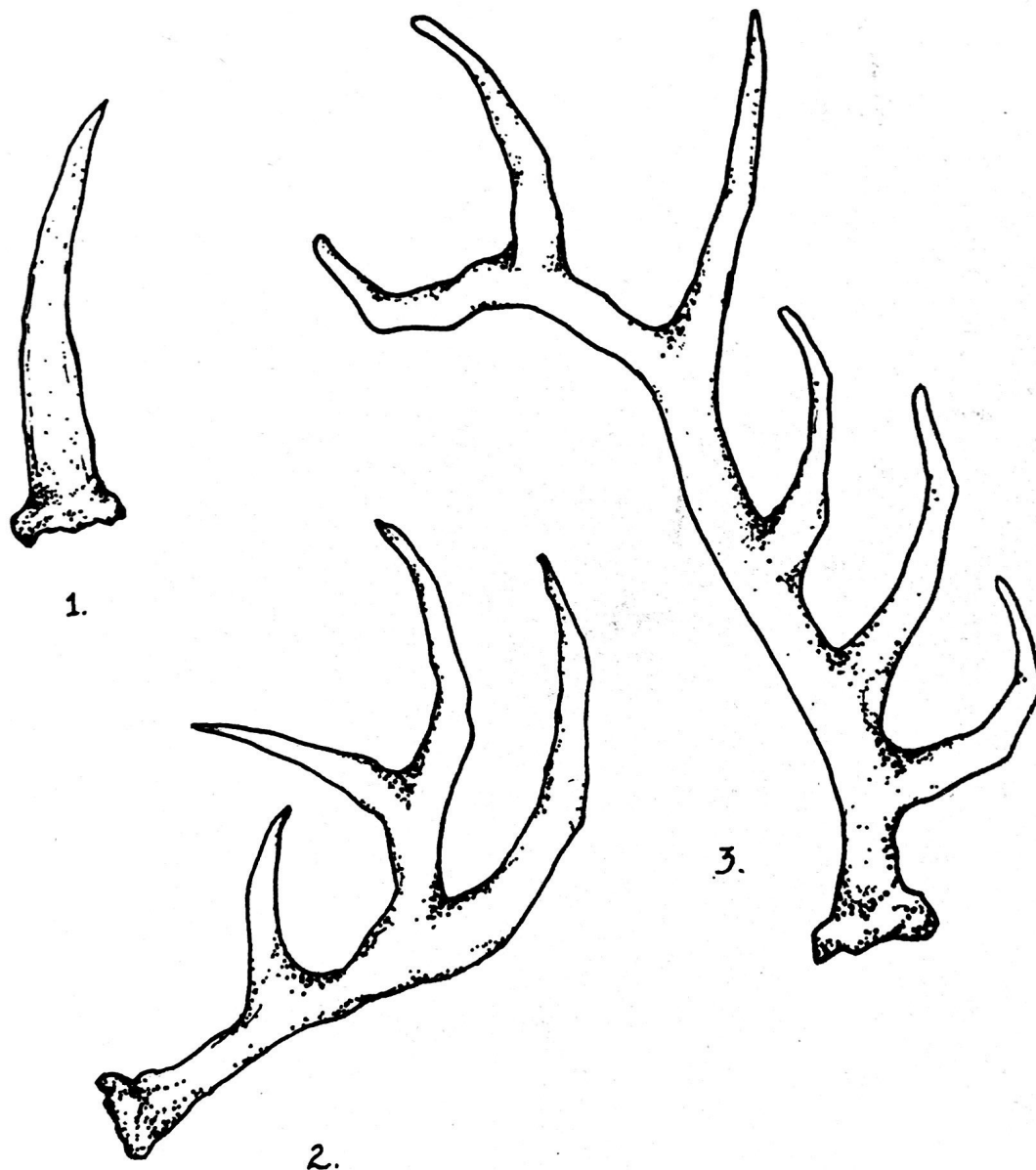


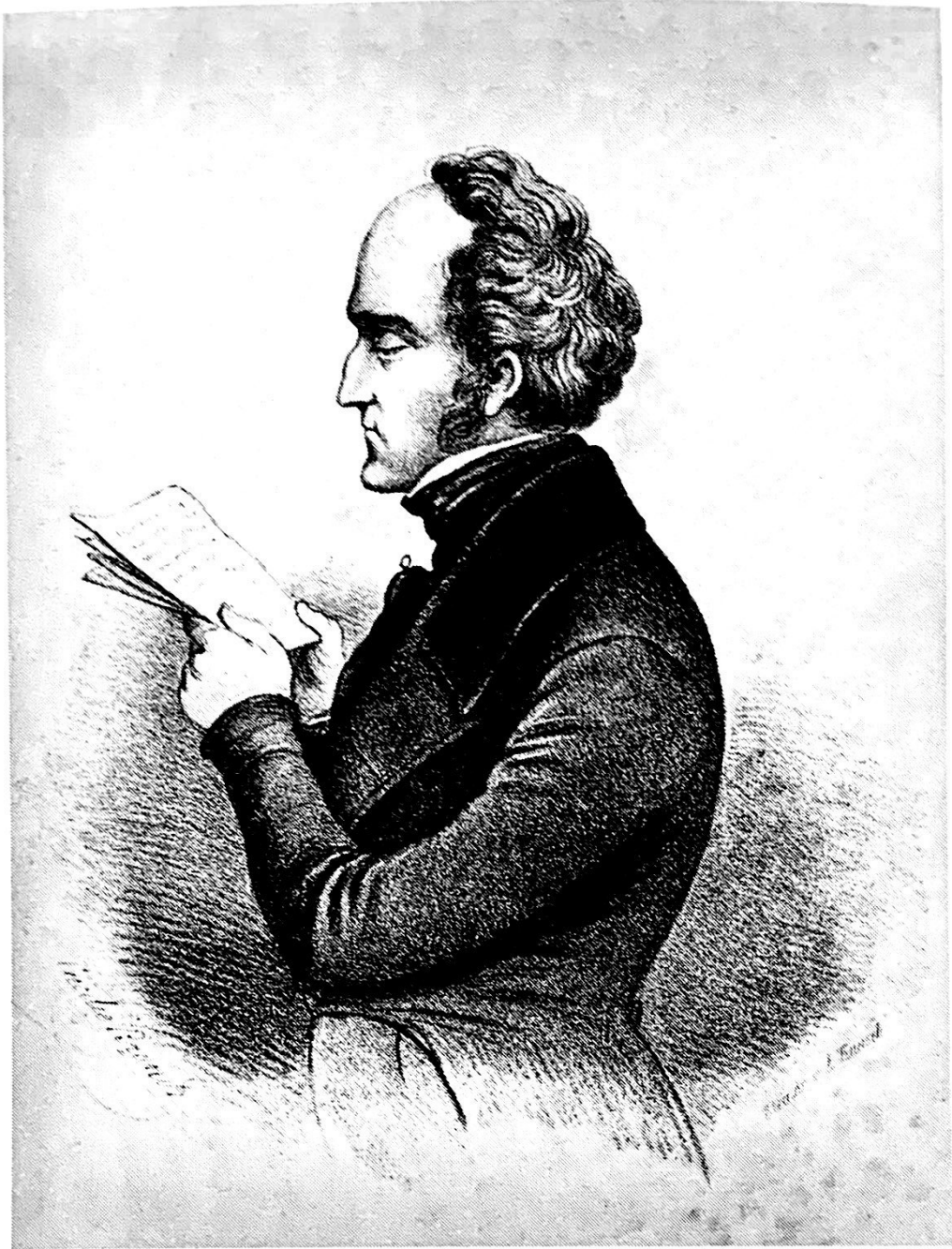
THE HIERARCHIES OF CUCKOLDRY AND BANKRUPTCY

CHARLES FOURIER



TRANSLATED BY GEOFFREY LONGNECKER

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WAKEFIELD PRESS
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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Morals are the hypocrisy of a nation; and hypocrisy is an art that has been brought almost to a state of perfection.

—Honoré de Balzac, *The Physiology of Marriage*

This is a little book on commerce and all of its civilized hypocrisies. “Commerce” may be taken here in the broad sense of the word: social intercourse, sexual intercourse, and the exchange or buying of commodities. It is the latter two forms of commerce that this book addresses, though Charles Fourier’s philosophical system was all encompassing, and rehabilitating social intercourse was of crucial importance to his vision for the future.

Qualifying the hypocrisy Fourier spent his life attacking as “civilized,” however, is somewhat facetious: for Fourier, hypocrisy cannot be “uncivilized,” as it is precisely civilization that gives rise to hypocrisy. “Civilized” and “civilization” were particularly insulting terms in Fourier’s vocabulary, and this was not because he was ever at a loss for insulting terms, but because civilization and all that it stood for was for him an insult and obstruction to everything society could be, and—in his estimation—was inevitably to become. It was an obvious improvement over previous societal stages such as “Savagery” and “Barbarism,” but a far cry from the three societal stages he saw still awaiting us: what he termed “Guaranteeism,” “Seriosophy,” and the final, ideal evolutionary stage of “Harmonism.” Civilization had one immediate and pressing concern, and that was to evolve out of its current stage of misery; and for Fourier the most direct means of doing so

was to transform commerce as we know it, in all three senses of the word.

Before a cure can be enacted, though, the disease must be identified, and the hierarchies of this volume were two of the scalpels Fourier utilized to this end. But as with any selection or extract from Fourier's body of work, they also form only a microcosm of what was a wide-ranging vision—a two-pronged microcosm that systematically dismantles the bankruptcy of marriage and the prostitution of work—but a microcosm nonetheless, and one that demands a bit of context if the reader is to start building out from these two hierarchies into Fourier's broader system.

What makes such contextualization complicated is that one can easily get lost in Fourier's writings: the groundwork he laid for what Marx and Engels would label "utopian socialism" consisted of a dizzyingly plotted system of thought, intricate in detail yet presented in a very disorganized manner, mingling fantastical poetic imaginings with cutting critiques of society. Fourier outlined his plans for a future society with the often endearingly dry talent of a maniacal bookkeeper, but he would also willfully tease his readers or bury and hide ideas like a political alchemist, either paranoid in thinking his ideas could be stolen from him, or worried that his readers would not yet be ready to hear what he had to say.

As with any rich body of work, then, people have approached and filtered Fourier through different lenses over the last two centuries. Throughout much of his life, it was the fantasy in Fourier that was often the focus (when he would receive any attention at all): the cosmology he described in the early portions of his first book, *The Theory of Four Movements*; his explanations of how planets make love; how the seas of the

future would be made of lemonade; how the human race would evolve into having an average height of seven feet and a life expectancy of 144, grow tails, and cultivate the entire Earth; and how the Earth's "rutting" would increase to the point at which the aurora borealis would affix itself to the North Pole, broaden, and produce an ideal, temperate weather to reign over the entire planet's surface, allowing for agriculture even in Antarctica.¹

These were the details that made for easy reading and easy ridicule, and Fourier himself would screen them out from his later writings. His early disciples, however, went further and also filtered out his attacks on bourgeois morality and frank discussions of sexual needs and how to address them, focusing instead on what he had to say about agriculture, financial systems, and the practical workings of his conception of the "Phalanstery," the orchestrated social and economic community he conceived for the utopia to come. Marx and Engels, while dismissing the "Fourierists" to emerge in the years after Fourier's death as so many "pompous theoreticians," acknowledged Fourier's influence on their thinking, and made a point to highlight the humor and spirit of his writings that his disciples too often overlooked.

In the twentieth century, it was the Surrealist lens that rehabilitated Fourier, and André Breton argued for the acceptance of Fourier and his work as a whole, in place of the unjustly fragmented man and work that a century had worked over and filtered. He celebrated the fantasy in Fourier in the same way that Marx and Engels had celebrated the budding dialectician in him—Fourier the poet, whose revolutionary social and economic system was also meant to operate in the realm of the imagination, and vice versa.

Roland Barthes presented the other well-known twentieth-century lens for Fourier in his study *Sade Fourier Loyola: Fourier*

as the creator of a language system, Fourier the categorizer, Fourier the enumerator—the Fourier whose body of work, like that of the Marquis de Sade and St. Ignatius Loyola, resists summarization. This Fourier presents us with poetry of a different nature, and his spiraling language of numbers acts as an overriding framework for his critiques and propositions, as well as something of an amusing virus that managed to infiltrate every aspect of his writing. There are the general structural enumerations: the four Movements of Nature (social, animal, organic, and material), the one primary passion and twelve secondary passions that composed the backbone of his new philosophy, the eight social structures humankind was to pass through in its evolution (“civilization” being but the fifth), or the mind-boggling scale of personality types he created through the permutations and combinations of the passions, comprising 810 “full types” and 405 “mixed types”: a grand keyboard on which the eighth and highest form of society—“Harmonism”—would one day play out its magisterial tune.

But whatever it was that Fourier addressed, critiqued, or analyzed in civilization, it was always through this method of enumeration: the seven vices (and thirty-six crimes) of commerce, the three classes and twelve types of unproductive workers, the three kinds of freedom, the sixteen causes of despair among working people, the nine branches of “counter-morality,” the four types of education for indoctrinating children, the eight degrees or powers of love, the sixteen misfortunes in married life and eight sources of annoyance in domestic household life, and so on. Fourier even opened his very first book by identifying and addressing the three types of readers he expected to encounter (the “curious,” the “voluptuous,” and the “critical”).

Fourier's mania for enumeration and classification will be obvious enough in the hierarchies of the present volume, and indeed, it provides much of their charm and humor.² He had intended to neatly double the three orders, nine types, and thirty-six species of bankrupts in his projected complete hierarchy of bankruptcy, and the anticipated final draft of the hierarchy of cuckoldry was to also consist of seventy-two species.³

The overriding lens for these hierarchies, however, would be the ever potent and incisive lens of satirical critique. As Fourier states in opening up the *Hierarchy of Bankruptcy*, to approach such a critique without a humorous lens would have only left himself open to ridicule (something to which he had grown quite sensitive after the reception of his first book). "*Castigat ridendo*," as Fourier would say. The humor does not lessen his critique, though, and what this volume ultimately offers is a focus on Fourier the critic; Fourier the visionary utopian is a Fourier to be discovered and read beyond the purview of these hierarchies. That said, it would be an injustice to give the impression that Fourier was capable only of methodical mockery, and a rudimentary outline of his theory is necessary to demonstrate that he also had proposals for solutions to civilization's woes.

ON FOURIER'S SYSTEM

La Rochefoucauld opened his *Maxims* with his famous epigraph: "Our virtues are most often but vices in disguise." The reverse claim could figure at the head of Fourier's writings: our vices may well be but virtues in disguise. Fourier's thought and system in many ways boil down to a premise that is as salient now as it was two centuries ago: we must accept that what

religion, law, and social mores commonly label as “vices” are nothing more than our god-given “Passions,” and allow society to develop accordingly from that understanding. For Fourier, the evils of civilization arise not through these so-called vices, but through individual and collective efforts to repress them. People have a need for—a right to—a minimal degree of work, a minimal degree of sexual gratification, and variety in both. It is not receiving this minimal degree, be it through societal injustice, or religious or moralistic self-denial, that gives rise to actual crime, violence, and societal ills.

Fourier’s point was that society needed to work in accordance with its natural inclinations, and our natural inclinations, if properly directed, would lead to a better, more harmonic society. “Duty comes from man,” as he put it; “attraction comes from God,”⁴ and if we were to advance, we needed to follow the laws of attraction. To do so, Fourier identified the twelve secondary passions that compose our “attraction,” which were to be the linchpin to his theory.⁵ He broke them down into three categories: 1. Luxism (the material passions); 2. Groupism (the spiritual passions); and 3. Seriiism (the refining, or distributive passions): five senses, four groups, and three series.

The material passions of Luxism were the five senses, and to gratify these required “progressive wealth”: the ability to acquire a good meal to satisfy the sense of taste (and the stomach it served), for instance, or to buy the opera ticket that would enable one to please one’s ear.

The “Groups” consisted of, in order, the elective groupings of Ambition, Friendship, Love, and Family, with “family” pointedly last and least important in Fourier’s schema. These are the affective passions that bring individuals together in groups,

and Fourier was careful to point out that civilization and its legislators had essentially reversed the hierarchy he presented, subordinating the social system to family, while bonds of honor went by the wayside. “Absolute freedom” was required to properly realize this set of passions.

