrow your profit will be diminished, your daily receipts will be less, your material satisfaction will be compromised!" And that has been enough, and we have seen the shopkeepers in their hunting gear, armed with double-barreled rifles, in order to improve their aim and kill two instead of one, go out merrily to hunt among the city blocks. Is there something in such a spectacle to trouble our convictions, and to make us doubt progress? And, since we are condemned to civil war, should we long for civil war as our ancestors knew it, atrocious but religious, deliberately bathing itself in blood, but with eyes lifted towards heaven? In that fury which, according to Bonald, often sent the innocent and the guilty, pell-mell, before their eternal judge, because it deliberately sacrificed the earth to heaven, we must regret the presence of the monster selfishness, which knows nothing of God, which, like the harpies, knows only the hunger of its belly!

In past times, there was the nobility, and there was the clergy: the nobility had a maxim not to occupy itself with lucre; the clergy condemned usury, and regarded as inferior the condition of merchants. There were certainly men then who knew no other morality than their own selfish interests, and no other reason for things than their calculating tables; but they had not set the tone and did not lay down the law for society; they were not the arbiters and legislators. If they wished to rise that far, and to apply their narrow rules to things in general, they were ridiculous, and the poets availed themselves gladly of the comedy and satire, where they came immediately below the lackeys. Today these men enjoy the leading role; the very same society has no other law, no other basis nor end, than the satisfaction of their affairs. Humanity has not lived and suffered to bring about the reign of the merchants. Jesus Christ once chased the merchants from the temple: there are today no other temples than those of the merchants. The palace of the Bourse has replaced Notre Dame; and we know no other blazon than the double-entry cash-books. One passes from a boutique to the Chamber of Deputies, and one carries in public affairs the spirit of the sales counter. Our ancestors made crusades: we, we wisely calculate that that cost the bourgeois the conquest of Algiers, and we will gladly abandon to the English the civilization of Africa, if it gets a little expensive. The zeal of St. Vincent de Paul appears stupid to the general councils: is it not a revolting iniquity to charge the rich for the upkeep of the children that the poor abandon! Since money is everything, and the order of the bourgeois has replaced nobles and priests, is it astonishing that the blood of one bourgeois does not appear to us overpaid by the blood of a thousand proletarians, and is it not completely natural put the interests of the shops on a level with the blood of men? I kill, says the merchant, because I have been disturbed in my affairs: it is a compensation that is due to me for the loss that I feel. By this account, Shylock was right to want to carve human flesh: had it not been purchased?

Seen in this way, our century could not be more base. Material interests, there is the great watchword of society; and many innovators have themselves ignominiously eliminated from their mottoes the moral and intellectual amelioration of the people, in order to preserve only their material betterment.

Is it the case that we will sink more and more in this way, and that the shame may be reserved for France that, having proclaimed to the world the brotherhood of man, it transforms itself into what Napoleon has called with scorn a nation of shopkeepers, supported in their avaricious domination by the facile courage of an army of stipendiaries?

We know of noble hearts, of high intelligences, which fear it. We fall back, they cry, into Roman corruption and into the moral of the barbarians: of what use to us are eighteen hundred years of Christianity, and the conquests of science and industry?

It is to these generous, but discouraged, hearts, that I intend to respond, in occupying myself with political economy, that is, with the material aspect of society. I will attempt first, today, to expose for them the sense of that greediness which shows itself, it is true, among all the classes, but which, among men of power, struts about so hideously, sheltered by the bayonets of our soldiers; and in the subsequent articles, I will attempt to demonstrate that if the social question presents itself in our time primarily as a question of material wealth, it is because the human sciences are very close to finding the solution.

II

We say, then, that that exclusive preoccupation with material things which reigns today, that species of domination by egoism and the material, is nothing which must surprise or discourage us. In all periods of renewal, the renovation of material things has been one of the forms of progress. Every great human evolution is at once material, moral, and intellectual, and cannot not have these three aspects. To imagine that Christianity, for example, or any other great religious revolution, has related solely in its principles what is called heaven and not to the things of the earth, to morals or ideas, and not to interests, would be an absurd illusion, conceivable only by those who know the foundation of Christianity only by the sermons of their priest, but impossible for whoever has glanced at history. Christianity has been able to say: "My kingdom is not of this world; but by doing so it has powerfully altered the material constitution of that world, out of which it would direct the contemplation of men, towards a mysterious future. In the presence of pagan society, founded on individualism and slavery, Christianity posed the Essene way of life and the community of good; and from that new form given to material life resulted the dissolution of pagan society, the overthrow of the Roman world, and, as a result, the uselessness of slavery and its abolition. In the Protestant era, wasn't something analogous seen? Didn't we then see Christianity, attempting to regenerate itself, struggle for earthly goods against the Church, holder of those goods? Material

interests played a huge role in the Reformation. The Reformation began in the 14th century with a violent and general struggle in Europe against the religious orders. It was the religious orders, that society in community without women and children, which, consequently, was only an exception and allowed to subsist outside of it the great, the true society, had however amassed such an enormous portion of the property, that the other society could no longer live; it was necessary then to recapture from it the land and all the instruments of labor that it had monopolized. Thus in the greatest and most exalted epochs, one finds again the question of material life.

But today it is evident that that which was only a secondary characteristic of previous revolutions must become a principle characteristic. Indeed, what do we want and where do we tend, on the faith of all the prophecies? The one who truly follows Jesus Christ with an intelligent heart, and not as a copyist without intelligence, does not say so absolutely that the kingdom of God is not on earth.¹ He understands that the epoch of realization approaches more and more. The stoicism of Zeno and the Christian stoicism are with reason relegated to their place in history. These two doctrines, or rather that doctrine, is today without social value. That was the debut of an immense career that Humanity has had to follow up to us. But where we have arrived today, heaven and earth begin to be without connection and without relation; and, instead of returning us toward the point of departure, towards the detachment and the retreat into ourselves of Jesus Christ and of Zeno, we must, by the efforts of our thought and the energy of our soul, transform the earth in such a way that the justice of heaven reigns there, in order one day to find that heaven so promised to our wishes.

The idea has been elaborated and preached by Christianity to all men, of a better world than the one which existed, of a world of equality and fraternity, of a world without despots and without slaves. Christianity has raised up humanity by hope; it has mystically announced its destiny; it has connected to the memories of its cradle, to its primitive and natural liberty, to its traditions of a past golden age, of Eden and of the native parade, the firm and assured sentiment of a golden age to come, of a paradise on earth, where the good will reign after the defeat of evil, and where man, redeemed by the divine word, will again find happiness, and enjoy an unalterable felicity. And, at that prophecy, one sees human society divide itself in two: the religious society, indifferent to the present enjoyments of the earth, or only using them in order to practice complete equality, community, individual non-property, as symbol of what will one day be the justice of heaven; and the secular society, which continua, under

¹ Jesus, in the Gospel, did not say, "My kingdom is not of this world; that was the bad translators who, by suppressing three words in one phrase of St. John, have made it say this. Jesus said literally, "My kingdom is not yet of these times." And as his kingdom, as it is explained in the same passage, is the reign of justice and truth, and as it adds that this kingdom will come on the earth, it follows that, very far from have prophesied that the principles of equality will never be realized on earth, Jesus on the contrary prophesied their realization, their reign, their arrival.

the teachings of the other and under its spiritual government, human life such as one had known it previously. Now, by Protestantism and by Philosophy, the religious society has been destroyed, and there is today only one society. The consequence, I repeat, isn't it clear and evident? Isn't it obvious that the principles of the world prophesied and awaited for so many centuries by the religious society must be realized more and more in the only society that exists today? Or else Humanity would have declined and degenerated, Christianity would have been an imposture and a chimera, and everything, in the eighteen hundred years which have passed, would only be comedy and deception. The earth, then, is promised to justice and equality.

Christianity, Reform, Philosophy, follow one another like the acts of a drama which approaches its dénouement. Those who consider history on in a casual manner, and page by page, must often find contradictory and incoherent that which is harmonic and continuous. Seeing the Reformation succeed Catholicism, and Philosophy succeed the Reformation, how many people are shocked, and see there only negation, discord and uncertainty! It is because they do not understand the series and the generation of things. So for them, there is death, there is nothingness, in these alternations and these contrasts, while for us, it is life. Their eyes offended by deep darkness, there where a dazzling light shines in ours. For what contradiction is there between the successive of a single drama, between the connected and coherent phases of a single evolution? It is only necessary to rise up enough to grasp and contemplate all at once the spirit of evolution in its entirety; and for anyone who is enlightened, that effort is not difficult. That alleged anarchy of Catholic Christianity, of the Reformation, and of Philosophy, succeeding and combating each other by turns, is not a very obscure enigma, the sense of which would be difficult to discover. We see Christianity first raise above the world its mystical paradise, like the seed which begins to form in the air, and which then waits until the winds spill it on the ground. The Reformation came after, which spread the promise to all of society, and, by laying waste to all pious retreats where the spiritual life had been concentrated, made only one single people, that it raises to spiritual dignity. Then in its turn comes Philosophy, which further extends this level, and which finally, explaining the prophecy, interprets the reign of God on earth as perfectibility. Christianity, Protestantism, and Philosophy, have thus driven towards the same end, and accomplished by various phases one single work. We are the last wave that the hand of God has pushed up to here on the shore of time: but the consequence of all the previous progress has not escaped us, and that obvious competition of three great phases which divided the centuries which preceded us is the token of all the progress to come.

Thus the earth, I repeat, is promised to justice and equality. Material goods are in themselves neither good nor bad. All the metaphysicians have come to see in matter and in body the limit of forces, the place where finite intelligences meet and are mutually revealed. Bodies and matter are the field of our faculties, the necessary means of their exercise, the milieu in which they are manifested.

That there is in us, and in each of us, a force, created or uncreated, which animates us, constitutes us, and survives the destruction of what we call our body, is for me an obvious truth; but it is always the case that the force, either in this life, or in our previous or future lives, exerts itself only through the intermediary of bodies, precisely because it has limits and it is finite. The Christians, in the good days of Christianity, and even during the history of Christianity, have never understood the activity of the soul at the end of time without the resurrection of the body; and it has always been of the belief that man is, according to the expression of Bossuet, a soul and a body united together, an intelligence destined to live in a body. The Manicheans alone, exaggerating and distorting spiritualism, have entered into the error of regarding matter as absolute evil; and, by that same error, they fell inevitably under the empire of evil, in wanting to escape it.

Thus, whether we appeal to religious traditions and to the previous life of Humanity, or whether we consult only modern reason and the general agreement of the men of our era; far from condemning the use of material goods, we must see that none of our most noble faculties can be exercised without the mediation of these goods.

From this it follows that, all having been called to the spiritual life and to the dignity of men by the words of the philosophers, all must soar, and that legitimately, towards the conquest of material goods.

