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## The Mediterranean System

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# THE SAINT-SIMONIAN RELIGION

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## INDUSTRIAL POLITICS

### THE MEDITERRANEAN SYSTEM

By Michel Chevalier

Peace is today the condition  
Of the emancipation of the peoples.

ARTICLES EXTRACTED FROM THE *GLOBE*.

### PARIS

AT THE OFFICE OF THE GLOBE, RUE MONSIGNY, NO. 6

MARCH 1832

TRANSLATED BY STEVEN ROWAN

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Installments:

1. Peace Considered in the context of interests (*Le Globe*, 20 January 1832)
2. Impossibility of founding a European equilibrium through war (*Le Globe*, 31 January 1832).
3. Definitive peace must be founded through the association of the East and the West (*Le Globe*, 3 February 1832).

P. 31: This association will be consummated on the day when the princes and peoples of the old continent will say to themselves, "What good are our endless quarrels?" — and when all shall turn toward the Mediterranean.

Because the new politics of the old continent, which must tend to establish a further, more intimate, communion between East and West, must have for its first object, its immediate end, putting into practice a system destined to regenerate the countries that border the Mediterranean, most of whom resemble sick persons about to receive a shroud, so cruel was the forced situation of conflict in which they have been held for so many centuries!

On the day this Mediterranean system is sufficiently elaborated to be capable of being realized, peace shall return to Europe as if by magic, and it will never depart, for the state of defiance and [p. 32] armed tension in which the peoples and cabinets remained toward one another comes chiefly from the fact that they cannot conceive of any peaceful goal of action.

In the next article I shall trace the outlines of the Mediterranean system, I shall particularly present the chief traits of an industrial plan conceived with the Mediterranean as its center, such as I have conceived it under the primordial inspiration of OUR SUPREME FATHER *Enfantin*, on the conciliation of East and West.

4. The Mediterranean System (*Le Globe*, 12 February 1832).

## MEDITERRANEAN SYSTEM

12 February 1832

### A NEW POLITICS

The greatest struggle, we have said, that ever caused the earth to echo the rattle of arms, caused floods of blood to flow, which comprehends the entire period humanity has experienced since the dawn of history to our days, is the conflict between the Orient and the Occident. The plan of pacification that the world expects must be the conciliation of the Orient and the Occident. This would be the political consecration of the agreement that must take place between matter and the spirit, which up to now have been perpetually at war.

The Mediterranean and its banks was the continual field of battle or interaction of the Orient and Occident, from the landing of the Greeks in the Troad to the mine by which they have sought iron to exterminate one another. We have said, "The Mediterranean must be the vast forum every part of which

joins peoples hitherto divided. The Mediterranean shall become the wedding bed of the Orient and the Occident.”

The policy of Europeans in Antiquity, once Europe received the germ of progress along with the colonies they brought with them from Egypt and Asia, was the submission of barbarians in general and Orientals in particular. Among the Greeks, Agamemnon and Alexander, among the Romans, Cato the enemy of Carthage, the Scipios, Lucullus, Sulla, and Pompey were the chief practitioners of this policy.

The principal policy of Christianity over against the Orient, as burning as the Catholic faith was, was more defensive than offensive, but always bellicose: it was a matter of *pressing back* the infidels, to *deliver* the holy places. The sovereign pontiffs, the apostles of the crusades, such as Saint Bernard and Peter the Hermit, and the princes bearing the cross, were utterly consecrated to cause the masses to embrace and mobilize the masses they governed through their voice and their sword.

After the Reformation, the conflict between the Orient and the Occident gradually lost some of its intensity. The Westerners, more restrained, continued to make war among themselves. Later the highest level of European politics came to be that dictated by the Treaty of Westphalia, which subsequent treaties only modified in details. That politics had as its profound purpose and rationale, despite being ignored by many of those who participated in it, the reduction of feudalism, personified in the *Holy Empire*. It was the French cabinet in particular that presided over this political movement, by Henry IV, Richelieu, Louis XIV, the Convention and Napoléon.<sup>1</sup>

The peaceful politics of the future will have for its object, in its more immediate application, to constitute as a state of association around the Mediterranean, the two blocs of peoples who have encountered one another as representatives of the Orient and the Occident. That would be the first step toward the UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION. The Mediterranean, including the Black Sea and even the Caspian, which was probably separated from the others only in the latest revolutions of the globe, will thus become the center of a political system that will rally all the peoples of the ancient continent and permit them to harmonize their relations among themselves and with the New World.

