



A Semantic innovation:

The expression "Organization of Labor" -
economic dispute in France between 1791 and
1848

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By the time the economist Jean Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil¹ had written his article „Organization of Labor“ /« Organisation du travail »/ and published it in *Dictionary of political economy* by Coquelin-Guillaumin in 1853, he had sufficient general overview to synthesize everything that had been written in connection with this term, referring to the history of economic thought at that time. Sharing strong liberal views, he wrote the following “*Labor is the main purpose of the society and the organization of labor is not anything else but organization of the society itself. Society could not exist without any organization of labor, good or bad. The entire history of human society, seen from the perspective of political economy, could not be anything but a history of the organization of labor*” (CS, 1853 : 297). Having examined the historical evolution of the "organization of labor" phenomenon since the rise of human civilization, he refuted the ideas of the organization labor school, by which the socialist economists wanted to change the existing industrial system in the early 1820s: „*This school believes that the industrial model developed jointly by the Consulate and the Empire is a liberal regime and that is why the author harshly criticizes it. The representatives of this school employ the definition given by Fourier to the "anarchic competition" at the beginning of the century, and adding some facts from the English press, they condemn freedom. But the freedom of labor did not exist at that time in France! And it was not more complete and more long-standing on the other side of the English Channel*“(CS, 1853 : 298). Thus, replacing the employment contract by Decree, which regulates labor actions, liberalism became much more flexible, which in fact turned out to be its main strength!

When was actually the term *organization of labor* /l'organisation du travail/ created? Could it be established when exactly this expression changed its meaning in the economic and management literature? This question has never been given a precise answer. HRM historians think that this happened in the 1830s (Fombonne, 2001 : 4), when the awareness of the existence of this phenomenon appeared. However, it is clear that there was no semantic connection between the two words (organization and labor) until an appearance of the brochure of Louis Blanc (1839-1840). We think that the expression „organization of labor“ /« Organisation du travail »/ is a result of the combination of two semantic fields: the field of the „organization“ word family and the field of the „labor“ word family. This semantic combination became fashionable at that time and lasted for about ten years – between 1840 and 1850 (Marco-Mihaylova, 2013).

In Old French, the semantic family of the word "*organization*" contains many words. The word „organ“/Organe/ appeared in French in 1120. The word „organization“ /Organisation/, in the

¹ Check the role of this author in the management history in Georges RIBEILL (1994). As for the scientific presentation of his great work of 1855, see our edition of *Businesses Manual* in 2013, Harmattan, « Researches in Management » collection, in-8°, 420 p.

meaning that we are interested in – a regular form controlled by man – appeared in 1390². The adjective „organized“ /*Organisé*/ came into being after 1606 and means „willing to observe order, referring to the organization of human beings: a well-organized administration“ (Littré, 1996, V : 4330). The noun „organizer“ /*Organisateur*/ appeared for the first time in 1793 in the article « Les Amis de la Vérité » in *Bulletin de la société*. „Organisable“ /*Organisable*/ meaning the one, which can be organized according to predefined rules, is a term promoted by Lamartine in 1845. And finally, „organicism“ /*Organicisme*/, as a doctrine that likened human societies to the societies of other living organisms, was used in 1850 (Dauzat, 1980 : 514-515) and was one of the characteristics of the conservative and even reactionary thought (Todd, 2008, p. 426).

Some words with a similar meaning could be also included in this list: „Disorganization“ /*Désorganisation*/ – a term, which was first used in 1764 by Duhamel du Monceau, in the sense of disorder in administration; „Unorganized“ /*Inorganisé*/ was used about something that had not been seriously organized yet, according to Diderot in 1769; „Inorganization“ /*Inorganisation*/ meant full absence of organization as of 1780; „Reorganization“ /*Réorganisation*/ – an activity of organizing again or the result of this activity – appeared in 1791; „Disorganizer“ /*Désorganisateur*/, an individual, who violates morality or the established order, was a term announced by Robespierre in 1792; „Reorganizer“ /*Réorganisateur*/ is an individual, who reorganizes, according to the Dictionary of the French Academy /*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*/ in 1838 (*Ibid.*).

The semantic family of *Labor* is much smaller: The word „Labor“ /*Travail*/, was used at the end of the 15th century; „I labor“ /*Travailler*/, in the meaning of doing some work, appeared at the beginning of the 16th century; and finally, „Laborer“ or „Worker“ /*Travailleur*/ was first used in the middle of the 17th century (Dauzat, 1980 : 762). Meanwhile, the great number of factories, which were established in France at that time, necessitated their organization during the reign of Henri IV. „Littré“ of 1866 described 24 meanings of the word „labor“! The meanings of interest to us are the following: n° 17, „work that must be done or is currently in progress“ and n° 18, „free labor: labor of free people as opposed to slave labor in the slaveholding countries“ (Littré, 1996, VI : 6447-7448). In this sense, labor can be presented both in individual and collective meaning.

Lucien Febvre proved that the evolution of the word „labor“ went through three various ages (1948, p. 19-21; 1962, p. 649-652). In the 17th century, the verb *work* /*travailler*/ existed in two older forms: *labourer* and *ouvrer* (the first form is derived from *labeur*, and the second one – from *ouvrier*). In the 18th century, the "excruciating labor" turned into "liberating work", which saved the worker from the vice of idleness. At the same time, the notion "excruciating labor" was used mainly to describe the agricultural and craft work. In the 19th century, the development of manufacturing industry raised the issues of alienation at work, which the workers, who lost their roots and had no social life, experienced. During this period, labor was associated with mass poverty, farmers and suffering people. In this respect, it is also necessary to mention the conclusions of Malthus on the

² A year, which was also confirmed by the history of biology – the word first appeared in a medical manuscript of 1396 written by Petri de PADUA (Schiller, 1978, p. 88). Later Linné used this term in the specialized biology literature in 1788. This went on until Darwin model in 1843, going through Lamarck in 1802. Relation between biology, medicine and social since was first made by the doctor Alexandre François BAUDET-DULARY in 1844 (see Bouchet, 2013, *in fine*).

anarchic increase in population, which was a consequence of the deterioration of working conditions³.

The term "organization of labor" in fact was not used during the Ancient Regime, since the corporation regime imposed strict regulations on the labor market and forced the Third Estate members to practice the same profession as their fathers (Sewell, 1983). Even in the so-called "free" professions, the imposed royal control limited and prevented the existence of free negotiations between employers and employees in the organizations. That is, only after the French Revolution allowed the free choice of profession, the term "organization of labor" began to be used in the literature (Sonenscher, 1985).