It is his dignity, it is his capacity as a man, it is his liberty, it is his independence, that the proletarian demands, when he aspires to possess material goods; for he knows that without these goods he is only an inferior, and that engaged, as he is, in the labors of the body, he partakes more of the condition of the domestic animals than that of man.

It is the same sentiment which pushes those who these goods to preserve them. Of course, we are not the apologists of the wealthy classes, we are with the people, and we will always be for the poor against the privileges of the wealthy; but we know that, whatever the softness and the egoism which reign in these classes, men absolutely corrupted and bad are the exception. In the present struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, that is of those who do not possess the instruments of labor against those who possess them, the bourgeoisie represents even, at first glance, more obviously than the proletarians, the sentiment of individuality and liberty. The wealthy possess that liberty, and they defend it, while the proletarians are so unhappy and so deprived of it, that a tyrant who promised to free them by enriching them could perhaps, in their ignorance, make of them for some time his slaves.

We find then good and legitimate that tendency of those who possess liberty and individuality to preserve it; but couldn't they find equally just and legitimate the demands of those who do not possess them, and want to?

There is, we say, the sense and the justification of that struggle for material goods, which seems, at first glance, the dominant character of our era, and which would dishonor it if one did not consider what it reveals, and if one

had not studied the religious necessity scope of it. That demand for material goods is not at all immoral: very far from that, it is the result and the consequence of all the previous progress of Humanity.

Certainly, the philosophers who only hold as good, in human nature, the side of devotion, must find our era deplorable in all regards. For pure devotion, where will they find it? In their hearts, doubtless, and in the hearts of a certain number of generous men who take up the cause of the people. But society, viewed en masse, and in its truest aspect, did not meet their expectations. Devotion, as they sanctify it, they will find it neither in the wealthy classes nor among the poor, neither in the bourgeoisie nor among the proletarians. The first want to preserve, and the others to acquire: where is the devotion?

It is that pure devotion, however noble it may be, is only an individual passion, or, if you wish, a particular virtue of human nature, but is not human nature in its entirety. A man who, in all his life, will be posed from the standpoint of devotion, would be an insane being; and a society of men for whom the single rule would be devotion, and who would regard as bad every individual act, would be an absurd society. Thus, every theory which would found itself on devotion as on the most general formula of society, and who would deduce then from that expression some laws and institutions that is would have a hope of applying with force to society, would be false and dangerous.

But, on the contrary, a general principle which represents and expresses complete human nature, is the principle of liberty and individuality.

Our fathers put on their flag: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Let their motto still be our own. They did not conclude from I know not what social system to the individual; they did not say: Society must inevitably be organized in such and such a manner, and we are going to chain the citizen to that organization. They said: Society owes satisfaction to the individuality of all, it is the means of liberty for all.

The sentiment of liberty, as the Eighteenth Century and the French Revolution have felt and promulgated them, is an immense progress over the devotion or devoutness of Christianity, and it would be a regression to desire today to despotically organize society according to the particular views that one may have, instead of founding it on the principles of individuality and liberty.

Proclaim the system that will best satisfy the individuality and liberty of all, and do not fear that the devotion of the people would be lacking for you; for such an aim will be felt by all, and it is the only one which could excite devotion today. But devotion for its own sake would be as absurd a theory as the art for art's sake of certain litterateurs.

III.

One can paint a portrait equally hideous and true of man in the state of absolute individuality and of man in the state of absolute obedience. The

principle of authority, even disguised under the good name of devotion, is no better than the principle of egoism, hiding itself under the good name of liberty.

We also reject with all the forces of our soul Catholicism under all its disguises and in all its forms, whether it attaches itself again, by I know not what puerile hopes, to the old debris which are at Rome with the ruins of so many centuries, or whether, by who knows what jesuitism [escobarderie], it pretends to incarnate itself anew in Robespierre, become the legitimate successor of Gregory VII and the inquisition. And at the same time we regard as a scourge, no less fatal than papistry, the present form of individualism, the individualism of English political economy, which, in the name of liberty, makes men rapacious wolves among themselves, and reduces society to atoms, leaving moreover everything to arrange itself at random, as Epicurus said the world is arranged. For us, the papal theories of every sort and the individualist theories of every species are equally false. They could be fatal, if they were not equally powerless; but papistry, dead for some many centuries, will not prevail against the entire modern era, and the modern era, as we have demonstrated elsewhere, carries in itself the promise and the seed of a society, and is not the destruction and negation of every society.

Liberty and Society are the two equal poles of social science. Do not say that society is only the result, the ensemble, the aggregation of individuals; for we will arrive at what we have today, a dreadful pell-mell with poverty for the greatest number. Theoretically you would have still worse; for, society no longer existing, the individuality of each has no limits, and the reason of each has no rule: you would arrive at moral skepticism, at general, absolute doubt, and in politics at the exploitation of the good by the malicious, and of the people by some rascals and some tyrants.

But do not say any more that society is everything and that the individual is nothing, or that society comes before the individuals, or that the citizens are not anything but some devoted subjects of society, functionaries of society who must find, for good or ill, their satisfaction in all that which contributes to the social aim; do not make of society a sort of large animal of which we would be the molecules, the parts, or the members, of which some would be the head, the others the stomach, the others the feet, the hands, the nails or the hair. Instead of society being the result of a free and spontaneous life for all those who compose it, will not want the life of each man to be a function of the social life that you would have imagined: for you will arrive by that path only at brutalization and despotism; you would arrest, you would immobilize the human spirit, all while pretending to lead it.

Do not attempt to bring back to us the government of the Church; for it is not in vain that the human spirit for six centuries against that government, and has abolished it.

Do not attempt to apply to our era that which was suitable in previous eras, the principle of authority and sacrifice; for the authority and self-sacrifice of the previous life of Humanity aimed precisely to arrive at individuality, at

personality, at liberty. That was good in the past, but it was good precisely on the condition that it would lead to a goal, and that once Humanity arrived at that goal, it would cease to be, and that this government of the world would make place for another.

We are even today the prey of these two exclusive systems of individualism and socialism, pushed back as we are from liberty by that which claims to make it reign, and from association by that which preaches it.

Some have posited the principle that every government must one day disappear, and have concluded from it that every government must from now on be confined to the narrowest dimensions: they have made of government a simple gendarme charged with responding to the complaints of the citizens. Moreover, they have declared the law atheist in any case, and have limited it to ruling the disagreements of individuals with regard to material things and the distribution of goods according to the present constitution of property and inheritance. Property thus formed has become the basis of that which remains of society among men. Each, retired on his bit of land, became absolute and independent sovereign; and all social action is reduced to making each remain master of the plot of land that inheritance, labor, chance, or crime had obtained for him: Each by himself, each for himself. Sadly, the result of such a renunciation of all social providence is that each does not have his bit of land, and that the portion of some tends always to increase, and that of the others to diminish; the well-demonstrated result is the absurd and shameful slavery of twenty-five million men over thirty.

Others, on the contrary, seeing evil, have wanted to cure it by an entirely different process. Government, that imperceptible dwarf in the first system, becomes in this one a giant hydra which embraces in its coils the entire society. The individual, on the contrary, absolute sovereign and without control in the first, is no longer anything by a humble and submissive subject: he was once independent, he could think and live according to the inspirations of nature; he became a functionary, and only a functionary; he is regimented, he has an official doctrine to believe, and the inquisition at its door. Man is no longer a free and spontaneous being, he is an instrument who obeys in spite of himself, or who, fascinated, responds mechanically to the social action, as the shadow follows the body.

While the partisans of individualism rejoice or console themselves on the ruins of society, refugees that they are in their egoism, the partisans of socialism,² marching bravely to what they call an organic era, strive to discover

² It is clear that, in all of this writing, it is necessary to understand by socialism, socialism as we define it in this work itself, which is as the exaggeration of the idea of association, or of society. For a number of years, we have been accustomed to call socialists all the thinkers who occupy themselves with social reforms, all those who critique and reprove individualism, all those who speak, in different terms, of social providence, and of the solidarity which unites together not only the members of a State, but the entire Human Species; and, by this title, ourselves, who have always battled

how they will bury every liberty, all spontaneity under what they call organization.

The first, entirely in the present and without future, have come as well to have no tradition, no past. For them the previous life of Humanity is only a dream without consequence. The others, carrying in the study of the past their ideas of the future, have taken up with pride the line of the catholic orthodoxy of the Middle Ages, and they have said anathema to all of the modern era, to Protestantism and to Philosophy.

Ask the partisans of individualism what they think of the equality of men: certainly, they will keep themselves from denying it, but it is for them a chimera without importance; they have no means of realizing it. Their system, on the contrary, has for consequence only the most unspeakable inequality. From this point their liberty is a lie, for it is only the smallest number who enjoy it; and society becomes, as a result of inequality, a den of rascals and dupes, a sewer of vice, suffering, immorality and crime.

Ask the partisans of absolute socialism how they reconcile the liberty of men with authority, and what they make, for example, of the liberty to think and to write: they will respond to you that society is a grand being of which nothing can disturb the functions.

We are thus between Charybdis and Scylla, between the hypothesis of a government concentrating in itself all the lights and all human morality, and that of a government deprived by its very mandate of all light and all morality; between an infallible pope on one side and a vile gendarme on the other.

The first call liberty their individualism, they will gladly call it a fraternity: the others call their despotism a family. Preserve us from a fraternity so little charitable, and let us avoid a family so intrusive.

Never, it is necessary to avow it, have the very bases of society been more controversial. If one speaks of equality today, if one shows the misery and absurdity of the present mercantilism, let one blacken a society where the disassociated men are not only strangers among themselves, but necessarily

absolute socialism, we are today designated as socialist. We are undoubtedly socialist, but in this sense: we are socialist, if you mean by socialism the Doctrine which will sacrifice none of the terms of the formula: Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, Unity, but which reconciles them all. (1847.) — I can only repeat here, with regard to the use of the word Socialism in all of this extract, what I said previously (pages 121 and 160 of this Volume). When I invented the term Socialism in order to oppose it to the term Individualism, I did not expect that, ten years later, that term would be used to express, in a general fashion, religious Democracy. What I attacked under that name, were the false systems advanced by the alleged disciples of Saint-Simon and by the alleged disciples of Rousseau led astray following Robespierre and Babœuf, without speaking of those who amalgamated at once Saint-Simon and Robespierre with de Maistre and Bonald. I refer the reader to the *Histoire du Socialisme* (which they will find in one of the following volumes of this edition), contenting myself to protest against those who have taken occasion from this to find me in contradiction with myself. (1850.)

rivals and enemies, and all those who have in their heart the love of men, the love of the people, all those who are children of Christianity, Philosophy and the Revolution, become inflamed and approve. But let the partisans of absolute socialism come to outline their tyrannical theories, let them speak of organizing us in regiments of scientists and regiments of industrials, let them go as far as declaring against the liberty of thought, at that same instant you feel yourself repulsed, your enthusiasm freeze, your feelings of individuality and liberty rebel, you start back sadly to the present from dread of that new papacy, weighty and absorbent, which will transform Humanity into a machine, where the true living natures, the individuals, will no longer be anything by a useful matter, instead of being themselves the arbiters of their destiny.

