

THE VIEWS OF CHARLES FOURIER AND THE  
FOURIERISTS ON THE JEWISH QUESTION

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by

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For my parents, who provided me with the opportunity to further my education, and who encouraged me to complete this paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENT	ii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. FOURIER: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	3
III. FOURIER AND THE JEWISH QUESTION	7
IV. THE PHALANSTERIAN SCHOOL	17
V. ALPHONSE TOUSSENEL AND VICTOR CONSIDÉRANT	20
VI. ANTISEMITISM AMONG THE LAST FOURIERISTS	27
VII. THE PHILOSEMITES	32
VIII. THE INFLUENCE OF FOURIERIST ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIALISM AND FRENCH ANTISEMITISM	46
FOOTNOTES	50
BIBLIOGRAPHY	58

## I. INTRODUCTION

Charles Fourier and the Fourierist School have attracted the attention of a great number of scholars for a long time. However only one researcher has chosen to study the sentiments of Fourier and the Fourierists with regard to the Jewish question. Edmund Silberner has written two major articles on the topic: "Charles Fourier on the Jewish Question"<sup>1</sup> and "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Toward the Jews."<sup>2</sup> Both articles were later included in Silberner's book, Sozialisten zur Judenfrage, published in 1962.

It will naturally be beneficial to recapitulate in the course of this paper some of the salient information presented by Silberner. There are however areas to which he devoted very little attention. These will be developed here at greater length to provide new insights into the position of Fourier and his followers on the Jewish question.

In the first place, an attempt will be made to draw some parallels between the development of Fourier's anti-semitism and his early experiences in the city of Lyons. These parallels will become especially apparent when presented against the background of a general description of Jewish life in Lyons in the nineteenth century.

Another interesting point deserving our attention is the reflection of medieval conceptions of the Jew in the writings of Fourier and his followers. Also of value is a discussion of the views on emancipation that were held by

Fourier and how these views related to the general trends of French thought on the emancipation issue as well as to the ideas of his own disciples.

To be sure, Fourier's disciples merit individual attention. Thus, for example, Alphonse Toussenel is considered to have introduced a charge against the Jews that was both in excess of Fourier's charges and unusual among nineteenth century French Socialists. Victor Considérant's apparent indifference to the Jewish question gains importance when examined against the background of Fourierist policy. On the other hand, Jean Czynski's philosemitic attitude illustrates a different aspect of Phalansterian thought. Also, more attention is due to the work of Adolphe Alhaiza, since his role in the Fourierist movement of the late nineteenth century was very prominent.

It has been a truism with many scholars that Karl Marx was more influential on the development of French Socialism than any other Socialist thinker and organizer of the nineteenth century. There is no need to challenge the validity of this statement. However it may be equally valid to add that Charles Fourier and his followers, notably Alphonse Toussenel, were of primary importance in infusing French Socialism with antisemitism.

## II. FOURIER: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The origins of Fourier's antisemitic tendencies and his utopian designs for reforming society are to be sought in the life he led and the society in which he lived.

Born in Besançon, François-Marie-Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was the only son of a man who was a cloth merchant, and a woman who came from a noted family of wholesale merchants. Due to family background and parental pressures, Fourier was unable to realize his ambition of becoming a military engineer. Instead, he was forced to pursue a commercial career which he found very distasteful.<sup>3</sup> Observing the business practices of his parents and their colleagues for a number of years had led Fourier to develop an aversion for business. Already at an early age he had vowed "an eternal hatred for commerce,"<sup>4</sup> and this influenced the development of his system of economic thought. Since in his writings Fourier regarded the Jews as the incarnation of commerce,<sup>5</sup> it is possible for us to assume that he may have transferred his dislike for business to the Jews. While it would be difficult to determine which developed first: his antisemitic sentiments or his system of economic thought, it is possible to conclude that they were both related to Fourier's hatred for commerce.

Due to the commercial endeavors which he was forced to undertake, Fourier found himself working in Lyons from 1790 to 1793. His experiences in this city had a decisive effect

4

on his intellectual development. When Fourier lived in Lyons, the factories and markets of the city were completely disorganized and the workers were suffering from chronic unemployment. He was not only a witness to the existing economic chaos, but he also became a victim when he lost the major part of his inherited fortune during the siege of Lyons by the Army of the Convention (1793).

At this time, Lyons was also characterized by a lack of moral principles. Fourier's business dealings placed him in contact with the commercial petit bourgeoisie which operated in a world of egotistical interests and trivial debauchery.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, it may have been in Lyons that Fourier became convinced that social arrangements arising from the principle of individualism and competition were basically imperfect and immoral. And therefore, according to Fourier, the task of social change was to reorganize society so that everyone would enjoy work and the security derived from work. This goal was to be reached by dividing society into autonomous cooperative units, called phalansteries, which would be small enough to ensure freedom of each individual and large enough to be economically self-sufficient.

Despite the research that has been done on Fourier and the Jewish question, the origins of his antisemitic sentiments still remain open for speculation. It seems that just as with regard to his general social doctrines, Fourier's sojourn in Lyons may have been influential in developing or,

at least, strengthening his antisemitic feelings.

Following the emancipation of the Jews in 1791, anti-semitism still manifested itself in France. Lyons was one of the cities where the "antisemitic passion" continued to flourish.<sup>7</sup> According to a nineteenth century French writer, "of all the cities in France, [Lyons] is, without a doubt, the most steadfast in its prejudices; and since Lyons is universally Catholic, it therefore follows that here, Judaism is more subjected to dislike, suspicion and avoidance."<sup>8</sup> At that time, the Jews in Lyons numbered about three hundred, the majority of whom were living at a subsistence level. There existed however a small minority who were well-to-do and they formed an elite class which chose not to mingle with the majority Jews. The relationship which existed between the Jews and Catholics of the city was based primarily on commerce. To a large extent the hatred experienced by the Jews in the city existed because non-Jews resented the desire on the part of the Jews to conserve their own cultural and religious characteristics instead of assimilating completely in the existing French society.<sup>9</sup>

The years which he spent in Lyons provided Fourier with the opportunity to absorb the hatred for the Jews which surrounded him in the city. Later on in this study, when Fourier's views on the Jewish question will be examined, the influence which the antisemitism of Lyons had on Fourier's outlook will become more apparent.



Judging from the information provided by one of Fourier's foremost biographers, Hubert Bourgin, Charles Fourier's knowledge of the Jews was rudimentary and greatly influenced by his hatred of commerce. After leaving the secondary school of his native city, equipped with the mediocre and superficial education that was offered there, he no longer devoted much effort to studying because his occupation provided him with neither the time nor the means to do so. Consequently, during his business travels, Fourier formulated his doctrine by relying solely on his personal mental resources. Satisfied with the system of thought which he had developed, he felt no need to embellish his doctrine with textual references.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to the Jewish question, all he knew, or thought he knew, was probably learned from newspapers and personal experiences.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, in all likelihood, his outlook on this issue was narrow since his experiences were primarily restricted to his commercial background.<sup>12</sup>

### III. FOURIER AND THE JEWISH QUESTION

Fourier made mention of the Jews throughout his writings. It is interesting to note that he regarded them as a nation, and not a religious entity.<sup>13</sup> The religious overtones of Lyonnaise antisemitism were never included in Fourier's writings. His conception of the Jews as a nation coincided with the rest of Fourierist doctrine which was essentially an economic system and therefore did not concern itself with religious matters.