Finally, Fourier’s unique contribution was his recognition of the passions that distribute all of these: the Series passions—what he called the “lost secret of happiness.”⁶ “Happiness, about which so much, or rather so much nonsense, has been talked, consists in having many passions and many means of satisfying them.”⁷ The series passions provide the *means* of satisfying all the passions, holding the other nine in balance and allowing them to interact with and feed each other rather than work against each other. They are: (1) the Cabalist passion; (2) the Butterfly passion; and (3) the Composite passion.

The Cabalist passion is the passion for intrigue, the “partisan spirit” in which one engages in deliberate plotting and calculation.

The Butterfly, or “Alternating,” passion is the desire for change and variation: in scene, in activity, in work, in company. In Fourier’s system, a person’s work assignment would change every two hours, which was the amount of time that he determined a person’s need for change gets acute, after which initial enthusiasm turns into boredom and indifference.

The Composite passion is a bit more abstract than the other two, and mixes pleasures together, combining and interlacing the pleasures of the senses with the pleasures of the soul. The sensual love of food, for example, however strong and developed it may be, on its own simply turns a man into a glutton. The Composite passion combines it with a more soul-oriented passion, such as the love of good company: good food is shared, and enlightened conversation and humor

(and perhaps forays into the Cabalist passion over dessert and coffee) evolve the act of eating into a richer, more pleasurable, and thereby more productive dining experience.

The implicit critique of the *Hierarchy of Cuckoldry* clearly addresses the denial of the Butterfly passion in the realm of family and marriage.⁸ Cuckoldry was but one of the eight disadvantages Fourier identified in domestic household life, but it was the one to which he most often turned to use as his magnifying glass. Its “disadvantage” arose from the fact that “perpetual fidelity in love is contrary to human nature”⁹ and that “polygamous penchants are universal.”¹⁰ Fourier was not against the act of adultery, he was against it having to take the form of *cuckoldry*: a domestic and societal joke either to be given a blind eye or to serve as fodder for mockery, rather than be examined and accepted as a fundamental argument against the institution of marriage and monogamy. Accepting the need for a change in sexual partners was a necessary step to take if society was to make its way out of civilization and into a more evolved stage. Denying this need was what made cuckoldry a “secret insurrection” of both sexes against the institution of amorous fidelity. This was particularly so for women: “women are cuckolded far more often than men,” Fourier argued; “indeed if the husband has horns as tall as a stag’s antlers, the wife’s may be said to be as high as the branches of a tree.”¹¹ Fourier’s answer to universal cuckoldry was “amorous liberty,” a call for free love that would take the form of what he called “progressive households.” Three levels of official union between the sexes would be established in his system: “Husbands and Wives” as we know them, but without the monogamous entrapment we attach to the titles, and having at least two children; “Natural Co-Parents,” relationships producing only one child; and

“Favorites and Titular Favorites,” those lovers who live or had lived together but produced no offspring. Beyond these official relationships would be your undefined lovers: accepted, but with no claim to rights in law.

For Fourier, the surest way to achieve the amorous liberty called for in society’s evolution was for women to emancipate themselves. The degradation of the cuckold in society was in many ways the reflection of the degradation of women in the household under the rule of civilization. In Fourier’s system, the advancement in women’s freedom was the pivot point that was to signal the evolution of society out of every one of its stages—indeed, for society to advance without a concurrent emancipation of women would simply not be possible. “*Social progress and changes of period are brought about by virtue of the progress of women towards liberty, and social retrogression occurs as a result of a diminution in the liberty of women.*”¹² “It is women who suffer the most under civilization, and it is women who should be attacking it.”¹³ Cuckoldry, then, was not just a civilized affliction, but also a weapon to be utilized against that civilization: “Often, when we think we are merely enjoying ourselves, we are involved in political processes of the highest importance.”¹⁴

It is the Cabalist passion that is more directly at stake in Fourier’s *Hierarchy of Bankruptcy*, on the other hand.¹⁵ If Fourier had counted eight failings in marriage, he had counted one fewer when assessing the “vices of commerce.”¹⁶ Though he lists several “Innocent” forms of bankruptcy in the hierarchy, what is primarily at stake is “fraudulent bankruptcy,” a negative nuance that is more clearly embedded in the French term *banqueroute*. There are fruitful, beneficial applications of the Cabalist passion for Fourier: both for the individual (whose love

of money is a pleasure no more to be denied than sexual pleasure, in his view), as well as for society, if it is regulated and plugged into a properly organized system (namely, that of the interlocking and coordinating series and phalansteries of Fourier's broader vision). To deny and repress the Cabalist passion in the name of morals and the bankrupt terms of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" (Fourier was no fan of the French revolution) simply meant that merchants—a "parasitical," nonproductive class—were left to their own devices in the name of a laissez-faire capitalism as derived from Adam Smith's immediate successors, and could exploit and undermine an unregulated free-market system from without. As in the domestic sphere, Fourier's approach demanded an intersection of freedom and order: freedom for the passions, but within a regulated system. An attack on monogamy still necessitated regulation if children were to be looked after and protected; and in the commercial world, the benefits of the Cabalist passion could only flourish if proper regulation protected creditors and debtors alike. If Fourier labeled cuckoldry as a "minor" example of societal hypocrisy, bankruptcy was unquestionably his "major" one, in which a few individuals could single-handedly undermine a city.

If sexual mores and the rights of women have gone through some developments since Fourier's time (among other things, cuckoldry has developed into a recognized sexual fetish not accounted for in his hierarchy), his writings on commerce and bankruptcy are remarkably contemporary: as we continue to emerge from the fallout of today's laissez-faire financial system, one may well wonder whether any progress has been made on the issue since Fourier was assessing the phenomenon of commercial fraud in the early nineteenth century. If there has

been any progress since then, it has perhaps only been in terms of degree: whereas Fourier describes how a group of creditors could be held hostage by a single fraudulent debtor, today it is an entire financial sector or institution that has grown “too big to fail” and holds a broad tax-paying population hostage; in today’s age of globalization, every citizen is compelled to take on the role of creditor in the name (and name only) of a “free market.” The perverse nature of it all has also only increased in magnitude: where Fourier describes how it was only the petty crimes or those creditors fleeced by the system that garnered condemnation while the fraudulent merchant made off with sympathy and respect (in addition to high levels of profit), today it is all too often taxpayers in lower-income brackets who continue to be accused of not paying taxes, or individual homeowners held responsible for the collapse of the housing market, while mega-corporations record billions in profit while paying little or no taxes to the federal government.

It must be noted, of course, that for all the contemporary echoes that Fourier’s *Hierarchy of Bankruptcy* holds for us today, and unlike the remarkably progressive views he held on women in the context of the domestic sphere, his beliefs about Jews were all too typical of his time and unworthy of a visionary. His criticism of merchants and traders made for an unfortunately easy invitation for him to stoop to the least enlightened—indeed, trite—anti-Semitic comments and critiques. One of the more famous cases in point can be found here, in his explanatory account of the “file-firing bankruptcy” scheme of the Jew Iscariot, one of the three accounts of fraudulent bankrupts he drew from *The Theory of the Four Movements* to incorporate into his *Hierarchy of Bankruptcy*.

ON CUCKOLDRY AND COMMERCE

Lured to Lyon by the prospect of a trip and having arrived at the door of the banker Schéerer, where I was being taken, I deserted in the middle of the street, announcing that I would never be a merchant. It was like backing out of a marriage on the altar steps.

—Charles Fourier¹⁷

If Fourier had ultimately not been able to back out of the career in financial commerce he so hated, it is worth noting that he did manage to remain a lifelong bachelor—and that the connection between the two worlds of marriage and commerce had been one he established early on—both in his life, as evinced in his brief anecdote above, and in his philosophy. The link between bankruptcy and cuckoldry (one could say between financial fraud and marriage fraud) is an old, if not immediately obvious, one. The most common element to them and to Fourier's two hierarchies is the act of cheating: one spouse cheating on the other on the one hand, and a debtor cheating creditors out of their money on the other, with one hierarchy categorizing cheaters (the adulteress/bankrupt), and the other categorizing the cheated (the cuckold/creditor).

The hierarchies are also taxonomies of humiliation: there is shame in being hoodwinked, and one point that emerges is that for all of civilization's morals, hoodwinkers do not typically feel shame or suffer dishonor. "Love is a stormy commerce that always ends in bankruptcy," said Chamfort, "and it is the person who is bankrupted who is dishonored." Fourier disagreed with this standard assessment, though: his outrage over the world of financial commerce was indeed that the more fraudulent the bankruptcy, the less dishonor and shame there was on the part of the bankrupt, and that it was creditors who were increasingly

taking on the humiliating role of societal laughingstocks, cuckolded out of their money. But in the domestic sphere he saw things as being the opposite: “my claim is that the public and the cuckold himself can amuse themselves at the seducer’s expense, and that cuckoldry often brings more ridicule to the lover than the husband.”¹⁸ In the case of a wise cuckold—the “transcendent cuckold,” for instance, whom Fourier carefully places at the center of his “Simple Order” taxonomy—the seducer is ultimately reduced to the role of household lapdog, with less say over his access to the wife than the cuckold has, and who is eventually compelled to contribute financially to the upkeep of the lover-spouse (and thereby financially aid the man he is cuckolding), while gaining none of the benefits that marriage provides.

Putting aside the struggle for honor between husband and lover, it nonetheless remains a truism that there is no honor among thieves, and the parallel between the seducer stealing the love of a spouse and the bankrupt stealing the money of a creditor is clear enough. In both cases we are dealing with thieves, and if the common fraudulent bankruptcy leaves a creditor compelled to accept a reduced percentage of return on his investment, one can easily translate monetary transactions into sexual transactions and look upon the dutiful husband as compelled to accept a reduced percentage of sexual favors from his wife. Fourier makes an important distinction between the two cases, though. In marriage, the rules of monogamy are opposed to nature’s laws and restrict the number of lovers a man or woman may have, whatever their actual desires may be, reducing a subject (in Fourier’s time, more often the wife) to the role of property or goods in the eyes of the spouse. In commerce, on the other hand, there is no restriction when there

should be: laissez-faire capitalism allows for—encourages, even—too many merchants and traders, a scenario that leads to commercial wastage and fraudulent practices that are harmful to society. “[E]verywhere, *Free competition* raises the number of merchants and commercial agents to infinitude. In big cities such as Paris there are as many as three thousand grocers, while three hundred would be enough to provide for normal needs. [...] A town that consumed a thousand barrels of sugar when it had ten merchants will still only consume a thousand barrels when the number of merchants increases to forty.”¹⁹ The results of this surplus of dealers are, among other things, a decrease in quality of goods, a waste of productive labor, and the hoarding, as well as the destruction, of goods in the name of profit and unproductive competition.

A restriction on sexuality, and unfettered commercial trading: not enough lovers, and too many merchants. An overlap between sexual relations and commercial relations is perhaps not all that surprising, then: in today’s economic times, after all, no one takes the claim that “we’re screwed” as a declaration of sexual liberation. The overlap is one that Honoré de Balzac highlights at the end of his 1829 *Physiology of Marriage*.²⁰ In Balzac’s estimation, in the France of his time there existed a “floating mass’ of at least fifteen hundred thousand illegitimate passions”; calculating that the average “passion” cost “about fifteen hundred francs a year, to cover the joint expenses of both lovers” (factoring in everything from presents exchanged to trips taken to the country), he concluded that: the “illicit intercourse of a third of the population of France contributes a sum of nearly three million francs to the vast sums always in circulation”; “That manufacturers owe their prosperity largely to this ‘systolery’ movement”; that “the least diminution in love would bring untold misfortune to the treasury and the

fundholders”; and that “at least a third of a husband’s income is mortgaged to his wife’s unfaithfulness.”²¹

In these times of financial crisis, Balzac’s reasoning thus offers us the intriguing notion of adultery as an economic stimulus package. It sounds like a crude joke, but we are at a point in time (again) at which financialization has helped bankrupt nations, and people are growing increasingly nostalgic for an era in which we used to *make* things. Can “making” love figure into an economic outlook? Fourier had taken issue with the economists who had followed in the shadow of Adam Smith, and there was to be a long theoretical lineage to continue after him charting out the development of the commodity through a series of “values”: surplus value, use value, exchange value... And at the root of them all, labor value: the value of a commodity determined by the degree of labor that went into making it. Fourier offered another sort of value to take the place of the labor value as derived from Adam Smith: one could call it (to use his more cosmological language) something of a “rutting value”—a *passion value*: the starting point for a sexualized economy, for a new theory of value.

Fourier tends to be dismissed in the field of economics, regarded even by his admirers as being overly rooted in a preindustrial (or as Marx and Engels would put it, “prescientific”) outlook, a fantasist of an agricultural age. As we begin to see our way out of the accelerated crisis of capitalism facing us in the twenty-first century, the heartrending poetry of Fourier’s thought nonetheless continues to stand as both a beacon and as a wistful reminder: happiness remains a new idea in Europe...

* * *

The translations and arrangements of these Hierarchies—unpublished in Fourier's lifetime—were made from several sources. The arrangement of the *Hierarchy of Cuckoldry* follows that of chapter IX, "Commerce et mariage (1816)" in *Publication des manuscrits de Charles Fourier: Années 1853–1856* (Paris: Librairie Phalanstérienne, 1856), pp. 249–273, where it opens and closes with portions of text drawn from Fourier's *Traité d'association domestique-agricole*. Reference was also made to René Maublanc's edition of the *Hierarchie du cocuage* (Paris: Éditions du Siècle, 1924), which did not include the framing portions of text.

The Hierarchy of Bankruptcy is translated from chapter III of *La Phalange: Revue de la science sociale* XIVe Année, Tome I (Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Phalange, 1845): "Hierarchie de la banqueroute différencié par série de genres et espèces." Certain sections of it (the majority of numbers 13, 18, and 34) had been drawn from Fourier's *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, and section I was drawn from *Théorie de l'Unité universelle*.

* * *

For English readers wanting to read more, the following three volumes are highly recommended:

The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction. Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971. Forty years after its first appearance, this remains the best starting point for any serious reading of Fourier in English, and offers as broad and holistic an overview of Fourier's writings as one could hope for from a single volume.

The Theory of the Four Movements. Edited by Gareth Stedman Jones and Ian Patterson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. A scrupulous and complete translation of Fourier's first sprawling work.

Jonathan Beecher. *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. A magisterial critical biography, not likely to be supplanted in any language.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to Jonathan Beecher for his input on this translation and to Judy Feldmann for her editing it: any faults to be found with this translation may be ascribed to myself. I would also like to thank Richard Wladkowski for his design work, and Wakefield Press for taking this project on. René Maublanc had dedicated his 1924 edition of the first of these two Hierarchies "To all the Cuckolds of the University." It is with Wakefield Press's blessing that I dedicate these translations to all the cuckolds of publishing.

NOTES

1. An optimistic foreshadowing of today's otherwise dire global warming crisis, it may be noted.
2. A charm and humor that may lead one to overlook the fact that both of these taxonomies are largely based on Fourier's personal observations. As Jonathan Beecher points out, Fourier recorded, in code, the real-life models for the cuckolds in his Hierarchy—his brother-in-law, for instance, whom Fourier labeled as an "extolled cuckold." See Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 155.
3. Which were then to be doubled again, since Fourier's plan had been to make two hierarchies of cuckoldry, one for each sex. It is no accident that 144, 72, and 36 are all divisible by 12, the number of secondary passions identified by Fourier, nor that the number of people to form a series in his projected phalanstery was 144 (72 doubled), nor that a phalanstery was to consist of a carefully selected 1,620 (divisible by 12) individuals. The militaristic structure of both hierarchies—Fourier presents these fraternities as marching past his sardonic eye both as military parade and as army entering into battle—points to the influence Fourier's unhappy service in the Army of the Rhine in 1794–1795 must have had on him, but also evokes the daily routine he engaged in toward the end of his life of going to the Tuileries to watch the changing of the royal guard. If the chaos of actual wartime fighting was probably not to his taste, the routine of peacetime army regimentation seems to have had some appeal to him, even if he utilizes it here in a satirical manner.
4. *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier: Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction*, edited by Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 217.