Thus one remains in perplexity and uncertainty, equally attracted and repulsed by two opposite attractors. Yes, the sympathies of our era are equally lively, equally energetic, whether it is a question of liberty or equality, of individuality or association. The faith in society is complete, but the faith in individuality is equally complete. From this results an equal impulse towards these two desired ends and an equal increase of the exclusive exaggeration of one or the other, an equal horror of either individualism or of socialism.

That disposition, moreover, is not new; it already existed in the Revolution; the most progressive men felt it. Take the Declaration of Rights of Robespierre: you will find formulated there the most energetic and absolute manner the principle of society, with a view to the equality of all; but, two lines higher, you will find equally formulated in the most energetic and absolute manner the principle of the individuality of each. And nothing which would unite, which harmonizes these two principles, placed thus both on the altar; nothing which reconciles these two equally infinite and limitless rights, these two adversaries which threaten, these two absolute and sovereign powers which both together rise to heaven and which each separately overrun the whole earth. These two principles once named, you cannot prevent yourself from recognizing them, for you sense their legitimacy in your heart; but you sense at the same time that, both born from justice, they will make a dreadful war. So Robespierre and the Convention were only able to proclaim them both, and as a result the Revolution has been the bloody theater of their struggle: the two pistols charged one against the other have fired.

We are still at the same point, with two pistols charged and pointed in opposite directions. Our soul is the prey of two powers that are equal and, in appearance, contrary. Our perplexity will only cease when social science will manage to harmonize these two principles, when our two tendencies will be satisfied. Then an immense contentment will take the place of that anguish.

IV.

In waiting for that desired moment, if one asks us for our profession of faith, we have just made it, and we are ready to repeat it; here it is: we are

neither individualists nor socialists, taking these words in their absolute sense. We believe in individuality, in personality, in liberty; but we also believe in society.

Society is not the result of a contract. For the sole reason that men exist, and have relations between themselves, society exists. A man does not make an act or a thought which does not concern more or less the lot of other men. Thus, there is necessarily and divinely communion between men.

Yes, society is a body, but it is a mystical body, and we are not its members, but we live in it. Yes, each man is a fruit on the tree of Humanity; but the fruit, in order to be the product of the tree, is no less complete and perfect in itself; he contains in germ the tree which has engendered him; he becomes himself the tree, when the other will fall from old age under the shock of the winds, and it will be him who will bring new blood to nature. Thus each man reflects in his breast all of society; each man is in a certain manner the manifestation of his century, of his people and of his generation; each man is Humanity; each man is a sovereignty; each man is a law, for whom the law is made, and against which no law can prevail.

Because I live bodily in the atmosphere, and I cannot live an instant without breathing, am I a portion of the atmosphere? Because I cannot live in any way without being in relation and in communion with the external world, am I a portion of that world? No; I live with this world and in this world: that is all.

And just so, because I live in the society of men and by that society, am I a portion, a dependency of that society? No, I am a liberty destined to live in a society.

Absolute individuality has been the belief of the majority of the philosophers of the Nineteenth Century. It was an axiom in metaphysics, that there existed only individuals, and that all the alleged collective or universal beings, such as Society, Homeland, Humanity, etc., were only abstractions of our mind. These philosophers were in a grave error. They did not understand what is tangible by the senses; they did not comprehend the invisible. Because after a certain amount of time has passed, the mother is separate from the fruit that she carried in her womb, and because the mother and her child form then two distinct and separate beings, do you deny the relation which exists between them; do you deny what nature shows you even by the testimony of your senses, to know that that mother and that child are without one another beings that are incomplete, sick, and threatened with death, and that the mutual need, as well as the love, make from them one being composed of two? It is the same for Society and Humanity. Far from being independent of all society and all tradition, man takes his life in tradition and in society. He only lives because he is at one in a certain present and in a certain past. Each man, like each generation of men, draws his sap and his life from Humanity. But each man draws his life there by virtue of the faculties that he has in him, by virtue of his

own spontaneity. Thus, he remains free, though associated. He is divinely united to Humanity; but Humanity, instead of absorbing him, is revealed in him.

If there are still in the world so many miserable and vicious men, of we are all affected by vice and misery, that reveals to us the ignorance and immorality which still afflicts Humanity. If Humanity was less ignorant and more moral, there would no longer be so many miserable and vicious beings in the world.

We are all responsible to one another. We are united by an invisible link, it is true, but that link is more clear and more evident to the intelligence than matter is to the eyes of the body.

From which it follows that mutual charity is a duty.

From which it follows that the intervention of man for man is a duty.

From which follows finally a condemnation of individualism.

But from that follows as well, and with an equal force, the condemnation of absolute socialism.

If God had desire that men should be parts of Humanity, he would have enchained them to one another in one great body, as the members of our body are connected to one another. To desire to enchain men thus, would have been as if, having recognized the invisible link that unites the mother and child, and which makes only one being of the two, you would desire to deny, because of that, their personality and enchain them to one another. You would return them by this to the previous state where they made strictly only one being; and, by reason of what they are now, you would constitute a state that is monstrous and as abnormal the state of absolute separation where you would have first desired to hold them. They are two, but they are united; there is relation and communion between them, but not identity. The one being who reunites them is God, who lives at once in the one and the other; and if he has separated them, it is in order that they should each have their individual life, even though they are connected to one another, and that under the relation that unites them they make only one single being. What is more, it is clear that the common life which unites them will be as much more energetic, as their individual lives are more grand. If the mother is happy, the child will be happy; and if the soul of the child is opened to enthusiasm and to virtue, the love of the mother will be will be exalted in it. Thus the social body will be made more happy and more powerful by the individuality of all its members, than if all men had been enchained to one another.

We arrive thus at that law, as evident and as certain as the laws of gravitation: "The perfection of society is the result of the liberty of each and all."

At the end of the day, to adopt either individualism or socialism, is to not understand life. Life consists essentially in the divine and necessary relation of individual and free beings. Individualism does not comprehend life, for it denies that relation. Absolute socialism does not comprehend it better; for, by distorting that relation, it destroys it. To deny life or to destroy it, these are the alternatives of these two systems, of which one, consequently, is no better than the other.

*Anna
Leroux
3. 5. 1871
690*



Pierre Leroux.

8°

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Leroux

The Doctrine of Humanity

APHORISMS

That which can save us is faith, is religion.
What would save us would be religious
unity. What will save us is the sect that
will love religious unity to the point of
being the seed of unity; it is the sect which
will bring about Liberty, Fraternity,
Equality, and Unity. (PIERRE
LEROUX)



Luc Desages
Auguste Desmoulins

1848

NOTICE

Four years ago, under the monarchy, the principles set forth in the various works that form the foundation of the Doctrine of Humanity, and which we gather together here in the form of aphorisms, brought together a number of families, and led them to live in a common research of association.

At the beginning of this work, the Doctrine of the Humanity based on the law of life, the TRINITY, consisted of a science of God, of Man, and of Humanity; it affirmed the great principle of human Solidarity; it had faith in Freedom, Fraternity, and Equality; it was thus particularly a matter of Cognition: but it necessarily also involved Sentiment and Sensation, and thus, in order to embrace being completely, a political principle of organization and an economic law of subsistence.

It is in the face of the different aptitudes which human nature presents, it is in the middle of the obstacles to any kind of material life, that the principle of organization and the law of subsistence were discovered.

The revolution of February came. It recognized and proclaimed the right of association. A great number of associations are today being attempted. Some will not have to fight the material difficulties, as we do, but all will fail inevitably if they did not clarify religious principles, and perhaps some law of organization and subsistence. The moment has come, perhaps, for all those animated by our faith to go out into the world and announce what we are not afraid to call the Good News of our time.

About to devote ourselves entirely to this mission, we need to summarize the Doctrines in a series of Aphorisms, which undoubtedly demand, in order to be comprehended, great expansion, but which present a complete sequence of all the formulas that it would differently be necessary to seek and study in a great number of separate works.

Another reason committed us to make this summary of the principal points of the Doctrines. Since the revolution, we have been subject to calumnies of all sorts: we wanted to make manifest the elevation and purity in our dogmas.

Finally, there are a good number of the truths upheld and propagated by us which are used to adorn so-called "systems" and to veil their blotches and impurities. This perfidious alloy of truth and error will disappear when these truths, beheld in the place which they must occupy, and which they indeed occupy in the true Doctrines, will have been shown so attached to the law of organization which we call Triad, that it will be impossible to take them separately and make an impious use of them.

It is not a Symbol which we put forward. Humanity will only be possible as a Symbol when a great number of men and women can meet and agree upon the principles of a common faith. We believe firmly that this faith will be that which profess today.

While waiting for this Symbol, we make individual work and of simple proposal. There is the motive which commits us to sign a work whose rectitude has as a guarantee only our own understanding, though it is always possible and easy to assure ourselves that we drew well from the sources.

As for the sources, we will mention mainly the following works:

De la Doctrine du Progrès continu ou de la Perfectibilité;—Du lien qui unit le Dix-Huitième Siècle au Dix-Septième;—Des mystères du Christianisme (REVUE ENCYCLOPÉDIQUE, année 1834).

Articles *Certitude, Conscience, Consentement, Confession* (ENCYCLOPÉDIE NOUVELLE).

Réfutation de l'Eclectisme.

De Dieu ou de la Vie dans l'Être universel et dans les êtres particuliers (REVUE INDÉPENDANTE, troisième volume, 1842).

De l'Humanité, de son principe et de son avenir.

De l'Égalité.

Discours aux philosophes et aux politiques.

D'une Religion nationale ou du Culte.

De la Ploutocratie ou du Gouvernement des riches.

Le Carosse de M. Aguado.

De la Recherche des biens matériels.

Discours sur la Doctrine de l'Humanité.

Trilogie sur l'Institution du Dimanche.

And, in general, all the philosophical articles in the REVUE SOCIALE.

LUC DESAGES, AUGUSTE DESMOULINS.

PREAMBLE

I.

The individual cannot live—spiritually, morally, or materially—without forming society with others.

No society exists—spiritually, morally, or materially—without religion.

Indeed, human beings would not know how to live in the simplest society without coming together around certain truths, without establishing among themselves a common law founded on a certain idea of justice, and finally without accomplishing themselves, or forcing others to accomplish for them, certain labors.

Knowledge of this imperative need for religion explains all the divisions and also all the progress of the human race.

The human race has always sought Religion; and from this search come all its hopes, its sufferings, and its disastrous errors. Religion is gradually revealed to it; from this gradual revelation come the conquests of the human race, its enlightenment, and its perfection.