In describing the Jews, Fourier wrote that "the Jewish nation is not civilized, it is patriarchal."<sup>14</sup> The patriarchal period was one of the five periods formulated by Fourier in order to explain the social progress of the world. During this stage of development, each father had assumed the role of a satrap, thereby exercising complete control over the family. According to Fourier, this situation was well exemplified by Abraham and Jacob, both of whom were "vicious and unjust men."<sup>15</sup>

At the start of the French Revolution, most of the pro-Jewish argumentation on the question of emancipation was based upon the premise that "persecution is the major cause of what is wrong with the Jews and it must be ended as the indispensable first step for reforming them."<sup>16</sup> Fourier believed however that the vices of the Jews were not related to persecution. The Jewish nation never adopted the "corporate spirit" of society which served as a source for

mankind's noble passions. Instead, the Jews maintained "the patriarchal spirit which was the cause of evil passions and which degraded them even in their heyday."<sup>17</sup>

Fourier regarded all the economic activities of the Jews as being parasitic and rapacious in character. These activities included trade, banking and usury, which were all associated with the "crimes of commerce": cheating, parasitism, monopoly, speculation and unfruitful labor.<sup>18</sup> The inactivity of the Jews in agricultural enterprises was attributed to a desire on their part to devote themselves exclusively to "mercantile depravities."<sup>19</sup> Usury was the most characteristic, as well as the worst Jewish vice. "It is indeed fortunate...that there are not many Jews in France, for this nation, which is especially addicted to usury, would have usurped most of the property and influence which accompanies it [and] France would have become one huge synagogue."<sup>20</sup> Fourier's repeated attacks on the relationship between Jews and commerce was probably an outgrowth of his personal experiences in Lyons.

Fourier was equally displeased with the moral state of the Jews. "Has there ever been a nation more despicable than these Hebrews who have done nothing in the sciences and the arts and who are distinguished only by the exercise of habitual crimes and brutality, accounts of which stirs the spirit on every page of their loathesome annals."<sup>21</sup> The

9

questionable nature of their moral fiber was further attacked when Fourier asserted that in dealing with the Jews, "far from finding the truth...one is assured of encountering lies, and nothing but lies."<sup>22</sup> Statements of this nature help to support Bourgin's assertion that Fourier's system of thought was not a product of academic research. Also, the fact that Fourier was able to make such remarks without any widespread opposition indicates that antisemitism may have been rather fashionable in nineteenth century France.

Whereas Fourier's antisemitism affected French Socialist thought, it seems valid to assume that it had no significant effect on the general development of antisemitism. His attitude toward the Jews seems to reflect the general antisemitic trend that had been present in Europe since the Middle Ages. For example, Fourier felt that the dietary laws observed by the Jews "certainly demonstrate the truth of all the infamous things they are accused of; such as the principle that to rob a Christian is no robbery at all."<sup>23</sup>

The popular literature produced during the Middle Ages was almost entirely dominated by Christianity. That literature portrayed the Jew as the source of evil, deliberately guilty of crimes against the founder of the Christian faith, the Church, and the adherents to Christianity. Thus, the Jews was presented as the inveterate enemy of mankind with the imputed intention of destroying Christianity. The

secular literature which emerged toward the end of the Middle Ages followed this lead and depicted the Jew in similar terms. While the motivation of later writers was no longer purely religious, the Jews were portrayed as still possessing the same vicious character, still the personification of evil, and still the archenemy of society.<sup>24</sup> The medieval image of the Jew was passed down through the ages and influenced the outlook of men, including Fourier and some of his followers, during later centuries.

It has been mentioned that Fourier regarded usury as the worst and most characteristic vice of the Jews. This is a direct reflection of the medieval conception of the Jews. The usurer was one of the most thoroughly hated members of medieval society. Usury however was a necessary evil which was tolerated because it benefited the economy. Due to a combination of circumstances, after the First Crusade many Jews found their economic energies limited to the field of money-lending. Although the Church prohibited Christians from participating in usury, it acknowledged the right of the Jews to engage in it. As a result, while society enabled the Jew to become a usurer, usury also exposed him to hatred by society.<sup>25</sup> The Jews were stigmatized down through modern times because men like Fourier chose to repeat the unfavorable charges in their writings.

Fourier devoted much attention in his writings to a discussion of the degeneration of contemporary French

society and civilization. The extensive list of the causes resulting in the deterioration of French society included the granting of citizenship to the Jews. This he considered as being "the most shameful of all the recent vices of society."<sup>26</sup> Generally speaking, Fourier's view of the French Revolution was unfavorable. Regarding the slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and the Rights of Man as being pompous, he became especially bitter when treating the relationship between the Revolution and business and commerce. Fourier felt that the Revolution had served to amplify the vicious tendencies of the business and commercial world whose ideals he found contemptible. The symptoms of decay which he charged to the Revolution included the increased occurrence of bankruptcy, intense competition, enormous increase in taxation, concentration of capital, and the growth of monopolies. For Fourier, all of these evils were further complicated by the liberation of the Jews.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man, voted into law on August 27, 1789, did not sanction equality for the Jews of France. While proclaiming that all men were born free and equal, the document did not apply to the Jews. Although the matter of Jewish status was first raised in the Assemblée in December, 1789, it took until September, 1791, for the rights of citizenship to be granted to all of French Jewry.

The emancipation decree evoked a variety of sentiments in France. While being accepted willingly by some people and unwillingly by others, both sides envisaged a set of

standards to which the Jews would have to conform. The Jews were aware that they had been given equality under the presumption that they would change radically in the direction of becoming more like other Frenchmen.<sup>27</sup>

Edmund Silberner discusses Fourier's views on the emancipation issue.<sup>28</sup> These views varied from total rejection of Jewish emancipation to a conditional acceptance of the Jews as French citizens. However Silberner makes no attempt to examine these diversified opinions in depth. Such an examination would best be served by first taking a brief look at some of the divisions of opinion that existed on the issue throughout France.

The most anti-Jewish views regarding emancipation occurred among some members of the extreme left. Their plan for the regeneration of France called for the exclusion of the Jews.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, those who were pro-Jewish during the Revolution felt that the Jews were just as entitled to be candidates for regeneration by justice and reason as were all other men. This way of thinking was representative of the members of the Paris Commune.<sup>30</sup> Fourier may be ranked among those who accepted Jewish emancipation grudgingly. His views and plans concerning the emancipation tended to place him somewhere between the two extremes of thought existing among the Leftist groupings of revolutionary France.

Concerned with avoiding any further corruption of French morals resulting from Jewish emancipation, Fourier

presented a plan to be followed by the government. According to this plan it was necessary to compel the Jews to do productive work so that they would change their way of life and consequently become worthy of the political emancipation they had gained. "One should, therefore, apply strict measures to the Jews, settle them in villages, drive them to the soil, exclude them from all commercial pursuits, place them far from the frontiers, coasts and areas of smuggling and trade."<sup>31</sup> The government should try further to induce the Jews into becoming productive members of society by admitting a quota of "one merchant family for every one hundred agricultural and manufacturing families."<sup>32</sup>

A look at the social reform system developed by Fourier enables one to see how he could have accepted the emancipation of the Jews despite the general reservations he had with regard to Jews. A function of the phalansteries which Fourier hoped to establish for the reorganization of society was to eliminate parasites from the social structure by transforming them into useful community members. He had a particular disdain for social and economic parasites, reckoning among them the three-fourths of women and children who were not fruitfully employed, footmen, soldiers, tax collectors, retailer, gamblers, prostitutes and highwaymen—plus all Jews.<sup>33</sup> It is however noteworthy that he wanted to eliminate these parasites by constructive means, including the rehabilitation of the Jews, and these thoughts had



been developed independently of his views on emancipation.