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<sup>1</sup> The rivalry of France and England, which occupies such a large place in modern history, is in fact less significant general fact than the conflict against the Holy Empire. English policy as well, in pressing matters, renounced their projects against France in view of the preeminence they would have won at the imperial court. See then why Henry IV was aided by Elizabeth, and why, after Denain, Queen Anne was prompt to listen to proposals of peace.

Let us consider this Mediterranean System in its relationship with industry, for the political is particularly the regulation of the interests of the peoples and individuals in this context.

#### COMMUNICATIONS. — RAILROADS.

Industry, putting aside industrialists for the moment, is composed of centers of production united to one another by a relatively *material* tie, that is, by routes of transportation, and by a tie that is relatively *spiritual*, that is, by [p. 36] banks. I will provisionally accept the distribution of centers of production such as they exist today, and here I will speak only of communications. There are such direct relations between the system of banks and the system of lines of transportation that when one of the two is traced in the best exploitation of the globe, the other is found to be determined in parallel in its essential elements.

The easiest means of communications that mankind employs on a large scale here, independent of the sea, that one always encounters on large extents, are rivers and canals, and railroads. Railroads up to now have only been observed from the abstractly industrial point of view. Those who have studied it were engineers and, since they did not pretend to be anything different, they have ignored the political and moral question to concentrate on the technical question. For example, when they have compared railroads with canals, they have been exclusively preoccupied to measure the cost of establishment and the cost of transportation. The question of speed was only a secondary matter, and they have only dealt with it in the context of merchandise. In the eyes of the men who have faith that humanity is marching toward the *Universal Association*, and who want to get there, railroads appear in an entirely different light. The railroads along which people and goods can move at a speed that would have been regarded as fabulous twenty years ago uniquely multiply the ties of people and cities. In the material order the railroad is the most perfect symbol of the universal association. Railroads change the conditions of human existence. Twenty years ago, they would not have been [p. 37] employed except to serve the interior of some mines: invented yesterday, they have already experienced prodigious improvements in their location, their construction, and in the motors destined to propel them. Already, thanks to admirable locomotive engines created by English engineers, one may easily be transported at an average speed of ten leagues (40,000 meters) an hour,<sup>2</sup> and I have no doubt that soon it will be possible to turn Rouen and Le Havre into suburbs of Paris, when it will be

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<sup>2</sup> Travelers cover the distance from Liverpool to Manchester, 52 kilometers (13 leagues) in an hour and a quarter.

possible to go not one by one, or two by two, but in many trains from Paris to St. Petersburg in half the time that most travelers take habitually to cover the distance from Paris to Marseille, when a traveler can have breakfast in Paris, dinner in Lyon and the same evening take the steamboat from Toulon to Algiers or Alexandria; when Vienna and Berlin are much closer to Paris than Bordeaux is today, and when Paris and Constantinople are at the current distance of Brest, on that day a great change will have taken place in the constitution of the world; from that day what is today a vast nation will be a province of medium size.<sup>3</sup>

[P. 38] The introduction on a grand scale of railroads on the continents and of steamboats on the seas will not only be an industrial revolution but a political one. By their means, and with the help of some other modern discoveries, such as the telegraph, it will become easy to govern the greater part of the continents bordering the Mediterranean with the same unity, the same rapidity, that prevails today in France. For among all the nations, England alone excepted, France is very much the one where actions of the center are most easily communicated to the furthest limits.<sup>4</sup>

And although the marvels that steam produces under the fingers of men, it is still only beginning to apply itself to railroads as well as to navigation. Steam engines are machines complex and inconvenient in their weight, and [p. 39] the most scrupulous experiments confirm that they use four to five percent of the calorific force of the combustible material. What will then happen after a new scientific inspiration, creating unity in theories that today are stymied and complex, shedding light where there is nothing but darkness, turning to profit what was an obstacle and creating order in the place of chaos?