The list of the keywords we found in the specialized literature of that time is shown below: labor regulation /any corporation has a specific organization/⁴ ; labor management /each entrepreneur makes decisions regarding his manpower/⁵ ; labor behavior /each enterprise has its own internal organization /⁶ ; labor administration /each workshop boss gives orders as to organize the technical operations/⁷.

Starting from the keyword „organization of labor“, we consulted three types of database: The Catalog of the National Library of France (Catalogue général de la BNF), Gallica site and Google Books⁸, as well as the book of political treatises (Boutin, 1869), to find what meaning this term was given at that time. The survey results will be presented in four main historical periods : 1°- from 1791 to 1807 ; 2°- from 1808 to 1830 ; 3°- from 1831 to 1840 and 4°- from 1841 to 1848. It is easy to explain why we have chosen these periods: 1791 – this is the year when professions were freed from the corporate protection of the Ancien Régime ; 1808 – the Commercial Act was enforced on 1 January 1808 ; 1831 marked the beginning of the Three Glorious Years ; and 1841 was the year of the success of Louis Blanc's book devoted to this issue. Firstly, our research method is a review of the entire database – year by year, and secondly – it serves as a benchmark for information compa-ring. As for the political treatises, we have made a separate EXCEL file. In conclusion, we will try to find out why this expression, which finds its political definition in some of the periods above, became so popular from 1839 to 1848. And finally, we will try to answer the question whether the 20th century managers named the system of work „*scientific organization of labor*“, only to distinguish it from the "obsolete" organization of labor at that time. Obsolete but still so vibrant (Bihoreau, 1995 : 114-121).

³ T.R. MALTHUS (1803) *Essai sur le principe de population*, 2e édition, Paris, Le Monde/Flammarion, 2010.

⁴ COUR DES MONNAIES (1699) *Arrêt concernant le règlement du travail des tireurs d'or entre la France et les pays étrangers du 22 juin 1699*, Lyon, 4 p.

⁵ M. FELIBIEN (1725) *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, Paris, Desprez et Desessartz, t. V, p. 382.

⁶ ANONYME (1737) *Mémoire sur la conduite du travail par corvées*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, in folio.

⁷ F. ARNAUD (1762) « Note de lecture sur Le Socrate rustique », *Journal Etranger*, juillet, p. 112.

⁸ Considering the great number of errors in the dates of the publications in this database, we made systematic checks in the catalog of the National Library of France.

1. The revolution coined this expression through liberation of professions

It is paradoxical to believe that the freed access to various professions did not necessitate any organization of industrial labor. The invasion of numerous workers coming straight from the field caused anarchy in the labor market. An author, who was a defender of the peasants, was the first to notice this paradox, at the very moment when the deputies of the Legislative Assembly demanded liberalization and at the same time – legalized control of the organization of labor (this became a fact in the Constitution of 1793).

1.1. The intuition of Restif de la Bretonne (1788-1794)

It seems that the expression „organization of labor“ appeared first in *Parisian Nights /Les Nuits de Paris/*, a book by Restif de la Bretonne. This became known in 1889 in the preface written by Paul Cottin to the book *My inscriptions: intimate journal of Restif de la Bretonne, 1780-1787 /Mes inscriptions: journal intime de Restif de la Bretonne, 1780-1787⁹*. Cottin used the following quotes : „Can you see this rebellious spirit that is rising? Do you know what this means? This means ... that the same people ... will break the noble bonds of sociability ... Listen to the voice of the plebeian, who sees everything and lives with the people and knows their hidden thoughts! Degradation exists: it is increasing: opposition to those in power makes it stronger. Warn everyone! Establish order and obedience!“

„Establish them through organization of labor, through resistance to the efforts of philosophers, who we do not want to hear, through restoration of the social hierarchy by "useful despotism of the rulers against the simple and rebellious workers" as "the worker today has become a despot and this terrible revolutionary change gives power in the hands of those, whose interest and role is to deny that power by all means “ (Cottin, 1889, p. cxxiv-cxxv).

But it must be noted that the book *Parisian Nights /Nuits de Paris/* was published between 1788 and 1794. Cottin quoted page 2327 as a reference to the quote, but he did not mention the year of publication. We used the Slatkine edition, but we could not find the quoted paragraphs on the page above. All eight volumes should be read to find the exact pages of the quotes. It is necessary to point out that the information given by Hartmann (2009) and Grandjonc (2013) clearly confirms that Rétif de la Bretonne is the first one to make the connection between the social ideal and future organization of labor. At that time, organization was associated only with the manner of doing some work: “Taste is a quality bestowed by nature and to a certain extent depends on our efforts to form it ourselves. It suggests a happy, pleasant organization as well as the exercise of labor. In a poor and simple organization, even the most stubborn one will not acquire a taste for work. In a positive and friendly organization, but without exercising any labor, the taste for work will not develop, as it may

⁹ Work published according to the manuscript of the Arsenal Library /la Bibliothèque de l'arsenal, Paris, Plon, Nourrit et compagnie.

be acquired only for the objects, on which some labor was carried out, the more you work, the more security you acquire . »¹⁰

1.2. Liberation of professions in 1791

The new organization of labor was introduced through a convention signed between March and June of 1791. *Allarde Decree /le décret d'Allarde/* was issued on 17 March. Here are two of its paragraphs that attracted our interest:

„Paragraph 7. As of the next April 1, each citizen is free to negotiate and exercise the profession, art or craft, which he considers to be most suitable for him. However, everyone must obtain certificates in advance as to receive the relevant price, in accordance with the rates below, and comply with existing or future police regulations.“

„Paragraph 12. The price of the certificates allowing the negotiation of workplaces in the field of art, craft, professions and the like, which could be acquired subsequently, will be determined according to the rent or rental price of the boutique, shop or atelier.“¹¹

On 17 June 1791, Le Chapelier Law */la loi Le Chapelier/* confirmed this ideological tendency of liberation of labor, as proved by the first two paragraphs of the Law:

„Paragraph 1. The destruction of all kinds of associations of citizens exercising the same profession is the main basis of the French constitution. Therefore, their establishment once again is unconditionally prohibited regardless of the pretext and form.“

„Paragraph 2. Citizens of the same status and profession, entrepreneurs, who open shops, workers and artists in any art, who are together at any time, do not have the right to nominate presidents or secretaries, or create unions, they have no right to own registers, issue orders and official decisions and publish regulations regarding the so-called common interests (*idem*, p. 341). »

Based on these legislative texts, the term "organization of labor" began to take a different meaning depending on the ideological affiliation of the authors. It can be neutral in broad sense, or politically oriented in a narrow sense.