5. The primary passion, which Fourier also referred to as the thirteenth passion, was Unityism: the trunk from which all the other passions branched out. It was, more or less, the desire for philanthropy, the urge to reconcile one's own happiness with that of others.
6. *The Theory of the Four Movements*, edited by Gareth Stedman Jones and Ian Patterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 80.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
8. If Fourier had constructed a hierarchy out of the repression of the Butterfly passion in the realm of *work*, we could imagine a result along the lines of a "Hierarchy of Cheated-On Bosses": a military formation of business owners and managers whose employees utilize different means of cheating them out of "man hours."
9. *Utopian Vision*, p. 172.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
11. *Theory of Four Movements*, p. 126.
12. *Utopian Vision*, p. 195.
13. *Theory of Four Movements*, p. 148.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
15. Which is not to say that there are clear boundaries to these passions: civilized lovers indulging in the Butterfly passion need to engage in at least a degree of Cabalist passion, for example, if they are to meet without the spouse's knowledge.
16. Bankruptcy comes first in Fourier's list of vices of commerce, followed by smuggling, usury, speculation, hoarding, parasitism, and cheating. He later expanded these vices into a more developed and systematically numbered thirty-six crimes of commerce.

17. Quoted in Beecher, *Charles Fourier*, p. 33.
18. *Theory of Four Movements*, p. 126.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 249–250.
20. If the *Hierarchy of Cuckoldry* owes a clear allegiance to Molière, whose most famous characters and cuckolds are utilized as shorthand for several of the species Fourier charts out, the *Hierarchy of Bankruptcy* heralds Balzac's later account of the "Gullible Bankrupt" Birotteau in his novel *The Rise and Fall of César Birotteau*.
21. *The Physiology of Marriage*, 1904, translator unknown (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 347.

HIERARCHY OF CUCKOLDRY

COMMERCE AND MARRIAGE

When a traveler has lost his way and you wish to set him back on the right path, you must first convince him that he has gone astray and been led into error. Until he becomes aware that he has been duped, he shall continue in the wrong direction. If modern men have persisted in admiring Civilization as long as they have, it is because no one has taken Bacon's advice and carried out a critical analysis of the vices belonging to each institution and profession. This negligence has given sophists full latitude to shower praise on injustice, to parade social perfection in the treacherousness of commerce and the mechanical vices of marriage.

As their aim is to familiarize the social world with these vices and avoid the challenge of finding a remedy for them, they have turned them into two objects of ridicule by disguising bankruptcy under the benign name of insolvency, and excusing adultery through the amusing name of cuckoldry.

To prop up these two words—insolvency and cuckoldry—the two greatest social infamies, bankruptcy and adultery, have come to be treated as virtues and enjoy compound protection, namely:

Tacit and negative guardianship of the law, and Express and positive guardianship of public opinion.

Instead of having positive and negative defenders, virtue suffers the opposite fate: compound persecution.

Should one wish to get to the cause of this disarray, it may be found in a vice shared by our political and moral sciences: the mistake of confronting evil with only half measures, only partial resistance.

Everyone, especially philosophers, knows that half measures are worse than evil in that they only serve to aggravate it. Why, then, have they compromised with vices of every sort, to the point at which they do not even dare analyze them, and present them in but abbreviated, insignificant, and consequently apologetic terms? They only know how to disguise and conceal vice by pretending to attack it; they only reveal its excusable aspect, only present it in a manner better suited for calming indignation than provoking it.

This mistake is not a matter of philosophers being shrewd, but just an example of their cowardice and hypocrisy. So as to convince them that our reproach is sound, let us present here an analytic outline in accordance with Bacon, who would have wanted plain speaking and methodical details in the depiction of evil.

I choose two examples, in major and minor.

Maj. Bankruptcy, 31st characteristic of commerce, divided into 36 species.

Min. Adultery, one of the characteristics of marriage, divided into 72 species.

We shall realize through these depictions that in all the critiques of each vice known of until now, sophism

has only denounced the trifling misdemeanors that serve to excuse the evil. This is the inevitable outcome of every incomplete analysis not graduated into classes, orders, genres, species, and if need be, in varieties, tenuities, and ∞ infinities.

In analyzing adultery, as well as bankruptcy, writers have barely touched on the subject and present only its amusing aspects . . . The disgrace into which the word cuckoldry has fallen only serves to confirm its progress and the feebleness of the writers who kneel before vice instead of courageously presenting it with a broad mirror, a methodical and complete table of the orders, genres, species, and varieties of adultery. At one point a Paris newspaper had tried to provide a methodical analysis of it, but limited its division to three species and dared not designate it by a specific name. Can one claim to have defined a vice—the varieties of which are innumerable—if one presents only three of its instances? We need a complete table, an extensive series that fully embraces and distinguishes all of its ramifications and degrees. I can provide this hierarchy of cuckoldry and compare it with that of bankruptcy. I have a table with 72 examples . . . Let us note, to this century's shame and to the confusion of our political and moral sciences, that public opinion would condemn this analysis of adultery as being too accurate, too precise, and too complete; everyone would recognize him- or herself in one of the 144 species of cuckoldry (72 of men, and 72 of women, for whom cuckoldry has different qualifications from those for men) . . .

ON SOCIAL DECORUM.—Henry IV, a type of French character, said as he was looking at the Louvre: “Oh, so many cuckoo’s nests!” Did not lose his temper over the response he received.¹ *Pero* as king and husband, could have lost his temper over it. *Hodie*, moral hypocrites; there are no more Frenchmen to be found in France; it is like in Paris and Marseille, where it is indecent to speak of bankruptcy: not indecent in Lyon, *quia* rare. *Ergo* cuckoldry was rarer in the time of Henry IV, since they spoke frankly about vice. We conclude that every tale of disorder is scandalous only to the degree that it is widespread and general. It is thus very indecent in Paris, among a gathering of financiers, to speak of shirking one’s duty to pay a bill, but decent in the provinces.

Why keep silent on what we hear in the theater? Papers summon you to the theater, devote an entire column to it, and in the case of the austere *Moniteur*, even several columns. Well, what do you see there? Jibes at cuckoldry; now if jibes are allowed for, *anche* pure and simple, and even critical, analysis.

La Bruyère: “No honest woman who is not weary of her trade.—Every day the best of spouses gives her husband subject for reflection that he would have done better to not take a wife.”²

Ego on the part of Henri IV and La Bruyère who were not initiated into the perfectibility of perfectibilism, and yet who asserted the hypocrisies of the current century.

Partisans of fidelity in love, are they so in interest, *uti ego?*

* * *

DIVISION. This is only a draft: several species are not yet in place; it remains to assign them a more regular order in the three classes of common, short-horned, and long-horned, which are the excusable, the pleasant, and the ridiculous.—**NOTA BENE.** Those belonging to the compound order are not included in this nomenclature.

HIERARCHY OF

arranged progressively into
squared and divided by 1, 2, 3,
COMMON, SHORT-HORNED,

COMMON CLASS

- Outpost*1
1. The Budding or Anticipated Cuckold
- Vanguard*2
2. The Presumptive Cuckold
 3. The Imaginary Cuckold
- Right Flank*3
4. The Martial or Swaggering Cuckold
 5. The Argus or Wily Cuckold
 6. The Jeering Cuckold
- Right Winglet*4
7. The Cuckold Pure and Simple
 8. The Fatalistic or Resigned Cuckold
 9. The Condemned or Designated Cuckold
 10. The Irreproachable or Victimized Cuckold
- Right Wing Tip*5
11. The Prescriptive Cuckold
 12. The Absorbed or Preoccupied Cuckold
 13. The Health-Conscious Cuckold
 14. The Regenerative or Conservative Cuckold
 15. The Propagandist Cuckold

SHORT-HORNED CLASS

- Right Wing*6
16. The Sympathetic Cuckold
 17. The Tolerant or Easygoing Cuckold
 18. The Reciprocal Cuckold
 19. The Auxiliary or Coadjutor Cuckold
 20. The Accelerating or Hurried Cuckold
 21. The Treatable or Benign Cuckold
- Center of Sect*7
22. The Optimistic or *Bon Vivant* Cuckold
 23. The Converted or Mind-Changing Cuckold
 24. The Federal or Allied Cuckold
 25. The Transcendent or High-Flying Cuckold
 26. The Grandiose or Imperturbable Cuckold
 27. The Deserter or Secessionist Cuckold
 28. The Stirrup or Straw Man Cuckold
- Left Wing*6
29. The Doted-On or Compensated Cuckold
 30. The Bewitched or Cataract Cuckold
 31. The Gleaner or Commonplace Cuckold
 32. The Cuckold with the Guardian
 33. The Reverent or Behaved Cuckold
 34. The Mystical or Sanctimonious Cuckold

CUCKOLDRY

classes, genres, and species

4, 5, 6, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1

AND LONG-HORNED

Cornua cum cornibus
Cornua sunt omnibus

LONG-HORNED CLASS

Left Wing Tip5

- 35. The Orthodox or Indoctrinated Cuckold
- 36. The Apostate or Renegade Cuckold
- 37. The Curbed or Perplexed, Repressed Cuckold
- 38. The Seedy Cuckold
- 39. The Boorish or Villainous Cuckold

Left Winglet4

- 40. The Disabused, Dumbfounded Cuckold
- 41. The Recalcitrant Cuckold
- 42. The Irate Cuckold
- 43. The Trumpeter Cuckold

Left Flank3

- 44. The Disgraced Cuckold
- 45. The Homebody Cuckold
- 46. The Dandin or Desperate Cuckold

Rearguard2

- 47. The Banner-Bearing Cuckold
- 48. The Distaff-Bearing Cuckold

Rear Post1

- 49. The Posthumous Cuckold or The Cuckold of Two Worlds

SIMPLE-ORDER CUCKOLDS

1. THE BUDDING CUCKOLD

THE BUDDING CUCKOLD is a man whose wife has had love affairs prior to the sacrament and does not provide the spouse with her virginity.

Nota bene. Not to be listed among budding cuckolds are those who know of the previous affairs and despite them find it suitable to marry; for example, a man who marries a widow is not a budding cuckold, nor is he who had known of his wife's previous affairs and adapts to them.

2. THE PRESUMPTIVE CUCKOLD

THE PRESUMPTIVE CUCKOLD is a man who dreads his common destiny long before the marriage, who tortures his mind in his efforts to escape it, and suffers misfortune before actually experiencing it. Everyone is able to foresee that his suspicions shall only serve to mislead him in his choice of spouse, and his excessive precautions will only hasten the event he dreads. Scarron portrayed this cuckold in one of his novellas.³

3. THE IMAGINARY CUCKOLD

THE IMAGINARY CUCKOLD is a man who is not yet a cuckold and despairs because he believes he is one. This cuckold, like the presumptive, suffers from imaginary misfortune

before actual misfortune. Molière portrayed him in one of his plays.⁴

4. THE MARTIAL OR SWAGGERING CUCKOLD

THE MARTIAL OR SWAGGERING CUCKOLD is a man who aggressively threatens suitors, and thereby believes he has shielded his household from their advances, yet bears horns nonetheless, all while flattering himself over having escaped them through the terror he conspicuously spreads about him. He is usually cuckolded by one of those who applaud his blustering and assure him that he is the only one who knows how to watch over his marriage.

5. THE ARGUS OR WILY CUCKOLD

THE ARGUS OR WILY CUCKOLD is a cunning old fox who knows all of love's ruses, who can sense suitors from a distance and takes clever measures to put them off the scent. He gains notable advantages over them, but just as the most skilled general will suffer setbacks in the end, in the end he, too, is subject to common destiny. In any case, if he is a cuckold, he is not much of one.

6. THE JEERING CUCKOLD

THE JEERING CUCKOLD is a man who makes fun of his colleagues and considers them to be imbeciles who deserve what they get. Those who listen to him look at each other and smile, and tacitly apply to him the words of the Gospel: "you see the mote in your brother's eye but not the beam in your own."

7. THE PURE AND SIMPLE CUCKOLD

THE PURE AND SIMPLE CUCKOLD is a respectable, jealous man who is unaware of his disgrace and does not leave himself open to the jokes of gossipers, nor does he take tactless measures against spouse and pursuers. Of all the species of cuckolds, he is the most commendable.

8. THE FATALISTIC OR RESIGNED CUCKOLD

THE FATALISTIC OR RESIGNED CUCKOLD is a man who lacks the personal means to keep his spouse from roaming, resigns himself to God's will, and takes refuge in Justice and duty, observing that his wife would be quite culpable if she deceived him; which she does not fail to do.

9. THE CONDEMNED OR DESIGNATED CUCKOLD

THE CONDEMNED OR DESIGNATED CUCKOLD is a man who is afflicted with deformities or disabilities, yet ventures to take a beautiful woman for a wife. The public, offended by such a contrast, unanimously condemns him to wearing horns, and the public's sentence is carried out only too well.

10. THE IRREPROACHABLE OR VICTIMIZED CUCKOLD

THE IRREPROACHABLE OR VICTIMIZED CUCKOLD is a man who can list kindness among his physical and moral advantages, and in every respect deserves an honest spouse, but is nonetheless betrayed by a flirt and wins the approval of the public, who declare him deserving of a better lot.

11. THE PRESCRIPTIVE CUCKOLD

THE PRESCRIPTIVE CUCKOLD is a man who is often away from home, who takes long trips during which nature speaks to his spouse's senses. The latter, after putting up a sufficient resistance and after long privations, is finally forced to accept the aid of a charitable neighbor.

12. THE ABSORBED CUCKOLD

THE ABSORBED CUCKOLD is a man constantly kept away from his spouse by a torrent of business affairs; as he is unable to give her any attention, he is obliged to turn a blind eye to that which a discreet friend of the household provides.

13. THE HEALTH-CONSCIOUS CUCKOLD

THE HEALTH-CONSCIOUS CUCKOLD is a man who abstains from carnal knowledge through a doctor's orders. His wife has no choice but to appeal to substitutes, and her spouse is not entitled to take offense.

14. THE REGENERATIVE OR CONSERVATIVE CUCKOLD

THE REGENERATIVE OR CONSERVATIVE CUCKOLD is a man who takes charge of the interest of the community, who keeps watch over the households of colleagues and warns them of the dangers to their honor. Meanwhile, he fails to see what is taking place in his own household and would do better to keep an eye on what is growing on his forehead.

15. THE PROPAGANDIST CUCKOLD

THE PROPAGANDIST CUCKOLD is a man who goes about singing of the pleasures of domesticity, urging everyone to take a wife and wailing over the misfortune of those who defer from taking pleasure as he does . . . and pleasure in what? In cuckoldry. To whom does he proffer his eulogies of marriage? Most often it is to the one who gives him his horns.

16. THE SYMPATHETIC CUCKOLD

THE SYMPATHETIC CUCKOLD is a man who grows fond of his wife's lovers and makes them his close friends. You can see some who, when the lady is in a bad mood and has fallen out with her lover, go seek the latter and tell him: "We never see you anymore, we're so unhappy. I don't know what's wrong with our wife. Why don't you come see us now and then, it will distract her."

17. THE TOLERANT OR EASYGOING CUCKOLD

THE TOLERANT OR EASYGOING CUCKOLD is a man who, on seeing a lover installed in his home, behaves like a gentleman who wishes to show him around his house, reprimands the lady in private, and treats the lover as he would any other man, with that perfect equality philosophy recommends.

18. THE RECIPROCAL CUCKOLD

THE RECIPROCAL CUCKOLD is a man who turns a blind eye because he is paying back the man giving him horns by

compensating with his wife or relation. It is tit for tat: one keeps quiet in such situations.

19. THE AUXILIARY OR COADJUTOR CUCKOLD

THE AUXILIARY OR COADJUTOR CUCKOLD is a man who rarely makes an appearance in the household and only shows up to spread joy, reproach his wife's fear-stricken lovers for not laughing and drinking, and urges them to forget their squabbles and live like good republicans and share and share alike. He is an aid to commerce; horns are roses for him.

20. THE ACCELERATING OR HURRIED CUCKOLD

THE ACCELERATING OR HURRIED CUCKOLD is a man who makes an effort to be ahead of his time, hastens to show off his young wife in public, buys her a season ticket to the theater, and encourages her to pamper her friends and live as others do. This one is like a bale sent by first-class mail: it reaches its destination more quickly.

21. THE TREATABLE OR BENIGN CUCKOLD

THE TREATABLE OR BENIGN CUCKOLD is a man who sees reason; his wife's pursuers help him understand that a husband must make some sacrifices if he is to have peace and quiet in the household and allow Madame some way of relaxing without suffering consequences as a woman with principles. They persuade him that principles will prevent any seduction and he lets himself be convinced.

22. THE OPTIMISTIC OR *BON VIVANT* CUCKOLD

THE OPTIMISTIC OR *BON VIVANT* CUCKOLD is a man who sees everything through rose-colored glasses, enjoys his wife's affairs, drinks to the health of cuckolds, and finds reason for cheer in what leads others to tear out fistfuls of their hair. Is this man not wiser?