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<sup>3</sup> Right now, on well served roads of the continent, "diligence" [coaches] travel at two leagues an hour. Figuring that railroads travel at ten leagues an hour, the result is that the distances will be about a fifth of what they are today. If the inhabitants of two points placed at a distance from one another of 500 leagues find themselves in the same relation that currently exists between towns separated by only a hundred leagues, and that as a result the population of a country whose area is 250,000 square leagues would in fact be placed in the same circumstances as a territory 25 times smaller finds itself today.

<sup>4</sup> Besides its moral and political advantages, railroads have a material advantage of not being subject to closure during the winter, during low water, and above everything being cheaper to build. One may even construct it provisionally at an extremely reduced price at first, then to be constructed more solidly once they have stimulated the country they cross. Monsieur Litz announces that in the United States of America lightly built lines calculated for ten years of service, were constructed of iron and of wood, costing only 7,500 dollars a mile (22,000 francs a kilometer). That is a lot less than the royal roads of France with their large dirt embankments. On the other side, the rapidity of the route permits factories whose products travel on them not to have to produce in advance and to manufacture, so to say, to measure with the needs of consumption. On the contrary, with the canals, there is always a large amount of products en route, which run the risk of deteriorating and whose value represents a large burden.

Railroads figure therefore in the first rank among means of transport that join the various points of the Mediterranean system; and already, as via a presentiment of the future, the two most industrial peoples of the world, England and North America, today generally prefer railroads when they open new communications.

#### GENERAL SYSTEM

Currently one could consider the Mediterranean as a series of great gulfs, each forming an entry point for a large country to the sea. In each of these gulfs there was a choice of a principal port, and almost always it was possible to find one on the most important of the valleys adjoining the gulf. The port so designated will be taken as the pivot of a series of operations, of which the most capital will be a railroad that, mounting the central valley, passes above or against the flow of water seeking another valley of the first order, for the great basins of rivers generally constitute the most natural industrial divisions. And these partial systems, all attached to one another, will constitute the general system.

Along the course of each great river is a [p. 40] railroad, on the whole running parallel, and the large-scale movement of people and products that move along this route is distributed, with the result that the railroad only transports people and light products, leaving to navigation the task of carrying heavy and bulky merchandise. Secondary communications will, as a result, be carried out with the use of the railroad.

#### SPAIN

Spain, which closes the Mediterranean at one of its extremities, presents in particular a gulf in the form of a funnel badly closed, between the coast of Valencia and Catalonia and the Balearics. Taking Barcelona<sup>5</sup> as the central point of this gulf, we conceive a railroad that, joining the valley of the Ebro, will mount it as far as Zaragossa, moving from there to find the basin of the Tagus, arriving at Madrid and continuing on to Lisbon across the plains of Castile, Estramadura and Portugal. Those who will establish this route shall consecrate the union of Portugal and Spain, since no association is possible except between peoples who can profit materially one from the other and live in real terms one from another. Spanish unity is quite imperfect, while the current government

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<sup>5</sup> The port of Tarragona, halfway between Barcelona and the mouths of the Ebro, is the most secure port on the coast.

prepares daily for its demise. The twelve kingdoms of Isabelle and Ferdinand are isolated, having diverse laws and usages. Another railroad that departs from Cadiz, mounting the Guadalquivir via Seville and Cordova, will rejoin [p. 41] Madrid and pass toward Bordeaux by the basin of the Garonne, if it were possible. Then, following the branches to the right and the left of the Ebro, thus joining the magnificent port of the Passage with Barcelona and Tortosa, will establish the shortest communication possible between the two seas.<sup>6</sup> Whoever presses along the other arm, one across the Duero toward Porto, another toward the abundant mines of coal and lead of the Asturias, a third to the rich lead mines of Andalusia.<sup>7</sup> Such a path, I say, with all its branches and the grand route from Barcelona to Lisbon, would be like a system of veins and arteries along which civilization will circulate, reviving drowsy Spain by rejoining the disjointed members and making them pass from the torpor where its guardians have plunged it in order that it should not bond beyond the circle traced by Catholicism, to this enervating activity that binds its populations in dampness under the empire of a religious faith sanctifying industry, on a rich and fertile soil, in an atmosphere embalmed with oranges and aloes.