In 1791, the term "organization of labor" was discussed during the parliamentary debates on the reform of the National Archives¹². Two years later it was used in police and army surveillance¹³. In 1794, in the Legislative Bulletin */Bulletin des lois/* (p. 349) this expression was associated with the organization of work teams. In 1795, Foucroy used the expression „organization of labor“ in a document, which aimed at preparing educational institutions, their programs and the implemen-

¹⁰ M. LEVESQUE (1787) in *le Mercure de France*, november 3, p. 11.

¹¹ In A. PLESSIS dir. (1993) *Naissance des libertés économiques*, Paris, Institut d'histoire de l'industrie, p. 335-337.

¹² *Journal de l'Assemblée nationale*, 1791, par E. Le Hodey de Saultchevreuil, tome 1^{er}, Paris, p. 146.

¹³ *Collection générale des décrets rendus par la Convention nationale*, 1793, vol. 35, p. 291.

tation of such programs¹⁴. The case here concerns the administrative organization of labor. That is, the expression is still neutral and may be used in all administrative areas¹⁵.

1.3. Fourier's proposal (1808) : attractive organization of labor /l'organisation attrayante du travail/

Charles Fourier defined „attractive labor“ as freely negotiated work, paid in small periods of time, done by series or individual groups of workers, who are organized in Phalanstère (Littré, 1996, VI : 6447-6448). In his book „*The Theory of the Four Movements*“ /*Théorie des quatre mouvements*/, he said: «Sectines /sectines/ [small sects] are branches within the sectors [the equivalent of a series], who are divided into various groups, which are sufficiently small to have no need of officers and permanent organization; such example is the sectine of the little flowers: it will be formed by about twenty small groups of 3 or 4 people, who will take special care of some flowers of minor importance, such as violets, small daisies, mignonette, heliotrope ... » (Fourier, 1808 : 237).

According to Fourier, the organization has six groups of officers, who manage the sects, or the so-called sectines: 1° Gods; 2° Priesthood; 3° Chief Staff; 4° Minor Staff; 5° Administration ; 6° Academy (ibid.). In the first group, the officer's sex is different from the sex of the sectine members. The second group consists of musicians, who represent a kind of preachers attached to each group or sectine. As for the third group, Fourier compared it with the army: the group must have a sub-lieutenant, a lieutenant and a captain; the higher level of the sect must have a commander, an assistant commander and a colonel (Idem : 238). The Fourth Group of the Minor Staff consists of sub-officers, who supervise and deal with all materials and equipment (foremen and other sub-chiefs). Administration – the fifth group – consists of officers, who deal with accounting and ceremonies: e.g., conservatives, archivists, guards, curators, etc. And finally, the sixth group, Academy – consists of experts, who theoretically and in practice help the sectine or the group to function efficiently (Idem : 239). It looks as if we are reading Mintzberg before he has written his works!

According to Fourier, the organization of labor is „a gift that Lord gave to people“ so that they could obey the social mechanism (Idem : 241). The whole world would be happy, since everything would be *perfectly organized and provided in advance*, as Fourier's followers claimed.

2. Restoration of the former government renewed the economic dispute between liberals and socialists

Some semantic change in words and expressions used by economists appears every ten years. In 1808, the economic thought was still highly dependent on the revolutionary ideas.

¹⁴ *Rapport sur l'organisation des écoles*, 1795, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, p. 14.

¹⁵ *Projet d'organisation du travail à faire pour la levée des cartes*, 1796, par Labédet Laffon, Conseil des Anciens, p. 26. This expression was also used by Maugeret in its administrative sense (1808) *Traité de la contrainte par corps*, Paris, Capelle et Renand, p. 251 : « l'organisation du travail et des bureaux... ».

In 1818, a new meaning, which was explained by the increasing importance of accounting in industrial and trade companies, appeared. Later, in about 1828, the main meaning of the expression „organization of labor“ changed under the influence of English economists. It turned into a manifestation of economy, which slowly began to industrialize and imitate the innovations coming from the other side of the English Channel. Disputes between French and English economists had a resonance even in novels, which were fashionable at the time, and renewed the theme of the role of labor in the newly built social community. The relative withdrawal of some protectionist economists (e.g. François Ferrier)¹⁶ gave way to some more creative writers. However, quite unexpectedly, the best defense of the freedom of labor came from a liberal, who worked in public administration.

2.1. Count Hauterive (1817) : automated organization of labor

Alexandre-Maurice Blanc De La Nautte, Count Hauterive, state counsel-lor, keeper of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the Academy of entries and literature, politician and consultant editor of 62 political treatises on France, was born on 14 April 1754 in Aspres les Corps in the High Alps. He was a faithful associate of Talleyrand and Napoléon 1^{er}. Count Hauterive was a liberal economist, even though he worked in the protectionist administration. He died on 28 July 1830.

His works consisted of five books, one of which was „Elements of political economy, followed by some opinions on the use of the principles of this science in administrative rules“ /*Elémens d'Economie politique ; suivis de quelques vues sur l'application des principes de cette science aux règles administratives*, Paris, Fantin, 1817/. He used the expression „organization of labor“ exactly in this book: „Organization of labor is the sum of human activities combined in the totality and universality of their connections“ (Hauterive, 1817, p. 7). The author continued: „Human labor is combined in many ways. All such combina-tions may be grouped and represented in three main groups: a sum of labor activities, division of labor and conformity of labor“ (*idem*, p. 8).

The author showed the advantages of this system in an undeniable way: „The purpose of the labor is production: in the system of organized labor, the outcome of the labor is quite distanced from the reason to perform this labor, but the ultimate goal of the organization is to eliminate this distance. The organization contributes to division and allocation of operations and the end of each level of labor leaves the amount of products, which belongs to it.“ (*idem*, p. 8-9).

The author explained the essence of the problem within several highly passionate pages: „Such division is the most important part of the organization of labor: it multiplies the operations, creates and increases the repair of the manufacturing premises, and makes them proportionate to each other. Thus, through these three combinations I have already mentioned, the organization of labor achieves its goal.“ (*idem*, p. 9).