23. THE CONVERTED OR MIND-CHANGING CUCKOLD

THE CONVERTED OR MIND-CHANGING CUCKOLD is a man who at first made a big fuss and was unable to accept his horns, but who then returned to reason and ends up joking about the matter and consoling himself with others.

24. THE FEDERAL OR ALLIED CUCKOLD

THE FEDERAL OR ALLIED CUCKOLD is a man who, seeing the affair to be inevitable, is willing to allow for a lover, but only one of his choosing; we then see them join forces, like Pitt and Coburg, to surround the wife and keep her pursuers at bay.

25. THE TRANSCENDENT OR HIGH-FLYING CUCKOLD

THE TRANSCENDENT OR HIGH-FLYING CUCKOLD is the most cunning of the whole fraternity: for this reason he is placed in the center. He is the one who marries a very beautiful woman, shows her off with some fanfare, though without overdoing it, and once she has aroused general envy, he gives her up for something with high stakes, like a big position or an important partnership, after which he can make a trophy of the cuckoldry and say: "It isn't

cuckoldry at that price. Do as I do and the last laugh will be yours.”

26. THE GRANDIOSE OR IMPERTURBABLE CUCKOLD

THE GRANDIOSE OR IMPERTURBABLE CUCKOLD is a man who is not affected by, and does not joke about, the cuckoldry he foresees, and maintains perfect calm, without stooping to any sort of reaction that would invite ridicule. Most married spouses among the wealthy fall into this category out of self-interest.

27. THE DESERTER OR SECESSIONIST CUCKOLD

THE DESERTER OR SECESSIONIST CUCKOLD is a man who is bored with the affairs of marriage, makes a point of flaunting the fact that he is relinquishing his wife, and says, when he sees a lover: “When he has enjoyed her as much as *I have* he will be very tired of her.”

28. THE STIRRUP OR STRAW MAN CUCKOLD

THE STIRRUP OR STRAW MAN CUCKOLD is a figurehead who receives a promotion under the condition that he marries the mistress of a man in power and adopts the child. Such a cuckold often marries both cow and calf; his horns put his foot in the stirrup, since they have earned him a job, some sort of promotion, etc. . . .

29. THE DOTED-ON OR COMPENSATED CUCKOLD

THE DOTED-ON OR COMPENSATED CUCKOLD is a man who suspects something, but is so nicely petted, fussed over, and

pampered by his wife that his suspicions, as well as any reproaches, die as soon as she strokes him under the chin.

30. THE BEWITCHED OR CATARACT CUCKOLD

THE BEWITCHED OR CATARACT CUCKOLD is a man whom a woman knows how to fascinate and lull into such a false sense of security that she is able to make him believe the most absurd things; he alone is unaware of all the many escapades that make him a public laughingstock, and he could even see his beloved in flagrante delicto and not believe his own eyes. She persuades him that it is rejected suitors who are spreading rumors of her love affairs; he laughs with her at their alleged disgrace and she laughs much more heartily with them over the old man's gullibility.

31. THE GLEANER OR COMMONPLACE CUCKOLD

THE GLEANER OR COMMONPLACE CUCKOLD is a man who humbly comes to get his slice of the pie and woos his dear better half with all his heart to obtain what she grants to so many others, after whom he comes modestly to glean.

32. THE CUCKOLD WITH THE GUARDIAN

THE CUCKOLD WITH THE GUARDIAN is a man whose wife wears the pants and who needs her support in the world; he is the man who cannot fend for himself. I've seen one such specimen say to a party who was making fun of him: "Oh, if my wife were here, she would know what to say to you."

33. THE REVERENT OR BEHAVED CUCKOLD

THE REVERENT OR BEHAVED CUCKOLD is a simpleton who seeks revenge only through good reasoning and never departs from the rules of civility. If he finds a man of quality sleeping with his wife, he says to him: "This is very wrong, monsieur: I would never have believed such a thing of a man like you." Sitting down in an armchair, he reels off some arguments of equal force. The suitor, bored with the direct address, gets up in his shirtsleeves and says to him: "Monsieur, most sorry for bothering you, but you're sitting on my pants." The husband gets up and says very politely: "Oh, monsieur! I didn't see them: here, your pants, etc."; and then continues on with his sensible reproofs.

34. THE MYSTICAL OR SANCTIMONIOUS CUCKOLD

THE MYSTICAL OR SANCTIMONIOUS CUCKOLD is a man who avoids danger by surrounding his wife with priests and holy men, and allows some Tartuffe to slip in among them, some debauched monk who plants one on his head for the greater glory of God.

35. THE ORTHODOX OR INDOCTRINATED CUCKOLD

THE ORTHODOX OR INDOCTRINATED CUCKOLD is the catechumen of the trade, the man who has faith, who believes in principles and in good moral standards, thinks with decent people that libertines talk more than they act, that there are more honest women out there than people think, and that one must not be so quick to believe in saucy gossip. He of course has some suspicions, but

having been well shielded, well catechized, he decides to believe in the true principles of the trade. He puts all his hopes in the natural goodness of his spouse and the influence of morality.

36. THE APOSTATE OR RENEGADE CUCKOLD

THE APOSTATE OR RENEGADE CUCKOLD is a man who, after having been a model of reason, after having recognized and publicly declared that marriage is all about horns, after having put others on their guard against the conjugal trap, ends up submitting to it, head bowed, and takes on all the failings that he had pointed out and denounced. This one is a passionately sensible Apostate and a Renegade. Such was Molière who, after having so enlightened and disillusioned the confraternity, ended up so foolishly enlisting in it and adopting all the ridiculous ways that he had mocked.⁵

37. THE CURBED OR PERPLEXED, REPRESSED CUCKOLD

THE CURBED OR PERPLEXED, REPRESSED CUCKOLD is a man who is reduced to champing at the bit in silence. Family propriety or interest obliges him to behave himself, even with his wife and with the friends who know his awkward position. He represses his pique without causing any scandal and makes the best of a bad lot.

38. THE SEEDY CUCKOLD

THE SEEDY CUCKOLD is a Harpagon⁶ who does not wish to provide his wife with a wardrobe, obliges her to give

ear to generous offers, takes advantage of the suitor who looks after his wife, and deludes himself over the love affair because of the double benefit that he finds in it.

39. THE BOORISH OR VILLAINOUS CUCKOLD

THE BOORISH OR VILLAINOUS CUCKOLD is a yokel who earns the public's enmity, who offends others by the contrast of his ugly conduct with the good form of his wife. Everyone then supports the lady and says: It would be a real shame if she were faithful to such a dirty dog.

40. THE DISABUSED, DUMBFOUNDED CUCKOLD

THE DISABUSED, DUMBFOUNDED CUCKOLD is a man who, after stubbornly believing in the virtue of his wife and having long appeared among the *Bewitched* [30] or the *Orthodox* [35], finally loses his innocence through some scandal, such as a love affair that she clues him in on. This gift or some other such event opens his eyes a bit late, and he passes sadly into the ranks of the *Disabused*.

41. THE RECALCITRANT CUCKOLD

THE RECALCITRANT CUCKOLD is a man unwilling to accept the sight of the suitor, a man who makes scenes, creates a commotion. Parents, friends, neighbors are obliged to intervene and persuade him that it is all of no consequence, but they only manage to establish a truce, only a plastered-over peace.

42. THE IRATE CUCKOLD

THE IRATE CUCKOLD is a man who brings in the authorities, Justice, to intervene, who stirs up the public and brings about an awful scandal, threatens assault and battery, and in the end only exposes himself to ridicule, which he would have avoided had he followed Sosie's sage advice to the friends of Amphitryon: "In such affairs as these, it is always best to say nothing."⁷

43. THE TRUMPETER CUCKOLD

THE TRUMPETER CUCKOLD is a man who goes about with a mawkish tone of voice to take the public into his confidence, saying: "But, monsieur, I caught them in the act." To which people reply that perhaps it was in jest and that he should not be so quick to assume the worst. Which does not keep him from continuing to compensate himself by telling of the outrage to anyone who will listen, and he would happily take on a trumpeter to draw together more people and stir up the public against his wife's injustice.

44. THE DISGRACED CUCKOLD

THE DISGRACED CUCKOLD is a man whose wife has such a hold over him that she does not even let him in, rarely receives him, and shows herself in public with him even less. This was fairly often the lot of a commoner who married a noble lady. You can also see a graybeard send a mistress money, a stipulated pension, without thereby being allowed into her home: such men figure among the disgraced.

45. THE HOMEBODY CUCKOLD

THE HOMEBODY CUCKOLD is a subordinate sort of cuckold supported by the wife and who consents respectfully to all that is required for the good of her amorous affairs. This species is not uncommon.

46. THE DANDIN, OR DESPERATE CUCKOLD

THE DANDIN, OR DESPERATE CUCKOLD. This is Molière's George Dandin, who endures every imaginable tribulation and who, duped, ruined, mistreated, and abused by his wife, finds in marriage an assured means of going straight to Heaven by finding purgatory here on Earth.

47. THE BANNER-BEARING CUCKOLD

THE BANNER-BEARING CUCKOLD is a yokel married to a pretty woman, whose credulity, stupidity, ugliness, and miserliness open the door to the assaults of suitors, and rain horns down upon his head. Wherever he appears, the word "horns" rings out and the public, by naming him the leader of the cuckolds, raises him to the rank of banner-bearer.

48. THE DISTAFF-BEARING CUCKOLD

THE DISTAFF-BEARING CUCKOLD is a man who looks after the home while the lady goes out to amuse herself. He takes care of the jobs reserved for women, welcomes and acts politely toward those coming to escort Madame out, and arranges everything in her absence so as to make the home agreeable for her on her return. Does he go out for a stroll with Madame? She walks in front with

her suitor and he follows, bearing ridicule on one arm and a pug on the other, though his arms are less burdened than his forehead.

49. THE POSTHUMOUS CUCKOLD OR THE CUCKOLD OF TWO WORLDS

THE POSTHUMOUS CUCKOLD OR THE CUCKOLD OF TWO WORLDS is a man whose wife has children ten to twelve months after his demise. The law awards them to him, even though he could not have been the father, and he thereby finds himself to be a cuckold in two worlds or a cuckold in this life and the other, since after having borne them in this life, more horns are planted on him in his casket. This species is the opposite of the budding cuckold: one is a cuckold before the marriage, and the other one after. They are by rights called on to open and close the procession. This number includes those who die feeling a violent love, who appeal to their widow to stay celibate, and fear an infidelity that will not even wait until after they have died.

COMPOUND-ORDER CUCKOLDS

50 (35). THE CUCKOLD BY CALLING OR BY GRACE OR THE QUIETIST CUCKOLD

THE CUCKOLD BY CALLING OR BY GRACE OR THE QUIETIST CUCKOLD is a man who has by nature what the orthodox only acquires, a man who has never known suspicion or anxiety, a man who brings into his marriage an honest and pure soul—in short, the grace of state—and finds in the career of cuckoldry all the benefits that the famous Constitution promised the French: peace, unity, harmony, followed by calm and tranquility. This is the best sort of cuckold to be found in the entire fraternity.

51. THE BOGEYMAN CUCKOLD

THE BOGEYMAN CUCKOLD is a man who turns his home into an impregnable stronghold, guards it more severely than a black eunuch does odalisques, and ill treats not only suitors, but, in fear of failing to catch them out, people who have no interest in his wife. But no fortress is invincible, said Alexander's father, provided a mule laden with gold can enter it; and the same goes for a suitor laden with a nice purse who manages to get some sentry to drop his guard, and in this way breaks into the bogeyman's fortress.

52. THE PEDAGOGICAL OR PRIVATE TUTOR CUCKOLD

THE PEDAGOGICAL OR PRIVATE TUTOR CUCKOLD is a man Molière portrayed in his two plays, *School for Wives* and *School for Husbands*. He is the graybeard who brings up a young slip of a girl, an Agnès with whom he intends to share his bed. But someone else comes after him to give lessons that are better learned. In this class we find many philosophers who are accustomed to courting the mother in order to marry the daughter they believe to be incorruptible, because they have brought her up in accordance with the method of intuitive perceptions of sensation. But someone else takes over with sensations less learnedly analyzed, and yet more intelligible to the fairer sex.

53 (41). THE QUIBBLING CUCKOLD

THE QUIBBLING CUCKOLD is a man who, based on some suspicions, anticipates a future event that has already taken place: the growing of horns. He quibbles with his wife over certain appearances, worrying the public could gossip over them. She gives him the most reassuring replies, but he persists and points out the dangers of scandal and gossip. He argues his fine opinions at the slightest provocation, and the lady makes a point of taking them in, so as to give his mind some rest and his forehead some horns.

54. THE PHILANTHROPIC OR FRATERNAL CUCKOLD

THE PHILANTHROPIC OR FRATERNAL CUCKOLD is a man who regards men as a family of brothers, among whom all goods

must be held in common. For he good-naturedly feeds a troop of children who, under his name, belong to his neighbors and fellow citizens, children whose different fathers the public can name: their names, moreover, are written on the children's faces. This does not prevent him from loving them all equally, and from being a true model of philanthropy, fraternity, equality, and all republican virtues.

55. THE PRETENTIOUS, OR SELF-SATISFIED, CONCEITED CUCKOLD

THE PRETENTIOUS, OR SELF-SATISFIED, CONCEITED CUCKOLD is a man who believes his wife to be so honored to have him as a husband that she would not even dream of paying heed to any suitors, whom he looks upon as victims unworthy of consideration. They gain ground all the more easily: the security in which he lives makes a husband easygoing and negligent on matters of surveillance, and eventually favors the secret affair within the household.

56. THE PREACHING OR COMPASSIONATE CUCKOLD

THE PREACHING OR COMPASSIONATE CUCKOLD is a man who is good by nature and brings to his wife the aid of friendship, a man who consoles her over the world's shortcomings and the injustices and indiscretions of her suitors, humbly points out to her the advantage a return to morals would offer her, and nourishes the hope of seeing her return to the path of virtue, whose sweet charms he depicts. He obtains from her in words and promises what

suitors obtain in favors, and in the end prevails, for the lady does eventually yield to his lessons, the very moment when age distances her from all lovers.

57. THE COSMOPOLITAN OR HOSPITABLE CUCKOLD

THE COSMOPOLITAN OR HOSPITABLE CUCKOLD is a man whose home resembles a hotel owing to the quantity of suitors his wife brings into it from every country. He has coparceners and friends of all nations, who find elegant dining and warm hospitality at his home, and the sheer quantity of them puts his mind at ease, for they are so numerous that his suspicions are unable to rest on any of them.

58. THE MISANTHROPIC CUCKOLD

THE MISANTHROPIC CUCKOLD is a man who discovers the affair, takes a violent dislike to the world, and claims that the century is corrupt and that morals have vanished. Such is Kotzebue's Meinau.⁸ He is a semi-madman, pitiful in his moralistic wailing, and he would have done better not to marry if he is so loath to sharing the lot of so many honest men who are his equal.

59 (46). THE ENRAGED, POSSESSED, OR CURSED CUCKOLD

THE ENRAGED, POSSESSED, OR CURSED CUCKOLD is the jealous invalid who accrues physical and moral disgrace, and whose infirmities, like gout or paralysis, prevent him from satisfying and overseeing a young wife whose looks drive him to despair. Suffering continuously in

mind and body, and bothering others by this double misfortune, he is unquestionably among the number of possessed or those who have the devil in the flesh. For the devil can do no worse to a human body than to lodge in it both gout and jealousy.

60. THE VIRTUOSO CUCKOLD

THE VIRTUOSO CUCKOLD is a man who is enthralled by some branch of science or art, and grows fond of all the masters of the art. If he is a music lover, it is enough for someone to play him some tune on the horn to find himself among his favorites and be presented to his wife, and he will warmly place the musician in her care under the auspices of art, whereas she welcomes him under slightly different auspices.

61. THE ABANDONED CUCKOLD

THE ABANDONED CUCKOLD is a disagreeable man who makes an ill-matched marriage and who, after having tormented his pretty wife, discovers one lovely morning that the cage is empty and the bird has flown, leaving behind only a demand for divorce. He becomes the victim of the public, who laugh over an event that everyone had been expecting—everyone save the villain who had provoked it through his tactlessness.

