# THE DIFFUSION OF THE IDEAS OF SAINT-SIMON IN THE HELLENIC STATE AND THEIR RECEPTION THEREBY (1825-1837)\*

#### CHRISTOS P. BALOGLOU

Hellenic Telecommunications Organization, S. A., Athens

The purpose of this paper is to bring to light that specific persons occupied to transfer into the Greek *milieu* the ideas and doctrines of Saint-Simon, after his death in 1825. Saint-Simon's name and doctrines were known to the Greek scholars of the Diaspora and especially to A. Corais's circle. In 1833, when King Otho came to Greece, a group of Saint-Simonians fugitives ahead by Gustave d'Eichthal took shelter in Nauplion, the first capital-town of Greece. Eichthal proposed the establishment of the Bureau of Public Finance, inspired by Saint-Simon's idea of a foundation of a «chambre d'industrie», which would play an advisory role in the Ministry of Commerce, as Saint-Simon described in his *Du système industriel* (1821). Despite the fact that the Bureau of Public Finance had an ambitious beginning, it was not as fruitful as expected. It is worth stressing out that Saint-Simon's ideas have not been positively welcomed by the academic institutions.

#### 1. Introduction

DESPITE the fact that the economic science appears as an autonomous discipline in the independent Hellenic State after 1850 – let us note in passing that it was in 1851 when the *Treatise of the generation and distribution of wealth*, <sup>1</sup> the very first such Greek book on economic science, <sup>2</sup> was published by Professor of Political Economy of the (then Othonian) University of Athens, Ioannes Soutsos (2<sup>nd</sup> December 1803-15<sup>th</sup> March 1890) – we are of the opinion that one should not underestimate the different attempts to receive and diffuse new econom-

- \* Address for correspondence: Chr. P. Baloglou: e-mail: cbaloglou@ote.gr
- I feel obliged to hereby express my thanks to Ms. Roxane Argyropoulous (fnrs, Athens), Ms. Haricleia Dimacopoulos and Professor Anastassios Karayiannis (University of Peiraeus) for their essential contribution which led to the enhancement of the present paper. I am grateful to two anonymous referees of this Journal and to Associate Professor Abdallah Zouache (University of Saint–Etienne) and Professor Riccardo Faucci (University of Pisa) for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. Any possible ommissions or inaccuracies contained herein are of the author's sole responsibility.
- <sup>1</sup> The Treatise on the Production and Distribution of Wealth, Athens, by A. Koromilas has been integrated as is in the first publication of the main work of Ioannes Soutsos, under the title Ploutologia, Athens, 1868-1869. Cf. Ithakissios 1991, 35-78 and 1992, 37-70.
- <sup>2</sup> Works of economic content were published prior to 1850 as well, such as those of Palaiologos 1881 [1833-1835] and Vrailas-Armenis 1845 [1986].

ic theories in the country, prior to 1850. More specifically, it is worth mentioning those attempts made by Corais and his circle as well as those of the Phanariotes with regard to the translation of the works of J.-B. Say and the Liberal School of Economic Thought. It is hoped, by way of those efforts of translation which are taking place during the years of the Greek Revolution of Independence (1821-1828) and in the period immediately following it, *i.e.* the Capodistrian period (1828-1831)<sup>2</sup> that the ideas of the Liberal School as well as the new science of Political Economy will be propagated in the Hellenic State. The establishment of the University of Athens in 1837 and the appointment of Ioannes Soutsos as the first Professor of Political Economy at the newly founded chair of the School of Law will conclude the first phase of introducing Political Economy in Greece, a discipline upon which the Greek scholars had invested a great amount of expectations. In the person of Professor Soutsos the classical Political Economy found its best representative, one that would diffuse Say's optimistic spirit in so far as the future of the capitalist system was concerned<sup>3</sup> among the Greek jurists and by way of those, in the whole Greek society.

From the circle of Corais and the Greek scholars of Paris will come the first attempts to make known and diffuse in the Hellenic State the ideas of Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825). The present paper will try to evaluate the reasons which led to the appearance of the ideas of the French philosopher and economist and their practical implementation in the period between 1825 – year of Saint-Simon's death – and 1837, when Ioannes Soutsos was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the newly founded University of Athens. In the past<sup>4</sup> we had demonstrated the efforts made in the said period for the diffusion of the ideas and the principles of the Classical School.

In the present paper we are going to take into account a number of parameters. First of all, the reception and the diffusion or vulgarization of economic theories: the institution with the power of enforcing the

¹ Sclavenitis 1994, 107-156. In this particularly interesting and no less scholarly study we witness the efforts of Spyridon Valetas to translate Say 1819. This translation remained unpublished. It is worth mentioning something which is not widely known, that such translation efforts of Say had been undertook by the doctor Michael Christaris (Ioannina, 1773-Athens, 1851), during the latter's stay in the Principalities of the Danube river, as we learn from Rizos-Neroulos 1827, 54, quoted by Argyropoulos 1989, 68. However, Christaris's work remained unpublished. Reference to the name and the work of Say is also made in the newspaper *Apollon* (year 1, no. 4, Saturday March 21<sup>st</sup> 1831, 15-16) wherein he has been described as *«the most eminent economist of today»* (*Apollon*, year 1, no. 130, Saturday on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1831, 121-124).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> During the Capodistrian age there will be published the work of Chrysidis 1828, which is a translation of SAY 1821. Upon Otho's arrival in Greece (1833) another work, by Polyzoidis 1833, will be the translated work of the French liberal economist Droz 1829.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kalitsounakis 1929, 220-221; Houmanidis 1974, 920; Psalidopoulos 1989, 101-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Baloglou 2001a, 16-35.

reception, rejection or hushing of the mere existence of any given theory is the university, which in the period under examination herein does not exist; the only establishment that existed – without the borders of the newly founded State – was the Ionian Academy, the first institution operating at academic level in Greece. Therefore, any theoretical thinking on matters relating to economics will have to focus on this academic establishment. Secondly, special attention will have to be paid to reviews, transformations, isolated references and even misconceptions in the process of adopting or rejecting new theoretical thinking. Furthermore, any interpersonal relationships of those persons, who will propagate the ideas of Saint-Simon, do not necessarily imply a full identification with the philosophical and economic tenets nor do they demonstrate, in and by themselves, the existence of intellectual influences. Such intellectual influences cannot be traced in the historical existence of interpersonal relationships; instead, they can be demonstrated solely on the basis of philosophical and economic analysis of texts, which in turn verify to which extent such observable interpersonal relationships acquired a philosophical and economic quality of influence. Thirdly, we deem necessary the study of economic policy which was adopted in the said period of time, with a view to assessing concepts, specialization, implementations and reports.<sup>2</sup> At this point, we need to state that the role of political associations, the acts of specific political persons, the activity of professional organizations as well as the impact of institutions on the Hellenic society in the period under examination are vital.

In light of the hermeneutic scheme cited hereabove, we will analyse the reception and diffusion of Saint-Simon's ideas in Greece. In the second section, we will present Saint-Simon's philosophy, and more specifically we will demonstrate all those elements of the French philosopher's ideas and principles, which were influential in the Hellenic State. In the third section we will continue with the personalities which tried to diffuse Saint-Simon's principles in Greece; we will also examine the reasons behind the rejection of the said principles. The last chapter will recapitulate on the findings of the present paper.

# 2. The Economic Philosophy of Saint-Simon. A General Review

The 19<sup>th</sup> century has been the century of the great economic transformations. These transformations, which took place during the Industri-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Kondylis 1988, 201-203 for a similar assessment of the relations between Corais and the ideologists.

