THE ADMINISTRATIVE WRITINGS OF HENRI FAYOL:
A Bibliographic Investigation, 2nd Edition

John D. Breeze and Arthur G. Bedeian

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Monticello, Illinois 61856 USA
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by

John D. Breeze
St. Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

and

Arthur G. Bedelian
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

The majority of the business readers of this note are undoubtedly familiar with Henri Fayol's classic work, "Administration Industrielle et Generale." However, one wonders how many of this same group are even slightly familiar with Fayol's other writings in the field of management. "Administration Industrielle et Generale" is the title most closely associated with Fayol, and fittingly so. Available in fourteen languages, it has been competently translated into English on at least four different occasions. The purpose of this note is not to dwell on Fayol's achievements or to restate the facts of his life; that information is readily available elsewhere (for major biographic sources, see Appendix 1). Rather, this note has as its purpose the presentation of a brief comment on each of Fayol's lesser known administrative works. While several bibliographies of Fayol's works are available, all have been found to be both inaccurate and incomplete. In several cases, historical errors seem to have been promulgated and compounded into fact without accompanying independent investigation. This bibliographic survey deals entirely with original sources, most of which have been examined at first hand, enabling the authors to correct earlier errors.
Having written for many years in the field of engineering, Fayol first spoke publicly on the topic of administrative theory at the closing session of the International Mining and Metallurgical Congress in Paris (21-23 June 1900). Although his remarks at that time give only a limited indication of his later direction of thought, they are interesting since they do indicate an awareness on Fayol's part of the importance of the administrative dilemma. Recorded under the heading (#1) "Discours prononcés par M. Henri Fayol... à la Sèance Solonelle de Cloture", Fayol's remarks were printed in the Bulletin de la Société de l'Industrie Minerale, XV, 3rd Series, 1901, pp. 759-766 and have also been reprinted in their original French as an appendix to the many French editions of Fayol's Administration Industrielle et Générale. Coubrough (cited below) provided an English translation of these remarks as an appendix to his 1930 translation of the latter (pp. 79-81).

In 1908, Fayol offered the Société de l'Industrie Minerale a detailed history of his company, Société Commenry-Fourchambault et Decazeville, which would include a review of its holdings and their acquisition, including mergers and takeovers of the various enterprises that ultimately formed the large mining and metallurgical conglomerate that was, by 1908, such an industrial force in France. The history would also deal with manufacturing and mining methods, commercial policies, organization and administrative procedures. At the Société's 50th Anniversary (Cinquantenaire) Congress, Fayol delivered a paper on the subject of Administration, on June 16, 1908, which was based on a single chapter of the larger history. He claimed that the decline, the recovery and the subsequent success of his company could be attributed to the management techniques adopted at different times. In this paper, Fayol identified the principles of Unity of Command, Discipline, Foresight (Prévoyance) and the use of the Organisation Chart. He promised to deal with the issues of Recruiting, Organization and Direction in a future paper. A summary of this paper, together with an outline of the proposed
contents of the extended history of his company, was published as (#2) "Le Cinquantenaire de la Societe de Commeny-Fourchambault et Decazeville: Resume", Societe de l'Industrie Minerale: Comptes Rendus Mensuels, July 1908, pp. 240-242. Communication with the Societe indicates that his paper was never published in full and their records give no indication of its having been preserved.

The private archives of the Fayol family have yielded what appears to be a draft of Fayol's 1908 paper; it bears the title "L'Exposé des principes generaux d'administration". In this draft, Fayol recounted the history of his firm and again emphasised his views on the proper methods of administration, arguing that "It is nevertheless certain that a leader, good administrator and mediocre technician, is generally more useful to his company than if he was a brilliant technician and a mediocre administrator." (p.3).

It should be noted that a full history of Commeny-Fourchambault et Decazeville, by M. Leveque, was published in 1916, and was probably an expanded version of Fayol's original outline.

The expanded version of Fayol's 1908 presentation took another 6 years to complete, and publication was delayed a further 2 years because of the Great War. By 1916, his ideas had developed to the scope of an entire book. (#3) "Administration Industrielle et Generale", originally intended to contain four parts. Parts 1 and 2, his magnum opus, were first published as a complete issue of the Bulletin de la Societe de l'Industrie Minerale, X, 5th Series, No. 3, 1916, pp. 5-162. There is a good reason to believe that Fayol's proposed contents of Parts 3 and 4, which were never published, formed the basis of Carlioz' (1918, 1921) two major works (Breeze, 1983). Republished in book form in 1917 by Librarie H. Dunod and E. Pinat, Fayol's ideas quickly drew widespread attention and in a short time, "Fayolisme" became as firmly entrenched in French management thinking as "Taylorism" had become in the United States (CNOF, pp. 28-33). Courses in Fayolisme were begun at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, the Ecole de l'Intendance de l'Armee, the Ecole du Commisariat de
la Marine, the Ecole de Guerre and the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers (de Freminville). To further his own ideas, Fayol established the Centre d'Etudes Administratives in 1919. The Centre combined with Henri le Chatelier's Conference de l'Organisation Francaise in 1926 to form the still active Comite National de l'Organisation Francaise (CNOF).