#### FRANCE. — ENGLAND

In France, the principal port on the Gulf of Lyon is Marseilles, admirably terminating the fine valley of [p. 42] the Rhône. There is no one who, looking at a map, has not dreamed of some great link between Marseille and Le Havre, via Lyon and Paris, across the three valleys of the Rhone, the Loire and the Seine. The sole part of this lovely route that could present some serious difficulties to overcome, that which links the Rhône basin and the basin of the Loire, has almost been terminated today. The greatest advantage of this grand communication would certainly be to open the shores of the Mediterranean to England. Industry will play a great role in regenerating the Mediterranean peoples. The queen of industry, England, is lacking in no equipment with impact on the peaceful crusades that are burning in the West to go and relieve the Orient, half buried under the debris of ruins. The railroad from Le Havre to Marseille will be like a bridge thrown across France for the passage of powerful Albion, its engineers and its treasures.

The principal railroads that France is already preparing would be, 1) that from Toulouse to Bordeaux, which continues on to Paris via Orléans, and then,

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<sup>6</sup> There has long been a projected canal, even begun, with this goal.

<sup>7</sup> These mines, sited particularly close to Marbella, annually produce 32 million kilos of lead. This is 3/7 of the total lead production of Europe.



through Metz and Saarbrücken through inexhaustible mines of oil, Mainz and Frankfurt, will turn the Vosges and the Black Forest to enter Germany, and of which a branch will attach Paris to Mons, Brussels and Antwerp; 2) those by which Lyon is joined to the basins of the Meuse and the Rhine, descending to Maastricht and Amsterdam; 3) that which pursues the Loire to Nantes, and from there goes to rally the superb roads of Brest.

## ITALY

Italy, with its elongated territory, resembles a messenger [p. 43] from Europe toward Africa and Asia. Italy with the soul of an artist, Italy, voluptuous and smiling like a daughter of the Orient, will have a striking mission in the era that opens for the peoples of the Mediterranean. But Italy without unity is condemned to impotence. Italy is thoroughly subdivided, yet the sentiment of unity agitates it to the very bottom of its guts. The material emblem of Italian unity would be a railroad extending from Venice to Taranto via Florence, Rome and Naples, and to which it would be easy to attach principal points on the other side of the Apennines, such as Livorno and the secondary ports of the western side. The last days of Venice have not yet come; its lagoons that are fouling and its canals that have become blocked since a heavy Austrian freezes it with its presence, will not change, like the works of Sesotris and the pharaohs, into fetid and impassible swamps. How brilliant were the galleys, bearing the flower of the knights of the West, that passed, after taking Zara on the way, to place Baldwin of Flanders on the throne of Constantine and placing the Lion of St. Mark in Morea and on the islands of the Archipelago! Well and good! Venice will launch new convoys even more magnificent. The Adriatic is a point pressed by the sea against the heart of Germany; it is a place by which hard working Germany is called to spread around the Mediterranean its products and those of the Scandinavian countries. Venice, which is seated at the summit of the Adriatic like a queen with her court, will be the center to which the rays in great number, each bearing the riches of a whole country. From Venice will depart the railroads that will go, one to Genoa its sister, also a widow deprived of her Doge and her ancient liberty, the other to Turin via [p. 44] Milan; a third toward Hamburg, the Venice of the Northern seas, by one of the lateral valleys of the Danube, the valley of the Moldau and the Elbe, where flourish rich cities, Prague, Dresden, Magdeburg.<sup>8</sup> Venice and Trieste its neighbor shall be two of the loveliest bazaars of the world.

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<sup>8</sup> There is a railroad between the Moldau and the Danube.