<sup>2</sup> Goodwin 1972, 269.

al Revolution, have been made possible thanks to the commerce-generated wealth, which influenced the life of individuals as well as whole societies. The most revolutionary change, which occurred during this century, may be that fact that for the first time, the human mind grasped the concept of evolution.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the condition of the French economy during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we may identify an industrial development at a rate of which was somewhat slower than that of England: a development of agriculture, a demographic increase and a significant development of domestic transports, highways and channels, but most critically, a development of the railway infrastructure which, from 1830 onwards will help boost the economy of France. In parallel to this, we witness that the bourgeois and the nobility, the owners of wide plots of land, the industrialists – when they perform investments in the primary or the secondary sector – all these do not follow up the yield of their investments if the latter were outside urban centers. Instead, they live in cities and they either enter the political arena, or become officers of the public administration or officers of the army.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the above, in the same century, the science of Sociology hoped to be a general science of the relationships, dynamics and transformations of society. Two French intellectuals, C.-H. de Saint-Simon and A. Comte, representatives of the so called French Positivism, attempted to formulate a total theory, inclusive of all aspects of society, with a view to understanding the social life and political evolution of human beings of their times as well as the future.<sup>3</sup>

Saint-Simon developed his writing activity during the time of the Napoleonian rule and the first decade of the restoration of the Bourbons, and more specifically the period from 1803 to 1825. In his first work under the title *Letters of a citizen of Geneva to his contemporairies*, <sup>4</sup> he is inspired by Newton's theory on the gravity of celestial bodies, he envisages the unification of the world under the auspices of a supreme body, which he calls *Newton's Council* and he advocates the idea of the world under the government of the said body. The council will consist of 21 members, which will come from the elite of the most enlightened persons and artists. The author presented the letters as a dream, of which he only offered the general guidelines. This work was ignored by Saint-Simon's contemporaries and characteristically, Saint-Simon himself never mentioned it or referred to it later on. The *Letters* were dis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Manuel and Manuel 1997 [1979], 615-617.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Clough, Rapp 1980, vol. 11, 440-443.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Steiner 2006, 236-237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The work in question was published anonymously in 1802 under the title *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève*, Genève, 1802 and the following year, also anonymously, under its complete title *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains*, Genève, 1803.

covered by one of Saint-Simon's disciples, the mathematician Olinde Rodrigues, who reprinted them in 1832.<sup>1</sup>

Saint-Simon's economic philosophy and more specifically his views about the economic organization of society started taking shape shortly before the onset of the works of the Congress of Vienna (November 1<sup>st</sup> 1814). His work entitled *De la réorganisation de la société européenne*, which he co-authored with his secretary A. Thierry, was published in October 1814 and is of particular interest, because of its eloquent subtitle: on the necessity and the means to unite the peoples of Europe under a single political system, while maintaining their national independence each (de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l' Europe en un seul corps politique en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale). In this work emerges the idea of economic unification of the European continent.<sup>2</sup>

At a time of intense oppositions, social upheavals and national wars, Saint-Simon conceived in a poignantly forward-looking manner, a project of federalization of the European nations. «The time will certainly come», the French philosopher posited,

when the peoples of all Europe will have to regulate matters of general interest first, before they regulate national interests and then tragedies will be reduced, upheavals will be appeased, wars will die out; this is where we are constantly led, this is where the course of the human mind will lead us! What is however more pertinent to human reason – to be dragged in this direction or to run ouselves?<sup>3</sup>

Friedrich Engels<sup>4</sup> will realize what a pioneer of thought Saint-Simon had been, when he had the courage and the historical insight to propose to the French an alliance with the winners of the battle of Waterloo.

Saint-Simon's socio-economic teachings about the future of the world are governed by unlimited optimism. Such optimism is the consequence of both the industrial growth of Europe at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the one hand and the liberal school of thought and more specifically Say's ideas which were popular in the francophone world on the other.<sup>5</sup> Himself influenced by the Liberal School which considered labour as the basis of productive activity and creator of alternative values and social wealth, Saint-Simon will describe labour as «industrie» and workers as «industriels», without making any distinction between the work of employees and that of employers.<sup>6</sup> The term «industriels» includes, as per Saint-Simon's mindset,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Manuel and Manuel 1997 [1979], 592.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> COULOMB 1999, 115-120. A second, later document, written during the so-called 100 days in 1815, came under the title *Opinion sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815* (MENEGAKIS 2001, 224).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Saint-Simon, Thierry 1814, 247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Engels 1966 [1880], 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mason 1931, 642, 647; Schumpeter 1994 [1954], 461-463; Spiegel 1983, 447-448.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Saint-Simon, Thierry 1818, vol. II, 132, 168-169.

the totality of employees of a given society, as well as farmers, industrialists, merchants, bankers, artists and scientists, all those who work and create.¹ The industry («industrie») is the «sole source of wealth of society and its prosperity».² «Wealth becomes useful only in the hands of industrialists ["industriels"]».³ Opposite to those, Saint-Simon places large landowners, various nobility title holders and the military, all of which he calls leisured («oisifs»), because they do not contribute to production.⁴ What they themselves do, is to exploit, to a certain degree, the class of the industriels. After the restoration of monarchy in France and the arrival of Louis XVIII at the throne, the industriels will occupy the lowest ranks in the modern political, economic and social hierarchy of the country.⁵

Saint-Simon wishes to express his feelings of admiration, even adoration towards the productive labour, that is why he will attempt an audacious, even radical if we may say so, parallelism: If all nobles, ministers, bishops, generals perish and at the same time if all ingenuous chemists, physicists, physiologists, bankers, merchants, farmers and industrialists survived, no harm whatever would befall the State. In case of the contrary, *i.e.* if the best doctors, physicists, chemists, farmers, industrialists, bankers perish, «the nation will be reduced to a lifeless body, [...] and it will be in a state inferior to the nations against which it competes today, [the nation] would continue to be inferior to them if it did not redress the harm, until the advent of a new head...». <sup>6</sup>

With the above reference, which is known as «La parabole de Saint-Simon»,<sup>7</sup> the philosopher underlines the opposition between the industrial society and the noble military society, which will gradually fade away, since, in the future industry will prevail, as the only one force which can employ serious men. The industrial society has been prepared through a long historic evolution, which, according to Saint-Simon, started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the emancipation of communities, and was completed with the French Revolution as the most important event in modern times.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Saint-Simon, Enfantin 1865, vol. I, 24, mentioned by Stark 1943, 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Saint-Simon, Thierry 1818, vol. II, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Saint-Simon 1998 [1821], 49, item 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> SAINT-SIMON, ENFANTIN 1966 [1865-1878], vol. 37, 129. It is important to mention here that the seeds of this idea to distinguish a population in two classes are to be found in the French pre-physiocratic author, Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert (1646-1714), who, during the time of Louis XIV, had divided society between the class of «laboureurs et marchands» and that of the «Beau Monde». Cf. Jessua 1998, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In a later work, *Catéchisme politique des industriels* (1823-1824), Saint-Simon will return to the division of society in two classes. Saint-Simon, Enfantin 1966, vol. II, 7-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Saint-Simon 1819, 10-20, in Zahn 1977.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> GIDE and RIST 1930, vol. II, 257-258.

Saint-Simon underlines the fact that the useful activity, whether theoretical or practical, intellectual or manual, needs to be conscious of itself, and of the real unity constituted by all the industrialists of the nation, and more generally of Europe. This activity needs freedom without which it is unable to bring forth its true fruit; government must therefore be non-interventionist in order to allow society, or rather industry, to decide what is best for itself.

Workers, whose agglomeration forms the essence of a true society, can exchange the products of their various labours between one another with an absolute freedom; a form of administration such that society alone might know what it requires, what it wishes and what it prefers, and thus might be the sole arbitrator of the merit and the utility of work. <sup>1</sup>

Adhering to the industrial society will be made possible when specific measures of social and economic policy are taken:

- i. Educational reform. School must be unified, free and secular, from the elementary level up to the university. Children must receive the necessary education, in a manner that will guarantee equal opportunities to everyone.
- ii. Necessity of freedom in economic activity and abolition of social prerogatives and discriminations.<sup>2</sup> Their existence inhibits competition based on the makings and the talents of people. It is scandalous to see power in the hands of the unworthy.