Following the achievement of the emancipation, Fourier formulated a plan directed toward making the emancipation beneficial for France. He realized the need for assimilating the Jews into society both economically and spiritually. Economic assimilation could be achieved by compulsion, while spiritual assimilation was to be accomplished through education.<sup>34</sup> It would therefore be necessary to exact from the Jews "guarantees of collective education, reform and good conduct."<sup>35</sup> So, while it appears that Fourier was opposed to the emancipation of French Jewry, he unwillingly had to accept the act due to the nature of his social reform system which was designed to reorganize society and improve the moral status of France.

Silberner shows a great deal of interest in Fourier's last book, La Fausse Industrie (1835-56). This work indeed merits special attention because many of the ideas it contains seem to contradict Fourier's earlier view of the Jews. In La Fausse Industrie, Fourier refrained from making any antisemitic remarks. Instead, he advocated the Zionist idea of the reconstitution of the Jewish nation in Palestine. The Jews were to achieve this political goal through financial participation of one of their representatives in the work of the Fourierists. Fourier believed that if a Jewish millionaire financed an experimental phalanstery, the whole world, impressed by the success of the experiment, would

adopt the phalansterian system. This system would then secure justice for all persecuted nations.<sup>36</sup> While formulating this plan, Fourier had a financier in mind—Rothschild. "He and his family must certainly be tempted by the prospect, the certainty of reconstituting the Israelite nation, of achieving sovereignty under a Rothschild dynasty."<sup>37</sup> Other candidates, both royal and non-royal, were also slated for the role of instituting the experiment. Yet, among the "uncrowned industrial candidates," Rothschild was considered the safest.

In treating La Fausse Industrie, Silberner presents two possible hypotheses to account for the nature of the book. One contends that prior to its publication, Fourier may have "sincerely discarded his antisemitism without deeming it necessary to do so publicly." The other contends that while writing the book, he remained just as antisemitic as before; however, for reasons of expediency, he refrained from attacking the Jews.<sup>38</sup> Silberner presents evidence in his study to discredit the first assumption and reinforce the plausibility of the second. In the first place Fourier gave no indication in his book of having changed his views on the Jews. On the other hand, while there is no reason for assuming that Fourier's Zionism precluded antisemitism on his part, it seems highly unlikely that he would have altered his opinions without offering an explanation to his readers. The omission of antisemitic slurs in La Fausse Industrie may

have been done deliberately; Fourier may have been making an effort not to alienate the Rothschilds or the other financiers that he was considering for the founding of an experimental phalanstery. Thus, Fourier's Zionism appears to have been meaningless, resorted to merely as a means of propaganda for gaining a financial backer to establish a Fourierist colony. It is even possible that Fourier regarded these Zionist plans as a method of ridding France of some Jews who might choose to settle in Palestine.<sup>39</sup>

Having discussed in some detail the nature of Fourier's own views on the Jewish question, it now becomes possible to proceed to see what impact his antisemitism had on his followers and on other members of the French Socialist movement.

#### IV. THE PHALANSTERIAN SCHOOL

Charles Fourier's first disciples were isolated readers who came in contact with his writings as early as 1814. During the next twenty-five years he acquired fewer than a dozen additional followers. All, with the exception of Victor Considérant, were unable to propagate Fourierist doctrine; a doctrine which they themselves did not fully understand. Most of these men were members of the French bourgeoisie. In an effort to promote Fourier's ideas, some of these early disciples published original works of their own. However they lacked unity of action since each man had been motivated by Fourier's thought on a purely individual basis.<sup>40</sup>

It is ironic that Fourier's followers gained strength from the ranks of a rival Socialist group, the Saint-Simonians. Fourier was distressed by the popularity and practical success of this group which was organized around the new Christianity of Saint-Simon.<sup>41</sup> Although they were few in number, the Saint-Simonians had considerable influence in reorganizing French industry and promoting railroad development under the July Monarchy. There were a number of prominent Jews among the Saint-Simonians. Yet even though they abandoned Judaism for the new Christianity, and even though there was considerable criticism of this Socialist School from Jewish circles, the Fourierists still considered the rival movement to be Jewish and therefore sought to

discredit and destroy it. By the 1830's, many Saint-Simonians, troubled by successive splits which had affected the strength and prestige of their School, were willing to abandon Saint-Simonism. Thus the weak and fragmented Fourierist School was able to gain strength and cohesiveness by uniting in an effort to convert Saint-Simonians to Fourierism.

Realizing that individual action was not enough, the Fourierists established a journal as a means of collective action. In June, 1832, the first edition of Le Phalanstère appeared in France. It was designed to publicize the advantages of the phalansterian system, and Fourier's methods for implementing the system. This journal was followed by others, including La Réforme Industrielle (1832-1843), La Phalange (1836-1843) and La Démocratie Pacifique (1843-1851).<sup>42</sup> The Phalansterian School propagated Fourier's ideas among the bourgeoisie because it was this class of society which was destined to make the phalansterian dream a reality.<sup>43</sup>

Attaining its height during the 1840's, the School began disintegrating during the Second Republic and completed its decline under the Empire. After 1870 attempts to strengthen the remanants of the Phalansterian School were unsuccessful. The School's last organ, La Rénovation (1888-1923) was ineffectual and continued to be published only through the generosity of a Fourierist benefactress.<sup>44</sup>

Silberner indicates that while divergences existed

among Fourier's followers, the master's ideas were hardly criticized and his system remained intact.<sup>45</sup> The Phalantarian School never formulated a specific program regarding the Jewish question. Instead, it permitted its members to express themselves freely on the issue. This resulted in a variety of viewpoints which included antisemitism, philo-semitism, and indifference toward the Jews.<sup>46</sup>

V. ALPHONSE TOUSSENEL AND VICTOR CONSIDÉRANT

Fourier's antisemitism found its most notable spokesman in Alphonse Toussenel (1803-1885). Toussenel became an enthusiastic disciple of Fourier's ideas after having read his works in 1833. As a Socialist, Toussenel collaborated on the editorial staff of La Phalange from 1839 to 1843, later taking part in the foundation of La Démocratie Pacifique. Toussenel however discontinued his politically oriented activities following the Revolution of 1848 which ushered into France a reactionary period unfavorable to Socialists. At this time he directed his interest toward animal life and as a result, a large part of his reputation is based upon his written works on this topic.

Toussenel is also noted for Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque, a book which attained rapid success in the nineteenth century. This work, despite its title, was not entirely concerned with Jews. Toussenel also attacked contemporary French politics, the parliamentary regime, militarism, commerce, bankers and political parties. In an effort to show the reign of "financial feudalism" in France (referring to the Bank), he assailed England, the Protestants of Geneva, and the Puritans of Boston as well as the Jews.

The first edition of Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque appeared in 1845. It met with only some minor censorship from the editors of the Fourierist publishing house. Silberner therefore concludes that the reservations about

the book expressed by the Societarian School were primarily concerned with the "general outbursts of passion" directed against the Jewish nation. No specific effort was made however, to oppose the substance of antisemitism as expressed by Toussenel. This indifferent attitude was also adopted by the Phalansterian press and reviews appearing in La Démocratie Pacifique and La Phalange made no attempt to repudiate the antisemitism expressed by Toussenel.