## GERMANY — EUROPEAN TURKEY

Germany, in the great movement that instinctively pushes all people toward unity, is almost a new arrival in giving itself an intellectual tie. There are two great divisions in Germany, northern Germany and southern Germany; the one derives its doctrines from Protestantism or individualism for unity; the other, more particularly occupied in initiating itself into individualism, after long having remained faithful to the exclusively unitary doctrines of Catholicism. In any case there is throughout Germany the same perfume of contemplative mystic poetry, a floating tie that vaguely joins the elevated souls of Teutonia. Among the wise men of the universities there is a more palpable tie. The memories of the *Tugend Bund* and of the *Burschenschaft* are distinct elements of unity found spread across northern Germany as well as southern Germany. But material communications are less active in the Germanic land. There they are far from speed and regularity to which those in England and France are initiated. There is no commercial unity in Germany. The fine railroads established in several directions are ties that confirm ties of all peoples who speak the same language and who [p. 45 ] are not extending themselves, who have the same mores, the same habits, and who remain strangers to one another. — They open a line departing from Mainz or Frankfurt, where that from Cadiz to Paris is extended via Metz, directed at Regensburg in the valley of the Danube, going from there via Linz, Vienna, Pressburg and Ofen to Belgrade, where the blood of the Orient and Occident has pooled with such a disturbing profusion. It splits at Belgrade, going one way toward Sophia, capital of Bulgaria, where it splits again rejoin Salonica in the Archipelago, and Constantinople via Adrianople. On the other side it passes through Bucharest to Odessa, chief settlement on the Black Sea, a city created yesterday by a Frenchman, Monsieur de Richelieu, and whose population is already 40,000 souls. — A second grand route, with its origin like the other at Mainz or Frankfurt, rolls across the immense plain that commences at Flanders, spreading across northern Germany, to all of Russia and the steppes on northern Asia all the way to Kamchatka. At Dresden they cutting a line from Venice to Hamburg, and it advances via Breslau, Warsaw, Vilna and Riga all the way to St. Petersburg. By branches they connect at Bremen to the basin of the Weser, via Hanover, land of mines, to the mouths of the Oder, to Danzig, heading the basin of the Vistula. It crosses Silesia and Galicia, magnificent provinces, two of its branches joining via Breslau, Berlin and the land of Krakow to the port of Odessa, to Stalsund at the western extremity of the Baltic, while one of them departs to cross Hungary on its furthest dimension along the Theiss, junction of the paths of the north with the southern system [p. 46] established around Belgrade. — The branches departing the grand

southern route will go to join the salt springs of the Black Forest, circulating around the plains of Swabia, even rising as far as Turin, if that is possible, in the end that the northern group and the southern group sort into a hundred forms, one on the other. — And when this network distributes itself around Dresden, the most French city in Germany, this lovely country today held captive in the middle of the lands, will have open ports on all the seas, on the Archipelago, the Black Sea, the Adriatic and the Caspian, so that now the peaceful bourgeois of Vienna, still shuddering at the memory of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha, can go and trade at Constantinople just as easily as a businessman of Paris can visit his agent in Lille, while the wise men of Germany, feeling their senses dulled, may go seek inspiration in the perfumed gardens of Bujukdéré and Terapia, under the enchanting skies of the Propontide, just as a Parisian needing distraction may go to Dieppe to contemplate the comings and goings of Ocean. When the Berlin academician and the student of Göttingen, may depart the halls of their university and be in the collections of the *Jardin-des-Plantes* within twenty-four hours, at a session of the Institute or at the Louvre. When the grace of Italy, the finesse of the Hellenes and the elegant ease of the French pass to Germany, marrying the sincerity, the conscience and the goodness of soul of the Germans, when all of that takes place, who could say what will be the splendor, the richness and the force of association in Germany?

A portion of the Mediterranean nations consists of passive populations whose docility goes without effort to the point of servility, and whose progress consists entirely of being initiated into French vivacity, Italian mobility, or to Breton dexterity. Everyone drowns among the nations; the mass of inhabitants die in that state, after having vegetated rather than having lived without seeing anything but the cottage that their ancestors occupied, like mollusks whose shell is attached to a rock. Such are the Slavic races, such as are peasants in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, and such is the Muscovite nation. In the political order, the most effective means of awakening them from their somnolence is to place near them examples of extraordinary movement, to excite them by the spectacle of prodigious speed, and to invite them to follow the current that is moving at their doorstep, by the most positive interest and what they feel the best today, which is that of industrial profit. In this particular context railroads will exercise a decisive influence on civilization of a large part of the world, and particularly on Russia.