As a result of the above two propositions, which are within the boundaries of the liberal school of thought, another belief took shape: that if we want free market competition, then such competition must not be compromised; it is particularly important for people to compete freely and that results must depend solely on the efforts and the intelligence of each and every person.<sup>3</sup> Saint-Simon's fundamental thesis, which was naturally espoused and diffused by his disciples, is «every employee according to his capabilities».<sup>4</sup> The young Saint-Simon who has been influenced by Augustin Thierry, expressed liberal ideas. The 'old' Saint-Simon became more obsessed with the organization of economic activities, as the next measure proves:

iii. Organization of the economy on the basis of a specific plan, within the framework of constitutional monarchy. The constitutional monarch is bound to appeal to the new administrative elite marked by its competence in industrial administration. Industrialists should occupy themselves with industrial policy and leave behind all those 'wind-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Saint-Simon, Thierry 1817, 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Saint-Simon, Enfantin 1973[1859], vol. II, 444-445; Saint-Simon, Enfantin 1865, vol. I, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> GIDE and RIST 1930, vol. I, 261; PHILIP 1973, vol. I, 98-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Manuel and Manuel 1997 [1979], 629.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Steiner 2006, 245.

bags' and 'scribblers' of the Liberal Party who hinder industrialists from seizing their destiny in their own hands. According to the plan in question, the Ministry of Economics will play the most pivotal role; this Ministry will be headed by a producer with a prior good service of ten vears, who in turn will be supported by a collective body, the «chambre de l'industrie»; the latter will consist of 25 producers, farmers, merchants, industrialists and bankers. This collective body will convene once a year in order to draft and submit to the minister the budget of the State. Immediately below in importance, will come the Ministry of Interior Affairs, structured after a similar organization as the Ministry of Economics. The Ministry of Interior Affairs will be aided by a consulting body which, in addition to its farmer, merchant and industrialist members, will have seven members from the Academy of Sciences and three construction and bridge engineers. The Naval Ministry will have a similar organization.<sup>2</sup> These thoughts betray of the paramount trust in the most expert technocrats for the government of the State.<sup>3</sup>

The main goal behind the above structure of the executive power is the economic planning and the continuous exploitation of the means of production, according to technological progress. The implementation of huge construction works is finely ensured, works such as highways and channels, and various land reclamation works which will result in the acceleration of economic growth and consequently the increase of social prosperity.

### 3. RECEPTION AND DIFFUSION OF SAINT-SIMONIST IDEAS

# 3.1. Corais and his Disciples

The first efforts to promote Saint-Simon's ideas in the Hellenic State had dated since 1825, the year of his death, as we learn from the French philosopher's and economist's biography, published in 1833 in the newspaper from Nauplion, *Helios:* 4 «the name of Saint-Simon has arrived in Greece since 1825, his new ideas had stunned us». In addition to that it is noted «Saint-Simon's pupils, with long beards like the ancient philosophers, go from one end of the country to the other and always excite curiosity amongst their audience».

The above piece of information, provided anonymously, is worth studying in parallel to the description we have from Georgios Gazis, secretary of Caraiskakis, in the *Dictionary of the Greek Revolution*, under

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Saint-Simon, Comte 1821, 171-180; Idem 1823-1824, vol. IV, 131-132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Saint-Simon 1998 [1821], 76-79. Cf. Jessua 1998, 38-42; Bergeron 1998, 65-66; Jessua 2006, 443.
<sup>3</sup> Saint-Simon 1966 [1819], L'Organisateur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Helios, 25, Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> September 1883, 101.

the entry «savages»: «during the years of the revolution came and were by great numbers such human looking beasts, that is why we hereby mention them». The dictionary describes these as «libertins and ontites». 2 Such terms, unknown and not used today in Greek, imply that they were employed during the Revolution and the persons thereby described were not a small group.

It is also worth noting, as Maria Menegakis<sup>3</sup> points out, that Saint-Simon himself will mention the status of Greeks in his first work, entitled Letters of an inhabitant of Geneva to his contemporaries, which he will send to the first Consul of France, Napoleon Bonaparte. Reminiscent of the fact that the Greeks, under Asian oppression, were part of the European people, he instigates Europeans to fight for their liberation: «The Europeans will join forces and will free their Greek brethren from the rule of the Turks». 4 After the launch of the Greek revolution and the growing movement of philhellenism in Europe, Saint-Simon will join the movement without any reservation. As his vision of the continent dictated, the Greeks, «who revolt for a just cause» had a place in a unified and peaceful Europe. The revolution of the famous, for its origins and hardships, people found «noble souls on its side, poets to make its praise, painters who will establish its heroic resistance and its victorious defeats».6

The philhellenic disposition of Saint-Simon, but not least, his very ideas are not unknown amongst the Greek scholars of the diaspora and more specifically, the circle of Corais. Corais, as we can realize from the funeral oration given by Fr. Pylarinos, had studied the works of Saint-Simon.<sup>7</sup> By coincidence, but certainly an eloquent coincidence, on the same funeral oration by Pylarinos, we see appearing the term «socialism»8 for the very first time in Greek language: «You, deep critic and a scholar philologist, tried with all the means at your disposal to disseminate in the bosom of homeland the philosophical mission of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, FREEDOM, I say, EQUALITY and SOCIALISM». Corais incarnates in a most consistent way till his oldest age the liberal revolutionary bourgeois of the late 18th and early 19th century. Full of confidence, assertiveness and aggressivity,9 he had been maintaining since 1830 political relationship in the environment of General La Fayette (1757-1834)<sup>10</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> GAZIS 1847 [1971], 62-63.
- <sup>3</sup> Menegakis 2001, 222.
- <sup>5</sup> Menegakis 2001, 222.
- <sup>7</sup> Pylarinos 1833a, in Fassoulakis 1993, 21-25.

<sup>6</sup> Saint-Simon, Enfantin, vol. 5, 214.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> Heliou 1976, μδ'.

<sup>4</sup> Saint-Simon 1803 [1977], 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Corais's relationship with La Fayette is discernible in the correspondence of the scholar of Chios with Alexander Kontostavlos, when the latter, in an opposition stance before Capodistrias, asked Corais to present the internal situation of Greece before «the infamous defender of freedom. Mr. La Fayette so that he could portray to his philanthropist government the

since 1830. La Fayette was President of the temporary government during the revolution of July 1830, wherein the followers of Babeuf and Saint-Simon¹ were active in plotting. More specific relationships with the Saint-Simonians will be forged with the students of Corais, who established the *Société Hellénique* in Paris (1828-1831).² Certain members of the said *Société* became exposed to the ideology of utopian socialists, while other members became actively involved in the movement.

The name and the works of Saint-Simon, as well as those of other contemporary economists were known at the Principalities of Danube. Doctor Michael Christaris, who lives in Bucarest, is owner of the book of the French intellectual, entitled *De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne* Paris, 1814.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most active members of the *Société Hellénique*, who will also contribute critically to a review of the Society's goals, 4 is Frangiscos Pylarinos (Cephalonia, 1802-Athens, 1882). Himself a student of Corais, he endorsed the ideas propagated by the Saint-Simonians. Pylarinos comes in Greece in August 1833 and settles in Nauplion.<sup>5</sup> He regularly writes articles in the newspaper Helios and in one of his article series, entitled Political Lessons, 6 he first disseminates the theories of Saint-Simon. More specifically, in the newspaper's announcement of the teachings of Pylarinos at Nauplion, it is specified that his field is the science of sciences, which studies the historical stages and the means of progress of humanity. Pylarinos supports the idea that the acquisition of national independence, nationalism, is only the first step. And the achievement of social progress is based on «freedom, equality and socialism», supreme rights, which Greeks are still deprived of. These are the rights Greeks will enjoy, when wise philanthropists prevail against the tyrants.<sup>7</sup> The «holy task» of great and wise men is to help accelerate the progressive course humanity follows, by way of teaching and diffusing the new ideas of the time. 8 This progressive spirit of the era is characterized by peace and industrial development, goods which «con-

character of the Governor and the situation of Greece». Alex. Kontostavlos to Ad. Corais, April 25 1831, in Corais 1984, vol. 6, 233. In a later letter (dated August 8<sup>th</sup> 1831) to Kontostavlos, Corais would confirm his acquaintance with La Fayette (Corais 1984, vol. 6, 238-239).