Of course, money is what connects the individual work, which is done spontaneously, to the specific needs that remain steady over time: „A man must perform his labor, and money is what evaluates and assesses his labor. Money is the only language that industry can hear ... Through money's ability to

¹⁶ F.L.A. Ferrier (1821) *Du gouvernement considéré dans ses rapports avec le commerce ou de l'administration commerciale opposée à l'Economie politique*, second edition, Paris, Pélicier (first edition in 1805).

display labor, it becomes the organizer of labor, as the organization of labor is done by collection, division and coordination of working operations. Unfortunately, all these operations tend to mix all the time and put the individual's labor into the same common mass.“¹⁷

This is the first mentioning of the expression „organization of labor“, which we found in the economic liberal literature. The authors belonging to this trend believed that the demand and supply law, in addition to the competition law, were sufficient for the creation of automated organization of labor in the industrial and commercial society. The other non-liberal authors did not agree to this concept and strongly opposed to the immobility and injustice of the existing system /low wages, poor working conditions etc./ Hauterive agreed with them to a certain extent, but emphasized that this issue posed great difficulties to the analysis of the situation (*idem*, p. 380).

2.2. The utopist Saint-Simon (1817-1825) : social organization of labor

Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Count de Saint Simon, was born in Paris on 17 October 1760 and died on 19 May 1825. He was a French economist and philosopher, who established the Saint-Simonianism movement. In the second volume of his work devoted to industry and published in 1817, he determined the organization of labor as a way to improve the results of the individual and trade enterprises. Unlike the liberals, who believed that freedom and safety were sufficient, he insisted that the workers should apply the organization of labor at the highest levels of society, at the level of „government and public authorities“ /« gouverne-ment de la chose publique »/ (Chevalier, 1946 : 23). By the establishment of *Organizer /L'Organisateur/* journal in 1819 (the journal consisted of a series of 14 letters/, the author distinguished himself from the rest of the economists, using the expression "social organization " /« organi-sation sociale »/.

This is how he described the essence of his strategy:

„The basic principle of administration is that the interests of the administrated people are directed in such a way so that the capital of the company increases as much as possible, thus guaranteeing the consent and support of the majority of shareholders. Administrators must be consistent and undoubtedly prove that their actions are most fruitful to the enterprise, if they want to obtain the support of the majority, i.e. form a shareholding majority, which agrees to the management of the company. Administrators are well aware that shareholders seek cost savings in management, so they must constantly reduce such costs.“ (*De l'organisation sociale*, 1804, manuscrit, V, p. 142-143, quote: Frick, 1981, note 1, p. 654).

Later, some Saint-Simon's followers, such as Enfantin, Bazard and Flachet, in 1826 in *Le Producteur* journal, and after that in 1830 in *L'Organisateur* journal, applied Saint-Simon's ideas in practice in the organization of the labor of workers. In *Le Producteur* journal, Prosper Enfantin distinguished the old organization divided into two classes /employers, who do nothing, and actively working employees/ and the new organization based on the partnership between the two groups (Enfantin, 1826 : 72). The author also talked about „reorganization principle of productive association between all nations“ /« principe réorganisateur d'association productive entre tous les peuples. »/ (p. 85).

¹⁷ Quotte from *Bibliothèque universelle des sciences, belles-lettres et arts*, vol. 10, 4e année, 1819, Genève, p. 30.

In 1828, Saint-Simon's followers described the system they proposed in the following way: „Serious disadvantages appear also in the *organization of labor*. The industry has a fundamental theory that we could believe that because of it we can trace how the *production and trade* can and should be harmonious at any time. This theory, however, is the main cause of disorder in the society. Economists raise the following question: If we assume, that superiors are more ignorant than subordinates and decide at some point to block the industry, instead of developing it, and their representatives become suddenly natural born enemies of manufacturers - what would the industrial organization of such society be? *Idleness and carelessness* – this is the only solution and the main principle, which these people promote. We know very well what influence created this dictum: it corresponds to the exact date.“ [Adam Smith (1776) and the book *The Wealth of Nations / La richesse des nations*, LM] are implicitly mentioned (*Doctrine saint-simonienne, exposition de 1854*, quoted by Louvet, 1861 : 253).

According to Chevalier and Pehuet (1949 : 2), François Arago in his capacity of deputy, in 1831 proclaimed the idea that labor law should serve mostly workers and give them priority. In other words, the engineers of the Polytechnic University are the ones who created the term "organization of labor" so that they could use it for the rise of the dangerous classes.

In 1830, the sect of the Saint-Simon's followers divided into two groups: Jean Reynaud and Pereire and Bazard brothers were on the one side, and Enfantin, Michel Chevalier, Eugène Flachat and Yvon Villarceau were on the other one. At that time, social economy expert knew very well the expression „organization of labor“. Social economy had not become universal policy yet, which would happen progressively over the next period. When Louis-Philippe 1^{er} came into power in July 1830, the defenders of workers gained a new opportunity.

3. July Monarchy raised the tension between workers and employers

In the thirties, workers of big manufacturing enterprises in Lyons and Paris began to fight against poor working conditions and low wages. Liberals wanted to educate workers according to the economic principles, but this purely educational solution to the problem was insufficient. This fruitful soil of negation gave rise to a new semantic meaning of the expression „organization of labor“. Practically, the labor issue was solved at government level. According to the American historian William Sewell, this project was created by Philippe Buchez, and later the project was promoted by Louis Blanc (Sewell, 1983 : 316). However, as Paul Chanson (Chanson, 1944) mentioned in his book, Buchez used the expression „organization of progress“ /« organisation du progrès »/. That is, we'd better refer to authors, who use exactly the expression we are studying.

The first author, who felt the necessity to work out precise principles for the good internal and external organization of the enterprise, was Robert Owen, who announced this in 1813 (Owen, 1969). Then 15 years passed, until Say first¹⁸ and then Bergery, presented the first seeds of those principles.

¹⁸ See the book *Cours complet* by Jean-Baptiste Say (1828-30), literature is rather insufficient : see the works of Philippe Steiner or our study (Marco, 1998).

3.1. Bergery (1833) : organization of activities within the enterprise

Claude-Lucien Bergery (1787-1863) was an economist of liberal principles. He gave lectures to workers and employees in the region of Metz between 1828 and 1831 (see Vatin's biography, 2007). He was influenced by the English authors Babbage and Ure. He did not use the expression „organization of labor“, but „organization of activities“ /“organisation des travaux“/. In the third volume of his lectures on the Economy of the factory owner, published in Metz in 1833 (*Economie industrielle ou science de l'industrie*, Metz, Veuve Thiel), he described the internal organization of the activities in the following way : „The organization of the activities in a factory should be used as a basis for the division of labor. - Manufacturing should be divided into elementary operations, very simplified and low in number, if possible. - The number of the workers, who are necessary for the performance of the operation, should be proportionate to the time, which is necessary in order to avoid both idleness or work overload.“ (p. 49). By clarifying and supplementing the concepts of Jean-Baptiste Say, this author could be deemed one of the French founders of „management“, before this word was even used (Perrot, 1976).