Toussenel's decision to break with the Fourierist School in 1846 rested upon the belief that the new leaders had betrayed the principles of Fourier. The second edition of Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque (1847) was published shortly after the break. Here Toussenel attacked the leadership of the School, especially Victor Considerant, for "making so many genuflections before capital and for treating the Jews with such caution."<sup>48</sup> Silberner's comment on the preface to the second edition is that it reads like a long diatribe against the Jews. In this edition Toussenel dropped the cautious attitude toward the Jews which he had followed in the first edition of the book.

Like Fourier, in condemning the Jews Toussenel drew upon conceptions that existed since the Middle Ages. Reminiscent of medieval literature, the Jews are accused of being lepers and usurers who attacked all humanity since the beginning of time, dragging their pride and hatred throughout the world.<sup>49</sup> He opposed the conception of the Jews as the chosen people



and labelled them instead "the people of Satan, not the people of God: and the God of the Jewish people is in effect, none other than Satan."<sup>50</sup> The Jews had been linked with Satan since medieval times because both the Jews and Satan were regarded as the enemies of Christ and therefore their character was considered to be the same.

In discussing the emancipation issue Silberner presents a detailed comparison of Fourier's and Toussenel's anti-semitism. But their views also merit comparison regarding other aspects of the Jewish question.

Fourier and Toussenel both regretted the emancipation of the Jews in France. Toussenel even quoted a section of Fourier's work which discussed the inexpediency of having granted citizenship to the Jews.<sup>51</sup> According to Toussenel, "the state which imprudently grants them the right of citizenship, creates its future master."<sup>52</sup> Citing France as an example, he accused her of having yielded too quickly to charitable impulses which then made her a slave of the Jews.<sup>53</sup>

Toussenel felt that the idea of a Jew becoming a French citizen was revolting. Reconciliation between Jews and non-Jews was impossible because the Jewish people exploited others and therefore could not assimilate.<sup>54</sup> A divergence of opinion exists between Fourier and Toussenel with regard to assimilation. Whereas Fourier would accept assimilation provided that the Jews were economically and spiritually re-educated, Toussenel would not accept the possibility of

Jewish assimilation into French society.<sup>55</sup>

Another similarity existing between the antisemitism of Fourier and Toussenel is based upon their mutual hatred of commerce and merchants. A portion of Toussenel's hatred for the Jews arose from his belief that "Rothschild's railroads" were destroying the hunting preserves containing the forests and animals of which he was very fond.<sup>56</sup> Merchants were all characterized as "people of prey who live on the flesh of others."<sup>57</sup> Among the merchants of the day Toussenel reckoned the English, the Dutch and the Jews, with "the Bible as the religious code where all these robbers find justification for their tyrannies and monopolies."<sup>58</sup> Thus the equating of Jews and Protestants<sup>59</sup> and the belief that workers work with the sole purpose of enriching Jews and Protestants<sup>60</sup> correspond to Toussenel's overall views on the merchant class.

Robert Byrnes, author of Antisemitism in Modern France, indicates that Toussenel added a new charge to the standard charge of the Jews as one of the chief sinners in commerce. This additional charge was uncommon among nineteenth century French Socialists and partly explains his popularity among later French Conservatives. Most Socialists, Fourier included, attacked the Jews as members of a faith which was the parent of Christianity. Toussenel however criticized them for being anti-Christian.<sup>61</sup>

In accordance with Fourierist thought, Toussenel

24

launched an attack on the Saint-Simonians. He believed that "the dispersed remnants of the Saint-Simonians reunited with the dispersed remnants of the Jewish tribe" in order to exploit the civilized world, especially France.<sup>62</sup> The alliance was perfectly natural since "the Saint-Simonian church reckoned a number of circumcised members among its ranks."<sup>63</sup>

Silberner mentions Victor Considérant in his study primarily when discussing the reactions of the Phalansterian School toward Toussenel's work.<sup>64</sup> Considérant had assumed leadership of the School after the death of Fourier in 1837. He reviewed the second edition of Toussenel's book in La Démocratie Pacifique (January 31, 1847). Here he publicly thanked Toussenel for having resigned from the School. Considérant felt that the "coarse personalities and charges of natural and indelible perversities" which Toussenel attributed to races and peoples was incompatible with the doctrine propagated by the Fourierists.<sup>65</sup> While considering Toussenel's collaboration with La Démocratie Pacifique as having been "regrettable," Considérant did not explain why his "incompatible ideas" had been tolerated for such a long time.<sup>66</sup> This unexplained toleration becomes more understandable by remembering that although the Fourierists did not actively preach antisemitism they did show evidence of harboring antisemitic tendencies. Silberner feels that Considérant's disapproval of Toussenel's excessive judeophobia and xenophobia was related to a fear that such

statements might prejudice Europeans and Americans against the Societarians and lead to a decline in the School's strength. Thus Considérant's major concern was how anti-semitic propaganda affected the image of the School, and not how it affected the Jews.<sup>67</sup>

Silberner does not devote much attention to Considérant's personal attitude toward the Jews, but it is still possible to draw some conclusions. Destinée Sociale, a book regarded as the definitive work on Fourierist doctrine, was written by Considérant. In discussing the vices of society Considérant often quoted the works of Fourier. It is noteworthy that many of the quotes came from sections of Fourier's work containing anti-Jewish references however none of these references appear in Considérant's work. This leads us to a number of possible conclusions.

We cannot assume that Considérant was indifferent to antisemitism because he did take the opportunity to criticize Toussenel's judeophobia, even though the criticism was weak and indirect. Likewise we cannot say that he was a philo-semite because if this were true, as leader of the Phalansterian School he was in an ideal position to actively combat antisemitism, but there is no evidence indicating any attempt to do so. What does seem plausible however is that Considérant had antisemitic tendencies which he consciously tried to conceal. It is true that he hardly mentioned the Jews in his writings, however when they were mentioned it

was not in favorable terms. Considérant ranked them among those nations which were most advanced in mercantile practices and regarded them as the "most ill-famed of mercantilist nations."<sup>68</sup> Generally, he viewed commerce as "the thief that steals, the pirate that plunders, the spider that sucks, the devouring cancer."<sup>69</sup> More specifically he spoke of "the egotism and incivility" of the Jews for whom Redemption meant nothing else but the triumph and domination of the Jewish nation over all other nations of the world.<sup>70</sup>

Considérant was apparently also attacking the Jews when he wrote "it was not for nothing that Jesus Christ chased from the Temple, with a whip, the bankers and merchants and said to them: 'Do you take the house of my father for a thieves den?'"<sup>71</sup> Considérant definitely had antisemitic tendencies even though he did not express them as freely as Fourier and Toussenel. Referring back to Silberner's conclusion, in all likelihood Considérant chose to conceal his antisemitic sentiments because he felt an open expression of his viewpoint might have been detrimental to the Fourierist School.

Considérant may have chosen not to reveal his true sentiments on the Jewish question, however there were Fourierists who willingly expressed ideas similar to those of Toussenel. The antisemitic tendencies of the Phalansterians began to evidence themselves strongly toward the end of the nineteenth century among many of the School's last representatives.

## VI. ANTISEMITISM AMONG THE LAST FOURIERISTS

Militant antisemitism was revealed in the pages of La Rénovation, the last organ of the Fourierist School. Under the direction of Hippolyte Destrem (1888-1894) there was no indication of antisemitism in the journal. However following his death Adolphe Alhaiza became chief editor and under his direction the publication was used as a weapon against the Jews.<sup>72</sup> Alhaiza encouraged the inclusion of anti-Jewish articles in La Rénovation and his personal contribution of antisemitica was extensive.