Today, that continuous and progressive revelation of Religion shows us a new world, a higher idea of life, and the possibility of making that idea a reality; the present generation is restless under the empire of mysterious presentiments, and feels pulled by an irresistible desire towards the world to come: everything prepares for an immense and universal transformation.

Today, human beings know their own perfectibility, and seek the city founded on Liberty, Fraternity, Equality and Unity.

None of these things are yet realized: from this fact arises all our miseries—whether material, moral, or intellectual—larger miseries perhaps than any which mankind endured in the course of its previous evolutions; but from this same fact arise all our greatness, all our hopes, and all our enlightenment.

We feel and we judge the extent of our present evils only because the principle which must triumph over them already lights our hearts.

We ourselves suffer, as do our fellows, from the cruel attacks of hunger and destitution, but we know that Humanity can and must free itself;

We suffer, in ourselves and in our fellows, from the immorality of men, from their injustice, and their divisions; but we can only know and measure the evil which is in them because a higher conception of Morals and social Organization enlightens us;

We suffer, in ourselves and in our fellows, from the irreligion and hypocrisy of men, their darkness, and their ignorance; but we can see these things and be painfully struck by them only because Religion starts to shine in our eyes.

II.

Under the title of THE DOCTRINE OF HUMANITY, we present to the world a collection of truths that are only the extension, appropriate to our time, of Christianity and all the great religions of the past.

The basis of Religion is the TRINITY: Religion, as we conceive it, is made up of Dogma, Morals (or Social Organization), and Political Economy.

THE DOCTRINE OF HUMANITY is what Revelation has always been, Life coming to consciousness of itself, triple and one at the same time: Dogma—Organization—Subsistence.

Dogma forms the first part of the DOCTRINE OF HUMANITY, and relates to Science;

Organization forms the second, and relates to Morality;

The law of Subsistence forms the third, and relates to Political Economy.

Dogma is a collection of truths concerning the life of God, of Humanity, and of Nature, connected together by the same principle and linking human beings in a common and progressive conception of Life.

Morality is human association as it results from the true laws of our nature. Morality is not only a rule of mores, a law of the social relations; it is the society manifesting itself,—it is a Politics. The word Organization expresses this idea exactly.

Political Economy is the science of the Consumption, Production, and Distribution of the things necessary to the life. Its cause, and its effect, is this aspect of the universal fact of relation that one calls nutrition. The word Subsistence expresses this idea exactly.

The summary which follows is thus divided into three parts.

PART I.

DOGMA.

SOLIDARITY.

GOD.

1. GOD is LIFE triple and one; he is at the same time impersonal and distinct from individual beings, although immanent in each one of them.

GOD is simultaneously:

BEING OF BEINGS, eternal and infinite Power to be, including and bearing in its bosom all beings, and embracing the Universe as a Totality,

SPIRIT Of LOVE immanent within Being itself and within Beings, connecting them with the creatures, summing up their manifestations as they take place, and causing them to produce new things, in order to lift them up more and more in Life, and intervening in the Universe as Cause,

UNIVERSAL LIGHT creating the individual beings, intervening, in the name of Life or Universal Light, in each act of the life of these individual beings, to make them united and seeing itself, penetrating itself, and conscious of itself through man and in man, type and summary of creations; and appearing in the Universe as Existence.

GOD, Infinite Being, Life triple and one, is at the same time and indivisibly:

BEING OF BEINGS—SPIRIT OF LOVE—UNIVERSAL LIGHT,

OR

FORCE—LOVE—INTELLIGENCE,

OR

TOTALITY—CAUSE—EXISTENCE.

HUMANITY.

I.

2. HUMANITY is a species.

The Human species is an ideal being composed of a multitude of real beings, who are themselves Humanity in germ, Humanity in the virtual state.

Each human being is a real being, in which lives, in the virtual state, the ideal being called Humanity.

Each human being is HUMANITY.

II.

3. The human being, made in the image of God, is, like God, triple and one.

The human being is simultaneously sensation—sentiment—cognition, indivisibly united and simultaneously manifested.

Of the life of human beings

I.

4. Human life in the latent state is an *aspiration*, in the manifest state it is a *communion*.

5. Each human being is united with their fellows, with God, and with the Universe; directly with their fellows, indirectly with God and with the Universe, in a direct communion with their fellows.

The true formula of life among human beings is this:

To love God in oneself and in others.

To be loved by God in others.

To love others by God in oneself.

Not to separate God, and oneself, and other creatures.

God does not appear apart from the world, and our life is not separated from that of other creatures.

II.

6. Human beings live spiritually in and through one another.

7. They are in solidarity.

8. Human Solidarity is eternal.

9. The life in each human being is revealed by an indefinite series of existences encompassing time in its three aspects of Past, Present, and Future.

The idea of time is identical to the idea of existence.

10. The future life does not differ in essence from the present life or the past life, for it is only that life in a new manifestation.

11. Each human being is, has been, and will be Humanity; each human being dies and is reborn, on the earth, in Humanity.

The identity of each human being and his personality is judged and preserved in God, who transmits it with new conditions of existence, and with innateness, which creates for each human being a relation with their previous existences and an attraction toward their future existences.

III.

12. The human being is perfectible, and Humanity is perfectible.

13. The goal of life for the human being is to realize more and more in Unity and Communion that being, Humanity, and to develop that being in its triple aspect sensation-sentiment-knowledge.

Every act that tends to that Unity and that development is an absolute good;

Every act that tends to injure that Unity and to hinder that development is relatively bad.

Happiness is tied to the practice of life thus understood.

14. The law of life in the individual is progress, of which the formula is this: To change by persisting, to persist in changing, and to aspire to realize more and more the ideal type, Humanity.

15. The law of life of the species, and in the species is progress, of which this is the formula: To change by persisting, to persist in changing, and to aspire to realize more and more the ideal type, Humanity.

16. There is a continual reversibility of the life of the species onto the life of each individual;

17. The life of each of the individual beings serves to constitute more and more the life of the species.

18. The reversibility of progress redeems at each instant all human beings.

GOD or the UNIVERSAL LIFE, for which there is neither time nor space, and which sees the final aim of all things, permits evil and suffering as necessary phases by which creatures must pass, in order to arrive at a state of happiness that the creatures do not see, and which consequently they do not presently enjoy, as creatures, but that God sees and which consequently every creature enjoys in themselves virtually because they will enjoy it actually one day.

THE UNIVERSE.

I.

19. All that exists is the Universe. All the beings, all the creatures that people that Universe constitute the infinite creation.

20. The law of life in the Universe is the Trinity: men, animals, plants, mineral, stars or light, every being of nature, reflect the Infinite Being or God, who is himself the Trinity. For life in the Universe is the penetration in a certain measure of the Infinite into the individual and finite being. That penetration of the Infinite into the finite takes place by simultaneity; that is to say that the three attributes incorporated in the nature of God penetrate simultaneously and indivisibly the individual or finite being.

Thus intelligence is found everywhere, even the beings most devoid of intelligence,

Love is found everywhere as well, even in the beings most devoid of sentiment,

Activity is also found everywhere, even in inert things.

From that law of the penetration of the Infinite into the heart of the finite results at once the unity and the variety of the Universe.

Of Nutrition.

21. Life is nourished by the products of Life, and thus increases and is perfected.

22. Life is distinguished in three great manifestations, called mineral kingdom, vegetable kingdom, animal kingdom.

23. Humanity really forms a separate kingdom, which could be called and which some thinkers have called the hominal kingdom.

24. The vegetable is nourished by the mineral.

25. The vegetable is nourished by the result of the combinations of the mineral with the products or the remains of the vegetables or by dead animals, or with the detritus living beings.

26. Thus the vegetable is nourished by the products of Life.

27. The animal is nourished by the vegetable or by the animal in the state of a cadaver.

28. Thus the animal is nourished by the products of Life.

29. Vegetables are minerals transformed by vegetable life.

30. Animals are vegetables transformed by animal life.

31. Animal life rises by grafting itself onto animal life itself and nourishing itself from that life in other animals.

32. Animals nourish themselves on one another only because there are species and genera.

33. The animal, to the degree that it rises, nourishes itself on inferior species.

34. The genera and species are successive creations.

35. More and more perfect creatures appear to the degree that Life succeeds Life. It is thus that on Earth Humanity has followed animality, each human being an animal transformed by reason and united with Humanity.

PART II.

ORGANIZATION.

TRIAD.

The Couple and Society.

36. The human being as an individual is a first manifestation of the Human-Humanity.

The Family is a second manifestation of the Human-Humanity.

Society is a third manifestation of the Human-Humanity.

37. Society is that being, at once ideal and real, by which is manifested the link between all human beings, Human Solidarity, Humanity, and which has for types, for causes, and for summaries the man and the woman.

Society is the natural milieu, created by the man and the woman, in the image of the man and the woman, and where must be insured the procreation, the development, and the normal life of man and woman.

38. Man and woman are fellows as human beings.

39. Man and woman are equals as human beings.

40. Man and woman are different as regards the procreation of the species.

41. Man and woman have been created different in order to unite for the procreation of the species.

42. Man and woman unite in the Couple, which completes man and woman and of which they are the two equal faces.

43. Man and woman really manifest themselves and can manifest themselves morally as sexes only by the Couple and in the Couple.

44. The Couple is the most intimate, most profound and most mysterious manifestation of that law which makes fellows objects of one another.

45. The Couple is divine: the Couple is creator.

Love and Marriage.

46. By Love in the state of aspiration, man and woman are lovers [amant et amante].

47. By Love in the state of manifestation, that is by Marriage, man and woman are partners [époux et épouse].

48. Husband and wife are equal in Marriage.

49. The law of Marriage is stable Love.

50. The law of Love is not to love solely, in the loved one, in the husband or wife, the individual being with their gifts and graces;

51. The law of Love is also to love, in the individual being, the species manifested as man or woman, and capable of acquiring all its gifts and all its graces.

52. The law of Love is not disillusionment because of faults and imperfections.

53. The law of Love is constant despite faults and imperfections.

For Perfectibility is the law of every being.

But the cessation of Love, separation and divorce amounts to death before death.

54. Divorce is an exceptional and temporary rule; it is contrary to the Ideal.

The Social State.

Let us associate ourselves according to the laws of the HOLY TRINITY, and we will be happy. With Pythagorus and all the thinkers who have enlightened and guided Humanity, we swear it by Him who has given to our soul the Unity in Triplicity, source of the Eternal Nature.

55. The human being, being triple and one, manifests the trinity of its being in its language, in all its expressions, in all its acts, in all its creations.

56. The Purpose, Duty and Right of every human being are expressed in this first ternary without which human nature is not satisfied, and without which there is no individuality:

PROPERTY—FAMILY—CITY;

corresponding to

Sensation-Sentiment-Cognition.

57. Right and Duty in the City have for fundamental basis and for dogma this second ternary, which expresses the social life in its very essence:

LIBERTY—FRATERNITY—EQUALITY;

corresponding to

Sensation-Sentiment-Cognition.