- <sup>1</sup> Eliou 1989, 69-70, n. 92.
- <sup>2</sup> Karatzas 1976, 22-26; Pantelodimos 1987, 12-13.
- <sup>3</sup> Argyropoulos 1989, 79. On the library's catalogue are J.-B. Say's *Traité de l'Economie Politique* (1819), H. Storch's *Cours d'Economie Politique* (1823) as well as the French translation of the *Wealth of Nations* by A. Smith (4 vols, 1800).
- <sup>4</sup> Since the end of 1830 already, the *Société* has acquired a different dimension, reflecting the worries of diasporic Greeks, who, aspiring to prosperity in a newly established State, will be disappointed with Capodistrias's policy. Cf. Karatzas 1976, 26.
  - <sup>5</sup> Moskoff 1979, 148-150; Noutsos 1992, vol. I, 119-122.
  - <sup>6</sup> Pylarinos 1833b, 69-70, 98, 128-129. Cf. Fournarakis 1986, xi.
  - <sup>7</sup> Pylarinos 1833b, 69-70.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, 73-74; FOURNARAKIS 1986, 34.

stitute the general spirit of the present century». The «future law», which all free and civilized nations will have, says Pylarinos,2 «does not accept any other political authority than the expression of will of society's workers, because these only know how to appreciate the value and the results of labour, because these are the only ones to promote, by their daily sweating, the wealth of society...». In this way, the «labourers of society» will be freed from poverty and ignorance; women – the «other half of society» – from prostitution, laziness and slavery, and the nations will live in peace and brotherhood «by means of the great works of industry». Then exactly the human law, universal and harmonious, will tally with the law «of nature and God».3 Furthermore, Pylarinos continues with a comparison between the values and achievements of ancient times and those of these ancient times and the Middle Ages. In particular, he underlines the progress achieved in technological discoveries and will vest with particular significance the political role of the press, «a lethal weapon against tyranny and the most active means in perfecting and uniting the nations»,4 the best means to diffuse ideas and education.<sup>5</sup> The implementation of new ideas will result in the establishment of a true society, which will be based both on the sovereignty of people and the natural law and has two protective agents, «labour and the absolute knowledge of ourselves». 6 When society is in position to select those with the mind, the experience and the wisdom to understand these moral values, then cohesion is achieved between governors and the governed and thus we have a «purely representative republic».7

The ideas of Pylarinos about the «labourers of society» as well as the moral dimensions of work do reflect the known 'parable' of Saint-Simon. The guiding role of «wise and philanthropic men» and the existence of a «representative republic» express the corresponding ideas of the French philosopher. In parallel to this, Pylarinos is distinguished for his optimism about the future of humanity. He adopts the idea of progress – let's stress at this point that he announced, on October 25<sup>th</sup> 1833,8 the publication of the scientific weekly *Proodos (Progress)* – which is present throughout the work of the French philosopher, and he looks forward to the establishment of a «progressive industrial society», free from ignorance and exploitation. Pylarinos believes that Otho, in his capacity as a constitutional king, will be the best guarantor to transform his country into an «industrial society». In this way, Pylarinos accepts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pylarinos 1833b, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Noutsos 1992, vol. I, 123-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 90; FOURNARAKIS 1986, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pylarinos 1833b, 125-126; Fournarakis 1986, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pylarinos 1833b, 86.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, 90.

the views and tenets of the French philosopher and economist on the importance and contribution of constitutional monarchy in economic development and progress.

# 3. 2. Efforts to Implement the Ideas of Saint-Simon

With regard to the implementation of Saint-Simon's ideas relating to economic policy, our attention must turn to the broader efforts made in this direction by the students of the French economist and philosopher, after his death. Indeed, the most prominent disciples of Saint-Simon, Saint-Amand Bazard (1791-1832) and Barthelemy-Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864) undertook to propagate Saint-Simon's ideas.¹ They established a ever widening circle of followers, which consisted of intellectuals, industrialists, bankers and engineers. The life cycle of this association has been short, because, following the arrest of Enfantin, Charles Duveyrier and Chevalier by the police (August 27<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> 1832) and their ensuing one year imprisonment.² The members of the association were forced to escape to various countries in the Mediterranean, in Egypt, like Enfantin, as well as in Turkey and Spain.³ In these countries, Saint-Simonians will exercise the role of enlightened technocrats, proposing and submitting specific approaches to economic development.

This drive of members of the Saint-Simonian circles of Paris, into different countries of Eastern Mediterranean<sup>4</sup> is due to another reason as well. Several months prior to the dispersion of their community, Michel Chevalier (1806-1879)<sup>5</sup> had elaborated an ambitious idea to unite the East with the West. The Mediterranean Sea had the makings to become a bridge connecting the Western world to the Orient,<sup>6</sup> in such way as to establish a united republic of the Mediterranean peoples.<sup>7</sup> This union would be made possible through the railways. To this end, Chevalier

¹ Amongst the efforts to diffuse Saint-Simon's ideas are the publications of the following magazines: Le producteur (1825-1826), L'organisateur (1829-1830), and Le globe (1831-1833) as well as the memorandum of Bazard-Enfantin submitted to the President of the French Parliament, under the title Religion saint-simonienne (1830), the lectures of Bazard during the years 1828-1830, which resulted in the two-volume work under the title Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Paris, 1re année, 1828-1829 (which covers the social and economic aspects of the teachings), 2° année, 1830 (which covers the philosophical and religious aspects thereof). Gide and Rist 1830, vol. 1, 265-280; Iggers 1958.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Weil 1896, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sánchez Hormigo 1999, 337-341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Picon 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Duroselle 1956, 240; Breton 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Chevalier 1832, quoted by Lappas 1985, 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Let us not forget that this idea of Chevalier is visibly influenced, we may even say it is a modified proposal of an analogous plan by Saint-Simon and his partner Thierry, when they thought of the idea of a European federation – *De la réorganisation de la Société Européenne* (1814). In the framework of industrial society, is proposed the establishment of a European federation under one parliament, a common currency and free trade. Thus, Saint-Simon appears to be the first writer to envisage the idea of a united Europe.

drew up a dense railway network, which would connect the West to the biggest commercial ports and centres of the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup>

The Hellenic Kingdom could not be held out of this grandiose idea. The year Pylarinos settled and started teaching in Nauplion, the town would receive a group of French Saint-Simonians, under Gustave d'Eichthal (Nancy, 1804-1886). During this period, the government of the country had been in the hands of the Regency (February 1833-February 1835) and the foreign policy of France was looking for ways to enhance its presence in the Greek State.

Coming from a family of bankers, of Jewish descent, d'Eichthal had been a student of A. Comte, at the École Polytechnique at Paris, and from 1829 onwards, a staunch supporter of Saint-Simonian ideas.<sup>2</sup> D'Eichthal was a member of the group which composed the work entitled *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, a work which aims at explaining Saint-Simon's teaching.<sup>3</sup>

D'Eichthal's arrival in Greece is also understood in light of the fact that his brother Adolphe d'Eichthal had been recently appointed Consul of Greece in Paris. In addition to that, the d'Eichthal family had already developed financial ties with the Greek government and believed that d'Eichthal's arrival in Greece would facilitate her plans to boost her business activities in the country.<sup>4</sup>

On October 12<sup>th</sup> 1833, the Secretariat (Ministry) of Internal Affairs was delegated to the Francophile Colettis (1774-1847), whose political importance had been strengthened after the arrest of Colocotronis and the persecutions of the Napaians, in September 1833. This period of time was considered the most auspicious, with Colettis embodying the best representative of French policy. Colettis had made studies in Paris and it is not impossible that he had already been aware of the ideas of Saint-Simon and entertained ties with some of his followers. In April 29<sup>th</sup> 1834, the Office of Public Economy was established as an autonomous department under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. <sup>5</sup> D'Eichthal claims the initiative to set up this Office; he wrote to his friend, like-minded Duveyrier<sup>6</sup> the following: «At last, two months ago, [...] after all my approaches, I managed to set up a certain Office of Political Economy, which will undertake and carry out – I hope – the whole venture».

As a matter of fact, the scope of responsibility of the above mentioned office has been described in a paper containing particularly am-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> COULOMB 1999, 115-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pétré-Grenouilleau 2001, 395.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> PICON 2002, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lappas 1985, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Newspaper *Soter*, 36, 13-25 May 1834; D'EICHTHAL 1974, 10, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> d'Eichthal 1974, 41.

bitious goals, such as the topography, geodesy and survey of the kingdom with an ultimate view to implement the following: accurate map. census of the population, registry of all livestock, land registry, mine and antiquities registry, credit status and usury, proposals on agriculture, trade, industry, drawing up of a transport network, establishment of settlements and preparations for colonization in particular.<sup>1</sup>

In his introductory report, which accompanied the Law Decree, Colettis mentions a number of examples to illustrate the significance of the institution, such as the British Board of Trade and the French 'Bureau de Commerce'. In the said report, it is suggested to establish a central office consisting of eight members – three directors, one engineer, one treasurer, two secretaries and one scribe. The office was also be supported by ten commissions, of four members each, appointed at prefecture level.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, the Regency approved of the establishment of an office which would consist of three advisors, one engineer, two secretaries and one scribe, a total of seven members. The three advisor positions went to d'Eichthal, Roujoux (a student of Corais, according to d'Eichthal)<sup>3</sup> and N. Poniropoulos, who were supported by a Bavarian geometrician, D. A. Guebhard.4