The author also differentiated the word „activities“ /« travaux »/ from the word „works“ /« travaux »/, making the difference between human labor and mechanical work, through which, for example, the energy of an engine is calculated (Vatin, 2007 : 312). He also used the word „conduct“ /« conduite »/, but in its modern meaning – „manage“ /« gestion »/: management of a factory /*conduite d'une fabrique*/. He still remained a classic author, although he was one of the founders of the company management. According to him, the organization of labor is a way, through which entrepreneurs can structure the tasks of the workers and manage the workplaces in the enterprise. His followers in this field are Fazy (1830), Babbage (1832), Ure (1836) and Banfield (1844).

3.2. Derrion (1834) : pacific organization of labor

In 1833, a shoemaker called Efrahem offered to all Parisian workers to unite in only one association for protection of their rights (Efrahem, 1833). This showed that the working class became aware of the fact that if all workers unite against employers, they would make a huge potential force. Working press at that time played a major role, since, despite the ban by the local authorities, at the beginning of 1830 there were a great number of articles defending the cause of the working class (Frobert, 2009). Another author, who went much further in his assumptions, appeared in the following year.

Michel-Marie Derrion was born in Lyon on 29 March 1803 in a family of silk manufacturers. After working as a shop owner for a while, he established the first French cooperative in 1835. In the following year, he adopted the ideas of Fourier and became his follower. Before this, in 1834, he published an interesting work, in which he tried to solve the conflict between workers and owners: this was the so-called pacific organization of labor. He proposed the establishment of a General Society /*Société générale*/ of the workers, which will be governed by the „prime manager“ /« primogérant »/, elected by all members of this Society (Bayon, 2002, p. 16). The social fund of 100.000 francs would allow the functioning of this semi-public organization. In fact, it represents a combination of „employees“ /« fonctionnaires »/ (in their capacity of foremen, bosses, accountants, factory directors and managers), capitalists and workers. The purpose was the initial

competition between this new organization and private companies, and their further union in the same project.

The prime manager /primogérant/ has a few tasks as an organizer of the working process. First, he has to centralize the statistical data coming from all partner enterprises (Derrion, 1834, p. 40). Afterwards, he has to allocate the profit in four parts: 1. Encouraging premiums for all major "employees" of each manufacturing member unit ; 2. Dividends to capitalist partners (separately from interest) ; 3. Continuous increase of the social fund ; 4. Two parts for the workers : a) One third of this amount is allocated to the atelier boss and his wife, if he is married ; b) Two thirds are allocated to the worker's account (Derrion, 1834, p. 42). The prime manager should also predict economic crises, reduce the difference between the major funds, supervise work, encourage the workers and oppose the greedy owners who want to take away his customers. This organization is called pacific, since initially it is a voluntary and restricted only to loyal competition, without resorting to actual economic war (Derrion, 1834, *in fine*).

3.3. Pecqueur (1836) : global organization of labor

Constantin Pecqueur (1801–1887) was a French socialist economist. First he supported Saint Simon, but later left this movement due to Enfantin's religious deviations. He supported Fourier's concepts for a while. In 1836 he published his book „Social economy: interests of trade, agriculture, industry and civilization as a whole under the influence of the use of steam power “ */Économie sociale : des Intérêts du commerce, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et de la civilisation en général, sous l'influence des applications de la vapeur/*, Paris, Desessart, in 2 volumes. Shortly afterwards, in 1838, the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences gave him first prize in political economy for this book.

Here is an extract from the second volume of this book: „ If one day social power in European countries intervenes directly in the material interests of the majority of the population and organizes a wide range of solidary communities of the lower classes, this will put it in a strong position and it could become the core of production, labor and interests of the masses. – This role is not impossible: it depends on the difficulties in payment, especially in the organization of labor, which will encounter already established rights or certain private interests (p. 165–166). The expression “general organization of labor” */organisation générale du travail/* will be used later by Francis Lacombe (1848).

Without taking into account this socialist concept, the liberal economist Adolphe-Jérôme Blanqui, in 1839 used the same expression in his book „Lessons in agriculture, manufactory industry, small and large industries“ */Leçons sur l'agri-culture, l'industrie manufacturière, les grandes et petites industries/*, in reliance with the corporation in the old regime, i.e. in the classical sense of one organization *sui generis* (II, p. 221).

3.4. Blanc (1839) : political organization of labor

The entire modern specialized literature acknowledges Louis Blanc (1811–1883) as father of the expression „organization of labor“ */« organisation du travail »/*. 1839 was the year when the new meaning of this expression appeared for the first time (Charruaud, 2008). Louis Blanc used this expression in his journal „Revue of political, social and literature progress“ */Revue du progrès*

politique, social et littéraire/ of 1839. Later, at the end of the same year, he again referred to the same expression in a brochure ¹⁹. Eight months later he used it as a heading of one of his articles (1^{er} August 1840) and a book, which had a great success (September 1840).

In the preface of the first edition of his journal (1^{er} January 1839), he wrote the following : «During the conventional regime, daring thinkers could rise up and say : "(...) What does it matter if common people were called *paupers /pauvres/*, when before that they were called *serfs /vilains/*, and even earlier - *slaves /esclaves/*, if their state has not changed. By just changing their name, they still remain suppressed in the name of freedom, as they were in the name of their own masters' pleasure? The revolution cannot stop here. A way to destroy the proletariat, applying a scientific and democratic organization to work, must be found ; we must find a system, which belongs neither to the masters and guilds, nor to the idleness. In one word, we must make progress for only one purpose: equality and social benefits for all. And finally, all of this must be related to the complete renovation of the society by supporting social and moral units through destruction of atheism and proclaiming a single public cult." » (p. 12).

Later, the author used the expression „work on the organization“ /« travail d'organisation »/ in reply to the letter by one of his readers, Thomy Delaye (p. 539). At the end of the same letter he referred to the expression, which is the subject of this study : «I think that we should deal methodically with issues of such particular importance, as the issue of the organization of labor. » (p. 548). In the second volume of the second half of 1839, he used the expression „organization of labor“ four times. The first time was in an article dedicated to the gambling issue, (p. 50, p. 55) ; later, he mentioned it in an article on government activities (p. 341) ; then in an article on the credit issue (p. 445) ; and finally – in a comparison with a book dedicated to the apprentice association (p. 492). The brochure of the end of 1839 can be practically restored by compiling these four articles.