58. Right and Duty in the City have for expression this third ternary, which determines the condition of human beings in the social state:

CITIZENS—ASSOCIATES—FUNCTIONARIES;

corresponding to

Liberty-Fraternity-Equality.

Property.

59. Property, triple and one, relates predominantly to sensation. As it relates to sensation, Property is the possession and usage of the things necessary to Subsistence.

Property also relates to sentiment; in this context it is the possession and the use of honorific distinctions, that Society must create, and which will be attributed according to the Proposition, the Choice, and the Acclamation of the Citizens.

Finally. Property relates to cognition; in this context it is the possession and use of a Function.

Family.

60. The Family corresponds predominantly to sentiment.

The Family is the manifestation of the Couple; it results from Marriage.

61. The Family is triple and one; it has for real cause, however mysterious and hidden, and for end this ternary:

FATHER-MOTHER-CHILD.

corresponding to

Cognition-Sentiment-Sensation

62. The child is in the first place in the father and in the mother, for it is of them and in a certain way it is them;

The child is equally in Society, for it does not come to the world without the protection and support of Society; it is received by Society.

63. The child is not solely a new being, fruit of the love of the father and mother; it is a being which has already lived, and which carries in itself the type of the species Humanity.

64. The right and duty of the father and mother with regard to the child combines with right and duty of Society with regard to that same child.

65. The child is given over to the care of the Family until the age of seven years.

Nonetheless Society intervenes from the more tender years of the child in the care of the Family as a relief, by means of what we can call Nurseries and Classrooms of primary education.

66. The human being as a child is not free in the same way as an adult, for it does not possess the reason and the means to exercise its freedom; the human child is a minor.

67. The human child is destined to enter into Society as a citizen, associate, and functionary: thus, its Instruction, its Education, and its Apprenticeship belong to Society, but take place without destroying its daily relations with the Family.

68. Human beings, at the age determined for majority, are free, for they have the reason and means to exercise their liberty.

The State has used up its right of persuasion and education towards the child; as adults, men come into their own as thinking beings; they are citizens; they enjoy liberty of Conscience and Liberty of the Press.

The City.

69. The City relates primarily to cognition. The city, in this respect, is called the Republic.

70. The City is triple and one; it includes indivisibly

THE CITIZEN—THE COMMUNE—THE STATE.

The City is the milieu where Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality jointly manifest themselves.

Liberty.

71. Liberty is principally the right for every human being to live by manifesting itself; the right to act, and the right to develop itself in conformity with its nature and its predominant faculties, a right which, in order to be fully exercised, can never depend on a condition where the individual is subordinated to another individual, or exploited by another individual. Liberty implies directly for each the right to contribute as a Citizen to the creation of the government of the City.

Fraternity.

72. Fraternity is the sentiment which cements the Association where human beings are free and equal, by pervading them with their common origin, their Solidarity. Fraternity is the link which unites Liberty, or the right of each, and Equality, or the right of all, and shows their basic identity.

Equality.

73. Equality is the right that all fellow human beings, sensation—sentiment—cognition, have to be placed in similar conditions; to enjoy the same goods in relation to the needs and the faculties of their being, being in no case obeyed or commanded. Equality is right and justice considered in all.

74. Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality imply one another. Each of them taken separately cannot exist, or can exist only in name or as an aspiration, when the other two are not realized.

75. Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality organized render all human beings
CITIZENS—ASSOCIATES—FUNCTIONARIES.

Of Citizens and of the Sovereignty of the People.

76. The Citizens are made up of All, of Some, and of Each.

77. Sovereignty is Power; it resides, in principle, in God, and, after God, in the human spirit, in human reason, and is manifested jointly by Each, Some, and All. It is the light given to Each, to Some, and to All; it is the cause which render possible the People and legitimates the government of People, by making Each—Some—All work together.

Each—Some—All indivisibly united by number, by love and by science, this is the true Sovereign after God.

78. Sovereignty is inalienable, enduring, nontransferable.

79. It is in essence and in virtuality the Legislator.

80. It is at each moment in the latent state in Each, in the state of expansion in Some, and in the state of manifestation in All.

The term Each represents the Individual, the term Some forms the Commune, the term All makes place for the State.

81. EACH—SOME—ALL creates Association.

Of Association.

82. Every human being, in order to be free, fraternal, and equal, must be associated with other human beings according to their predominant faculties and their legitimate attractions.

Every human being is a member of a Family, every human being has Friends, every human being is part of a Workshop, and enters in that to the title of Associate.

83. The basis of Association in the Workshop is Partnership;

The basis of Partnership, is Friendship;

The basis of Friendship, is the Triad.

OF THE TRIAD.

84. The Triad is natural or organic.

85. The natural Triad is the friendship of three human beings, each representing in predominance one of the three faces or faculties of our being: one representing Sensation, the other Sentiment, and the third Cognition.

For although every human is in all its acts sensation—sentiment—cognition indivisibly united, each of us has, because of our natural graces, because of our innate qualities, that is apart from every act and by predisposition, a predominance of Cognition, Sentiment, or Sensation.

Just so again, according to the nature of the act accomplished, Sensation, Sentiment or Cognition predominates.

But men, taking their predominance for their entire being, exaggerate that predominance to the point of becoming monsters of Cognition, monsters of Sentiment, and monsters of Sensation.

The natural Triad, realizing through three human beings the union of three different predominances, is the true moral law; it corrects the tendencies of each towards the excessive development of one of their faculties, it leads each towards the unity of their being, towards their true personality.

86. The Triad is the true law of Attraction realizing itself by Friendship.

For, between human beings, Attraction is nothing but the law that makes each fellow the object of their fellows.

Thus the Triad is, after Marriage, a second social and organizational manifestation of the law of communion and of the spiritual nutrition of Humanity.

Of the organic Triad.

87. The Organic Triad is the association of three human beings, each representing in predominance one of the three faces of our nature, one Sensation, the other Sentiment, the third Knowledge, in some social function.

88. The Trinity being in our being, being that which constitutes our being, is reflected in all our works, and shows itself in all our works.

Every Function is triple and one, three functions in one; every function has three faces, and corresponds by one to Sensation, by the other to Sentiment, by the third to Knowledge.

Every human being, applying itself in isolation to a Function, tends to exert in that triune Function only the aspect which corresponds to their predominant faculties.

Thus, the social element of labor is not an individual, but three individuals, or a Triad.

89. Every function, whether industrial, artistic or scientific, gives rise to three Workshops.

The function and the instruments of the Function are handed over in their unity to the Triads associated for the Function.

Of the Directing Triad.

90. Each of the three Workshops to which the Function gives rise is represented with regard to demand by a DIRECTING TRIAD.

91. The Directing Triad is formed by election.

92. Each of the three Workshops to which the Function gives rise elects one of its members to take part in the Directing Triad.

The principle of the Triad destroys despotism. Despotism has come because the Function or labor has always been abandoned to One alone; because One commands, as the One, One or Several individuals; because One possesses, as the One, the instruments of the Function.

Despotism results, by a direct path, from the One commanding One or Several.

Despotism results, by an indirect path, from the One possessing, as the One, the instruments of the Function.

Thus, the opposite of the One, or of despotism, is the Triad.

Of the Functionaries.

93. The human being sensation—sentiment—cognition manifesting itself by labor created Industry, Art, and Science.

94. Industry is the expression of human life where Sensation predominates and the application of the forces of the man to the earth, and to the different objects that nature provides for the production of the things necessary for the satisfaction of our needs, and for the development of our faculties.

95. Art is the expression of human life where Sentiment predominates. The harmonies of language, of sound, of light, or color, of forms, and of movement, are revealed to us by Art, and serve to manifest by Symbols the passions and the desires of the human soul in its ardent aspiration towards the Beautiful.

96. Science is the manifestation of human life where Cognition predominates. It is the successive revelation that Life makes in us of the UNIVERSAL LIFE. It is by this that we become conscious of the existence of the individual beings which surround us, and at the same time of the general laws to which they are subject. Finally, it is by this that we can raise ourselves more and more towards the Supreme Cause. Through Science we put ourselves in indirect relations with Bodies and with Forces, and in direct relations with Causes.

By the trinity Industry—Art—Science, Humanity appropriates each day a greater number of Bodies to its use, harnesses each day more Forces, and raises itself each day more towards God, accomplishing its sublime function in the general life, which is to continue in the perfecting work of Nature.

97. Every Industry, every Art, every Science divides naturally into three Functions, and appoints Functionaries in Triads.

98. The Triad is the principle of Organization in Industry, in Art, and in Science.

99. In Society, the Functionaries are distinguished naturally in three equal orders: the Industrial workers, the Artists, and the Scientists.

The Commune and the State.

100. The Commune is the association of Some occupying a designated portion of territory and forming a Workshop of Industry, a Workshop of Art, a Workshop of Science, linked and administered by a triple Power emanating from the direct election of the associates.

101. The State is the expression and the guarantee of the rights of All. It links together all the Communes, and manifests the Unity of Industry, Art, and Science.

102. The same principle which organizes the Workshop organizes the Commune and the State; that principle is the Triad or Ternary Order.

103. In its administration, the Commune is triple and one.

104. The administration of the Commune includes indivisibly:

1° An Administrative Triad;

2° One or more Educational Triads, charged with the Education of the men and women in the state of natural minority and given by age; a Judicial Triad charged with the repression of offences, that is to say with the Education of men and women in the state of legal minor and resulting from acts described as offences. The judicial function implies three functions: that of public prosecutor, that of public defender or Minister of Grace, and that of judge of fact or Jury. The Triads of the Judicial-Educational order function under the inspiration of the Judicial-Educational Power, conforming to the Program that determines it, and in conformity with the general laws;

3° A Legislative Triad:

These Triads are named directly by the Citizens gathered in the Commune;

4° A Management (Gérance) formed by a Triad and made up of: a member elected by the Administrative Functionaries, another member elected by the Judicial-Educational Functionaries, a third member elected by the Legislative Functionaries. That Triad establishes the unity between the three orders of functions, and has the care of relations external to the Commune.

105. The State, like the Sovereignty from which it emanates, is triple and one. It includes indivisibly three orders of functions or Powers:

1° The Administrative and Executive Power, that is the Powers charged with the satisfaction of the general consumption by making the demand to Labor, to facilitate and extend production, and to ensure that between all the Communes a just division is made of the industrial, artistic and scientific products. It expresses the Law;

2° The Judicial-Educational Power, that is the Power charged with preparing the material of Education and with overseeing the application of the laws;

3° The Legislative Power, that is the Power charged with making the general laws.

106. Each of these Powers rise directly from the Election of all the Citizens.

107. At the head of the State, and achieving the Unity of the three Powers appointed by the People, is a Management composed jointly of three members: one appointed by the Functionaries of the administrative order, another by the Functionaries of the judicial-educational order, and the third by Functionaries of the legislative. That Triad has the care of relations external to the State.