In addition to working on the journal, Alhaiza published a book, Verité sociologique, gouvernementale et religieuse (1919). This work was primarily concerned with describing the Societarian system. World War I was seen as the culmination of the evolutionary period existing prior to the beginning of the new system of social organization. The aggressors of the war, according to Alhaiza, had "two perfidiously barbaric elements of social and international order" as allies: anarchism and Jewry.<sup>73</sup>

Alhaiza was strongly opposed to the invasion of "foreign Socialism" into France. This type of Socialist thought was antithetical to French Socialist thought as embodied in Fourierist doctrine. It seems valid to assume that when speaking of foreign Socialism, Alhaiza was referring to Bolshevism, even though he never specifically related the two in his writings. In this respect Alhaiza adopted a

20

conception that was widespread in Europe during the early twentieth century. He felt that Bolshevism was in essence Jewish, deriving from the works of Karl Marx who he mockingly described as having "a superior Jewish mentality."<sup>74</sup> Alhaiza described foreign Socialism as a system which sabotaged the French Army—a definite allusion to the Dreyfus Affair—and which was striving to disable the Bank of France, the last center of national resistance before the Jewish bank would reign everywhere.<sup>75</sup> "After crushing the military and political supremacy of Germany which was menacing the world, it will be necessary to crush the domination of Jewish high finance."<sup>76</sup> In his book Alhaiza presented his anti-Jewish sentiments against the background of his views on the Bolsheviks and World War I. Thus three seemingly independent factors—antisemitism, Socialism and war—became interdependent in Alhaiza's writing.

Anti-Jewish feeling was strong in France during the Dreyfus Affair and La Rénovation participated enthusiastically in the anti-Dreyfus campaign. Silberner indicates that the journal showed no sympathy for the Dreyfusards, "from the dirty soul of Zola to the prostituted pen of a Jaurès, what a hideous gallery displaying the dirtiest side of wretched mankind."<sup>77</sup> Silberner does not mention however that this was one of the few times that the Fourierists abandoned their traditional policy of silence on the Jewish question. Because of the sentiments which had been aroused

by the Dreyfus Affair the School decided that "it is the time where the most humble and most feeble of us must take a part and express an opinion."<sup>78</sup> As Socialists they were concerned with preserving a humanitarian image, and in an effort to do so, they claimed to bear no hatred against any individual man, not even against the Jews.<sup>79</sup> However despite any attempts at being humane, their conception of Jews as a cancerous growth destroying and corrupting the organization of society was not altered.<sup>80</sup>

In discussing the later Fourierist, once again the emancipation issue gains importance. Silberner mentions it briefly in relation to suggested plans of dealing with the Jewish question.<sup>81</sup> Like Fourier and Toussenel, the later Fourierists were opposed to the admission of Jews to citizenship. The editors of La Rénovation felt that the emancipation had enthroned in France an all-powerful caste possessing the wealth enabling it to corrupt the press, unscrupulously attach itself to political groups, buy candidates and voters, and form and overthrow governments.<sup>82</sup> The Panama Scandal and the Dreyfus Affair were ways in which the Jews repaid revolutionary France for granting them emancipation and rehabilitation.<sup>83</sup>

The Fourierists of the late nineteenth century presented a number of solutions to the Jewish question which were similar to those of Fourier and Toussenel.<sup>84</sup> According to Sylvestre, the best and most human solution involved a



revision of the French law code aimed at forcibly moralizing the Jews.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, Carnot requested that the Jews leave France voluntarily and "cross the Red Sea again, going down to the desert, to the promised land which awaits you, the only country fit for you, oh you wicked, rude and dishonest people...."<sup>86</sup> However Alhaiza considered such an exodus as only temporarily expedient since it shifted the Jewish plague to another part of the world without eliminating parasitism. He saw the need for international action to deal with the Jewish problem.<sup>87</sup> Such action could take the form of "a universal uprising against the Jewish race, the universal despoiler, corrupter and disintegrator of nations...."<sup>88</sup> But it could also follow a more constructive plan based on Fourierist doctrine. This plan would call for the establishment of the phalansterian system designed to eliminate parasitism by reforming the Jews and bringing equilibrium and order to society.<sup>89</sup>

Silberner says that although the antisemitism of Fourier and his early disciples was not founded on racial conceptions the judeophobia of La Rénovation included the idea of Jewish racial inferiority. Borrowing ideas from nineteenth century racial theorists constituted the contribution of Fourier's later disciples to Socialist antisemitism.<sup>90</sup> They ascertained that the Jewish race was physically ugly because nature had been outraged by the Jews and therefore retaliated by branding them "with the seal of contempt by the token of ugliness."<sup>91</sup>

The racial conceptions of the last Fourierists may have introduced a new slant to the Jewish question, but their view of religion remained the same as Fourier's. Their feeling that "religion has absolutely nothing to do with the question"<sup>92</sup> was based on the fact that non-Jews also engaged in the same parasitic evils as the children of Israel. But the basic difference between these two groups was that non-Jews did not form a solid and persistent group and therefore their evil activities had no strong impact on society.

## VII. THE PHILOSEMITES

So far, our attention has been focused on the anti-semitic tendencies of Fourier and his followers. Silberner also discusses some of the Fourierists who did not possess any antisemitic sentiments and it seems worthwhile to recapitulate some of his conclusions while also contributing new insights into this area.<sup>93</sup>

The members of the Fourierist School who spoke favorably of the Jews were neither numerous nor representative of the School. They included Victor Hennequin, Dr. Verrier and Jean Jan Czynski. Most of their writings were published outside of the Phalansterian press which was not at all eager to print articles favoring the Jewish cause.<sup>94</sup>

Victor Hennequin (1816-1854) was an active member of the School, serving as an editor of La Démocratie Pacifique and contributing to the propagation of Phalansterian ideas in a number of French cities. While respecting the beliefs and intentions of the Fourierists, Hennequin still had some reservations. His major criticism stemmed from his belief that the School was too unconcerned with humanity's past. It was wrong to rely solely on the works of Fourier, attributing to him all of mankind's achievements in the social sciences.<sup>95</sup> "In our eyes Fourier is not the entire past and the phalanstery is not the entire future."<sup>96</sup>

Unlike most of Fourier's disciples, Hennequin attempted to present an objective picture of the Jews by stressing

both their good qualities and their faults. Their most striking characteristics were religious sentiment, morality, affection for progeny, and cupidity. "The combination of these elements is able to produce a very honorable and a very vile nature."<sup>97</sup>

Hennequin saw the Jews as a link in the chain of civilization and attempted to prove this in Introduction historique à l'étude de législation française, Les Juifs. Here he presented Judaism as one of the three elements composing Christianity, the other two being the influence of Christ and the work of Greek philosophy.<sup>98</sup> He also studied Jewish legislation in an effort to verify the laws of France and strengthen Phalansterian ideas by showing that a people starting out with materialism and egotism could arrive at spiritualism and association.<sup>99</sup>

Contrary to Fourierist sentiments, Hennequin's solution to the Jewish question called for national assimilation. He counseled the Jews "to adopt for their homeland those countries where regretfully they put down their tent for a long time."<sup>100</sup> He further advised that both Christians and Jews forget their grievances which stemmed from the past. "Let us receive the remains of a nation which during all of antiquity conserved the deposit of monotheism so precious to us, and which in our days, considering its small number, powerfully contributes to the illustriousness of France."<sup>101</sup>

The role of Dr. Verrier in the Fourierist School was

not very significant. However he deserves consideration here because he was one of the few Fourierists who devoted any attention to Zionism. Unlike the rest of his doctrine, Fourier's Palestinian project had not been favorably received by his disciples who chose to remain silent on the Zionist issue. Verrier, author of the pamphlet La question juive: Le Sionisme (1907) decided to break the School's traditional silence on the question of Jewish national aspirations.<sup>102</sup> This decision may have been a function of the increasing interest being aroused by Zionism throughout the world.