1840 was a crucial year, since this is when he published his key article of 1 August 1840, which centralized his scientific thought: the organization of labor should not depend on the automatic mechanism of the market and competition, but should be closely governed by the rules imposed by the highest government authority. After the release of the extended edition of 1841, the book had a huge success until 1848. Its last edition was in 1850. Then, 130 years later, a French doctor made a scientific edition of the book (Humilière, 1980)²⁰.

The difference from the book of Frédéric Le Play (1870), which was published later, is obvious : where Blanc preached a radical change in the existing practice, Le Play was satisfied by just the categorical and iterative denial of the errors in the practice of the ateliers and vicious doctrines that inspire them. In the organization proposed by him, the personalities of the Father and the Owner merge. In other words, „this model is more agricultural than industrial.“ (Montmollin, 2001, p. 39). Le Play's ideas were closer to the ideas of Rétif de la Bretonne than to the ideas of Louis Blanc.

¹⁹ This is how *Bibliographie de la France* announced the brochure on 17 October 1840 : « 5059. Organization of Labor by Mr. Louis Blanc, Chief editor of *Revue du progrès*. In-32 de 2 feuilles 1/8. Imprimerie de M^{me} Porthmann, à Paris. — A Paris, chez Prevot, rue Bourbon-Villeneuve, n. 61 ; chez Pagnerre. » (p. 571). Pagnerre catalogue for 1840 announced : *De l'organisation du travail*, 1 vol. in-32, 75 c. (p. 4) (I emphasize the fact that the title was changed by the publisher and distributor of the catalog).

²⁰ We prepared our bilingual English-French issue in this basis.

4. The Second Republic experimented with a drastic solution

Between 1841 and 1842, we find 11 uses of the expression „organization of labor“, including in an article, which is response to the refutations of this subject (*Revue du Progrès*, p. 129). After four years of existence, Louis Blanc's journal ceased to exist in 1842 due to financial problems. To maintain itself, it had to have about 700 subscribers, but practically it never exceeded 650 subscribers. (Renard, 1928 : 15). The journal also ceased to exist due to internal organizational problems²¹ : lack of administrative actions due to insignificant funds (*idem* : 16). But when Louis Blanc entered the revolutionary government in February 1848, he attempted to put in practice his own system, which competed with the majority of the proposals by the candidates of the legislature.

4.1. Election treatises of March 1848 proclaimed progressive organization of labor

The concept of progressive organization of labour through gradual change appeared for the first time in Baron Charles Dupin's book dedicated to French fleet, which was published in 1834 (Dupin, 1834). This idea was adopted by a large number of candidate deputies and used later in February–March 1848. In fact, the majority of economists and rulers announced themselves to be defenders of the rights. We found this concept in the treatises of Courcelle-Seneuil in Limoges, Hippolyte Dussard, Charles Coquelin, Emile de Girardin and many others. Almost all liberal economists, as well as the socialists at that time, tried their chance in this election.

The first book of election treatises collected by Charles Boutin in 1852 contains two published documents devoted to the organization of labor. The first document was written by Alexis, mechanic in sixth and eighth regions in Paris. He proposed „one organization of labor in workshops and national ateliers, everywhere, even in forestry (sic), today, tomorrow, if possible, while other forces speculate, we will be ready.“ (*idem*, p. 357).

The second text was signed by Olindes Rodrigues, a famous follower of Saint Simon, who promoted the equal allocation of profits among all employees of the enterprises (*idem*, p. 462). Loss will be at the expense of the capital. It offered a kind of crisis buffer: benefits for workers and loss for capitalists !

The second treatise book contains three interesting texts. The first one is a Grenier's poster saying « Independent people !... THE BIG PROBLEM of the organization of labor is solved. » (Boutin, 1852, II, p. 8). This idea was confirmed in an anonymous treatise, which required «Labor for one hundred thousand citizens ! » together with a quick acting organization of labor (*idem*, p. 276). This quickness was also emphasized by Alexis Camus, a mechanic in Paris (*idem*, p. 478). These candidates read and were inspired by *La Démocratie pacifique* newspaper, which required the establishment of a Ministry of the Progress of the Organization of Labor, which would train staff and encourage innovations in this field .

The term *progressive organization* was used in a public statement made by doctor A. Baudin, who was a candidate deputy of Ain and praised „The progressive organization of industrial and

²¹There were probably some misunderstandings between the editors.

agricultural labor“ (*idem*, II, p. 122). In reply to this, in Paris, the economist Charles Coquelin, who had liberal views, said „Only freedom, especially freedom of labor, at the moment it really exists in France, can make miracles: it will surprise even its enemies with its fruitfulness. But, unfortunately, we are still very far from this and will have to work for a long time to pick its fruits.“ (*idem*, II, p. 206). All other forms of the notion “organization of labor”, which we could find, were in these election treatises, until finally these ideas united and laid the foundations of the National Ateliers.

4.2. The National Ateliers of 1848 used inefficient collective organization

On 22 March 1848, the publicist Victor Winfort summarized the principles of the national ateliers: special tax levied by the Government allows the creation of numerous ateliers in the big French industrial centers, starting from Paris (Winfort, 1848, p. 13-14). The organization of labor is based on the workers' knowledge and their wages depend on the individual contribution to the common work. The purpose of the trade organization was to create port warehouses, where the production of the national ateliers would be stored. These „warehouses will show the world the real face of progress, of various industries or the industry as a whole, of various ateliers or factories.“ (*idem*, p. 20).

Unfortunately, reality was different. National ateliers were created on 27 February 1848 and existed for only 5 months. They were closed on 21 June of the same year. Their management was entrusted to Emile Thomas, who later described their history (Thomas, 1848). In his book, written immediately after this adventure – two months after the closure of the national ateliers, the author used the expression “organization of labor” twelve times. The first quote is related to Louis Blanc : „The labor of all citizens must be guaranteed! But, for this to happen, the public authority must conquer all private industries either by force or by crushing competition. The *organization of labor* is the worst of all utopias. The provisional government, following the proposal of Mr. Louis Blanc adopted and published officially this decree, which was impossible to be used: the decree becomes legislative and crosses all boundaries – it *temporarily* turns into *dictatorship*! (*idem*, p. 19-20). Victor Winfort reminded Lamartine's opinion expressed in 1844 : „Organization of labor should be understood as *political communism*, which dares in the name of the State to destroy property and independence of industry and labor ...“ (*idem*, p. 22).