Of all the countries, Russia is the one where the construction of railroads would be the easiest. The soil of Russia is flat, it is covered with forests that would furnish wood, by the aid of which the construction of routes of used track would be very cheap. It is also where railroads would be most useful. Russia is bathed by lovely rivers: the fine Dvina that runs northward, the Dniester, the Don and the Volga, which have their turn toward the south. Also, it would be easy, with the aide of some canals, to establish in this vast territory some communications between the seas that bathe it in the south and those that bathe it near the pole; but these would be voyages without end, and also ice renders navigation impossible through more than six months. The principal ports of Russia in the Black Sea are Odessa and Sebastopol, in the Sea of Azof Taganrog, where Emperor Alexander died, and Astrakan in the Caspian Sea. The one is placed between the mouths of the Danube and the Dnieper, the second at the opening of the Don, the third at the mouths of the Volga. Odessa and Astrakan are both centers of an immense commerce. The railroads that it is most important to open across these half-savage lands would be those that approach the principal points of the territory from these two ports. It is concluded that an iron route that goes from Odessa to Riga and St. Petersburg via Kiev, which continues from Odessa toward Astrakan via Toganrog, which advances from Astrakan toward St. Petersburg via Moskow, across the long, large basin of the Volga, and pressing on to Arkangel on the White Sea, will comprehend the most important of the vivifying network that should animate Russia and cause it to lose its benumbed character of a people stuck in the snows.

## ASIA AND AFRICA

I pass to Turkey in Asia, to this poetic land where so many famous people have passed, and on the soil of which the debris of so many empires have been leveled. It is there that the imagination of our fathers have placed the earthly paradise with its ineffable pleasures; it is there that lived [p. 49] Abraham and Melchizedek, the Great Priest of the Most High; it is there that these giants of fasting and power of which great traditions have perpetuated solemn memories. There were Babylon and Nineveh, there still are seen the great shadows of Semiramis and Belus; there is the imprint of the prideful Nebuchadnezzar. The famed Chaldaeans are famed for their astronomic science, the Lydians for fabulous riches, the people of Assur, the great Cyrus and the kings of kings, all appeared in their turn in their voluptuous magnificence. Further the lieutenants of Alexander planted there the marvels of Athens and Corinth, and the caliphs, successors of Mohammed cultivated there the sciences and the arts. It was there that the Phoenicians departed for their adventurous expeditions, and it is from there that flourishing colonies went to people the coasts of the Mediterranean. And all of that is no more. Of all the thrones and all the dominations, nothing survives but dust, and this dust has not fertilized the soil. This land of whose delights all the peoples have enjoyed, on which the gross Celts and the no less gross sons of Uthman have gathered to take their joys, is dried up today. It appears that, like the roads of the Caesars, it has had to expiate by its ruins the sins of which it was soiled in the days of collapse. Today the towns there are scattered, the populations rare. The Tigris and the Euphrates run over the places of ruin and fields without cultivation.

The configuration of this country will permit us to trace there a long railroad that ties to the system that we have already conducted to Constantinople. Opposite the capital of the sultans, on the Bosphorus, is Scutari, the ancient Chrysopolis, city of gold, since everything was gold on this privileged soil. This railroad, called after Scutari, [p. 50] will go searching for the Euphrates while rising toward the Black Sea, will traverse in the trace of this fine river the valleys of the Taurus, thus entering into the vast plain of Mesopotamia, easily reaching the Persian Gulf via Baghdad and Basra. Various branches will attach Erzerum and Trebizond at the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, another Aleppo, the valley of the Orontes, the basin of the Bitter Lake and Cairo in Egypt; a third will probably penetrate as far as Smyrna; another finally, passing through Teheran and Recht, will unite the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea by its most distant points.

Let us now conceive that one would pursue a parallel system of works on the coast of Africa, through the whole sequence of Barbary regencies, all the way

to Ceuta, opposite Gibraltar, that one traces, for example, a railroad from the Island of Elephantine to Alexandria, and by its branches one causes the oasis of Egypt to communicate with the valley of the Nile. Thus one would have all around the Mediterranean a first network on which secondary networks may be embroidered, in such a manner as to make them converge on the ports that serve as the center of each basin. We conceive that, pushing civilization ahead of it, Europe will extend itself bit by bit into Asia, by the Russians in the north, by the English in the south, by Turkey in the west. Let us suppose that, from their side, the Americans come from the east; we imagine that to put into action the double current that would come to visit old Asia from America and from Europe, one should pierce the two isthmuses of Suez and Panama, and we tell ourselves, if it is possible, the ravishing tableau that old Asia would immediately offer.