62. THE CUCKOLD FOR EVERY OCCASION

THE CUCKOLD FOR EVERY OCCASION is a man who accrues together all the honors of the order. He began by being

a *budding* cuckold; after which, he necessarily figures among the *sympathetic*, the *orthodox*, the *bewitched*, then the other species ridiculous through their proneness to dupery, still maintaining steadfast serenity throughout all his tribulations. And to crown it all, he will find, if he dies in time, a Court of Justice that will award him a posthumous one a year after his death, so that he does not miss out on the final rank of the order, which is that of *the cuckold of two worlds*.

63. THE EMERGENCY OR SAFEGUARD CUCKOLD

THE EMERGENCY OR SAFEGUARD CUCKOLD is a man who, because of some business troubles or some very serious danger, is obliged to look the other way when his wife brings in certain visitors to deal with a most urgent danger, pour funds into a business going downhill, redeem some furniture threatened with compulsory purchase, and render many other fairly major services of importance. The loving spouse thus counts himself very lucky to save his neck at the expense of his forehead; for it is far better, goes the proverb, to sacrifice a window than to lose the entire house.

64 (11). THE EVASIVE CUCKOLD

THE EVASIVE CUCKOLD is a man whose wife becomes pregnant in his absence, has a child surreptitiously, through the aid of a journey and an honest doctor who concocts just the right convenient illness to postpone her return. Such a cuckold neither accepts nor knows of

the child. If he accepted it he would enter into the *philanthropic class* (no. 54). But he escapes the primary danger: he avoids the child and keeps only the horns, which are less costly to maintain. He is thus shielded from the primary danger and becomes an evasive cuckold.

65. THE PRUDISH OR CHAMELEON CUCKOLD

THE PRUDISH OR CHAMELEON CUCKOLD is a man who will get angry with this list and say that I offend moral standards—a Tartuffe swollen with formulas and sentences, bristling with edifying anecdotes, who makes a great fuss over denying love affairs known to all, and repeats principles at the slightest provocation, making a pretense of believing them so as to substantiate them with his wife and her pursuers. Through his carefully composed conversations, he envisages society as if it believed in the moral simpering he puts on display, and which he himself mocks like everyone else. He convinces himself and wants to convince others that the world will change its lifestyle to serve his jealousy. Such a cuckold is a caricature of the *regenerative* (no. 14). They, at least, are straightforward in making their point, whereas the prudish cuckold is a hypocrite who, in his philippics on the neglect of principles, does not believe himself any more than others do, behaves civilly with the one cuckolding him, and quite deserves what grows on his forehead. Ordinarily, such a cuckold is a filthy pig who, with all his hodgepodge of morality, never fails to woo

his maidservants and commit inappropriate actions that would be repugnant even to sworn libertines.

66. THE JUDICIOUS, OR GUARANTEED, PROTOCUCKOLD CUCKOLD

THE JUDICIOUS, OR GUARANTEED, PROTOCUCKOLD CUCKOLD is the flower of cuckolds, the flower of the race. This is the man who marries a rich woman for the comfort of liberty. She marries to silence gossip, legitimize her whims, make her way freely about her circle of lovers, and have a husband's name to cover up her goings-on. He marries a woman to enjoy the civil liberty that comes with wealth, without which one is never but a slave if one is to avoid living as a hermit. Both know the respective advantages of the deal that they have made, and of honorably fulfilling all of its conditions—namely: liberty, respect, protection, and reciprocal friendship. This is the species of cuckoldry to which I would aspire if I ever married. Any woman who would introduce me to this title in the fraternity would make an excellent bargain, as much for her as for me.

REPLACEMENT⁹

63. THE RESTFUL OR QUIETIST CUCKOLD

THE RESTFUL OR QUIETIST CUCKOLD is a man whose wife is so ugly that neither he nor anyone else thinks that she would be able to find a taker. She enjoys all the more peacefully the suitor that she finds, be it through his generosity, or owing to the whim of some men who are passionate for ugly women.

67. THE ASSAY BALANCE CUCKOLD OR FINANCIAL CUCKOLD

THE ASSAY BALANCE CUCKOLD OR FINANCIAL CUCKOLD is a man who had counted on a sizable dowry or the benefits of wealth. Ordinarily, such a husband is compensated by the kindness of the poor woman who, ashamed of her parents' cheating, tries to make up for it through her good behavior; but often the husband can't let the matter go, neglects her, and compels her, so to speak, to tell her troubles to someone discreet.

68. THE CLUMSY CUCKOLD

THE CLUMSY CUCKOLD is a man who, after the wedding, discovers some concealed disability that had not been previously mentioned. He feels piqued and walks out on his new better half. He complains bitterly, and he is told that her good character and the marriage more than compensate him. Whether or not he is satisfied with the reasoning, he still does not accept the woman, who, disdained by him, goes on to find a suitor, for every bird finds a nest.

69. THE GOSSIP CUCKOLD OR CUCKOLD BY QUANQUAM

THE GOSSIP CUCKOLD OR CUCKOLD BY QUANQUAM is a man who, through excessive blindness, illusions, and dupery, regularly provides the public with a breeding-ground of facetious remarks, a daily bread for gossip. He is the pivot for the scandal column yet still feels himself to be the most fortunate of lovers, for it is true that there is mercy for cuckolds as there is for drunkards.

70. THE CUCKOLD BY MIRACLE

THE CUCKOLD BY MIRACLE is a man whose wife, after a long period of infertility, meets someone more skilled than her husband and becomes pregnant to everyone's great astonishment. She attributes it to some novena or vow to the Merciful Virgin or else to some visit to the waters where she discovered prolific means of more than one sort. Meanwhile, everyone comes to congratulate the husband, without telling him what they actually think. He, on his part, hesitates like Saint Joseph and does not really know whether he should be delighted or angry: my concerns cannot be put out of mind. Consequently he is a cuckold by miracle and his kid is a blessed child.

71 (THEN 54). CUCKOLD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW

THE CUCKOLD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW is a man whose wife has a child of obvious contraband, such as a mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon. The cheating is incontestable, but formalities are observed and the law awards the child to the husband, though it is mixed, be it in color or through a physiognomy in sharp contrast with the other children, portraying, feature by feature, some known friend of Madame's. The child belongs, for all that, to the father, in accordance with the fine axiom: *is pater est quem* etc., an axiom that is the palladium of cuckoldry.¹⁰

72. THE CLINGING, INDEFATIGABLE CUCKOLD

THE CLINGING, INDEFATIGABLE CUCKOLD is a man whom no affront, no insult discourages. Whatever scandal his wife

has committed, he humbly returns to beg her favors. We have seen one who discovered that his wife had flown the nest, had been carried off, and went to the barracks pathetically to ask for her from a serviceman he believed to be the abductor. He was mistaken: the serviceman was but one of her suitors; he himself had not abducted the woman. Such a woman could leave the home twenty times over, and twenty times would the cuckold take her back, shedding tears of joy on each occasion.

73. THE HINNY CUCKOLD

THE HINNY CUCKOLD is a man whose wife governs by terror and who finds himself to be wrong in everything that he does and in everything that he will do. He trembles before his better half, and she upbraids him; he takes God and men as witnesses of his innocence and knows not a moment's peace with his shrew. This cuckold is portrayed in a certain vulgar song in local arias:

[4th Verse]:

*Do you know that when madam' Thomassin
Is carrying on, she beats her poor man, etc.*

One finds among the marquises some such Furies like the vulgar Thomassin, who make the poor cuckold suffer death and passion.

74. THE ANTEDATED CUCKOLD, OR CUCKOLD BY PRECESSION

THE ANTEDATED CUCKOLD, OR CUCKOLD BY PRECESSION is a man whose wife had inclinations before the marriage and, wanting to behave regularly, restrains herself until after the marriage to see those whom she had previously favored, without adding any new lover to their ranks. She does not believe she is failing in the faith invested in her, since it is a matter of continuing an intimate affair, not inventing one anew. Besides, these longstanding lovers make themselves useful to the household, and in keeping them on, the woman believes she is serving the husband. It is particularly among working-class women that one finds the sort of conscience that is so convenient for this sort of cuckoldry.

75. THE PREFERRED CUCKOLD

THE PREFERRED CUCKOLD is the complaisant and likable husband whom his wife prefers, while still treating herself to some flings. She finds in him kindness and protection against malice and fortune, and he provides her with well-being. In this case she always returns to him, the way one sees certain men return to their wife when she deserves it, and who say when leaving the home of a mistress: there is still no one more beautiful than my wife. And so say certain women, who often take back their husband and treat him with consideration, after comparing him with lovers who don't measure up and who offer no other merit than that of variety. A household is never happier than when man and woman lead this sort of life.

76. QUIBBLING RUNT CUCKOLD

77. MISUNDERSTANDING CUCKOLD

78. IMPLACABLE CUCKOLD

79. CUCKOLD IN COMMON

80. SEDITIOUS CUCKOLD

76. QUIBBLING RUNT CUCKOLD

77. MISUNDERSTANDING CUCKOLD

78. IMPLACABLE CUCKOLD

79. CUCKOLD IN COMMON

80. SEDITIOUS CUCKOLD

THE SEVEN OBJECTIVES OF MARRIAGE

1. To legitimize the children and prevent their abandonment.
2. To provide education and other attentions owed to the children.
3. To provide distraction and domestic attentions to the spouses.
4. To regulate the exercise of pleasure so as to prevent the debauchery, illness, and ruin that result from it.
5. To provide attention to the elderly, who in celibacy run the risk of being abandoned.
6. To provide a poor man with a wife in regions where he is deprived or where polygamy or the sale of women holds sway.
7. To prevent the return to the barbarous state that would arise anew through the collapse of the privilege of spouses.

* * *

The driveling old fools of truth have neglected to consider that truth's reign cannot be partial. One cannot make men truthful without at the same time raising women to the practice of truth, which they will never

adopt if the ways to truthfulness in love are not opened to them, if they are not shown the pressing interests that would encourage them to practice truth.

* * *

Of all these bold speculators on liberty, not one has dared speculate on the liberty of women . . . “All would be destroyed,” they will tell you, “the social order would descend into chaos if eunuchs and philosophers were not employed to contain women, be they civilized or barbarous . . .” All anarchy, in love as in politics, leads to new order. It was thus necessary to calculate in the cabinet, and without any real, positive test, what would have resulted from such an attempt . . . Moreover, it is simply astonishing that in regards to the marital union, various nations have not yet developed customs analogous to their respective characters. The custom of permanent marriage may indeed suit the Germans: a calm, constant nation, methodical to the point of monotony. Such a character is well suited to the uniformity of the marriage ties; but the French, who have all the opposite qualities—*anxiety, inconstancy, carelessness, etc.*—are of all characters the least compatible with everlasting marriage; and so marriages are generally bad in France; and this is why the French are the greatest cuckolds to be found in the world. There is unquestionably much less cuckoldry in Germany, even though German women are less supervised and brought up in greater freedom in []¹¹ and conscience.

HIERARCHY OF BANKRUPTCY

*Differentiated through a Series of
Genres and Species*

When a crime starts occurring frequently, people grow accustomed to seeing it without feeling any emotion over it. In Italy or Spain one will see, quite coolly, a hired assassin stab a chosen victim and then enjoy impunity by withdrawing into a church. In Germany or France, where the national character is averse to treachery, a murderer of this sort would excite such horror that witnesses would likely tear him to pieces before the law got hold of him.

How is it that other crimes can predominate in one nation, and be abhorred in a neighboring nation? In Italy, we see fathers mutilate and murder their children in order to perfect their voices; the ministers of a peaceful God encourage such cruelties by appointing these unfortunate victims of paternal greed to altar service. Here again are abominations that give rise to horror in any other civilized nation.

You will also find, among the French, German, Russians, and English, other appalling customs that will rouse the spirit of the Italians or Spanish; witness the custom of the English who lead their wives to the market, a leash about their neck, to put them up for sale, and so many other crude habits of that nation, whose population is more savage than civilized, be it only through their custom of insulting and molesting

foreigners, who are often more respected by savages than by the population of London and the inhabitants of the provinces of England.

If the customs and opinions in the civilized Order differ so greatly from nation to nation, then how different they must be from Society to Society, and how odious the vices tolerated in Civilization would seem in less imperfect Societies! In the sixth (*Guaranteeism*), which is still far from perfection, one would already have trouble understanding how Empires that call themselves highly civilized, and that have theories on property and justice, would have been able to tolerate for even an instant such abominations as Bankruptcy.¹

Bankruptcy is the most ingenious and most insolent villainy that has ever existed; it ensures every merchant the ability to steal from the public a sum proportionate to his fortune or his credit, so that a rich man can say of himself: I set myself up as a trader in 1808; by the same time in 1810, I want to steal so many millions from whomever they belong to.

Let us leave aside a current objection, the new French Code, through which a crackdown on bankruptcy has been promised. As there is not the slightest degree of agreement in opinion on this hope, and as there are already indications of means for evading the new laws, we shall wait for experience to decide things (that is, if Civilization lasts long enough for such a trial). Let us reason provisionally on what is known to us, on the disorders caused by the philosophical system, by

the principle: "Allow traders complete liberty, without demanding any guarantee of caution, integrity, and solvency from any of them."

From this arises, among other abuses, Bankruptcy, a theft more odious than highway robbery; we have nonetheless grown accustomed to it—to such an extent that we recognize *Honest Bankruptcies*: those in which the speculator only makes off with half.

Let us move on to the itemized table of this exploit, which was completely unknown in antiquity. Since then it has absolutely blossomed. It offers analysts a series of developments that shall testify in favor of our progress toward perfectibility.

HIERARCHY OF

Character 3 I —
Free Series in 3 Orders,

RIGHT OR ASCENDING WING

Light Shades: 12

1st Category The Innocent

1. The Childish Bankruptcy
2. The Daredevil Bankruptcy
3. The Sneaking Bankruptcy
4. The Posthumous Bankruptcy

2nd Category The Honorable

5. The Gullible Bankruptcy
6. The Visionary Bankruptcy
7. The Bankruptcy without Principles

3rd Category The Seductive

8. The Friendly Bankruptcy
9. The Bankruptcy in Good Taste
10. The Lovers' Bankruptcy
11. The Bankruptcy by Favor
12. The Sentimental Bankruptcy

SERIES CENTER

Grandiose Shades: 12

4th Category The Tacticians

13. The Affluent Bankruptcy
14. The Cosmopolitan Bankruptcy
15. The High-Hopes Bankruptcy
16. The Transcendent Bankruptcy
17. The Graded Bankruptcy

5th Category The Maneuverers

18. The File-Firing Bankruptcy
19. The Closed-Column Bankruptcy
20. The Deep-Formation Bankruptcy
21. The Skirmishing-Order Bankruptcy

6th Category The Agitators

22. The Large-Scale Bankruptcy
23. The Widespread Bankruptcy
24. The Attila Bankruptcy

BANKRUPTCY

Crimes of Commerce

9 Genres, 36 Species

LEFT OR DESCENDING WING

Contemptible Shades: 12

7th Category The Cunning

25. The Compensation Bankruptcy
26. The Exceptional Bankruptcy
27. The Second-Helping Bankruptcy
28. The Blissful Bankruptcy

8th Category The Bunglers

29. The Deluded Bankruptcy
30. The Invalid Bankruptcy
31. The Crushing Bankruptcy
32. The Dirty Bankruptcy

9th Category . . . The False Brothers

33. The Crooked Bankruptcy
34. The Roguish Bankruptcy
35. The Shady Bankruptcy
36. The Bankruptcy for the Fun of It

Nota. Not included in this table are national bankruptcies, which will form a specific category to figure in a more complete table.

**ASCENDING WING OF THE BANKRUPT: TWELVE SPECIES
THE INNOCENT, THE HONORABLE, THE SEDUCTIVE**

In a very depraved, very greedy century, it would be leaving oneself open to ridicule to take on a pedagogical tone and rail against the vices in credit, against bankruptcy. It is wiser to follow the predominant tone and consider social crimes through their amusing aspect. I am thus going to prove that bankruptcy is a villainy even more ridiculous than its guardians and proponents believe it to be, who all look upon its mercantile pillaging as so many acts of kindness.

Everything is relative, in vice as in virtue; even bandits have their statutes on justice and honor. So there need be no surprise that the bankrupt allow themselves principles and degrees of foulness to their deeds. Such is what I have sought to bring out in this distribution. In accordance with the commonly used rule in free series, I had to divide it into three bodies:

The first contains the light, charming shades;
The second or center, the imposing, sublime characters;
The third, the less salient nuances, the trivial species.
The right or ascending wing shall lead the march.