We find the same expression a bit further in the memorandum dedicated to the manifestation on 17 April 1848, which is entitled „On the organization of labor“(p. 199). The author emphasizes that „the association of workers is better than the organization of labor“ (p. 353). That is, according to the new boss of the National Ateliers, Louis Blanc's theory was a dead letter, as it was impossible to be put into practice (p. 200).

CONCLUSION

The dispute concerning the meaning of the expression „organization of labor“ was synthesized by Ramon de la Sagra in 1848. The author reveals the polysemy of this term and shows how this meaning varies according to the different scientific schools. According to the liberal economists, this expression is the wrong use of the expression „social organization“, which divides the organization of society into two: instructions and wealth (Sagra, 1848 : 13). Socialists regard this expression as a kind

of „order“, given to workers, who would like to receive from their employer the best working conditions. But since the socialists do not give exact explanation of this term, the real implementation of this new form of society become more and more difficult. According to La Sagra, the new organization of labor could be implemented, when economists scientifically analyze this phenomenon, fully understand it, calculate it and subject it to their will (p. 94-95). Until this happens, the same words and expressions will mean totally different things!

Dating, which we propose, actually differentiates six different fields, where this expression is used. The first field is related to administrative literature. The expression appeared in this literature for the first time in about 1791, six years after the appearance of the word „communism“ (Grandjonc, 2013). The second field is the liberal thought. The possible year here is 1817, but most probably this happened under the influence of the works of Jean-Baptiste Say and Jean-Charles Léonard Sismondi in 1803 (at the beginning Sismondi was a liberal !). The third field is Fourier's doctrine, which was developed after 1808. The fourth field is the diversity of Saint-Simon's thought, which took interest in this phenomenon ten years later. The fifth field is the so-called progressive organization, which began its development in 1834 went further. And finally, the sixth field is Louis Blanc's position, which in fact was not synthesized until 1839, but which used the modern effect of the expression that fully expanded after 1832-33 (Garnier, 1843, p. 31).

Why these six fields are not four or five? Actually, François Furet's argument goes like this : French Revolution divided each political group into two. Right was divided into liberals and conservatives, the center was presented by right centrists and left centrists, and finally, left split into moderate socialists and communists (Furet, 1988, p. 933). This division of six types of organization of labor still exists today despite the desire of Tylor's followers to conceal these differences.

Actually, we must go back to the beginning of the Revolution, so we could understand the genesis of the socialist and liberal thought on this issue (cf. Grandjonc, 2013). The social history expert, Maria Grazia Meriggi goes back only to 1830 (Meriggi, 2002). The American anthro-pologist Herbert Appelbaum presents France through Charles Loyseau's book in 1610 (*Traité des ordres et simples dignitez*). Then he goes on with Diderot, Voltaire and Rousseau : i.e. he begins with the term “labor” given in the Encyclopedia, and then skips the entire period until 1830 and does not quote Louis Blanc at all! On peut aller plus loin en utilisant les thèses soutenues.

We can also refer to the doctoral dissertations, where this issue was studied. As for the terminology predecessors, we can refer to Yves Fonteneau's doctoral dissertation (2011) *Early development of the term mechanical labor (end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century): quantification, optimization and effect on profit by the producers /Développements précoces du concept de travail mécanique (fin 17^e siècle-début 18^e siècle) : quantification, optimisation et profit de l'effet des agents producteurs*, Lyon 1, Histoire des sciences/. The initial meaning of the administrative organization can be found in Martine Sin Blima-Barru's dissertation (2013) *Committee of secrets, court processes and archives - perspectives of administrative knowledge /Le comité des secrets, procès-verbaux et archives, mise en perspective d'un savoir administratif (1789-1795)*, Paris 1, Histoire contemporaine/.

As for the scientific Saint-Simon movement, we consulted Jean-Luc Istace-Yacine's dissertation (2000) *Social issue in Saint-Simon's theory /La question sociale chez Saint-Simon*, Lille 2, Sciences politiques/. The internal organization of labor was presented in Philippe Lefebvre's book (2003). The concept of progressive organization is developed in Alain Thillay's dissertation (1999) *Freedom of*

labor in Paris under the Ancient Regime /La liberté du travail à Paris sous l'Ancien régime : l'exemple du faubourg Saint-Antoine, Paris 4, Histoire/. As for the term “attractive organization”, we refer to Pierre Mercklé's work (2001) *Socialism, utopia or science? /Le socialisme, l'utopie ou la science ? La « science sociale » de Charles Fourier et les expérimentations sociales de l'Ecole sociétaire au XIX^e siècle*, Lyon 2, Sociologie.

Social organization is presented in the dissertation of Annie Soriot (1999) *Labor and social issue /Le travail et la question sociale : histoire de la construction d'une synthèse entre le socialisme et l'économie politique au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1, Histoire de la pensée économique. It is supplemented by Cyrille Ferraton's dissertation (2002) *The idea of association /L'idée d'association, 1830-1928*, Lyon 2, HPE, en particulier p. 156/.

In the history of scientific management thought, the pioneer of this idea was Florence Rigault (1996) *Authority, liberalism and organization: dynamics of Fayol's project /Autorité, libéralisme et organisation : dynamiques du projet fayolien*, Paris 1, HPE/, followed by Karine Goglio's work (2001) *Analysis of enterprises management of Jean-Baptiste Say /L'analyse de la gestion des entreprises chez Jean-Baptiste Say*, Nice, HPE/, and finally, this issues is studied in the extremely valuable dissertation of Thibault Le Texier (2011) *Management rationality, from the administration of servants to governance /La rationalité managériale, de l'administration domestique à la gouvernance*, Nice, HPE/.

Management authors have been dealing with this issue for a very short time: Jean-Louis Peaucelle with the genealogy of Fayol's thought in the works of Saint-Simon (Peaucelle, 2003), and adding new value to the utopias (Calvez et Duthu-Calvez, 2012). We think that we should be even more ambitious and try to synthesize generally the political and economic thought concerning this issue (Lanza, 2006). By publishing the famous Louis Blanc's book again both in French and English, we hope to renew the studies on finding the date when this expression appeared²².