The Office of Public Economy and, more particularly, its structure and organization are similar to those of a 'chambre d'industrie': it plays an important role as advisory body of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as Saint-Simon describes in his work Du système industriel. It is worth noting that the followers of Saint-Simon were, in their own country, representatives of an elite of scientists and technocrats which, in the way of Saint-Simon, was capable of implementing their own proposals. The execution of a series of infrastructure works, such as the Isthmus of Corinth, and the construction of roads, were the key for economic progress. In the field of politics, these scientists' and technocrats' activities focus on the hot issue of national plots of land. The Saint-Simonians stood critical against both the idea of distributing such plots to farmers (this was the stance favoured by the 'Nappaian' party) and the idea promoted by landowners, favourable to the English party, to sell the plots of land. Instead they proposed to the state to maintain ownership of the largest part of the lands and transform them into model farmlands, while allowing for the arrival of European settlers, who were seen as carriers of technological progress in the field of agriculture. <sup>5</sup> This process would – according to the Saint-Simonians – result in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Official Gazette, May 18-22 1834; repr. in Callivretakis 1990, appendix 1, 349-356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> General Greek State Archives, Ottoman Ministry of Internal Affairs, Sh. 66: Rapport au Roi pour accompagner le projet d'organisation du Bureau de Statistiques, 11<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1834. <sup>4</sup> Callivretakis 1990, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> D'EICHTHAL 1974, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Moskoff 1979, 149-150.

the accumulation of wealth, which in turn would contribute to the development of industrial progress.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the State would have to elaborate a plan for the establishment of the necessary credit institutions, such as a national bank, a business bank, which would contribute to technological progress as well.

The ideas and approaches of d'Eichthal to be settled the ravaged countryside by Europeans, are not new. Similar ideas had been expressed before, both during the years of the Revolution<sup>2</sup> and during the government of Capodistrias,<sup>3</sup> while other analogous proposals had been submitted by Swiss doctor Louis-André Gosse<sup>4</sup> and Thiersch.<sup>5</sup> This reference validates the assumption that the idea of settling the country by Europeans had already been in circulation at that time, irrespective of the ideas of Saint-Simonism. It is not pointless to stress out that Capodistrias had been the recipient of requests made by Cretans and other Greeks in Turkish-occupied territories, for their settlement in the Peloponnese. 6 Measures with a view to settlements were taken by the Regency as well, but with limited results. 7 D'Eichthal's move to set up the Office of Public Economy had been approved both by Colettis and Georg Ludwig von Maurer, member of the Regency, who thought of this institution as typical of all advanced States. 8 We should not overlook the fact that, a year earlier Fr. Thiersch had emphasized the necessity «to establish anew the Committee of Statistics, which had been ignored by the Governor, and follow the proposals of this Committee's members, which had been submitted many times without having ever been adopted – proposals which are still filed in the archives».9

There is no doubt that the main task of the Office of Public Economy was to organize and carry out the colonization plans. This was already underlined in the first article of the decree whereby the Office had been established. It is further expounded in the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 43<sup>rd</sup> articles thereof, which grant to the Office the authorization to enter negotiations with «companies or persons who wish to live in Greece». D'Eichthal<sup>10</sup> himself mentions: «Ever since I arrived here, my wish has been to bring settlers in Greece. On her deserted land, cities, monu-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D'EICHTHAL 1974, 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since 1823-1824 already, the representative of the Philhellenic Commission of London, L. Stanhope, had proposed the settlement of Greece by English natives and other foreigners, with a view to promoting agriculture and diffusing new agricultural methods (Callivretakis <sup>3</sup> Catifori 1985, 97-107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Vacalopoulos 1976, 178-190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Thiersch 1972, vol. II, 9-10. <sup>6</sup> Cf. Resolutions xxv of June 3<sup>rd</sup> 1831, xxvII of April 24<sup>th</sup> 1829, xvI of August 13<sup>th</sup> 1829 and XXIV of March 13<sup>th</sup> 1831. Cf. DIMACOPOULOS 1967 [publ. 1970], 1-205, and IDEM 1968 [publ. 1972], <sup>7</sup> Baloglou 2001b, 177-217. 140-141, 157-158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Maurer 1976, vol. II, 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> d'Eichthal 1974, 41-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Thiersch 1972, vol. II, 14-50.

ments, theatres, roads, houses, and in her already silenced seas, vessels, sailing ships and steam ships – these are endlessly passing before my eyes». D'Eichthal himself was envisaging English, French and German industrial as well as 'agricultural' settlements.

It is worth mentioning that at the time d'Eichthal was in Greece, trying to organize, in the most rationalized manner, the Office of Public Economy, the press started a systematic presentation of Saint-Simon's ideas. More specifically, in the Nauplian newspaper *Epochē*, and in an article under the title On industrialists, office holders and those living on pensions, the view is supported that every society is divided between two different groups, constantly opposing each other. The first group consists of those people living on their labour, whereas the other groups sums up those living on others. The most important representatives of the second group are the politicians. The similarity between the «industriels» and the «oisifs» of Saint-Simon is striking. In a later article, under the title On the reorganisation of Society,2 it is noted that the Government must look forward to the promotion of the industry and agriculture. In order to achieve the above, public offices must be manned by people who contribute to the increase of national wealth, such as those active in the field of trade, industry and agriculture, while leisured people should be removed therefrom, even if they have large proprieties. It is obvious that the said article expresses Saint-Simon's concerns and ideas and even more so his beliefs with regard to the abolition of social privileges and prerogatives. It is thereby wished, in an explicit manner, that the members of the labour class find leading positions in the public administration of the country.

Although the Office of Public Economy began its operations with great ambitions to provide unity in the actions of the government with regard to agricultural interests and there is proper speciality and concern, it did not meet its goals. We may identify the causes of failing to do so into the inefficient, both in terms of numbers and specialized knowledge, personnel as well as the political situation which did not leave room for productive interventions in a already complex socio-economic structure. The disputes that broke out amongst members of the Regency resulted in the revocation of Maurer in July 1834, and the strengthening of Armansperg's position. Thus supporting the English policy to the detriment of the French – and by association, the persecution of the office's members on the grounds of Saint-Simonist plotting. We want to mention at this point that Saint-Simonism had been quali-

 $<sup>^1\,</sup>$  Newspaper *Epochē* , 13, Thursday 8-20 November 1834, 49-50. Cf. Kiousopoulou 1986, 16-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Newspaper *Epochē*, 21, 6-18 December 1834, 81-82; 24, 16-28 December 1834, 94-95; 25, 20 December 1834-1st January 1835, 98-99.

fied, in particular after 1830, as a dangerous political theory, although it had never advocated revolutionary or violent action to disrupt order.

It is not a coincidence that Metternich believed Saint-Simonism was a subversive dogma which undermined order and instigated the «'masses des prolétaires' against the propriétaires».¹ We do not exclude the possibility that Armansperg might have been a carrier of a similar ideology to that of Metternich and therefore he had been against the views of Saint-Simonians.

Colettis made a lot of efforts and interventions to keep d'Eichthal in his position, however the French Saint-Simonian, disappointed, left Greece for good in June 1835.<sup>2</sup>

# 3. 3. The Contribution of Graillard in the Implementation of Saint-Simonian Theories in Greece

It is quite indicative that at the moment when the antagonism amongst members of the Regency has reached its peak, while efforts are being made to keep d'Eichthal in his position, French military officer François Graillard (1792-1863) submitted to King Otho, a memorandum entitled: Mémoire sur la Loi du développement de la civilisation Hellénique Moderne,<sup>3</sup> written in April 1835. The author of this memorandum is, according to his own words, a carrier of the ideas of Saint-Simon. In the said memorandum, he is exposing a series of measures and defines proposals under five specific chapters, bearing the titles: ch. 1. «On property and Civil Code», 2. «On communities», 3. «On colonization», 4. «On the banking system and taxation», 5. «On the organization of education».<sup>4</sup> Its ultimate goal is to indicate to Otho the measures the latter should take in order to organize production successfully and promote the economy and the knowledge of the State.