FIRST CATEGORY—THE INNOCENT—FOUR SPECIES

I. **THE CHILDISH BANKRUPTCY** is that of a youngster just beginning his career who carelessly undertakes this esca-

pade without any preparatory tactics. The lawyer has an easy time in arranging the affair. He presents it as being a young man's folly, and says: "*Youth calls for your indulgence.*" The scandal becomes a public amusement, as these youngsters' bankruptcies are always being mixed up with amusing incidents: duped usurers, hoodwinked Harpagon, etc.

This species of the insolvent can hazard a great many foul deeds: abduction of merchandise, scandalous borrowings, theft from parents, friends, neighbors; all is washed away by this accomplice's argument, who tells the wrathful creditors: "What do you expect, he's a child who doesn't understand business; we have to hand something down to the young generation; they will develop with time."

These childish bankrupts have a major element in their favor, which is raillery. Mockery is very common in commerce; people are more inclined to employ it against those duped than to criticize villains, and when someone claiming insolvency can get the laughter on his side, he will assuredly and very quickly get the majority of the creditors to capitulate, and obtain an agreement straightaway.

2. **THE DAREDEVIL BANKRUPTCY** is that of certain big-risk gambling novices, people who go full speed ahead, who handle and speculate without rhyme or reason, incur enormous expenses, and play at being a grand gentleman so as to usurp straightaway a provisional credit set aside by means of some concealed sacrifices. Once in

gear, these daredevils pile stupidity upon stupidity, and usually end up running off. The affair is excused as being a bunch of rigmarole, and easy to put up with, in that it lends itself to the same jokes as the previous one.

These daredevils are quite common in France, where they are decorated with the name of speculators. A very assured gamble for them is to hasten the outcome in such a manner that the collapse takes place when people are thinking that they have only just started, and when everyone is entrusting them with a first bit of business, saying: "Oh, he won't fail in the first year."

3. **THE SNEAKING BANKRUPTCY** is carried out by underhanded means, and occurs when the embarrassed debtor proposes a *little arrangement*, a remittance of 25 percent, or else merchandise overestimated by 25 percent. The mediator draws the creditors' attention to the fact that this is very advantageous for them; for, if the fellow were to be pressed and obliged to become insolvent, they would be losing at least 50 percent.

One comes across this sort of relative accounting very often in commerce. There is a mob of villains to be found who, by robbing you of 30 percent, prove to you that you have come out very much ahead in that they are not robbing you of 50 percent. Others claim that they are losing a lot, because they are only coming ahead 40 percent with you, when they should have gotten 60 percent. This manner of calculating seems laughable, but it is universally accepted in commerce; it provides utter success in bankruptcy by *underhanded means*. It is

proven that this small remittance of 25 percent is a clear and distinct profit of 25 percent in comparison to the 50 percent that the insolvency would cost. Shaken by the strength of this reasoning, the creditors subscribe to the *little arrangement*. He who is owed 4,000 francs receives 3,000, and this is not declared a bankruptcy.

4. **THE POSTHUMOUS BANKRUPTCY** is declared after the person's death; it becomes a plea in defense for the deceased, who really had intended to settle his affairs, and who would have certainly honored them if he had lived. At that point his excellent qualities are extolled; his poor orphans are pitied. Do the creditors wish to worry a weeping widow? If she is pretty, it would be an atrocity! Meanwhile, the widow, aided by some accomplices, has made off with a good amount of property before the seals are in place. These gaps are attributed to the deceased, who did not have time to put things in order, and who will not be returning to offer a denial. If there is a 25 percent deficit, it can be brought up to 50 percent; there is no extra cost when one has one's hands on it all; anyway, it would be madness to go insolvent at 25 percent when people are recognized as being *honest* at 50 percent, especially when it is the fault of a very respectable deceased man, the memory of whom it would be awful to compromise.

SECOND CATEGORY—THE HONORABLE—THREE SPECIES

The four species already defined are those of fictitious innocence. We will now review those of genuine

innocence. We must distinguish all the genres through precise definitions. It would be unjust to denounce the insolvent en masse just because nine-tenths of them are rogues. I will cite three truly forgivable classes. We will have all too many guilty ones needing our attention; let us first seek out some honest people within this fraternity, which has grown so numerous since the regeneration that in certain cities, one no longer asks who has gone bankrupt, but who has not.

5. **THE GULLIBLE BANKRUPTCY** is that of an unfortunate wretch who fails to turn over the slightest sum, delivers everything to the creditors, and places himself at their discretion without engaging in any fraud. Others who go bankrupt make fun of him and declare him a dupe who should have at least made a bundle; and in truth a man so loyal is unworthy of our century of perfectibility.

6. **THE VISIONARY BANKRUPTCY** is the deed of a man who despairs, believes himself dishonored, and sometimes commits suicide, goes off to drown himself. It is not in keeping with the time: to be an honest man in the nineteenth century—and what's worse, in commerce!

Nevertheless, I am pleased to say that such men can still be found in commerce, but scattered about, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.² Everyone foretells their fate, for it is known that for every ten villains who go into commerce, there are nine who make their fortune, and for every ten honest men, there are nine who will ruin themselves.

7. **THE BANKRUPTCY WITHOUT PRINCIPLES** is that of a simpleton who allows the law to intervene and pass a sentence that brands and robs him, instead of imitating so many skilled people who know how to emerge from this bad predicament with honor and profit.—These three honest champions 5, 6, and 7 are so unworthy of the august fraternity that I am passing over them quickly. We now come to an assortment more likely to win the approval of connoisseurs.

THIRD CATEGORY—THE SEDUCTIVE—FIVE SPECIES

Why shouldn't the bankrupt seduce us, as so many other underhanded classes do? We will now review a clique full of charm, guaranteed to conquer every heart.

8. **THE FRIENDLY BANKRUPTCY**, economical, is that of a sugary character who only wants the best for his creditors, and who would despair should they incur any expenses because of him, and he urges them to negotiate at 50 percent remittance to keep the law from intervening, which would eat up everything. He has it pointed out to the creditors that he wants to treat them as friends whose interests are dear to him. Earnestly looking after what is best for them, he finds the idea of bringing about any law expenses for them to be terrifying. Some are seduced by this verbiage and other such machinations; others give in out of fear of the law, which would indeed devour it all.

9. **THE BANKRUPTCY IN GOOD TASTE** is that of people who keep very good company, and who maintain a quality

household up to the last minute. As they are very respectable people, they have a good many guarantors, and if they make off with only 60 percent, they easily obtain an agreement; particularly if the lady and her daughters are intelligent enough to make an appeal, and if they take advantage of the decision of Sanchez, who authorizes them to wear a very light scarf when they go to make an appeal on important affairs.³

10. **THE LOVERS' BANKRUPTCY** is that of pretty women; it is indecent to complain about them: the fairer sex deserves considerations. A pretty merchant robs you of a thousand écus, and it would be lacking good manners to quibble over them; she is entitled to tease the recalcitrant. I heard one such lady say of a creditor: "So-and-so! They say he's grumbling: ah! I would advise him not to complain about his fifty louis; I should have put in for double." He had had certain liberties with the lady, so she had the right to call him ungrateful.

11. **THE BANKRUPTCY BY FAVOR** is when it is clear that the creditors come out ahead; and how can this be so? It is when the insolvency robs only a little bit, 40 percent, and provides guarantees for the rest, a very solid security. This is reputed to be such a lucky turn of events that our lawyer congratulates the assembled creditors, compliments them on an excellent deal, on what is a *true favor*. To lose only 4,000 out of 10,000 francs and draw back 6,000 is really coming out ahead. The man unaccustomed to commerce will not appreciate the fa-

vor being done him; he would like to have his entire 10,000 francs, and would believe that he is being robbed of 4,000 francs. What indecent manners! To claim that a man is robbing you when he is giving you a discount of 40 percent, and treating you like a friend as far as the rest goes!

12. **THE SENTIMENTAL BANKRUPTCY** is that of certain people declaring insolvency who deliver speeches to break your heart, offer displays of such feeling and virtue that the creditor would be a barbarian if he did not immediately surrender, and if he did not consider himself lucky to oblige such honest folk, who tenderly love all those whose money they take away. They pay it back with excellent reasons and very flattering praise; they take the debtor by means of feelings, converse with him only on each other's virtues; you discover that you are a better man after a conversation with them; you find yourself to be endowed with a mass of virtues that are indeed worth the sum of money that has been swiped. If you are several thousand francs the less, you have that many more virtues, which is all profit for beautiful souls.

One of these exhibitionists once told me: "I felt quite sorry for messieurs so-and-so, they are very honest people, people I respect very much," and to prove his respect, the rascal robbed them of 10,000 francs in an early business affair through a bill of exchange that was a New Year's Day welcome present. He had drawn this sum to make their acquaintance, and he lost it one month later. How charming for these gentlemen to

have earned his respect in exchange for 10,000 francs!

I have kept my word; I had promised a seductive gathering. We find nothing but friendship, favor, excellent manners, and delicate feelings with the insolvent folks in this truly likable category. But if this category is made to win over hearts, others command your admiration, and must, for this reason, figure in the center of the series, which comprises the brilliant flights, the transcendent characters, the great garlands of the order.

**SERIES CENTER: TWELVE SPECIES
THE TACTICIANS, THE MANEUVERERS, THE AGITATORS**

We now come to the great developments of commercial genius, to the vast operations that confirm this century's incredible progress toward regeneration and perfectibility. Here bankruptcy shall unfurl with great cunning and operate in accordance with wide-ranging plans, and our account of them shall prove the profound wisdom of the principle: Let the merchants do as they will; allow them full liberty in their sublime conceptions of treachery and pillage.

FOURTH CATEGORY—THE TACTICIANS—FIVE SPECIES

13. **THE AFFLUENT BANKRUPTCY** is that of speculators of high lineage who have a gift for commerce. The banker Dorante owns 2 million and wants to quickly turn it into 4 or 5 million one way or another. Using his known fortune he obtains credit adding up to 8 million in bills of exchange, commodities, etc.; he then has 10 million to play with. He goes into high-stakes speculation, handling commodities and government securities. By the end of the year, instead of having doubled the 2 million he owned, perhaps he will have lost it; you believe him to be ruined; not at all: he is going to own 4 million, as if he had succeeded; for he still has in hand the 8 million he obtained on credit, and instead of an *honest*

insolvency, he adapts by paying back half of it over a few years. This is how after having lost the 2 million of his personal assets he now finds himself owning 4 million that he has robbed from the public. A fine thing, this commercial liberty! And now do you understand why every day you hear it said of a merchant: *He has been doing quite well since his insolvency?*

Another stroke of luck for the fraudulent bankrupt: Dorante, after his theft of 4 million, keeps his honor and public esteem intact—and not as a robber, but as an unfortunate merchant. Allow us to explain.

Dorante, in premeditating his Bankruptcy, commanded opinion; his parties in the city and the country won him warm supporters; all the brilliant youth rally behind him; beautiful women take pity on his MISFORTUNE (these days misfortune is a synonym for Bankruptcy); his noble character, so deserving a better fate, is praised. If you listen to a bankrupt's apologists, it would seem that he is even unhappier than those whose fortune he carries off. All fault is shifted onto political events, disastrous circumstances, and other verbiages familiar to lawyers, who excel in withstanding the charges of irritated creditors. After the first shock, Dorante has some mediators intervene, some appropriate rolls of cash are distributed, and soon opinion is circumvented to such an extent that any who would speak against Dorante would be accused of cannibalism. What's more, the ones who lost the big-

gest sums to him are 100 to 200 leagues away, in Hamburg or Amsterdam; they will calm down over time; it doesn't matter, anyway: their distant gossip won't have any influence on people's opinions in Paris. In any case, Dorante only lost half, and habit has decreed that he who only loses half is more unfortunate than culpable; and so Dorante is washed clean in the public's mind from the very start. After a month, public opinion is distracted by other bankruptcies that cause a bigger stir, and which offer two-thirds or three-quarters in loss. This adds a new glow to Dorante, who had only made off with half; what's more, it is an old and forgotten bit of business now. Little by little, Dorante's home is already opening anew to the public, his cook reigns over spirits once again, and no one hears the yells of certain cantankerous creditors who have no regard whatsoever for MISFORTUNE, and no regard whatsoever for the consideration owed to good company.

And so in less than six months Dorante and his lot bring their operation to a close and steal millions from the public, ruin families whose money they hold, and sweep upright merchants into a bankruptcy that places them in the same category as villains. Bankruptcy is the one social crime that spreads like an epidemic, and which plunges the honest man into the same opprobrium as the villain. The honest merchant, who may endure the Bankruptcies of twenty villains, is in the end forced to declare insolvency just like them.

And so it is that the villains declaring bankruptcy, who make up nine-tenths of the clique, all pose as honest people who have had *troubles* and who cry out in chorus: *I am more to be pitied than blamed*. To hear them, you would think they were all little saints, like galley slaves who claim to have done no wrong.

To this the supporters of commercial license will talk of repressive laws and courts; yes, indeed! Courts against people who make off with several million at a single go!

14. **THE COSMOPOLITAN BANKRUPTCY:** this is an alliance between commercial genius and philosophical genius. A bankrupt man is a true citizen of the world when, after having exploited one kingdom, he then goes on to create bankruptcies in several others. It is a reliable speculation. You arrive barely known to anyone, you change your name as needed, as the Jews do, and you promptly obtain a large amount of credit against a sum that you gathered from an earlier bankruptcy. Modern politics has come up with this amusing idea of entrusting the general management of industrial earnings to people who have no fixed connection to the country, are not bound to it through any large properties, and who can speculate as cosmopolitans on half a dozen bankruptcies carried out successively in Paris, London, Hamburg, Trieste, Naples, and Cadiz. I will describe this bankruptcy in the *File-Firing* article, which has a cosmopolitan for its maneuvering pivot.

15. **THE HIGH-HOPES BANKRUPTCY.** This one barely dates back further than the Regeneration: hardly more than half a century. Young people did not use to make an early start in commerce; it was rare to see them become managers before the age of thirty. Now a mere eighteen-year-old is directing a company, and can already be carrying out his first bankruptcy at the age of twenty, which makes a sequel look all the more promising. There are some who at the age of thirty have already carried out three bankruptcies and more than once consumed a hundred thousand écus of their backers. It is said on seeing a member of this species: He is pretty young for so much glory! But this is a century for youth.

16. **THE TRANSCENDENT BANKRUPTCY** calls for a wide-ranging plan, immense and rapid growth, a trading syndicate utilizing thirty or forty sales assistants, numerous ships, colossal relations with every country, and then a sudden collapse, a terrible fall whose repercussions echo throughout the four corners of the world and leave behind such a tangled mess that businessmen will be skimming profits off its repercussions for ten years after. It is an operation in which mercantile genius reveals itself in all its glory. It must offer a loss of at least three-quarters, for everything needs to be lavishly drawn in this vast tableau.

17. **THE GRADED BANKRUPTCY** is that of a speculator who, if he carries out the operation wisely enough, can make a

career out of seven to eight consecutive bankruptcies. In this case, he must take things at a different pace than if he were to only plan one or two bankruptcies. The principles are:

FIRST. To loot with moderation the first time around. It is enough to take 50 percent; one must not frighten people away from the get-go, and the second bankruptcy would get difficult if one fell into discredit owing to excessive plundering at the first try.

SECOND. To loot only a very little the second time, no more than 30 percent, so as to prove that the insolvent one has developed, that he is already operating more wisely, and that after recovering from this second failure, he will become a consummate merchant, a worthy friend of commerce.

THIRD. To loot copiously the third time, at least 80 percent; to use as a pretext that the deficit is not customary but rather something of an accident; to see it through with the aid of some critical circumstances; to emphasize how well one had handled oneself in the second one, to prove that the fault lies entirely with events.

FOURTH. To only loot 50 percent in the fourth, so as to prove that one is a cautious man and that one knows how to keep oneself within reasonable limits when one is not dragged along by circumstances.

FIFTH. One can go up to 60 percent in the fifth, because the public has grown accustomed to it: 10 percent more

or less doesn't get in the way of a business matter when it is expected; for people know that if a person has done it four times, he will do so a fifth time, a sixth. I saw one man get teased after his fourth insolvency over the clerical hat he wore as a sign of piety and good morals; he was by no means disconcerted and, indeed, went on to prepare a fifth.