## [P. 51] OTHER WORKS

And that is not all. We already conceive that the improvements to the regime of communications by water will march ahead with the opening of railroads, with the result that every strong river will be rendered directly navigable by works operated on its bed or indirectly by the digging of a lateral canal.

We conceive that thousands of steamboats will plow the Mediterranean in all directions, from Sebastopol to Gibraltar, from Cartagena to Smyrna, from Venice to Alexandria, that others will mount the great rivers that flow into it, and probe its indented banks, opening all the corners of the Greek archipelago, the Adriatic, the Black Sea, the Baltic, the Caspian Sea and the Arabic and Persian Gulfs.

We conceive that all the Mediterranean territory agriculture shall be rendered flourishing and that, particularly to this effect, numerous canals for irrigation and draining to reclaim land be opened without delay; that mineral riches be exploited in conformity with a grand general plan, that factories of every kind make products needed for the well-being of people.

We suppose finally a vast system of banks that will spread useful resources through all the veins of this body, creating a devouring activity, with innumerable articulations.

We admit for an instant that this gigantic creation be entirely realized immediately, and we demand whether, in the midst of all this prosperity, a cabinet could be found that, seized by a bellicose fever, would seriously dream to detach the peoples to their secondary activity to throw them into a career of blood and of [p. 52] destruction; if there exist capitalists who, frightened of an uncertain future, withdrew their capital, and the starved populations would decide to rise up.

## COST OF REALIZATION

Since all the railroads I have outlined, including a mass of branches that I have not indicated, will form a development of about 6,000 myriameters [1 myriameter = 10 km; 6,000 myriameters = 600,000 km] or 15,000 postal leagues; and since 750,000 francs builds a myriameter two-way, it would cost 4,500 million francs.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> One could evaluate the cost of a railroad constructed with great solidity and both ways, at 800,000 francs or 1 million francs per myriameter. I have figured here at only 750,000 francs, since at many points it would be advantageous to begin with a provisional construction, partly because some of the railroads can be a single line, and partly because in many countries (notably

That is approximately what France borrowed from the beginning of its revolution, to make war.

If one allocates an equal sum for the improvement of the regime of navigable waters and for the establishment of irrigation canals or drainage canals in all the Mediterranean countries;

And a parallel sum to establish a unitary banking system to fund industry in all the countries;

Finally an equal sum to found a series of schools, gymnasia, museums, where all the youth, without distinction of birth, will receive a moral and professional education;

**THE TOTAL COST WOULD BE EIGHTEEN BILLION.**

That is approximately what England borrowed over the last sixty years to make war.

At this moment the European powers have three million men under arms, whose training, [p. 54] with fortresses and the matériel of war, could be

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in northern Germany) one could make a considerable saving by including wood in the construction.

A part of the cost of public works, whether railroads, canals and improvement of rivers, comes from problems of tunneling and leveling. Science cannot delay in perfecting the processes being used today for this object. It is powder with a base of saltpeter that is used today to clear rocks blocking rivers; this is how they advance on the flanks of mountains. Now the powder is what it has been for five hundred years, while since then science has enriched itself with innumerable discoveries. There are already detonating mixtures that are considerably superior: these have a base of chlorate of potassium; in each case these are fulminates. During the Revolution, the French government experimented on a grand scale with gunpowder based on chlorate. It was abandoned because its handling in the armies was difficult, so that it would ignite suddenly and without warning. fulminates, whose force of detonation was more than a hundred times that of gunpowder based on saltpeter, could not be approached without danger except by extremely able hands. But the progress of civilization, with industrial support, consists in that man appropriates [p. 53] instruments he was unable to control previously, and whose power is precisely what he needs. It is thus that it has performed the marvels with gunpowder that killed its inventor, and it is thus that the vapor and gas have become admirable levers. Science heretofore has been dominated by Christian prejudices. Its theories, its discoveries of detail have been conceived under the empire of belief in *absolute* evil, *Satan*, under the inspiration of *libera nos a malo* ["deliver us from evil"]. Scientists have habitually sought to *preserve* man from deeds thought essentially *bad*, while it is rather necessary to search to *utilize* these means and to render them *good*. It is thus that one has lightning rods, and that nothing was done to participate in the immense force that the atmosphere releases in moments of storm. The doctrine of *absolute reprobation*, or in other words of the dualism of *God* and the *devil*, is therefore, unknown to scientists, in the science, and it is there that he stops. When, in contrast, science is founded on the doctrine of *universal election*, on the revelation that GOD IS EVERYTHING THERE IS, it finds magnificent occasions of progress precisely where up to now it could see only obstacles.