According to Verrier, the Jews constituted neither a race, nation, nor a people united by religion. Dispensing with these more common conceptions, he classified the Jews as freethinkers. "One, therefore, would look at them merely as men representing a part of mankind vying with other men for universal harmony."<sup>103</sup> This idea was reinforced by the realization that their economic and political situation and their interests and ambitions were different throughout the world.<sup>104</sup>

The emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe enabled western Jews to become adjusted to their adopted lands and they no longer felt the need to emigrate. However Jews in Eastern Europe continued to suffer from the miseries of persecution. Verrier felt that Zionism was important in countries like Russia, Rumania and Poland.<sup>105</sup> By preparing the Jewish proletariat for the exodus to Palestine, Zionist

activity became a philanthropic task to be supported by all gentiles as reparation for the injustice that had been suffered by the Jews for so many centuries.<sup>106</sup>

Verrier did not oppose Jewish resettlement in Palestine, but he felt that the Jews might follow a more favorable pattern of migration. He observed that since the origin of the world, most migratory activity had been from east to west. The Jews should therefore maintain this logical movement by resettling in America or Canada. If America or Canada should oppose such migration, Verrier suggested that "the sons of Israel stop...in beautiful France, the country of all progress."<sup>107</sup>

Verrier's brochure appeared at the same time that Adolphe Alhaiza was encouraging the publication of anti-semitica in La Rénovation. Therefore it is no surprise that the pamphlet was unfavorably received by the Fourierist School. As spokesman for the School, Alhaiza claimed that the Zionist movement was merely a chimera.<sup>108</sup> He also wished to see Herzl's idea materialize so that the Jews could finally have their own homeland, however, "sadly, it is for ethnological and sociological reasons that this project is a most unrealizable dream." There could be no concentration of the Jewish population in one area due to the inability of this nomadic people to fulfill the conditions of effective production, principally agricultural.<sup>109</sup>

Regarded as "unproductive nomads" and "ravagers and spoili-

aters," the Jews were unable to form a normal society. And for all these reasons Alhaiza deemed Dr. Verrier's "generous Zionist dream" to be nothing more than a utopia.<sup>110</sup>

Jean Jan Czynski (1801-1867) was born in Poland and trained as a lawyer. He emigrated to Paris in 1831 after actively participating in the unsuccessful Polish Revolution of 1830. Here Czynski distinguished himself as a publicist by devoting much attention to the defense of two causes: the resurrection of Poland and the emancipation of East European Jewry. Both of these factors were interrelated because "Poland can exist only when she will render justice to the Jews; while the Jews will remain slaves Poland will not be independent."<sup>111</sup> Czynski was very instrumental in establishing L'Alliance Polonaise de Toutes Croyances (1860).<sup>1</sup>

This organization of Polish refugees living in France was designed "to work for the reconciliation of Poles of all faiths" and "to lend support to those of us who need it, without taking their religion into consideration."<sup>112</sup>

Czynski merits discussion because he was a follower of Fourier. Silberner briefly discusses Czynski's involvement in the Fourierist movement, pointing out that he was a prominent member of the dissident faction of the Phalans-~~terian~~ terian School.<sup>113</sup> We can view the relationship between Czynski and the School in greater detail by examining La Phalange's attitudes toward his writings. Mentioning him for the first time in 1836, the journal featured a review of

his novel, Le Kosak.<sup>114</sup> This work popularized Polish history for the French reading public. The reviewer felt that Czynski's style was monotonous but "the critic must be indulgent to a stranger whose style will undoubtedly improve during his stay in France."<sup>115</sup> The novel's content was considered worthy enough to compensate for its stylistic short-comings.

La Phalange praised Czynski's book on Russian history, La Russie Pittoresque, as an impartial work "indispensable to those devoting themselves to social and historical studies."<sup>116</sup> In another review special attention was given to the section on "d'Affranchisement des Blancs." In this section Czynski showed that all the proposed methods for emancipating Russian serfs were ineffective and concluded that the only effective method would be to establish the type of association encouraged by the Fourierist School.<sup>117</sup> "Such an association combines the interest of rich proprietors, workers, and artisans, offering noblemen perfect security and considerable revenues, and offering serfs liberty, freedom of movement, training—all without disorder and without the flow of blood."<sup>118</sup>

The review of Czynski's novel Le Roi des Paysans was also complimentary. This book described Poland under the reign of Kasimir the Great, nicknamed "King of the peasants" because of his benevolent attitude toward all the oppressed people of his country. "He extended this benevolence even



to the Jews, a race still persecuted today in three-quarters of Europe."<sup>119</sup> The critic found one aspect of the book especially striking. "Ben Joseph, the principal hero, head of the Israelites..., while explaining the wishes, desires and hopes of the Israelites to the King, simply set forth the fundamental principles of Societarian theory."<sup>120</sup> Czynski was commended for quoting Moses and the prophets in order to interpret Jewish doctrines. In this instance the generally antisemitic Phalansterian press praised a pro-Jewish work because indirectly, the book propagated Fourierist doctrine.

Not all the commentaries on Czynski's writings were favorable. The press editorialized in response to Czynski's brochure on La Revolte des Circassiens. This pamphlet attributed increasing poverty among the European working class to Russian influence. According to Czynski, if Russia opened her ports to French merchandise, French capitalists would be able to increase the number of factories fourfold and workers salaries would be quadrupled.<sup>121</sup> On the other hand, the Fourierist felt that no proportionality existed between increase of production and rise of salaries. "The real cause of poverty is in France, not in Russia....It is neither the resources of the soil, nor capital, nor lack of labor; it is the lack of good industrial organization."<sup>122</sup> Once again the Fourierists concluded that nothing would be resolved without unity among the classes and organization of

industry in a productive manner.

The divergence of opinion between Czynski and the School was even more pronounced in a review of Avenir des Ouvriers. The article began by praising Czynski for his sincere devotion to the propagation of Societarian theory.<sup>123</sup> Like all Phalansterians, Czynski was convinced that revolution was not the way to bring needed reforms to society. Therefore he felt the need to combat the revolutionary spirit being introduced to the masses, and to achieve this goal he felt it was essential to address his writing to the working class. The School approved of his intention to combat the revolutionary spirit but they opposed his method of achieving success. The publication of the pamphlet enabled La Phalange to reaffirm Societarian policy toward the masses and explain why it disapproved of propagating Fourierism among the proletariat. "The theory of Fourier is a science; a science addressing itself only to enlightened men....It is not to the poor that we must address ourselves, but to the upper and middle classes; there we will find people sufficiently trained to understand us, and the money to help us"<sup>124</sup>

The next edition of the journal featured a letter from Czynski protesting the review. He claimed that La Phalange could freely regard and treat workers like inept idiots, but he chose not to share this opinion. "I think that if there are men who, by their speeches and publications, can mislead the workers, exasperate them, arm them against their

brothers, then it is possible for us to calm them, console them...and demonstrate the evils derived from political upheavals while exposing them to the benefits to be derived from true association and peaceful regeneration."<sup>105</sup> After this incident Czynski and his writings were no longer mentioned in the pages of this journal.