As to the sixth, the seventh, they are *ad libitum*; one only carries them out when one is getting on in age and is thinking of resting on one's laurels. Nothing is easier to forgive than a sixth insolvency: everyone is used to it; it surprises no one. Anyway, people say nasty things about the government, that it does not want to protect commerce, and is the cause of these little inconveniences honest merchants experience.

Let no one be surprised if I give here some principles to be used in bankruptcies; it is an utterly new art—one that, like the economism from which it springs, still has no fixed principles, not even a methodical nomenclature. For this reason, only the first four stages of graded bankruptcy have titles:

He who carries out a first insolvency is a simple knight;
With the second, he bears the name of prince;
At the third, he is nicknamed king;
At the fourth, emperor.

These titles are commonly used among people of the art, and it is thought: There's one who has gone up in rank;

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he's become emperor, which is to say he has just carried out his fourth bankruptcy. There is still no name for the fifth, sixth, and seventh stages. A true friend of commerce must raise himself to a complete octave. To be a harmonic bankrupt, he must produce seven *honest insolvencies* with an average loss of 50 percent; then a pivotal or intensified one, which one calls *bankruptcy*, where it is permitted to loot at least 80 percent as an indemnity for the moderation brought into all the others, in which one was limited to the honest rate of 50, a dishonest profit that allows no one to criticize a man, because it is a rate received for insolvencies, a fixed price like that of little pies or carriage rides.

FIFTH CATEGORY—THE MANEUVERERS—FOUR SPECIES

In this entry we deal with the mass evolutions that demand the support of several bankrupts operating together for the good of commerce and the triumph of august truth. These collective maneuvers provide us with four sorts of artists and evolutions.

18. **THE FILE-FIRING BANKRUPTCY.** This is usually produced through repercussions, through the complications of insolvencies, one of which leads to another. I shall describe one of an average and bourgeois sort, which will be the most comprehensible one for the majority of readers. We shall portray one of those cosmopolitan artists whose definition I have postponed. He is a cosmopolitan who will be our pivot of maneuver in the file fire.

The Jew Iscariot arrives in France with 100,000 livres in capital, which he won in his first bankruptcy: he sets himself up as a merchant in a city where he has for rivals six accredited and respected companies. To take away their popularity, Iscariot starts out by giving away all his wares at cost price; it is a sure means of drawing a crowd: soon Iscariot's rivals are uttering loud cries; he smiles at their complaints, and continues to give away wares at cost.

Then the people sing his praises: long live competition, long live the Jews, philosophy, and fraternity; all the prices of wares have lowered since Iscariot's arrival; and the public says to the rival companies: "You're the ones, messieurs, who are the real Jews and who want to earn too much: Iscariot alone is an honest man, he's satisfied with a modest profit because he does not have as splendid a home as you." It is in vain that the former traders depict Iscariot as a scoundrel, who will sooner or later declare bankruptcy; the public accuses them of jealousy and slander, and runs increasingly to the Israelite.

This is the robber's scheme: By selling at cost price, he risks no other loss than that of the interest on his funds, which is to say, 10,000 livres per year, but he builds up a considerable outlet, he makes a reputation for himself as a big customer in the ports, and he obtains large credit if he is prompt in his payments. This game goes on for two years, after which Iscariot has earned nothing, all while selling huge quantities. His

maneuvering is in no way divulged, because Jews have only Jewish employees, people who are secret enemies of all nations and never betray a premeditated act of knavery by one of their own.

When everything is ready for the dénouement, Iscariot uses all his credit, provides ample commissions in all the ports, for the sum of 500 to 600 thousand livres, bought forward. He steers his wares to foreign countries and sells whatever is in his warehouses extremely cheaply. Then, once he has turned everything into money, the honest Iscariot disappears with his billfold and returns to Germany where he has conveyed his wares bought on credit. He promptly realizes them, and finds himself on leaving France four times richer than he had been entering it; he owns 400 thousand livres, and goes off to Leghorn or London to prepare a third bankruptcy.

It is then that the veil falls and everyone returns to their senses back in the city where he carried out his move. Everyone realizes the danger of allowing Jews into commerce, vagabonds who care about nothing; but Iscariot's bankruptcy is only the first act in the farce; let's follow the results: let us observe the file fire.

The Israelite had had six rival companies: let us name them A, B, C, D, E, and F.

A had been having difficulties for a while, he had been holding up without capital and only on his good reputation; but Iscariot's arrival took away all of his clients, he was unable to last more than a year in the

struggle, after which he lost courage, and having no understanding of these new philosophical systems that protect vagabonds, A finds himself compelled to bow before Iscariot's tactics and declare *bankruptcy*.

B withstood the shock longer: he anticipated Iscariot's knavery from way off, and waited for the storm to pass so as to reestablish his client base, stolen by the Israelite's treachery: but in the interval, B suffers a major bankruptcy elsewhere, and it is enough to hasten his fall: he thought himself able to hold on for two years, but after fifteen months he is obliged to declare *bankruptcy*.

C was in a company elsewhere that was ruined by a different Iscariot (for they settle in every city). C is swept along with the fall of his partner, and after having made sacrifices for eighteen months in order to maintain competition with the Hebrew thief, C finds himself compelled to declare *bankruptcy*.

D's integrity is more apparent than real. He still has means for survival, despite the fact that he has suffered from the Jew's competition for 20 months; but irritated by the losses that he experiences, he allows himself to slip into the vice everyone offers him as an example; he observes that three of his colleagues have led the way, and that he as the fourth will pass into the number, using as a pretext misfortunes that are fictitious or real; and so D, annoyed by a twenty-month struggle with Iscariot, sees the most prudent thing to do would be to declare *bankruptcy*.

E had lent large sums to his four colleagues who have just become insolvent. He had believed them to be very solvent, and they truly had been before Iscariot's maneuver robbed them of their industry. E is caught off guard by the insolvency of these four companies; furthermore, he has no more clients: the public is all going to Iscariot, who is selling at cost price. E sees his means wiped out, his credit drained; he is pressed, and, unable to satisfy his commitments, he ends up declaring *bankruptcy*.

F is not lacking means, but finds himself discredited in every seaport by the insolvency of the preceding five; their example raises suspicions that F will not be long in imitating his colleagues; moreover, some of the others have concluded their arrangements and are selling at very low prices in order to meet the financial commitments of their contract. Wishing to hasten their sale, they lose a tenth, but gain four-tenths, since they have adapted to half of the loss. F is crushed by this scenario and finds himself reduced to declaring, like all of his colleagues, *bankruptcy*.

This is how the business of a vagabond or a Jew is enough to disrupt as a whole a large city's body of merchants and lead the most honest of men into crime; for every bankruptcy is more or less criminal, however disguised it may be with fallacious pretexts, like those I've used to color these six bankruptcies; and there is nary a word of truth in all these pretexts: at the end of the day,

everyone cleverly seizes the occasion to carry out a theft that will remain unpunished.

Sometimes the fire ricochets or has repercussions that extend a distance and carry off a dozen companies in different countries at one go. They have interests in common, and the fall of the main one leads to the fall of all the interested parties, like a row of dominoes. It is an enormous combination, worthy of figuring among the great maneuvers; nevertheless, this distant ricochet will have to form a separate species in a more exact classification.

19. **THE CLOSED-COLUMN BANKRUPTCY** demands favorable circumstances that can serve as a plausible excuse and encourage masses of merchants to take the leap. In this case, they stand by each other respectively and support each other through their numbers, like a regiment that forms a closed column to make a breach and pass through it with bayonets. In this way the bankrupts, when their luck is good, must close ranks, display a column of insolvents every day at the stock exchange, and have them follow each other so rapidly that public opinion is disoriented and arrangements are arrived at without difficulty, given the serious nature of the circumstances. One periodically sees these closed-column bankrupts in London. Paris made a very fine effort in 1800 that succeeded quite well for many friends in commerce.

20. **THE DEEP-FORMATION BANKRUPTCY** is a series of insolvencies that are linked together, but which only break out at a distance, three every three months. As opposed to the Closed Columns, which follow each other from one day to the next, in the Deep Formation one must agree to take turns going insolvent, and wait for the moment one's colleague has negotiated his insolvency. For example, when, after three months, A receives his arrangement, B must that very moment declare his bankruptcy, because the mediators will find public opinion to be favorably inclined and say: "it's the same deal as A, one must have led to the other, the same arrangement has to be made." And the same for C, who will be in want three months later, then for D, E, F, G: if they know how to plan their operations jointly, keep their distance from each other, and carefully handle the intervals, they will all receive the same arrangements. The Deep Formation is a very reliable maneuver when it is wisely managed. But it does not suit every scenario, and it is up to the bankrupt's genius to discern the cases in which it is to be adopted.

21. **THE SKIRMISHING-ORDER BANKRUPTCY** is initially composed of those minor crooks who are but a prelude to a larger movement and who declare small bankruptcies here and there in their small-scale commerce. This leads others to conclude that there will be business troubles and that the battle will be hot. Indeed, soon the roar of big artillery is heard: bankruptcies of millions that will ab-

sorb everyone's attention for a long while. After which the movement ends with the rearguard skirmishers, the minor bankruptcies, the small-town speculators, taking the leap to close out the session.

SIXTH CATEGORY—THE AGITATORS—THREE SPECIES

What! Has all this not been scandalous enough? What can you recite to us that is worse than the swarm you have just described?

I have only named the most honest. In every series one must place along the ascending wing the amiable, romantic species; in the center the strong and noble species; and along the descending wing those species inferior in merit and charm.

As we are broaching the descending wing, we can here place the bankruptcies that, operating within far-reaching parameters, disregard moral methods and jeopardize the august profession.

22. THE LARGE-SCALE BANKRUPTCY embraces every class of society, compromises even small people, servants, and others who entrust their slim savings to a hypocrite. Soon bankruptcy spoliates hundreds of landlords, members of the lower middle class, and other good people. An entire city finds itself compromised. In general, this sort of bankruptcy particularly hurts non-merchants and greatly harms the profession by giving rise to rather unflattering thoughts concerning the honest fraternity of traders.

23. **THE WIDESPREAD BANKRUPTCY** is that of some obscure upstart who, without any means, without confidence, manages to launch himself into big business and brings about an insolvency as enormous as those of top-ranking, powerful bankers. Everyone wonders how this boor was able to establish so many relationships and organize such a plump bankruptcy.

This character is the opposite of the preceding one; but, though taking different paths, he arrives at the same end, and makes public opinion rise up against the intrigues of merchants and against the stupid laws that allow this disreputable gambler such utter freedom.

24. **THE ATILA BANKRUPTCY** is that which praises the glory of bankruptcy to the skies, and ravages a country as if an army of Vandals had passed through it. One can cite in this genre a famous bankruptcy carried out in Orléans around the year 1810, by an amateur named T. who came up short of 16 million so well spread throughout the poor city of Orléans that the populace was stunned. Desolation set in among all ranks of citizens. Fugitives spread as far as Lyon, saying: "Orléans is wiped out, we are all ruined, T. is making off with everything." According to detailed reports, he had carried this exercise out in such a manner that every class was tapped and spoliated, from the rich capitalists down to the poor domestics who had been saving up some crowns their entire lives in order to deposit them with a mercantile intriguer who carries them off, shielded by the lovely

principle: let the merchants do what they will, they know very well what best suits their interest.

Must we now be surprised that Bonaparte threw senatorial appointments at the speculators: he sensed that he owed respect to his ravaging colleagues; for a speculator, when he operates according to the rules, can wreak just as much devastation as an army. It was thus a speculator who organized the famous famine of 1812, and in doing so toppled Bonaparte, who if not for that famine would perhaps be ruler of the world today: for it is certain that he would have gotten Russia to surrender without that artificial famine, which postponed the opening of the campaign by six weeks and led to the establishment of peace between the Turks and the Russians and the curtailment of the French operation.

I've described the right and the center; there remains a wing to inspect.

What robberies! What a variety of crimes in just a single field of commercial exploits. I say "single," for bankruptcy is only the thirty-first of the characteristics of this mendacious commerce, for which science claims utter freedom under the pretext that merchants know very well what best suits their interests. I have drawn attention to the fact that we would do well to ask whether they know a little too well what their interests are and too little what is in the interest of the state and industry. If this second hypothesis is true, it means that science deceives us when it preaches that merchants be given absolute freedom.

**DESCENDING WING: TWELVE SPECIES
THE CUNNING, THE BUNGLERS, THE FALSE BROTHERS**

We move on from the description of great feats to lesser trophies. Not all is as grandiose in bankruptcy as in the three categories of the center. Nevertheless we shall gather together a remarkable collection in the left wing, bankruptcies of softer complexions, people whose more bourgeois virtues and faults will soothe our eyes after the bright glare of so many heroic deeds, the scenes of which I have had to classify in the center of the series, and we shall find that there are still some cohorts capable of cheering up the reader, especially the last ones, the false brothers who compromise the bankruptcy corps.—Let us begin with a serious nuance.

SEVENTH CATEGORY—THE CUNNING—FOUR SPECIES

25. **THE COMPENSATION BANKRUPTCY** is one carried out in order to compensate for some setback. In the case of the loss of a lawsuit, if a speculator is robbed of 100,000 francs, on the following day he declares a bankruptcy that will provide him with 200,000. Thereupon he gains the sum of the lawsuit instead of losing it. Commerce has this very lovely characteristic of being able to receive compensation for circumstances; it knows the art of finding its interest in every sort of hardship. A ship owner undergoes a shipwreck and the next day a handsome bankruptcy brings him a profit, and these

sorts of insolvencies take place without any contradiction, because the notary says: "It isn't his fault, events forced him to it, he is more to be pitied than blamed."

To this a landowner, whose deposit has been taken, will reply: "I don't receive these compensations when my harvests are carried off by hail or floods, etc., I am unable to receive compensation from others." An amusing argument! Don't landowners know that in the current order they are a class dependent on those nonproductive people called merchants who, with their claws in industrial earnings, pay themselves at the expense of the masses, like a commando who finds no enemies to pillage and robs friends and good people? Such is the trader, a true industrial Cossack, whose motto is: "I don't work for glory, I need something to chisel." Every merchant wants to chisel (a word that in mercantile slang means "to take"), and if someone thinks that they're chiseling him through a lawsuit or some other means, that merchant has his own resources, and through a compensation bankruptcy chisels someone else in turn.

26. **THE EXCEPTIONAL BANKRUPTCY** is that of a wise man who has anticipated every situation, and puts something aside to face the storms and triumph over the recalcitrant; if he only wishes to earn 200,000 francs in his bankruptcy, he will embezzle 300,000, a third of which will be used in useful payments, hand-kissing, New Year's Day presents; he knows how to keep the noisiest quiet and how to paralyze justice; a roll here, a roll

there, his case is led along by moneyed means, and this bankruptcy ends up making him a lot of friends, who take a piece of the pie and say that he is a fine man and very intelligent in business matters.

27. **THE SECOND-HELPING BANKRUPTCY** is that in which one plays out the farce in several acts, which rise to a crescendo. First, one presents it as a slightly awkward situation, an obstruction for which a remittance of 30 percent is needed if a collapse is to be avoided. The alarmed creditors compromise quietly, for they have been given a glimpse of how bad things could get and that it is an easy matter to support the fellow. Yet three months later he falters again. The creditors receive another visit and are led to fear a new collapse; it is admitted that things are worse than had been thought, and that an extension of 50 percent is needed. Some of them grumble, the matter gets complicated, and insolvency is declared on such terms that instead of 50 percent they need to lose 80 or 90, with some years granted for the rest to be paid. But the arrangement is still easy to wrap up because the creditors, having been skillfully handled and gradually familiarized to a loss of 30, then 50, then 70, are reduced to surrendering, and they sign, giving up this cursed business for lost, though they had been told that they were only supposed to lose 30 percent. One could do worse than adopt this crescendo method, and it can be recommended to speculators fond of principles.

28. **THE BLISSFUL BANKRUPTCY** is that of a holy man, who belongs to all fraternities and holds the cordons of the

canopy in processions. He easily obtains credit and deposits and can quietly organize an extensive bankruptcy. I have seen some bankruptcies of this species with a 90 percent loss. The advantage in such cases is that the insolvent man can still find many people who excuse him, saying: "Ah, he is a very pious man; if he had not succeeded in his commerce, it is because he puts no store in worldly possessions." This piety is emphasized in order to speed along an arrangement, by means of which the good apostle keeps a good portion of these worldly possessions while awaiting those of the other.