The ideas and proposals of Graillard are in tune with the rationale of the other French Saint-Simonians, which had been in the Office of Public Economy. Graillard pays special attention to the issue of settling of Europeans. He suggests the establishment of three major settlements – one English, one French and one German – to be distributed in communities of 1,000-5,000 people each. Plots of land will be given for free, against an annual tax though. The members of every community were supposed to form an autonomous society of labourers for ten years. Use of advanced methods and means of production, to be imported in Greece by the settlers, were meant to transform these communities in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Grunwald 1938, 206-207, wherein Metternich's letter to Comte Apponyi, December 27 1831. <sup>2</sup> р'Еіснтнаl 1974, 11-12, 103-113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> DIMACOPOULOS 1979, 307-450 attracted our attention on this point. The *memorandum* in question is on pp. 395-448.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, 386-387.

to model production units, whereas «all agricultural, manufacture and commercial produce will be promoted and perfected».¹ Graillard's proposals about settling of Europeans in Greece are specific and speciliazed and proved to be the most completed amongst all other proposals expressed about the same issue.

These views about colonization are voiced at a time when France is contemplating to transfer superfluous labour force in new countries. This labour force, living in conditions of poverty will be the carrier of development in their country of installation.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, we need to mention that Graillard was not one of the members of the Office, nor did he appear in Greece when the other Saint-Simonians were persecuted. He had arrived in Greece in November 1821; he fought during the Revolution and he was head of the Gendarmerie under Otho's reign.<sup>3</sup>

# 3. 4. Impact of the Ideas-survival

The ideas expressed by Saint-Simonians and more specifically their proposals about settlement of Europeans did not resonate with the Greeks. Besides, their proposals and broader philosophy did not touch the labour class, which did not have any opportunity to organize itself. The positive teachings of Saint-Simonism about industrialization were not welcomed as enthusiastically as expected. Their utopia did not root in a State striving to find its identity and its fate. The different political problems, such as the interventions of the Great Powers, the presence of foreign interests in the country had obstructed the espousal of Saint-Simonian ideas.

It would be useful at this point to take into account the general reasons of failure of Saint-Simonism. A first factor that accounted for this failure was the fundamental ambiguity of the movement in effectively combining two opposing elements: the utopian aspirations of an inner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ibidem, 440.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hermann 1835, cols 287-296. The German mathematician and economist F. B. W. von Hermann (1795-1868) will be critical of the teachings of Saint-Simon, which have been endorsed by the authors of the studies under examination. Cf. Kurz 1997, 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> He was appointed Head of the Royal Gendarmerie, while colonel of the infantry (May 24-Juner 5 1833). Cf. *Greek Official Paper*, sheet 25, August 21<sup>st.</sup> September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1833, 196. He was kept at his position till the end of 1834 when he was replaced and immediately afterwards put on half pay on grounds of health. *Greek Official Paper*, sheet 2, January 23<sup>rd</sup>. February 4<sup>th</sup> 1835, 12. His removal from office during the Regency is also connected to his Saint-Simonian ideas, which made him a political suspect in the eyes of the government. D'Eichthal 1974, 39. According to Eichthal, Graillard «had truly suffered a lot, but even he is forty years of age, he looks old like a 60 year old man».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Similar was the fate of Saint-Simonians in Spain, where political problems will not contribute to the diffusion of the principles of Saint-Simonian teachings. For this issue, see Sánchez Hormigo 1999, 340.

circle with the practical intentions and motivation of engineers, bankers and entrepreneurs. Saint-Simonian economic and social tenets, favouring technological progress and allowing for the establishment of the necessary institutions conducive to general prosperity and welfare, were attractive to very different social groups. It was this dual nature of the movement that generated tensions, practically impossible to overcome in the 1830s. Secondly, Saint-Simonism was appealing insofar as its theoretical and practical premises were pertaining to the prevailing aspirations, in particular to the need to make the new industrial society compatible with the vision of restorating traditional collectivist or altruistic values. Thirdly, and from a theoretical point of view, the failure to incorporate these ideas into the academic discourse of the era seemed to demonstrate the need of an ultimate separation of theoretical reflection from action, and it was this split between academic disciplines and political activism that reflected the emergence of the Economic Science as a new field of academic knowledge.

However, we should not underestimate that the impact of these ideas about the state's participation in the design of industrial organization became more visible in 1837, when the Committee for the Encouragement of National Industry was set up by governmental resolution (January 25<sup>th</sup> 1837).¹ The idea to establish a Committee for the Encouragement of National Industry was fathered by the French-educated agronomist and empirical agricultural economist, Gregorios Palaiologos (1794-1844). In his article entitled «On Agriculture and Industry»² he stressed that «three main issues must attract the attention of an enlightened and patriotic administration, agriculture, industry and trade».³ Palaiologos had been director of the Farm-House of Tirynth from the beginning of 1830 till March 1831⁴ and also served in the Office of Public Economy till 1838. In 1837 he was appointed member of the Committee for the Encouragement of National Industry.⁵

Palaiologos had also been a member of the *Société Hellénique* of Paris,<sup>6</sup> scholar of the *Société Philanthropique en faveur des Grecs*<sup>7</sup> and he also might have been familiar with the ideas of Saint-Simon. Of course, the institution he proposed to be established in Greece had been operating in France since 1801 under the name *Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale*, as a public utility organization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Greek Official Paper, February 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> 1837; repr. in Callivretakis 1990, appendix 4, 358-362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> PALAIOLOGOS 1833; repr. in PSALIDOPOULOS 1994, 25-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> PSALIDOPOULOS 1994, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dimacopoulos 2001, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Newspaper *Athena*, sheet 475, September 29<sup>th</sup> 1837, 1959. The Committee was established by Parliamentary Decree of January 25<sup>th</sup>-February 6<sup>th</sup> 1837, in the *Official Gazette*, 5, February 9<sup>th</sup> 1837, 17-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Pantelodimos 1987, 23 and 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Angelou 1989, 120\*.

Further impact of Saint-Simonist ideas we find in the following years, in the work of journalist and intellectual Panaviotis Sophianopoulos (1786-1856). He became familiar with the ideas of the utopian socialists during his stay in Paris (1827-1834). Without claiming to be a Saint-Simonian, he reviewed the ideas of Saint-Simonism, writing that it had «many stable positions».2 However we cannot overlook that Sophianopoulos's typical thought bears resemblance to the teachings of Saint-Simon. Thus, we find in Sophianopoulos a request to the governments of all European nations to «be united in one», 3 a view clearly influenced by Saint-Simon's vision of a United Europe. Furthermore, even this same parable of Saint-Simon will be promoted in the person of Sophianopoulos. In the new «progressive and industrial society» which he envisages, wherein all inertia and ignorance of women will be eclipsed,4 «all people on earth, kings, emperors, leaders, presidents, ministers, patriarchs, tailors, bakers, farmers, blacksmiths, fathers, viniculturists, teachers, journalists, priests, sailors, retailers, generals, merchants, doctors, mothers, mayors, we are all LABOURERS!» He was described as «provocative and noisy, eccentric»,6 «blurred by religious heresies»,7 «extreme democrate»;8 he was also ranked amongst the «enemies of Christianity» by the Holy Synod and in conservative circles, he was villified as «a savage and a hater of the nation». 9 His ideas did never have any influence, nor were they diffused. These characteristics, and especially his character as described by his contemporaries did not allow a diffusion of his ideas. He has been ignored by his contemporaries and successors.