The articles from La Phalange indicate that while Czynski was familiar with Fourier's doctrine he was unable to abide by the School's policies under the leadership of Considérant, and therefore he gradually lost interest in the Fourierist movement. Silberner mentions the possibility that Czynski's strained relationship with the School resulted from the anti-Jewish tendencies of many Fourierists. It seems unlikely that this was a major cause for uneasy relations. Czynski's pro-Jewish sentiments were already evident in 1833 when he published Question des Juifs Polonais Envisagée Comme Question Européene and at that time he was familiar with the anti-Jewish nature of Fourier's writings. The articles in La Phalange show that Czynski maintained close relations with the Fourierists until 1839, never alluding to the School's anti-Jewish tendencies. In addition, after drifting away from the School, Czynski made no attempt to denounce its antisemitic sentiments even though they became more pronounced after Toussenel's publication of Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque (1845, 1847).

Czynski's first formal statements on the Jewish ques-

tion appeared in Question des Juifs Polonais Envisagée Comme Question Européene. This pamphlet contained many of the ideas which Czynski would reiterate in his subsequent writings on the Jews. Abraham Duker presents a concise summary of the work when he says "its chief message was that inequality was responsible for Jewish backwardness and separatism; that enlightenment was inevitable; that failure to involve the Jews in the uprising<sup>126</sup> was a sad error; and that the cause of Polish independence and Jewish equality would appeal to the enlightened world."<sup>127</sup>

In 1843 Czynski asked the editors of Archives Israélites for the privilege of addressing the readers of the journal in an effort to make Jews the world over aware of the sufferings of their fellow Jews in Russia and Poland. For the next twenty years he continued using the paper to strive for Polish independence and Jewish emancipation.

Czynski firmly believed that the Jews should be judged as individuals, not as members of a group. He felt that many of the reproaches made against the Jews reflected ignorance and prejudice and he tried to dispel some of the misconceptions. The Jews, for example, were continuously rebuked for never cultivating the land. "But if you remember that Jews are prohibited from possessing property you will understand instantly that by refusing to cultivate, they are refusing to accept the condition of serfdom."<sup>128</sup> In addition, Czynski justified Jewish participation in usury

**MISNUMBERED**

because other careers were closed to them. At the same time however, he detested Catholic usurers because they had chosen the career even though other choices were available to them.<sup>129</sup> Lastly, Czynski answered the accusation against Jews which claimed that they were steeped in superstition. Here too he justifies superstition as an outgrowth of Jewish oppression and persecution. "Hoping for the Messiah is not a crime; all oppressed people hold some sort of similar belief."<sup>130</sup>

Czynski was able to find some similarity between the status of French and Polish Jewry. He observed that regardless of their homeland, people who distinguished themselves in the army, the arts, and the sciences condemned the Jews for their indulgence in trade. These people held an influential position in society which enabled them to direct public opinion. As a result the Jews were associated with the crimes of commerce and their oppression continued. Even in Paris, the capital of liberalism and enlightenment, the word "Jew" was synonymous with usury and greed.<sup>131</sup> Czynski supported these statements with a number of examples, including the following reference: "Must I remind you, sir, of some of the less charitable lines inserted in La Phalange and La Démocratie Pacifique and in other papers on the subject of the Jews?"<sup>132</sup> This is the only reference which Czynski makes to the anti-Jewish tendencies of the Fourierist School.

Silberner indicates that Czynski's attachment to the Jews was so strong that even the word "Jew" was dear to him. Some people opposed the use of the term because it was commonly associated with contempt. They felt it should be replaced with the word "Israelite" in order to ensure the complete destruction of antisemitic spirit. Czynski, however, did not hold this opinion. "Must we avoid using a designation which intolerance has branded with an undeserved stigma? Is it not better to rehabilitate it? If in times of ignorance and barbarism the name 'Jew' designates a shameful and contemptible egotist, is it not necessary to raise it to a noble expression in our epoch and to give it its real meaning, that of a martyr who rises again and who, through his sacrifices and his devotion, desires to take his legitimate place in the great human family?"<sup>133</sup>

The explanation for Czynski's attitude toward the Jews can be derived from autobiographical information included in one of his articles. He was born and raised as a Roman Catholic, however his Catholicism could only be traced back for four generations. "I was still only a child when my young comrades at the lycée in Warsaw informed me through their banter that my family was of Israelite origin."<sup>134</sup> Reaching the age when man is able to reason out his faith, Czynski found nothing more inspiring than the precepts of the Gospel which preached that man must comfort the suffering, poor and disinherited people of every race and every country.

Since the material aspects of life did not make him happy, he pursued a different path in life. "Instead of bending my head under the weight of prejudice I devote my life to the Jewish cause. Nothing hinders me: everywhere and always I follow the same task."<sup>135</sup>

Czynski was convinced that his religion and the religion of his ancestors had the same foundation and the same goal. "Moses and Jesus worshipped the one and only Creator of the world; both of them, on the ruins of idolatry and egotism, wished to ensure the reign of divine justice and the happiness of all"<sup>136</sup> He felt that he was in an excellent position to appreciate the efforts which would bring together the two beliefs and eventually arrive at a moral fusion of all humanity. "This is the final goal with which I am preoccupied."<sup>137</sup>

Hennequin, Verrier and Czynski each attempted to present an objective picture of the Jews by discussing both positive and negative aspects of the Jewish nation. While it is true that their sentiments were primarily pro-Jewish, it is also true that their combined impact on the members of the Fourierist School was negligible. The School continued to disseminate antisemitic ideas along with the ideals of Fourier's Phalansterian system.



### VIII. THE INFLUENCE OF FOURIERIST ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIALISM AND FRENCH ANTISEMITISM

In his discussion of Alphonse Toussenel, Silberner mentions that Toussenel's work left a mark on French social literature among Socialists and non-Socialists. This point deserves additional attention. Firstly, we must realize that any evidence of Toussenel's influence on the spread of antisemitism in France also reflects the influence of Fourier, because many of Toussenel's anti-Jewish ideas can be traced back to Fourier's writing. Secondly, the influence of both these men on the spread of antisemitism extended beyond the realm of the Fourierist movement.

During the last years of the Second Empire hatred of Jews was strong among French Socialists. This sentiment would have continued to flourish in France if the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune had not effectively uprooted and scattered Socialist strength. Two prominent Socialists of the period were Pierre Proudhon and Pierre Leroux. Both show the influence of Fourier and/or Toussenel in their writings.

No one has determined exactly why Pierre Proudhon developed a hatred for the Jews, but his hatred of commerce undoubtedly strengthened his antisemitism. It is said that Proudhon accepted "almost without changing it, the whole critical part of Fourier's work."<sup>138</sup> Thus, it is possible that Proudhon's antisemitism may stem from his acceptance

of Fourierist doctrine. Proudhon also came under the influence of Toussenel whom he refers to as "the most spiritual of the Socialist writers."<sup>139</sup>

Like the Fourierists, Proudhon considered parasitism one of the most striking features of the Jewish people. "The Jew is by temperament an anti-producer, neither a farmer nor an industrialist nor even a true merchant. He is an intermediary, always fraudulent and parasitic [and] his policy in economics has always been negative, entirely usurious...."<sup>140</sup> In his writings Proudhon also borrowed phrases directly from Toussenel's work: "the Jews, the Kings of the epoch."<sup>141</sup> Antisemitism was probably the strongest manifestation of Proudhon's xenophobia. However he was not a militant antisemite since his antisemitism was much less vehement than that of Fourier and his disciples.