108. The function of the administrator, of the judge-educator, or of the legislator is triple and one, like every other function, for every act of general administration, every law, and every principle of justice and of education must satisfy the three points of view of Industry, Art, and Science.

Each Citizen or Sovereign thus must not appoint to the Powers of the State a single Administrator, a single Judge-Educator, and a single Legislator, but three Functionaries of each order; each Citizen or Sovereign must appoint for each order of function a representative taken from among Industrials, another representative taken from among the Artists, and a third representative taken from among the Scientists.

Of Election.

109. Election is in essence triple and one. It has three terms: 1° the Proposal, 2° the Choice, 3° the Acclamation. The proposal emanates most particularly from Each and from the vote of Each, the Choice results from the inspiration and initiative given by Some, and the Acclamation results from the acceptance, tacit or expressed, of All.

OF EDUCATION.

110. Education is triple and one: it includes Gymnastics, Education properly speaking, and Instruction.

111. Gymnastics embraces all the hygienic concerns; it is the art of developing the senses and the bodily faculties by means of a graduated series of exercises.

It gives rise to the Workshop of the Gymnasts.

112. Education is the art of nourishing and developing the moral faculties with the aid of teachings drawn from the past and present life of Humanity. It distinguishes the various predominances of the Students, and favors the formation of Natural Triads.

It gives rise to the Workshop of the Educators.

113. Instruction is the art of nourishing and developing the intellectual faculties by means of Science.

It gives rise to the Workshop of the Professors.

114. The Judicial-Educational Power of the Commune organizes Education, and presides over the composition of the Workshop of Education.

115. The Workshop of Education is made up of three Workshops united in Function:

1° The Workshop of the Triads of Gymnasts;

2° The Workshop of the Triads of Educators;

3° The Workshop of the Triads of Professors.

The Triads of Gymnasts elect a Gymnast.

The Triads of Educators elect an Educator.

The Triads of Professors elect a Professor.

The Directing Triad of the Workshop of Education is thus composed of:

A PROFESSOR—AN EDUCATOR—A GYMNAST

jointly united in the unity of Function.

Of Apprenticeship.

116. Apprenticeship is the initiation in a Function, whether industrial, artistic, or scientific.

117. The Workshop of Education directs Apprenticeship.

OF WORSHIP.

Religion and Philosophy do not differ in essence. Philosophy is a Religion which seeks itself, Religion is a Philosophy which knows itself.

118. Worship is the manifestation of Religion, 1° by Institutions, 2° by the social life itself, 3° by a collection of symbolic Ceremonies and religious Celebrations. Worship, in this regard, is in the first place Prayer and Communion, or the act of fraternization.

119. Birth, the Natural Triad, Initiation (at a certain age), Marriage, Communion, and Death, give rise to the Symbols or Ceremonies of Worship.

120. The adepts of the DOCTRINE OF HUMANITY will celebrate Sunday as the day consecrated to God, as the day dedicated to rest, to Liberty, to Fraternity, to Equality; as the social day *par excellence*.

Sunday, as we establish it, aims to bring to mind the Equality *in each of us*, in our entire being, by putting us in possession of the unity of our being.

Sunday, as we establish it, aims to bring to mind the Equality, as it must exist *between us*, in our individual relations, in our relations with one another, by showing us its efficacy for our own happiness, so that, by the very fact of the

trinity of our being, we are not only fellows, and endowed with the same nature, but united with one another in a single life.

Sunday, as we establish it, aims to bring to mind the Equality, such as it must exist *among us*, in our social relations, in our relations as Citizens and Functionaries, by showing us that Equality in realized form, and by serving to realize it in us with more perfection from week to week.

121. Sunday is the day of the repast in common, symbol of the Communion. Communion is the realization of human Fraternity, of the unity of the human spirit, and of the reciprocal solidarity of human beings. The Repast in common is the sign that expresses and symbolizes the idea that humans all live the same life, that the thoughts of one nourish the others, that thus the life of the human race consists in a true assimilation that new generations make of the products of the previous generations, nourishing themselves so to speak, from the life and substance of their fathers, and that it is the general law of manifestation and of nutrition of the life within all creatures. The Repast in common expresses and symbolizes the previous ideas generalized in that: God, the Universal Being is the scene of that manifestation of the life within all creatures; it is through him that they live and are nourished, since he intervenes in all by three titles, as creator, as animator, and as the link which unites them and brings them together.

122. Sunday is the day of preaching and of Prayer in common.

PART III.

SUBSISTENCE.

CIRCULUS.

I.

123. Human Subsistence is infinite by virtue of the infinite fecundity of all species, and by the gift given to human beings of being able to profit from all of Nature.

124. Human Subsistence being, by essence, infinite, it is scarce only because of the errors of the human species.

125. Consumption is the goal of Production, but it is also its cause.

126. Nature has established a CIRCULUS between Production and Consumption.

Human beings take hold of plants and animals, of all the products of life that the earth gives them; they eat them, and their life is extended. But what they cannot assimilate passes from their beings, into the state of detritus, or excrement; this detritus, this excrement is an animal product, a compound of forces and juices, which, returning to the earth, and combining with it, renders it fertile and productive.

That which takes place for the human being is a law which applies to all animals. In addition, the corpses of these animals, the detritus from all the plants, the cast-offs of all beings, which have lived, serve, have served and will serve, by combining and mixing with the earth, to render it fertile and productive:

Science has established that human excrement is twelve times more useful for the production of grain than that of other animals. *It has proven that each human being produces the manure necessary to the reproduction of their subsistence.*

127. Man is thus at once Producer and Consumer.

II.

128. By Nature every human has a right to live; if they consume, they also produce.

Thus the child that does not yet labor, the old person who no longer labors, the infirm person who cannot labor, have, in addition to human rights, a natural right to invoke, and that right is based on the divine law that we call Circulus.

129. The human being who refused to work would still have a right to live, taking shelter under the law of the Circulus; only they would no longer be Citizen, Associate or Functionary.

III.

130. The law by virtue of which God has established for every being, at the heart of nature, a CIRCULUS between Consumption and the Reproduction of its Subsistence, is equally true for social labor. No act takes place in the human Workshop which is not at once Consumption and Production.

By the light of that law, aided by it, association satisfies the needs of the individual, directs collective labor, and remunerates the Functionaries.

Of the Needs of the Individual.

131. All the needs of the Individual come down to these: To Be Born, to Reproduce, to Preserve Oneself.

Birth gives rise to Society, to the Homeland,
Reproduction gives rise to the Family,
Self-preservation gives rise to Property.

Of the Preservation of Existence.

I.

To preserve itself despite the destructive action that Nature exerts on it at every instant by the alternation of heat and cold, by the air, by light and electricity, by hunger and thirst—in short, in order to defend his body from the continual invasion of all foreign bodies, and in order to escape the incessant absorption which all the environments that it traverses tend to work on it—the man has need to house, feed and clothe himself.

132. All the needs to which, for the Individual, the necessity of his preservation gives place relate to these three things: Habitation, Food, Clothing.

II.

133. Human activity, exercised with an eye to the satisfaction of these needs, created Labor and the relations that it gives rise to and teaches.

134. Human Association, profiting from the infinite fecundity of Nature, profiting also from the labor accomplished by all of Humanity from its first ages until our own, seconded by the efforts of all its members, gives to each individual, by participation in the common inheritance and by labor, the means to procure Habitation, Food, and Clothing.

III.

135. Each human has a right to Habitation, Food, and Clothing.

The right of Each to these things is limited by the right of All.

136. Each and All have the right to participate in all the advantages of Society.

137. Each and All have the right and the duty to exercise a Function in Society.

138. Each and All have a right to Property.

139. Property is the natural right of each to use a determined thing, in the fashion that the Law determines.

Of Labor.

140. Labor is a manifestation of the life of each human being, either by Industry, by Art, or by Science.

Society, the collective milieu is the field and center of labor of each person; it is from it that each human borrows the science that they apply, the instruments that they employ, the matter that they transform; it is really from it that they hold all the means of producing. In every act of production the entire social milieu intervenes as keeper of the instruments of labor and of raw materials, as source of inspiration, as divider.

141. Every act of production, in human Society, is the result of a communion similar to that universal communion which is the general law of manifestation and of nutrition of the life at the heart all creatures.

142. The Labor imposed by Nature, demanded by Society, instructs and nourishes Society, materially, morally and spiritually.

143. The Labor demanded by Society of the Industrial Worker, the Artist, and the Scientist, creates Association among the Industrial Workers, among the Artists, and among the Scientists.

It creates at the same time the Association between the Industrial worker, the Artist, and the Scientist.

144. Labor has three terms:

1° A term which relates to the Past, and which represents science, tradition, the successive inventions of human thought relative to the product demanded; which also represents the matter transformed by a previous labor with that product in mind. Thus far this term, expression of an eminently social power, because it manifests the universal association of men in time and space, has been improperly named *Capital* (*Caput*, tête, head). The social force that it expresses has been put in the hands of some individuals as a result of conquest and the feudal system, and it has been maintained there in the absence of right founded on Equality, Fraternity and Liberty. It would be better expressed by the general terms: *Instruments of labor, Manure, Science*;

2° A term which relates to the future, and which represents the living force of the man applied to the different objects of Nature; that term has been called *Labor* in an abstract fashion; it would be better named *Laborer*;

3° A term which relates to the present and which represents materials on which *Man, the Laborer*, exerts himself with the aid of instruments, *Land* or some *Material* that labor must transform.

Thus, the formula of Labor is: *Science, Manure, Instruments*, relating to the past, *Laborer*, relating to the future, *Land, Materials*, relating to the present.

This formula is that of all human labor; it embraces Industry in all its aspect of agriculture and industry properly speaking, Art in all its aspects poetry, music and the plastic arts, and Science in all its aspects as philosophy, historical and political science, or science of organization, and natural sciences, including mathematics, chemistry, physics, and all the sciences of observation and reasoning.

145. The conception and the very idea of Labor in relation to the Society gives rise to that Ternary which is all of Economic Science:

DISTRIBUTION—PRODUCTION—CONSUMPTION,

corresponding to

Cognition — Sentiment — Sensation.

Of Distribution.

Labor, in these aspects of *Science, Manure, Instruments of labor, products created*, ready to enter into new relations, and ready to create new products, gives place to a branch of the administration which, under the name of credit and commerce, has been left to individuals. What the State has known of that part of administration has been limited to taxation, and social administration has had for object up to now only to determine the tax base and use of the tax.

The three ideas represented by the words *credit, commerce, and tax*, come together in the true economic science. The word Distribution takes in all three.

146. Distribution is the act by which the administrative Power presides over the general division of products and instruments of labor, whether industrial, artistic or scientific.

Of Production.

147. Production, accomplished at the request of the Administration, must satisfy present needs and foresee the needs to come; it must, in every case, be maintained by Labor at the level of Consumption.