EIGHTH CATEGORY—THE BUNGLERS—FOUR SPECIES

One finds in every profession ignoramuses who work without principles and who can only make a bad job out of excellent material. It is the same with the bankrupt, where one can find blithering idiots who only know how to change gold into copper, and who ruin themselves very foolishly where others would do excellent business. I shall cite four species, which I will define briefly; for this is a truly honest category that offers no amusement. I am only holding a review of them for the sake of analytical consistency.

29. **THE DELUDED BANKRUPTCY** is that of dupes who, baited by fashionable verbiage, venture into trade without knowing its tricks, and come, like moths, to burn their wings in the flame. Since 1789 we have seen many big property owners—who had no need to get mixed up in this mess—we have seen them, I say, waste a rich

inheritance and still end up with an ill-planned bankruptcy in which they lose fortune and honor. It should be noted here that in bankruptcy it is the honest man who loses honor, whereas the villain knows the great principles of commerce and carries out his bankruptcy in such a manner as to gain fortune and honor. But the fine gentlemen stuck in the mercantile wasp's nest had wanted to negotiate honorably; they were surrounded and conned by schemers and forced to wind up with a deluded bankruptcy. Many small property owners have committed the same error. Carried along by mercantile frenzy, they have left their field, sold their small estate in order to come to the city to set up a shop where they sadly had to fail.

30. **THE INVALID BANKRUPTCY** is that of an incorrigible who wants to die with arms in hand. We see some who should retire but, weakened by age, can only bumble about, not knowing any of the new perfectibilities or recent tricks; they lose their slowly amassed fortunes in their old age, and persist until their repeated blunders necessitate bankruptcy. How does one describe a man who, at the age of eighty, a bachelor and owner of 2 million—an assuredly sufficient sum for an elderly bachelor—still persists in trafficking at an age when he should retire and weep over his sins. When such a man ruins himself and loses his brilliant fortune at the age of eighty, he is assuredly a mercantile fanatic. Such was the invalid bankrupt, who was the prototype for this entry; for I have to cite a prototype for each entry, so as not

to be accused of exaggeration. Moreover, one finds in every city many of these aged fanatics who by insisting on continuing in commerce, deserve to end in it shamefully, because today, when everything has been refined, what is needed are young men, in commerce as in war, trained in modern tactics; and if bankruptcy is looked upon as an act of kindness among young men, it is certainly shameful among extremely wealthy old men, who should have been thinking about retiring twenty years earlier.

31. **THE CRUSHING BANKRUPTCY** is that of fierce competitors who deliberately run themselves to ruin and bankrupt themselves in order to take away some amount of profit from a rival. A good number have been seen working to their ruin in the hope that their competitor will be ruined before they are, and that they remain masters of the battleground. One sees this disorder hold sway in the mail-coach service and cloth trade fairs in particular, such as Beaucaire, and it results in the *crushed* being forced into bankruptcy.

32. **THE MESSY BANKRUPTCY** is that of a simpleton who, instead of operating according to principles, ruins wife, children, and himself, all while exposing himself to the clutches of justice and to the contempt of friends of commerce, who only respect moneyed bankruptcies that are in accordance with the great principles. In terms of commercial jargon, one says of a bankrupt who has ruined his wife and himself: "That isn't work, it's making

a mess." If he had carried out a moneyed bankruptcy, he would have been called a clever young man with a good head on his shoulders.

NINTH CATEGORY—THE FALSE BROTHERS—FOUR SPECIES

I call false brothers those who expose the honorable guild of the bankrupt to the ridicule of the public. Some bankruptcies give rise to indignation, others to mockery. I am not including the transcendent in this class, who steal by the millions; they are still respectable and in no way compromise the guild. Civilization has never despised a great thief, but the little ones are truly men to be hung, and when they stir up public opinion against frauds or tiny bankruptcies, they become unworthy of admission and deserve the title of false brothers; I shall single out four types.

33. **THE CROOKED BANKRUPTCY** is that of small-scale rogues who in their insolvency commit slight little thefts so shocking that the neighborhood talks of hanging them. This is never said of a theft of 100,000 écus, but a theft of 100 écus is already enough to give rise to ideas of the gallows—which in truth pose no danger to the robber, for the guild of the bankrupt does not allow its colleagues to be harassed. Justice would soon believe itself authorized to move on from petty thieves to bigger ones, which would be very offensive to anyone operating in accordance with the great principles, and who have found rank in respectable society through an honest bankruptcy.

34. **THE ROGUIISH BANKRUPTCY** is that in which the fellow in question adds to his foul deeds some clever acts of perfidy, such as stealing from himself in order to employ some sentimental tactics. This is to the preceding what the compound is to the simple.

Scapin, a small shopkeeper, carries out a small bankruptcy of just 40,000 livres; he redirects 30,000 livres, which will compose the profit of the operation; then he presents a remainder of 10,000 livres to the creditors; if he is asked to account for the 30,000 livres deficit, he replies that he does not know how to hold on to livres the way big merchants do, and that he has had *troubles*. You may think that Scapin will be punished, since he is a petty thief who only made off with 30,000 livres; but that would suggest that the creditors are unaware that if justice intervenes, it will consume the remaining 10,000 livres just as an appetizer. After the 10,000 livres are consumed, there will be nothing decided, and if one wants to have Scapin hung, another 10,000 livres will perhaps need to be laid out, still without any assurance of success; it is thus better to take the modest sum of 10,000 livres than to lay out the same amount and more. Scapin puts this argument forward through the mediation of a notary, so that it is the bankrupt himself who threatens his creditors with the justice system. And why would Scapin's creditors rage against him? Some of them are thinking of imitating his noble example; others have already preceded him in his career. Now, as there is honor among thieves, Scapin soon finds a certain number of

signatories adhering to his propositions. Others sign out of fear of seeing justice intervene, which would leave them with nothing; others are more stubborn and talk of sacrificing everything just so that they can send a scoundrel to the galleys: then Scapin sends his wife or his children to beg for mercy with affected howlings, and in this manner in just a few days Scapin and his notary obtain the majority of signatures, after which those refusing are ignored and no longer needed. Their anger is laughed at, and Scapin answers them with smooth words and deep bows: and already he is planning a second bankruptcy, given the happy success of the first one.

35. **THE SHADY OR FUGITIVE BANKRUPTCY** derives its name from the small tenants in the big city who, as the date of payment approaches, cut and run without a sound, carrying off their paltry furnishings in the middle of the night. This practice is used frequently among the silk weavers in Lyon (workers in silk); in this species one must rank all the elegant individuals of either sex who supply themselves with excellent things from the delicatessen, the tailor, and the shoemaker, and are very accommodating on the price, their intentions being to pay in fine-sounding words and then take to the sea when the creditors get insistent.

These sorts of bankruptcies are amusing and throw discredit on the corporation. After having gossiped about the man who leaves twenty small suppliers high and dry, one gets accustomed to also gossiping about a

respectable man whose insolvency ruins twenty families, and these licenses for criticism must be suppressed so as to insure consideration owed to the honest bankrupts, those friends of commerce.

36. **THE BANKRUPTCY FOR THE FUN OF IT** is that of a small-time debtor who carries out an insolvency in good form, like the high-and-mighty bankers, and who gives no more than 5 percent to his creditors. A very amusing actor who excelled in comedic roles, and who, for this reason, was well liked by the public of Lyons, undertook a bankruptcy of this species in which he would offer very regularly to his creditors the sum of 3 percent.

Some of them got annoyed and wanted to send for the bailiff; but he deceived justice the way he deceived it in *Master Patelin*, and the public was entirely behind him.⁴ His bankruptcy was a very amusing comedy that provided several precious scenes. The creditors could complain all they liked; the public only teased them, just as they did Guillaume in *Master Patelin*.

I have touched quickly on all these definitions; as the framework is incomplete, I will wait for others to supply another thirty species with their prototypes or quotations of facts. There is a whole range of remarkable ones; just a few days ago the Paris papers mentioned an outstanding one by a certain Y who with funds of just 10,000 francs had set up munificently a titled agency. It was, I believe, an office for the universal regeneration of commerce or some other such pompous name, by means of which he procured a million from

some curious onlookers, whom he then paid, in keeping with custom, with a nice bankruptcy.

It would be easy to gather together as many species as what I have gathered on my own. When the number is raised to sixty-four, plus the pivots, I will distribute them in a series measured out by conjugate binoctaves. It is the most convenient method for studying the numerous series. The thirty-six species we have described make for too incomplete a list to allow for regular divisions. Therefore, not only was I unable to classify them in a series measured by 32 and 4 pivots, but I could not even distribute them as a mixed series staggered contrapuntally, like

$$1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 = 36$$

It was necessary to reduce them to a free series. This is not important, since the list is so incomplete that one must take it just as a framework on which everyone can embroider by adding to it the species left out and appending to each one examples drawn from known exploits, like those of the amateur T. we presented as a prototype in the Attila bankruptcy.

CONCLUSION ON BANKRUPTCY

Considering that this is but one of the thirty-six characteristics of commerce, it is difficult to explain why this rich mine of crime, this commercial mechanism, has not yet been analyzed in this century, which has been so fastidious regarding the shortcomings of each class of society: a century that has made public the crimes of kings and popes, yet dares not do the same for those of the bankrupt, who can supply an ample treatise judging by the framework of thirty-six species I have just provided, which could be easily doubled or tripled.

I have observed that the aim of this analysis is not to heap up sterile criticism, but to seek out a remedy. Let us assume other frameworks that will in a similar manner classify the crimes of speculators and hoarders; then the countless acts of treachery, which would fill twenty volumes if we outlined each line of trade.

Reading these collections of mercantile trash, we would first wonder how a century that calls itself a friend to noble truth was able, in good faith, to feel passionate about lying commerce under the pretext that *commerce is necessary*: it is hard to see why that necessitates every sort of treachery and robbery, like those we have just enumerated in the single commercial crime of bankruptcy.

We shall not fail to conclude with the search for a remedy; but in order to discover it, it is first necessary to analyze the illness and its causes. Now, the fundamental cause is in *intermediary ownership*, and consequently I have had to set it at the top of the list of commerce's characteristics.

If a system of government that excludes intermediary ownership were invented, we would immediately see all the vices of commerce disappear. Now this system of government, or at least the germ of this system of government, is already known to us: it is the consignment that our traders exercise, albeit very imperfectly, and we must increase it to the point of continuous consignment; this would bring about social period number 6, Guaranteeism, which destroys the thirty-six characteristics of lying commerce in full.

Not one of these characteristics can disappear so long as intermediaries are guaranteed the ability to gamble on the property of others. The laborer does not declare bankruptcy because he can only expose his property and not the commodities of his neighbors. Intermediary ownership is thus the radical vice that needs to be extirpated through continuous consignment, one of the finest paths into the sixth period. As we will have no need of this method, it is pointless for me to stop and describe it; it will be found in the treatise on *Guaranteeism*.

Let us restrict ourselves here to thinking through the self-evident vices of the commercial method, and end on bankruptcy.

The saying that claims justice only goes after petty thieves happens to be false in commerce; even the smallest bankruptcy escapes the proceedings of the authority, under the aegis of the merchants themselves.

This was seen in the ninth category, that of miniature bankrupts.

It would be in vain to cite some fraudulent bankrupts who have been punished; out of every hundred, there are ninety-nine who carry it off, and if the hundredth fails, he is probably a simpleton who did not know how to execute the scheme; for the operation is so assured these days that former precautions have been completely abandoned. In the past, the bankrupt fled to Trent, Liège, or Carouge; this habit started dropping off since the Regeneration of 1789; everyone falls back on *family bankruptcies*. The matter is quietly arranged, and when it breaks, they go spend a month in the country, surrounded by relatives and friends; the notary prepares everything in the meantime. They reappear after a few weeks, and the public is so accustomed to this escape that they are greeted politely: they call that *being confined*, and they say very dispassionately: So-and-so is back from his confinement.

I have observed that bankruptcy is the only social crime that is epidemic and inevitably leads the man of integrity to imitate the villain. If to bankruptcy one adds speculation and so many other infamies that are the fruit of philosophical theories, one will easily abide by the opinion that I put forward earlier: civilized people have never engaged in so much political

stupidity as when they started devoting themselves to the mercantile spirit. How were the philosophers, who only dream of counterbalances and guarantees, unable to think enough to provide the social body this guarantee that governments have the good sense to demand of their tax officials? A prince makes sure of the loyalty of his collectors through financial security and through the prospect of inevitable punishment should they dare venture to squander the public funds with which they are entrusted.

Why do we not see half of the public collectors appropriate tax earnings and say to the government, in a pathetic epistle: "The difficulties of the times, critical circumstances, regrettable setbacks, etc.; in short, I'm declaring bankruptcy, insolvency, or however it is called. Your funds must hold ten million; my offer to you is to return half of it, five million payable in five years. Be moved by the disgrace of an unfortunate collector; retain your confidence in me and the management of your funds, barring which I could not even pay you the half that I am offering you; but if you leave me my position and my income, I will endeavor to honor my commitments, which is to say that I will regale you with a second bankruptcy when the funds are once again refilled."

Such is, in abbreviated form, the content of every insolvent's letter. If collectors do not follow their example, it is because they are assured that no philosophical theory could save them from the punishment from which

bankrupts escape, who are all protected under the principle: allow the merchants complete freedom, without demanding any guarantee against their embezzlements.

NOTES

HIERARCHY OF CUCKOLDRY

1. Fourier seems to have the anecdote slightly jumbled: as it is described in Louis-Laurent Prault's 1770 *L'esprit de Henri IV ou anecdotes les plus intéressantes, traits sublimes, repartees ingénieuses, & quelques lettres de ce Prince*, Henry IV made his comment while looking over Paris as a whole. The nobleman by his side then responded by claiming to be able to see the Louvre.
2. The second part of Fourier's citation is indeed from Jean de La Bruyère's *Les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle* (though quoted very much, and approximately, from memory); the first phrase, however, is in fact from La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* (Maxim 367).
3. Fourier is referring to Paul Scarron's *La précaution inutile* (The useless precaution), a tale that had a direct influence on Molière's *School for Wives*.
4. Fourier refers to Molière's *Sganarelle, The Imaginary Cuckold*.
5. Molière's marriage to the much younger actress Amande Béjart made for something of a real-life counterpart to the more farcically troubled marriages of his plays.
6. Harpagon, the protagonist of Molière's *The Miser*, is a French character-concept comparable to "Scrooge" in English.
7. The valet Sosie's final words and the conclusion to Molière's *Amphitryon*.
8. August von Kotzebue (1761–1819), though an extremely popular (and prolific) author in his time, is little remembered today—certainly in comparison to Molière, whose stage work

informs a good deal of this Hierarchy. Fourier is referring here to a character in what had been one of Kotzebue's more notorious melodramas, *Menschenhaß und Reue* (Misanthropy and repentance), which was introduced into English in 1798 as *The Stranger*.

9. This, along with the uncertainty accompanying number 71, and the concluding five designated by labels only, are the most obvious instances of the fact that Fourier had never finalized this manuscript for publication.

10. *Pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant* (The father is the one designated by marriage as such): a law essentially unchanged since ancient Roman times that can make it sufficient for a child to be born during wedlock to lay claim to filiation.

11. The word is missing from Fourier's manuscript.

HIERARCHY OF BANKRUPTCY

1. "Guaranteeism" was a transitional stage between "Civilization" and "Harmony" in Fourier's system, though in his opinion it was by no means one that humankind necessarily had to pass through in its evolution. Whereas he defined Civilization partially through exclusivity in marriage, Guaranteeism would provide a system of "amorous guarantees" in which women would enjoy sexual freedom. This system would extend to all forms of ownership, be it of one's body or any other property: for Fourier, "intermediary ownership" must be done away with in relationships and commerce before Harmony can be achieved.

2. "A few figures swimming in the vast deep": from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 118).

3. The Spanish Jesuit Thomas Sanchez's primary work was *Disputationes de sancti matrimonii sacramento* (Questions on the sacrament of holy matrimony) (1602).

4. *L'avocat Patelin* was a fifteenth-century farce, redone in 1706 by D. A. de Breuys (1640–1723). In French, to “know one’s Patelin” means to know how to bamboozle.

IMAGINING SCIENCE

- 1 *An Attempt at Exhausting a Place in Paris*
Georges Perec
- 2 *The Perpetual Motion Machine: The Story of an Invention*
Paul Scheerbart
- 3 *The Hierarchies of Cuckoldry and Bankruptcy*
Charles Fourier