calculated at 15 million francs.<sup>10</sup> If this sum had been applied to the realization of the plan that we are outlining (and certainly there would not be a long interval to lead to its complete realization), the world would have changed its face without the peoples having to increase an extra centime in their budget.

And if one takes account of the mass of products could be created by these soldiers, who form the most robust and alert part of the population, and who will return to industrial labors, if the governments abandon the system of armed observation, in which they burden the nation, to gather into a *Mediterranean confederation*. The security that is immediately reborn will reanimate the credit lost since July and bring it briefly to an unexpected peak, one will painlessly conceive that it is indispensable to ask for an impost to apply to peace work, while the 1,500 million that Europe pays annually to maintain these three million men in an active state of leisure, the charge will be light on the populations. But it is evident that for a destination so moral, so useful, so glorious as the affirmation of permanent peace and the political advent of industry revived a huge percent, the associated governments will find it easy to borrow a sum equal to this 1,500 million on very advantageous terms, and a sum twice that if it is necessary.

I am convinced that, if one evaluates the depreciation that the world's wealth has undergone since the events of July, the figure of this depreciation will rise at least to two thirds of the total sum of 18 billion that the total execution of our plan would involve.

Such is the political system that we propose to all the men who are preoccupied by the European crisis, to the meditations of diplomats and governing men. Whatever banner it is that they have followed to this day, whatever the principle they have represented in the divisions of the world, they will find satisfaction for their views in putting our plan into practice. All will find there the end of their agitations and lacks of certitudes that has held a congress assembled for eighteen months while concluding nothing. In such a work there is a place for all men of capacities, whether their chimera has been republicanism or absolutism or moderation. For Herr von Metternich as for Lord Grey, for Monsieur Perrier as for Herr von Nesselrode, for Monsieur de Chateaubriand as for Lord Wellington. And behold precisely why the adoption of this system would be the consecration of peace in the world.

There is a place in this work for wise men, whose intellectuals should explain the plan and whose meditations will prepare the realization and render it more practical. There is a place for men of the arts of all lands, for the engineers who in England and on the Continent have collected and applied the heritage of

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<sup>10</sup> The training of an infantryman costs 500 francs, of a cavalryman 750.

Riquet and of Watt. There is a place for industrialists, in whose hands nature places its products, and who transform them in a hundred fashions for the embellishment of humanity and of the globe they inhabit. There is a place for indefatigable merchants who go from one pole to the other to search out products; a place [p. 56] that grows larger and larger, more and more beneficial to the poor people in the workshops and the countryside. There is also a place, and in the first ranks, for bankers who dispense credit, depositors of the wealth of individuals and of states.

There is a place to seen by all, a place wrapped in gold and purple, a place decorated with garlands of flowers for the poets, for the men of inspiration who previously found nothing grand in society but war, who have chanted of war and scenes of dueling, and who now are to chant the epithalamium of the East and the West. At their voices, may Italy and Spain arouse from their lethargy; may the towns of Greece and Asia emerge from their sepulcher. New Amphions, that they should give birth to rich cities there where so many great nations are buried indiscriminately. Peaceful successors to Tyrtaeus, they shall preach pacific anthems that the birthplace of civilization shall report to the lands Europe has received, that they pass at the heads of the peoples regimented as workers, on the banks of the Tagus or the Ilissus, on the ruins of Palmyra or in the plain of the Pyramids, making one of those pilgrimages whose idea has so often come in their dreams, caressing their vagabond imagination softly, so that they will love to send their thoughts astray, finally to depart from the prosaic spectacle of modern societies, saturated in egotism, sunk in decrepitude.

This is our political plan.

Combined with the moral work conceived by our SUPREME FATHER, of which it is the material translation, it is necessary to assure one day the triumph of our faith.