It is finally worth stressing out that Saint-Simon's ideas as well as those of the other utopian socialists in general have not been positively welcomed by the academic community, which was represented in the person of Ioannes Soutsos, the one and only economist of the era. The views Soutsos¹⁰ harboured about the utopian socialists had been negative¹¹ and in any way had a certain influence on the contemporary public opinion. It is indicative however that up to our own days no researcher has been interested in the fact that another academic professor, who was working beyond the borders of the Hellenic State, had espoused the ideas of Saint-Simon. We hereby mean the philosopher and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sophianopoulos 1836, 75-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*: «The writings of Saint-Simon, rich in retrogressive theories and stable developments, have taught numerous and great social truths. We, ourselves, are the fathers of the scientific progress of the Greeks, and not Saint-Simonians».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Proodos (Progress), 1, January 1st 1838, 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> IDEM 1837 and 1849, 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gazis 1971 [1847], 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> GAZIS 1971 [1847], 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. Pylarinos 1860, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sophianopoulos 1836b, 14-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lappas 1980, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Kassomoulis 1942, vol. III, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Soutsos 1885, vol. II, 46-48, 459-463.

jurist, professor of the Ionian Academy in Corfu, Petros Vrailas-Armenis (1812-1884). Indeed, in one memorandum entitled On the subject and the limits of Political Economy and the relationship of the latter with the other social sciences read at the «Hetairia ton Philomathon» («Society of the Eager of Learning») in Corfu (October 19th 1845), he recognizes the progress made in the field of sciences,<sup>2</sup> stresses out the united character of sciences, identifies the Economic Science as a totally new field of knowledge,3 and thus calls for a demarcation of the latter's limits, subject matter as well as meaning. 4 Proceeding with an analysis of the Economic Science, the «science of utility», 5 as he calls it – obviously influenced by J. Bentham – and its relationship with the Law, he points out the role of the industry in the production of social wealth. Vrailas-Armenis<sup>7</sup> recognizes as «industry, all those factors which contribute to the increase of wealth». From this point of view there is a similarity with Saint-Simon's definition that «Industry is the foundation upon which rests the very existence of society, it is the sole source of wealth and prosperity». 8 And he continues that wealth is «a proof of ability among the industriels, even in the case in which they have inherited the fortune they possess». 9 It is indicative that Vrailas-Armenis is clearly influenced by the teachings of Saint-Simon with regard to production. This influence might be the unique influence of Saint-Simon's doctrines in the Hellenic era, but outside of the Hellenic State.

#### 4. Conclusions

The ideas as well as the propositions of C.-H. de Saint-Simon on the progress and emancipation of women, and the establishment of an industrial society wherein everybody would enjoy the benefits of employment did not go unnoticed by the Hellenic Diaspora. Whatever efforts had been made, following the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, in order to introduce and implement these ideas on a practical level failed both because of the weaknesses of the Greek society and because of political concurrence. The promotion of the idea of the settlement of Europeans in Greece, an idea which was growing as the most important of Saint-Simon's ideas, was not meant to be fashionable with the greater public of the new state. Neither would Saint-Simon's teachings find acceptance in the field of academia. It is interesting to point out that these efforts made by Greek and French intellectuals have not been unnoticed by the politicians of that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vrailas-Armenis 1986, vol. VI, 79-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibidem, vol. v, 49 Du Système Industriel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibidem, 80-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 81. <sup>6</sup> Ibidem, 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> SAINT-SIMON, Œuvres, vol. II, 13, L'Industrie.

#### REFERENCES

- Angelou A. 1989, «Introduction: Romance in modern Greek novel», in G. Palaiologos, *O Polypathis*, Athens, Hermes [in Greek].
- Argyropoulos R. 1989, «A 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek scholar in Bucharest: Michail Christaris and his Library», *Balkan Studies*, 30, 1, 67-82.
- BALOGLOU CHR. P. 2001a, «Diffusion and reception of the ideas of economic liberalism in Greece during the period 1828-1837», *Spoudai*, 51, 3-4, 16-35 [in Greek].
- 2001b, «Orientations and perspectives of the economic policies under the Regency [in Greek with summary in English]», *Archives of Economic History*, 12, 1-2, 177-217.
- Bergeron L. 1998, «Saint-Simon: die verschlungenen Pfade seines Denkens und seines Programms», in L. Bergeron, P. Groenewegen, Cl. Jessua, Henri de Saint-Simon's "Du système industriel". Vademecum zu einem Klassiker des Utopischen Sozialismus, Düsseldorf, Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 55-81.
- Breton Y. 1991, «Michel Chevalier 1806-1879. Entre le saint-simonisme et le Libéralisme», in Y. Breton, M. Lutfalla (eds), *L'Économie politique en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris.
- Callivretakis L. 1990, *The dynamics of agrarian modernization in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece*, Athens, Cultural Institute of the Agricultural Bank of Greece [in Greek].
- Catiforis D. 1985, The French interest in Greece during the Capodistrian period 1828-1831, Athens, Epikairotita [in Greek].
- CHEVALIER M. 1832, «Système de la Méditerranée», Le Globe, February.
- CHRYSIDIS G. 1828, Inculcation of Political Economy, Nauplion [in Greek].
- CLOUGH S., RAPP R. 1980, European Economic History, Greek transl., vol. II, Athens, Papazisis.
- CORAIS A. 1984, *Correspondence*, vol. VI, Athens, Group for the Study of the Hellenic Enlightenment [in Greek].
- COULOMB F. 1999, «The idea of economic reform for international peace: The French Tradition of the "Utopian Socialists"», *Third Annual Conference of the European Society for the History of Economic Thought, February 26<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> 1999, Book of Extended Summaries, Valencia, 115-120.*
- DIMACOPOULOS H. 1979, «Saint-Simonian François Graillard on the Greek affairs (comments and proposals)», *Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece*, 22, 307-405 [in Greek with summary in French].
- DIMACOPOULOS G. 1967, «Codex of Resolutions of the Greek state I. 1828-1829», Year-book of the Centre of Research of the History of Greek Law, publ. in 1970, 14, 1-205 [in Greek].
- 1968, «Codex of Resolutions of the Greek state II. 1829-1832», Yearbook of the Centre of Research of the History of Greek Law, 15, 1972 [in Greek].
- 2001, *The foundation of the Demotic system* 1833-1834, Athens, Hetairia Archeiakon Meleton kai Ekdoseon (in Greek).
- DROZ F. X. 1829, Économie politique, ou Principes de la Science des Richesses, Paris, Renouard
- DUROSELLE F. B. 1956, «Michel Chevalier, Saint-Simonien», Revue Historique, 82.
- D'EICHTHAL G. 1974, The Economic and Social situation in Greece after '21, introduction and editorship by Th. Papadopoulos, Athens, Byron [in Greek].
- ENGELS F. 1966 [1880], Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique, Paris, Greek transl. by F. Fotiou, Athens, Themelio.
- FASSOULAKIS S. 1993, Funeral Orations to Adamantios Corais, introduction and editorship by S. Fassoulakis, Athens [in Greek].