Pierre Leroux began his Socialist career as a Saint-Simonian. He parted company with that group in 1831 when he began developing his own social philosophy. Leroux's social system contained many religious and mystical elements, and his ideas on the Jews were clearly influenced by the work of Toussenel. Leroux used the title of Toussenel's book, Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque, as the title for an article which he wrote. The article indicates that, like Toussenel, Leroux used the word "Jew" in a negative way. "When we speak of the Jews, it is the spirit of the Jews we are heard to speak of, the spirit of gain, of profit, the spirit of

business, of speculation; to say it all in one word, the spirit of the banker."<sup>142</sup> He also asserted that the French language used the term "Jew" to denote the worst economic exploitation in existence.<sup>143</sup>

Leroux and Toussenel also shared the idea that the Jew was the exploiter par excellence of society: while being corrupted himself, he was also corrupting to others.<sup>144</sup> Leroux however did not rely solely on the ideas of Toussenel. At times Leroux spoke of the Jews in a more favorable light, regarding them as the only segment of mankind familiar with the two precious truths of the world: the unity of God and the unity of mankind.<sup>145</sup> But, like Fourier, Leroux questioned their morality because he felt even though they were aware of these truths they violated them greatly.<sup>146</sup>

Toussenel's influence increased toward the end of the nineteenth century after he was adopted as a guiding light by many bourgeois antisemite propagandists. Édouard Drumont, author of La France Juive, was undoubtedly the most prominent Jew-baiter of the period. Drumont praised Toussenel's Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque, declaring that his ambition was to see his own book take its place near Toussenel's work "in the libraries of those who would want to understand the causes which have thrown our glorious and dear country into ruin and disgrace."<sup>147</sup>

Drumont looked to Toussenel in his efforts to justify the transformation of antisemitism into a national sentiment,

a status which it came close to achieving during the Dreyfus Affair. Toussenel's ideas on the Jewish question would have served to reinforce Drumont's militant antisemitism by providing historical precedent for such sentiments among French Socialists. Drumont was concerned with gaining followers for his cause, and therefore, in an effort to gain support, he claimed to be a member of the Socialist ranks.<sup>148</sup>

The Socialists began reentering the social and political framework of French society in the late nineteenth century following an absence due to the reactionary nature of the French government after the Paris Commune. Antisemitism was still one of their ideological tenets, but the explosion of the Dreyfus Affair and the danger of a new reactionary political movement in France created a reversal in Socialist ideology with regard to the Jewish question. As a result the influence of Fourierist antisemitism on the majority of late nineteenth century Socialists, whose leaders included Jules Guesde, Jules Gravé and Jean Jaurès, was negligible. On the other hand however, the antisemitism of Édouard Drumont and his followers made them the indirect spiritual descendants of Charles Fourier and the direct descendants of Alphonse Toussenel and the other militant antisemites of the Fourierist School.

## FOOTNOTES

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- 6 Bourgin, p. 40.
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- 14 Le Nouveau Monde, p. 421.
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- 17 Théorie des Quatres Mouvements, p. 61.
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- 42 Library listings include all of these journals under the title of La Phalange, Revue de la Science Sociale.
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- 46 Ibid.
- 47 A detailed study of Toussenel is found in Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," pp. 339-345.
- 48 La Démocratie Pacifique, January 31, 1847.
- 49 Alphonse Toussenel, Les Juifs, Rois de l'Époque, (Paris: Gabriel de Gonet, 1847), p. II.
- 50 Ibid., pp. II-III.
- 51 Le Nouveau Monde, p. 421.
- 52 Toussenel, p. IX.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Silberner does not mention this point because he feels that Fourier would accept assimilation at the cost of complete national effacement of the Jews. See p. 253, "Charles Fourier on the Jewish Question."
- 56 Robert Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950), p. 120.
- 57 Toussenel, p. VI.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid., p. IV.

- 60 Ibid., p. V.
- 61 Byrnes, p. 120.
- 62 Toussenel, i, 123.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 347.
- 65 La Démocratie Pacifique, January 31, 1847.
- 66 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 347.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Victor Considérant, Destinée Sociale (Paris: Au Bureau de la Phalange et chez les Libraires du Palais Royal, 1835), I, 94.
- 69 Ibid., I, 93.
- 70 Quoted in Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 347 from Considérant, Destinée Sociale, 2nd edition (1849), II, 43.
- 71 Considérant, I, 94.
- 72 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 348.
- 73 Adolphe Alhaiza, Verité sociologique, gouvernementale et religieuse (Paris: H. Daragon, Editeur, 1919), p. 16
- 74 Ibid., p. 34.
- 75 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
- 76 Ibid., p. 58.
- 77 Quoted in Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 349 from Sylvestre, La Rénovation (1899), p. 1157.
- 78 La Rénovation, July 31, 1890, p. 983.
- 79 Ibid., May 31, 1901, p. 1395.



- 80 Ibid., February 28, 1899, p. 1060.
- 81 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 349.
- 82 La Rénovation, December 31, 1898, p. 1042.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Some are mentioned in Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," pp. 350-351.
- 85 Sylvestre in La Rénovation, July 31, 1898, p. 984.
- 86 Cannot, "Israël," La Rénovation (1899), p. 1074.  
(quoted by Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," pp. 350-351.)
- 87 Adolphe Alhaiza, Juifs et Franc-Maçons (n.p.: Au Siege de La Rénovation, 1903), p. 14.
- 88 La Rénovation (1908), p. 2270.
- 89 Ibid., July 31, 1898, p. 984; May 31, 1901, p. 1396.
- 90 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 350.
- 91 Cannot, p. 1073.
- 92 Sylvestre, La Rénovation, July 31, 1898, p. 984.
- 93 See pp. 352-359 of Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews."
- 94 Ibid., pp. 352-353.
- 95 Ibid., p. 354.
- 96 Victor Hennequin, Introduction historique à l'étude de la législation française, Les Juifs (Paris: Joubert, Librairie-Editeur, 1840-1842), I, 9.
- 97 Ibid., I, 192.
- 98 Ibid., I, 49-50.
- 99 Ibid., ,

- 100 Ibid., II, 201.
- 101 Ibid., II, 202.
- 102 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 357.
- 103 Verrier, La Rénovation (1903), p. 1713.
- 104 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 357.
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- 106 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," pp. 357-358.
- 107 Ibid.,
- 108 Ibid., p. 352.
- 109 Alhaiza, La Rénovation, April 30, 1903, p. 1685.
- 110 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 352.
- 111 Jean Czynski, "Les Juifs de Pologne," Archives Israélites, V (1844), p. 780.
- 112 Jean Czynski, "Les Israélites et le Talmud en Pologne," Archives Israélites, XXIV (1863), p. 33.
- 113 Silberner, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School Towards the Jews," p. 355.
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- 115 Ibid.
- 116 La Phalange, I, #36, (December, 1837), p. 1168.
- 117 La Phalange, II, #7, (April 1, 1838), p. 105.
- 118 Excerpt from La Russie Pittoresque reprinted in La Phalange, II, #7, (April 1, 1838), p. 109.

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- 124 Ibid., p. 633.
- 125 La Phalange, VII, #38 (July 15, 1839), p. 654.
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