²² If we want to go further, we should explore the numerous challenges of Louis Blanc system : ROUSSEAU et BRICANT (1848) *Réfutation des principes de M. Louis Blanc sur l'organisation du travail*, Paris, Martinon ; H. VIDAL (1848) *Simple réplique au livre de M. Louis Blanc de l'organisation du travail* ; G.O. (1848) *Un avis de plus sur l'organisation du travail adressé au citoyen Louis Blanc*, Paris, Prunier ; A. Clément (1848) *Des nouvelles idées de réforme industrielle et en particulier du projet d'organisation du travail de M. Louis Blanc*, Paris, Guillaumin ; BLANC LALESIE (1848) *Appel au bon sens : une organisation possible du travail*, Paris, imprimerie Plon.

Figure 1. The tree of words involved in the semantic innovation

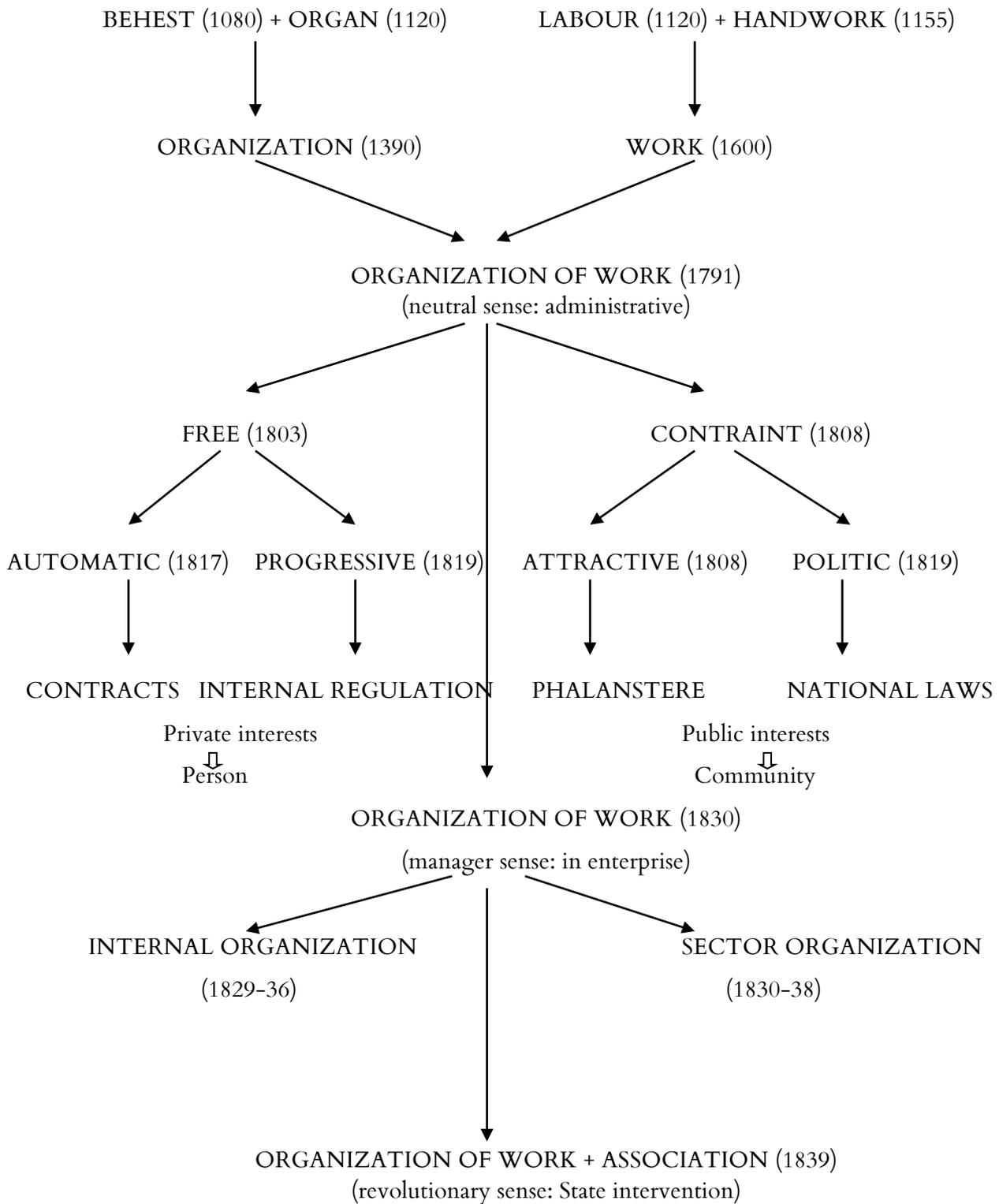


Figure 2. The principal authors for different types of work organization

Administrative organization

LE HODEY (1791)
FOUCROY (1795)
LABEDAT-LAFFON (1796)
QUILLET (1803)
MAUGERET (1808)
FERRIER (1821)

Automatic organization

HAUTERIVE (1817)
DUNOYER (1825)
BLANQUI aîné (1839)
GARNIER (1843)
CHEVALIER (1848)
COURCELLE-SENEUIL (1853)

Attractive organization

FOURIER (1808)
FOREST (1840)
CONSIDERANT (1842)
BAUDET-DULARY (1844)
BIANCOURT (1846)
HENNEQUIN (1846-48)

Interior organization

SAY (1828)
BERGERY (1828)
FAZY (1830)
BABBAGE (1832)
URE (1836)
BANFIELD (1844)

Progressive organization

EFRAHEM (1833)
DUPIN (1834)
DERRION (1834)
PECQUEUR (1836)
BOYER (1841)
BAUDIN (1848)

Political organization

RETIF DE LA BRETONNE (1788)
SAINT-SIMON (1817)
ENFANTIN (1826)
ARAGO (1831)
BLANC (1839)
ENGELS (1845)

Figure 3. Historical Succession keywords used

Terms before Organization (1396)	Terms before Negotiation (1544)	Terms after Negotiation (1544)
DISPOSITION (1130)	CONDUCT (1400)	COMBINATION (1663)
FORECAST (1265)	ANTICIPATION (1437)	COALITION (1718)
PREPARATION (1314)	MANAGEMENT (1455)	ADMINISTRATION (1783)
ARRANGEMENT (1318)	SCHEDULING (1490)	PROGRESSIVITY (1833)
COORDINATION (1361)	ADJUSTING (1495)	CONTESTATEUR (1842)
DIRECTION (1372)	MESNAGEMENT (1500)	LIBERALIZATION (1842)
BREAKDOWN (1390)	ELABORATION (1503)	REGULATION (1845)

Source : Stripping of Littré, Dauzat and Lexis Larousse.

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