- FOURNARAKIS H. 1986, The newspaper Helios by Panagiotis Soutsos, 1833, Summaries-Indices, Athens, Hetairia Meletes Neou Ellinismou [in Greek].
- GAZIS G. 1971 [1847], Dictionary of the Revolution and other works, Historical notes on the Dictionary by N. Patselis, under the editorship of L.Vranoussis, Ioannina, Society of Epiroteian Studies [in Greek].
- GIDE CH. and RIST CH. 1930, *Histoire des Doctrines Économiques*, transl. by N. Patselis, vol. I, Athens, Eleutheroudakis.
- Goodwin R. 1972, «Economic theory and society. A plea for process analysis», American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings, 62, 409-416.
- GRUNWALD C. DE 1938, La vie de Metternich, Paris.
- ELIOU P. 1976, «From tradition to the Enlightenment: testimony of an apprentice», in S. Petrou, *Letters from Amsterdam*, ed. by P. Heliou, Athens, Hermes [in Greek].
- HERMANN F. B. W. 1835, «Sammelbesprechung von L. F. Huerne de Pommeuse, *Des colonies agricoles* (1832), M. le Baron de Morogues, *Du Pauperisme* (1834) and M. le Vicomte Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont, Économie politique chrétienne, 3 vols (Paris 1834)», *Jahrbuch für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 36, cols 287-296.
- HOUMANIDIS L. T. 1974, «Evolution of Economic Science in Greece», *Spoudai*, 24, 919-934 [in Greek].
- IGGERS G. G. 1958, *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition. First Year* 1828-1829, transl. with notes and an introduction by Idem, preface by G. D. H. Cole, Boston, Beacon Press.
- ITHAKISSIOS D. 1991, «Ioannes A. Soutsos (1803-1890). The first Professor of Economics follower of economic liberalism in the Greek state», *Archives of Economic History*, 1, June-December, 35-78 [in Greek].
- 1992, «John A. Soutsos (1803-1890): Greece's First Academic Economist», *Quaderni di storia dell'economia politica*, 2, 37-70.
- Jessua C. 1998, «Du système industriel» oder das sich jeder Klassifizierung entziehende Werk Saint-Simons», in L. Bergeron, P. Groeewegen, C. Jessua, Henri de Saint-Simon's "Du système industriel". Vademecum zu einem Klassiker des Utopischen Sozialismus, Düsseldorf, Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 23-52.
- 2006, «Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy de, Du système industriel. Paris, Renouard 1821», in D. Herz, V. Weinberger (eds), *Lexikon ökonomischer Werke*, Düsseldorf, Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 443-444.
- Kalitsounakis D. 1929, *History of Political Economy*, Athens, Eleftheroudakis [in Greek].
- Karatzas S. 1976, «The "Elliniki Etairia" of Paris», Anti, 41, 20th March, 22-26 [in Greek].
- Kassomoulis N. 1942, Military Memorabilia from the Revolution of the Greeks 1821-1832, vol. III, Athens [in Greek].
- Kiousopoulou T. 1986, Newspaper Epochē, Nafplion 1834-1835. Summaries-Indices, Athens, Society for the Study of Neohellenism [in Greek].
- Kondylis P. 1988, Neohellenic Enlightenment. Philosophical Ideas, Athens, Themelio [in Greek].
- Kurz H. D. 1997, «Hermanns Beitrag zur Kapital- und Verteilungstheorie», in Idem, Ökonomisches Denken in klassischer Tradition. Aufsätze zur Wirtschafstheorie und Theoriegeschichte, Marburg, Metropolis.
- LAPPAS K. 1980, "The *Progress* of Sophianopoulos", O Eranistis, 18, 198-228 [in Greek].
   1985, "Saint-Simonism in Greece", Athens-Capital City, Athens, Ministry of Culture, Fund of Archeological Sources and Expropriations [in Greek].
- MANUEL F. E. and MANUEL F. P. 1997 [1979], Utopian Thought in the Western World, Cambridge (MA), The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- MASON E. S. 1931, «Saint-Simonism and the Rationalisation of Industry», *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 45, August, 640-683.
- MAURER G. L. von 1972, *Das griechische Volk*, transl. [in Greek] by O. Robakē, introduction, editorship, design by T. Vournas, vol. II. Athens, Tolidis; orig. edn. Heidelberg, 1835.
- MENEGAKIS M. 2001, «Henri de Saint-Simon and his contribution in the diffusion of ideas in Europe», *Epistimoniki Epetiris Philosophikis Scholis Panipistimiou Athenon*, 33, 219-226 [in Greek].
- Moskoff K. 1979, Introduction in the history of the labour classes's movement, Thessaloniki [in Greek].
- Noutsos P. 1992, Socialist thought in Greece from 1875 to 1974, vol. I, Athens, Gnosis [in Greek].
- Palaiologos G. 1881 [1833-1835], Agricultural and household economics, vol. I, in Nauplion; vol. II in Athens [in Greek].
- 1833, «On Agriculture and Industry», *Athena*; repr. in Psalidopoulos 1994 [in Greek].
- Pantelodimos D. 1987, The contributions of the "Société Hellenique" of Paris in the political and socioeconomic development of the neohellenic state 1828-1830, Athens, Library of Sophia N. Saripolos No 51 [in Greek].
- PÉTRÉ-GRENOUILLEAU O. 2001, Saint-Simon. L'utopie ou la raison en actes, Paris, Payot. PHILIP A. 1973, History of Economic and Social Development from 1800 to this date, transl. [in Greek] by L. Patras, vol. I, Athens, National Centre of Social Research.
- PICON A. 1999, «L'Orient saint-simonien: un imaginaire geopolitique, anthropologique et technique», in M. N. BOURGUET, D. NORDMAN, V. PANAYOTOPOULOS, M. SINARELLIS (eds), Enquêtes en Mediterranée. Les expéditions françaises d'Egypte, de Morée et d'Algérie, Athens, FNRS.
- 2002, Les saint-simoniens. Paris-Belin.
- POLYZOIDIS A. 1833, Political Science, viz. Principles of the Science of Wealth, Nauplion [in Greek].
- PSALIDOPOULOS M. 1989, The Crisis of 1929 and the Greek economists. A contribution to the history of political thought in Greece during the two World Wars. Athens, Institute of Research and Education of the Commercial Bank of Greece [in Greek].
- (ed.) 1994, Texts on the Greek Industry of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Natural evolution or protection?, Athens, ETBA Cultural Technological Institute.
- PYLARINOS O. 1860, Opening lecture on social economy, Corfu [in Greek].
- PYLARINOS F. 1833a, «Oration delivered at the funeral of D.A. Corais, in 1833 April E. N.», *Le polyglotte (Paris)*, in Fassoulakis 1993 [in Greek].
- 1833b, «Political Lessons», *Helios*, no. 17, August 18<sup>th</sup>, 69-70; no. 20, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 98; no. 32, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 128-129.
- SAINT-SIMON C.-H. 1819, L'Organisateur, November, in ZAHN 1977.
- 1966, Œuvres de Saint-Simon, Paris, Anthropos.
- 1973 [1859], Œuvres choisies de C.-H. de Saint-Simon, précedées d'un essai sur sa doctrine, ed. by C. Lemonnier, vol. 11, Brussels; [Hildesheim, Olms].
- 1977 [1803], Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains, Genève.
- 1998 [1821], *Du système industriel*, Paris, Renouard; repr. Düsseldorf, Wirtschaft und Finanzen.
- SAINT-SIMON C.-H., COMTE A. 1821, Du système industriel, in SAINT-SIMON 1966, vol. 3.
- 1823-1824, Catéchisme des industriels in Saint-Simon 1966, vols 4 and 5.
- Saint-Simon C.-H., Enfantin B. P. 1966 [1865-1878], Œuvres, 47 vols, Paris; [repr. of the vols 15, 18-23, 37-40, Aalen, Scientia].

- Saint-Simon C.-H., Thierry A. 1814, *De la réorganisation de la société européenne*, Paris; repr. in Saint-Simon 1966, vol. 1.
- 1817, De l'industrie, ou discussions politiques, morales et philosophiques, dans l'intérêt de tous les hommes livrés à des travaux utiles et independents, Paris; repr. in Saint-Simon 1966, vols 2 and 3.
- 1818, L'industrie littéraire et scientifique liguée avec l'industrie commerciale et manufacturière, vol. II, Industrie, Paris.
- SÁNCHEZ HORMIGO A. 1999, «Saint-Simonism in Spain», Third Annual Conference of the European Society for the History of Economic Thought, February, 26<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup>, Book of Extended Summaries, Valencia, 337-341.
- Say J.-B. 1819, Traité d'économie politique,  $4^{\rm th}$  edn., Paris, Déterville.
- 1821, Catéchisme d'économie politique, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Paris.
- Schumpeter J. A. 1954, *History of Economic Analysis*, New York, Oxford University Press; repr. with an introduction by M. Perlman, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1994.
- Soutsos I. 1851, Treatise on the Production and Distribution of Wealth, Athens, A. Coromila [in Greek].
- 1885, *Ploutologia*, vol. II, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Athens [in Greek].
- SOPHIANOPOULOS P. 1836a, «Saint-simonism», *Proodos*, 6, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 75-76 [in Greek].
- 1836b, «On Woman», Proodos, 16, February 20th [in Greek].
- 1837, «Sympractorikos Vios», O Neos Cosmos, 10, June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1-2 [in Greek].
- Spiegel H. W. 1983, *The Growth of Economic Thought*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Durham (NC), Duke University Press.
- STARK W. 1943, «Saint-Simon as a Realist», Journal of Economic History, 23, 1, 42-55.
- STEINER P. 2006, «French political economy, industrialism and social change (1815-30)», in G. STATHAKIS, G. VAGGI (eds), Economic Development and Social Change. Historical roots and modern perspectives, London-New York, Routledge, 232-256.
- THIERSCH F. 1972, De l'état actuel de la Grèce et des moyens d'arriver à sa Restauration, transl. by A. Spilios, introduction, editorship, comments by T. Vournas, vol. 11, Athens, Tolidis; orig. edn. Leipzig, 1833.
- VAKALOPOULOS C. 1976, Greece in revolt, Continental lands and the Aegean between 1826-1829 (According to new, previously unknown sources and other archival data), Thessaloniki, Society of Macedonian Studies [in Greek].
- VRAILAS-ARMENIS P. 1986 [1845], On the subject and the limitations of Political Economy and its relations to the other social sciences, Corfu; repr. Philosophika Erga, vol. VI under the editorship of E. Moutsopoulos, A. Glykofrydi-Leontsini et alii, Athens, 79-100 [in Greek].
- WEILL G. 1896, L'Ecole saint-simonienne: son histoire, son influence jusqu' à nos jours, Paris, Alcan.
- ZAHN L. (ed.) 1977, Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon: Ausgewählte Schriften, Berlin.