Of Consumption.

148. Consumption is at once the expression of needs and the demand for products.

Of the Remuneration of the Functionaries.

149. The formula of remuneration is triple and one:

To each according to their Capacity.

To each according to their Labor.

To each according to their Needs.

150. Capacity is remunerated by Function, and imposes the Function.

151. Labor accomplished is remunerated by Leisure.

152. Needs are satisfied by Products, either natural or industrial, artistic or scientific.

153. It is thus that by distinguishing what must be distinguished, namely 1° our needs properly speaking, 2° our need of leisure or of liberty, and 3° our need of Function or of legitimate influence on our fellows, and by satisfying these three demands of our nature as they must be satisfied, by paying them in an individual currency, so to speak, responding to the demands, and not as one does it today confusedly and without distinction from what one calls money and property, we come to put an end to an infinite error: *infiniti erroris finis et terminus ultimus*.

“WHAT IF the Gospel WAS RIGHT”

And if Jesus was right!

If the law for man was not the law of plants and of animals!

If humanity did not enter into what one calls the three kingdoms of nature!

If humanity formed a fourth kingdom, where that necessity to smother and devour one another did not exist!

If the mode of nutrition of man by man was purely spiritual!

If man could nourish himself spiritually from his fellows with equal profit for all!

If man and his fellows were at base the same man. If all men formed only one single man, one single humanity!

If man, thus conscious of his nature, restored to his nature, practicing his nature, should become superior to what one calls nature!

If he should trample underfoot that serpent of destruction, that python, that satan, in whose name the Malthusians asphyxiate the newborn of the human species!

If the scientists, who speak in proportions and numbers, and who oppose the geometric progression of the population to the arithmetic progression of its subsistence, had forgotten to consider the geometric progression of capital, which places itself like a wall of brass between the need of humanity to develop itself and the faculty that it has to do so!

If it was capital itself which was the cause of the lack of subsistence!

If capital, by making production the monopoly of a few, hindered production!

If, with another mode of organization, production should be augmented in proportion to population!

If, besides, the true law of population was not the one that the scientists observe, either among the wealthy or among the poor!

If humanity, restored to its true nature, understood the laws of human organization, and being able to follow them, should offer in its growth another proportion than that which is supposed of it!

If the intention of the Creator for humanity in placing humanity at the highest rank of his works, and as the Bible says, making man after all his other beings, had been to proportion the real multiplication of the human species to the means of subsistence that the spiritual nature of that humanity, in organizing that humanity, furnished to that humanity!

If the law of God differed thus from what the atheistic economists call the law of Nature!

If God was greater, more powerful, more merciful than they think!

If God existed!

If the atheistic economists, by denying him only proved the inanity of their thoughts!

If the word of the Bible was true. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus*; which is to say: man having denied God, God consequently withdrew from him, he has become insane!

Oh! Men carry death within them, and they are afraid of death! He produces it: how would he not fear it!

They carry death within them, indeed, those who, not loving men, create that which destroys the human species.

They attack Nature, but they attack themselves. It's up to us to turn against them the words that Homer attributed to Jupiter!

No, one more time, religion has not lied, and, no, the Gospel is not false.

What is false, what is pernicious, what is culpable, what takes away the resources of Humanity, that which makes that it is today brought to bay, and that the governments of the civilized nations have no other function, in reality, but to execute with the most decency possible what the savages of Sparta called the hunt of the helots, to bring about the death of men, to arrest the natural progress of the human population and to destroy in their germ the generations that should be born, that which kills Humanity, that which prevents it from being and developing, from obeying the divine precept: *Increase and multiply and replenish the earth*, that which covers the earth with robbery and prostitution, with homicides and ravages, which produces all the torments of the soul and feed the fire where the human race is burned, that which is the evil, in a word, and all the evils together, is the egoism condemned by the Gospel, it is the abuse of property, it is false property, it is guilty property, it is usurping property, it is the property of the economists, it is Capital.

Oh! I will believe that the economists of Capital and of Usury must be scared of the lot to which Humanity is reduced!

They begin by accepting destruction, and then they are astonished by the effects of the destruction, by the lack of subsistence! They begin by accepting egoism as the basis of property, and then they are astonished that the kindness of God has, for Humanity, waned thus within such narrow limits! They begin by accepting, in short, all that the Gospel condemns and then they triumph over the Gospel, and separate

from its promises! But that is an absurd begging of the question, and an outrage to the very principle that they evoke without understanding, the principle of property.

We battle against a doctrine that is impious, monstrous, immoral, destructive of Humanity. We have begun to oppose the Gospel to it; we will oppose to it the constant tradition of Christianity. Political economy as it is understood and taught, is Egoism crowned. Souls must decide between Charity and Egoism, between Christianity and Capital. Jesus has said: "No one can serve two masters. You cannot serve God and Mammon."

—PIERRE LEROUX



PIERRE LEROUX'S DOCTRINE OF HUMANITY.

The celebrated author of the Book of Humanity, Pierre Leroux, died in the month of April last, at the age of seventy-four. Among contemporary writers, he is one of those of whom modern France is most proud. Patriarch of socialism, author of important works, founder of that famous journal, the *Globe* of 1830, chief editor of various periodicals and of a new encyclopaedia, chief of a great socialist school under Louis Philippe, member of the National Assembly in 1848, he took an active part in the various transformations of policy and idea which have agitated our time. Thus he could say without presumption, speaking of himself:—

They fought despotism; I was there.

They overthrew royalty; I was there.

They set their faces towards the ideal of progress; I was there.

They republicanised men's spirits; I was there.

They constituted socialism; I was there.

It is principally as philosopher and socialist thinker that a high authority and an important place are accorded to Pierre Leroux. Few men have meditated and discussed to the same extent all the great problems that stir the silent depths of our age. He elaborated a political, religious, and social doctrine; this doctrine has been glorified by artists, and artists of renown—Beranger, George Sand.

In all the questions that he handled he introduced original views. In a work entitled *De l'Egalite*, he considered this grave question of human equality with a power of idea that makes this work fundamental, through the consequences that flow from it, in the politics and organisation of men. In another book, *La Refutation de l'Eclectisme de M. Cousin*, he composed a history of philosophy, in which he demonstrates the unity of the human mind. In this book, too, he has furnished a definition of man that has become celebrated in the study of psychology. Pierre Leroux meditated for long on human perfectibility and continuous progress, and we ought to do him the justice of admitting that his work on this great modern principle is the first where the doctrine of progress was estimated and propounded at its just worth. All those who had awakened to human perfectibility, from Pascal to Coudorcet and St. Simon, rather considered it as a fact than as a doctrine. Pierre Leroux raised the doctrine of continuous progress to the height of a philosophy and a religion; for with him these terms are identical. I will mention also his book on the question of population, in which he refutes Malthus, by showing that man reproduces his subsistence by the law that he called the *circuitus*. Finally, I will recall his celebrated plan of a constitution presented to the National Assembly in 1848. Since Sieyes, no one had ventured to propose a new constitution for establishing a republic in France in a durable manner. The worth of this achievement has always been admitted.

But one of his greatest titles with posterity is his famous Book of Humanity, in which the philosophic and religious part of his doctrine is expounded. This book is viewed as monumental, for the loftiness and importance of the ideas that it contains. What is man, what his destination, and, consequently, what is his right, what his duty, and what his law? Is man bound to other men, his fellows, fortuitously or by some necessary mode? These are some of the questions discussed in this book, which extended the reputation of its author far beyond France. A series of ideas are there specially formulated, which have been designated by the name of doctrine of humanity. Here is the principle of human solidarity and of renaissance in humanity. This doctrine, nevertheless, is inseparably connected with the *ensemble* of his works, with his doctrine of perfectibility. He is concerned with the greatest questions by which the human mind can be moved. Solidarity is the law which explains the source of the evil which reigns in human society, and is the remedy for it. Have not all philosophers in turn sought the source or, rather, the sources of the evil? Have not the greatest minds pondered history with anxiety, with torment even, seeking some general law of the past, so that they and others might perceive a vision of order, and there might be no further room for that trouble of which Herder thus speaks:—

“How many have I known who, over the vast ocean of human history, sought in vain that deity whom, in the illimitable sphere of the physical universe, they perceive with their vision, and recognised with an ever-fresh emotion in each blade of grass and in each grain of sand! In the temple of terrestrial creation there rose from every side a hymn to the glory of eternal power and eternal wisdom. On the contrary, on the theatre of human action there was only an everlasting conflict of blind passions, disordered forces, destructive arts, good designs fading away. History resembles that web suspended in a palace-corner, of which the inextricable threads continually preserve the traces of recent carnage, after the insect who wove them has hidden itself away from sight. Yet, if there is a deity in nature, there is this deity, too, in history. For man is a part of creation; and even in the midst of his passions and down to his last extravagances he does not fail to follow laws as glorious and as fixed as those which preside over the revolutions of the celestial bodies.”

According to Pierre Leroux, one of these unknown laws and the cause of this evil is human solidarity. “We seek,” he says, “the source of the evil that reigns over the earth; the evil that reigns over the earth, I mean the evil that reigns in human society, comes from the fact of the essence of human nature having been violated, because the principle of the unity of the human race in all space and throughout all time, and of the mutual solidarity of all men, has not yet been rightly understood or truthfully applied.” It is this principle which he thus explains philosophically:—

“The life of man, and of each man, is, by the will of the Creator, attached to an incessant communication with his fellows and with the universe; what he calls his life does not belong to him absolutely, and is not in him simply; it is in him and without him; it resides in part and in an undivided fashion in his fellows and in the world round about him.”

Solidarity is the law that forcibly unites men among one another, by making them reciprocally necessary, and which consequently brings it about that the human race cannot suffer or progress in its members without all its members suffering or progressing equally. One might give a tangible idea of this consequence of solidarity, by saying that it is a mysterious and unbroken chain which reaches to each of us and unites us in the labyrinths of its innumerable circles. We might also, borrowing from science a term of comparison, say that it is like the electric wire, whose line is traversed as it passes by each one of us by all that is in man, and that comes forth from man, good and evil, falsehood and truth. We have ever to return to this formula; the life of man is an incessant communion, in which he is united with humanity and with nature. Pierre Leroux demonstrates this principle with the aid of philosophy. One of the consequences of solidarity is the impossibility of abandoning the unity of the human race; as men are united among themselves, they can only think of themselves normally in this unity. Solidarity leads him to formulate the idea of humanity, which rises by a hundred cubits above the political, religious, social divisions, which have broken humanity into fragments, and marks those divisions as the sources of evil. In truth, if the right and interest of man is to communicate with all men throughout time and throughout space, and to communicate with the whole of nature according to the normal laws which the Creator has given us for the purposes of this twofold communication, there remains the inalienable right of man; this communication could not be restrained or limited, for to limit it would be to destroy it. To limit man in an absolute fashion to a fixed communication with his fellows and with nature, -without possible extension, is to build a prison round him. By what right would you confine man to a single nook of the sphere under his feet, and the sphere over his head?

The consequence of this dispersion of humanity in fragments is explained by history. Evil manifests itself there under the three essential forms that place us in communion of relationship with our fellows, namely, the family, the country, property. For these three things, in themselves so excellent and necessary, may by their excess become mischievous, by absorbing the man and dividing the race. Man has been hitherto slave of all three things at once, and, according to the epoch, he has been successively enslaved in a predominant manner, either to the family, as in the castes of India; or to the state, as among the Greeks and Romans; or to property, as in mediaeval feudalism, and in that Capitalism of our own days, which is only feudalism in another shape. The right of man and his interest being free communion with the human race and with all the universe, whatever divides the human race, whatever folds off men into

flocks mutually hostile or indifferent, deserves to be held accursed, whether the means of this folding-off be styled family, or constitution, or civil law. The name of Caste, consecrated to one of these kinds of imprisonment and isolation, may be very legitimately applied to the others. Politicians have destroyed oriental castes, which for centuries have fallen into decay; but their eyes are blind to other castes neither less real nor less disastrous to the human race.

Thus, if the reasonings of Pierre Leroux are well grounded, it follows that all the evils and all the immoralities of the human race spring from the fact of this law of unity and universal communion having been ignored or violated in the ideas that have been formed of the family, the country, property. Hence privation, suffering, slavery, and the rest.

But let us thank God, here is an evil which from the oppressed ascends to the oppressors. If evil had only been evil for the oppressed, it would have been eternal. But from the very principle of life, from the principle that unites man to man, there flows a consequence that will destroy evil by itself; this is, that you cannot do ill without suffering ill in your own person. The Bible has an admirable expression for this solidarity of the master with his slave, of the manslayer with his victim. The Eternal says to Cain, "Where is Abel thy brother?" and Cain answered, "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?" And God said, "Thou shalt be accursed even by the earth which has opened its mouth to receive from thy hand the blood of thy brother; when thou tillest the earth, it shall no longer bring forth fruit for thee." Cain might say that he was not his brother's keeper; but they were together to make the universe fruitful, and the murder of brother by brother makes the earth barren even for the slayer.

Thus Pierre Leroux demonstrates the first principle of morality and politics. We are all one and one in all, as St. Paul explains it. Thou shalt love thy neighbour, because in truth he is thyself; because the heavenly benefits are communicated to them by the channel of unity, as all evils come to them by disunion; because there is no individual salvation, but salvation will come to all through the harmony that will establish itself in the bosom of humanity when it shall have developed the creative power existing in the alliance of all who have one and the same end to attain.

Humanity, divided of old into a multitude of separate streams, appears to Pierre Leroux as a single whole. According to him, this conception is a light that sheds brightness high and far. For not only is solidarity of men existent; it is eternal. According to Pierre Leroux, it has been a great error to seek a paradise and a pit out of nature and out of life. If you take away from this present life the character of infinity that it has in itself, you implant in it nothingness; you sow the seeds of death in its bosom. What life had of the perishable was no more than change or transformation, and you make of this transformation death. For where now is the sequel of this life? The good have always called in their prayers for the end of the world; the bad have cried with the atheist king of the last century, "Let the end of the world come after me; what matter!" This is the issue of the charity and faith of the one, of the incredulity and indifference of

the others. We come thus to the egotism of the superstitious devotee, who dreams of working out his salvation below, and by another path to the egotism of the atheist, who dreams of procuring alone his own happiness.

Our faith, says Pierre Leroux, is that God, the invisible, the eternal, the infinite, manifests himself more and more in the successions of creation, and that adding creation to creation with the aim of raising the creatures higher and higher, it follows that creatures of increasing perfection issue forth from out of his bosom. It is thus that on our globe humanity has come after animality. Man, says Goethe, is a first discourse between Nature and God. If then God, after having caused the emanation of the world and each creature, were to abandon them and not to lead them from life to life, up to a term at which they should attain veritable bliss, there would be injustice. The Apostle indeed says, "Shall the vessel ask of the potter, why hast thou made me so?" There is an inner voice instructing us that God cannot work ill, nor create only to inflict suffering. Now this is surely what would come to pass if he abandoned his creatures after a life of imperfection and misery. Men ask, where we shall pass the morrow of our to-day? What perishes at each instant, or rather what changes, what is transformed, are the manifestations of your being, the relations of your being with others. The majority of men confound life with the manifestation of life—its present manifestation, which they would fain make eternal. Death coining to put an end to the actual manifestations of their life, under the form of which they are actually conscious, is what they abhor. Did not Descartes dream of an immortality to be conquered for our bodies by the science of medicine? But it is not thus that we are immortal, because life in its essence depends neither on time nor space, and only falls under their empire in its manifestations.

But what are we in essence? We are not merely a being, a force, a potentiality; each of us has a determinate nature, each of us is humanity. But what is humanity? People ordinarily interpret this phrase by light and confused ideas. They call humanity the totality of men who have appeared or who will appear on the earth. Or else they conceive by humanity a kind of collective creature, issuing from the play and reciprocal influence of all men upon one another. We surely need a deeper and profounder idea. Humanity is each man in his infinite existence. What exists in God is the ideal type of humanity progressively realised by the particular creature man. In this way, each man carries in him the ideal type of humanity in his infinite potentiality, which he only develops in contact with his kind; hence humanity is the individual, the particular beings who are humanity in germ, or in the potential state.

Pierre Leroux shows that the human mind forms such a unity, that if we isolate the intelligence of any man that ever lived and that was endowed with more genius than the others, in a moment these great intelligences are stripped of worth and meaning. They derive their worth from their union with the human spirit. Just as they had been prepared and led on, so in their turn they prepared and led on those who followed them. Hence their worth. Take them from this *ensemble*, their value instantly fades away. The relative truths that they knew

become fallacies; they are only truths on condition that, being taken up and transformed, they yet further perfect themselves. They are only superior truths by comparison with those which had been perceived before. What would remain, then, either to the philosopher, or to the artist, or to the workman, if humanity, that in every way has given him birth, has furnished him with the substance of his character, of his intelligence, of his power, were to withdraw her gifts? In truth, to be, for such a spirit, is to be man; to be man is to be so in a certain time and in a certain land, so that with the supposition of his existence there recurs the effective intervention of humanity. Our sentiments, and all the ideas that these sentiments suggest to us, realising themselves in the course of ages, form humanity; just as reciprocally it is humanity that, existing without us and within us, causes the sentiments and ideas which are our life. Humanity exists in us like love, hatred, and all our passions. Humanity is, then, an ideal being, composed of real beings, themselves humanity in germ; and, reciprocally, man is a real being, in which exists in a potential state the ideal being. Man had been philosophically defined as a social animal; he had been defined by others as a soul served by organs. "Man," says Pierre Leroux, "is neither an animal nor a soul; man is an animal transformed by reason."

The whole subject of the future life, then, appears for Pierre Leroux to be reducible to these terms: future life is in germ in the present life. Now in the present life man is united to humanity, and with humanity to external nature. Then in the future life, continuation of the present life, man will still be limited to humanity.

To these ideas objections are immediately opposed, such as the following:—A child is about to be born. Why should you refuse to the Creator the power of reproducing in this child a man? Is this kind of resurrection impossible for him who has the gift of life in his hands? Again, to this continuation of the individual being in the collective being, humanity, is opposed the absence of recollection. Pierre Leroux shows that, according to Plato and Descartes, the being who lives before you, and that you imagine to have been born yesterday only to die tomorrow, is an eternal being who has already lived, and who has had antecedent existence, as he will have a subsequent existence. It is the principle of Reminiscence of Plato and of Innate Idea of Descartes. What then matters it that the various beings coming again into life should have no *formal* recollection of their previous existence? Each of their existences is a link in the chain; but they do not repeat one another, they are not the useless reproduction of a single manifestation.

Innateness, and the various conditions brought by the beings that come into life to-day, evidently replace the lost recollection of their past existence. This recollection is grafted, so to speak, more profoundly on their existence; it is transformed in faculties, in power of living, in potentiality, in predispositions of all kinds. Why, then, relatively to ourselves and our own future should we lament our loss of *formal* memory of our existence, after passing through the crucible of death? 'Tis only names and empty images that we lose, provided that

the memory we retain of our life is an actual form, is found to be replaced by intuition and new conditions of existence, that must represent exactly the actual worth of our life, because they will have been weighed in the balance of him who is justice and science even, him who has made the world—that is, who makes it continually—with weight and measure, *cum pondere, numero, et mensura*.

Is there not feebleness, egotism, and impiety in this attachment of men to their own mere manifestations, and to the fragile memory that they preserve of them during even this life? Is it not a kind of avarice, like the avarice that prevents the miser from living, through his insensate passion for his hoard? This treasure is not himself, yet he ends by burying his existence in it. Thus the majority of men would fain bury their existence in the mere form of their existence, and they call that not forgetting, and they would like to continue to be beset from life to life by all the details of the present existence. When we speak, is it needful that we should remember our first stammering, and all the faults of utterance with which we began. Such persistence in our first manifestations, so far from augmenting our being, would crush and atrophy it. It will be the dotings of the old man following us to destroy the chance of eternal youth.

There probably happens in the phenomenon of death something' like what happens every day in sleep, which the poet, the philosopher, and the common man have so often compared to death. In sleep our ideas, our sensations, our sentiments of the evening before, seem to become incarnate in us, become ourselves by a phenomenon analogous to that of the digestion and assimilation of our bodily food. It is thus that sleep regenerates us, and that we emerge from it the stronger, with a certain oblivion. In death, which is a mightier oblivion, it seems that our life becomes digested and elaborated. Then comes the awakening, or new birth. We have been; we no longer recall the forms of this being, and nevertheless we are in our potentiality the exact sequel of what we were; still the same being but grown larger.

Pierre Leroux has provided an immense basis for his Doctrine of Humanity out of the ideas of all the great philosophers and the teaching of all creeds. He makes tradition his starting-point, and is able to say without ostentation:—

“We teach nothing new, or at any rate nothing that is not conformable to the tradition of humanity rightly understood. I say that at the bottom of all the religious traditions of mankind, in all times and among all peoples, you will find ‘with the sentiment of immortality, the sentiment of immortality in the bosom of Humanity. I say that the heavens and the hells apart from nature and life are only a heresy in the human tradition. I say finally that the universally hold idea of the ancients was that man was born again in Humanity, and that it was only secondarily that they embraced either an intermediate metempsychosis, or the passage into heavens, hells, and the like.”

He makes not less victorious appeal to Moses and to the Gospels to attest the same conviction, which he held to have been taught by all great religions as well as by all great philosophers, from Pythagoras and Plato to Leibnitz and Lessing.

Such is the Doctrine of Humanity that Beranger and George Sand have sung.

LOUIS PIERRE LEROUX.



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