The first major translations of "Administration Industrielle et Generale" were undertaken under the auspices of the now defunct International Management Institute in Geneva; a German translation by Karl Reineke was published in 1929 under the title Allgemeine und Industrielle Verwaltung and an English translation by James Arthur Coubrough, Industrial and General Administration, appeared in 1930. While some confusion exists concerning this last date of publication, inspection of the copy retained in the International Management Institute's library, preserved at the International Labour Office in Geneva, verifies its accuracy. Although the Reineke and Coubrough translations appear to be basically similar, comparison of their contents reveals three interesting differences. Authorship of the Fayol biographical sketch appearing in both is attributed by Reineke to Charles de Freminville. Secondly, Reineke includes an additional item in his bibliography (item #22 below). Finally, unlike the Coubrough translation, the Reineke translation identifies two patents entered in Fayol's name.

The most readily available English version of "Administration Industrielle et Generale" is the Constance Storrs translation under the title General and Industrial Management, published in 1949. Disagreement over the accuracy of both the Coubrough and the Storrs translations has existed for some time (for example, Brodie 1962, Goodwin, Urwick 1960). Norman P. Glass examined both English language translations and noted that they differed in their renditions of several important concepts. In his thesis "Administration and Administrative Management: A Critique of H. Fayol's Administration Industrielle et Generale", he undertook a fresh translation that tried to use American business idiom. In
1984, Irwin Gray published a heavily revised version of General and Industrial Management, IBM Press, New York, 1984. In it, he claims to have modernised the language of earlier translations and to have collected and restructured many of the sometimes scattered and disconnected concepts. Readers may find the material interesting in its own right, but should be cautioned that this is not a substitute for the original publication.

More to the intended purpose of this note, attention will now be focused specifically upon Fayol's lesser known management writings. Twenty-two in number, each reflects Fayol's preoccupation with the importance of sound administrative theory. (A complete summary listing of all of Fayol's administrative writings and speeches is provided in Appendix 2.)

The first group of papers and associated writings is contained in the omnibus collection (#4) "Administration Industrielle et Generale: L'Eveil de l'esprit Public. Etudes publies sous la direction de M. Henri Fayol". This collection was originally published in the Bulletin de la Societe de l'Industrie Minerale, XII, 5th Series, No. 4, 1917, pp. 435-433. At first look, the collection is confusing and rather disorganised, because the chapters and sections are not presented in numerical sequence, and some of the papers published in other journals did not actually appear until 1918 or 1919. The same collection was published in book form by H. Dunod et E. Pinat, Paris, 1918, with an identical table of contents. The confusion remains, but the collection is more easily navigated than in the original version, because the book is printed with normal pagination (i.e. 1-289). A second printing of this book, by Dunod in 1927, contains the same materials in a rearranged order.

Several of the items in "L'eveil" were written by other authors, and are acknowledged as such. The following contributions (#4A-#9 inclusive) were authored by Fayol himself. (Page numbers here refer to the original Dunod 1918 edition; readers with access to the original publication or to the second Dunod edition will find different pagination. However, the list of materials published in the respective indexes can easily be read and related to the references here.)
(#4A) Preface (pp. 1-8)

A brief commentary, the preface warned of the lack of good administrative practices in the French government.

(#5) "De l'importance de la fonction administrative dans le gouvernement des affaires." (pp. 81-122)

This is a reprint of a speech made by Fayol on November 24, 1917 at a public meeting of the Societe d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale, also published in the January/February 1918 issue of the Societe's Bulletin. Much of this article is a verbatim restatement of Fayol's "original message" as contained in "Administration Industrielle et Generale". Fayol again discussed the importance of administrative theory, outlined what he believed to be the functions of management, and described each of the fourteen management principles with which he has become so closely associated. Taylorism and motion study were also discussed.

(#6) "L'enseignement de l'administration dans les ecoles techniques superieures." (pp. 125-151)

On November 3, 1916, Fayol delivered a lecture on this topic during a public enquiry being conducted by the Societe des Ingenieurs Civils de France. He included a restatement of his earlier remarks of 1901 and 1908. The Societe reprinted Fayol's speech in the Bulletin de la Societe des Ingenieurs Civils de France, LXX, 8th. Series, January, 1919, pp. 131-144. This presentation called for the establishment of centers for the teaching and discussion of general administrative theory. It also reviewed many of the same ideas contained in "Administration Industrielle et Generale", outlining the functions of management and their importance. Great emphasis is placed on the lack of administrative training in French business and government.

(#7) "La reforme administrative des services publics." (pp. 162-174)

Fayol spoke at a meeting of the Cercle Commercial et Industriel de France on January 10, 1918. His comments were subsequently published in Revue Pratique du Cercle Commercial et
Industriel de France, XII, January, 1918. Here again, Fayol argued for the application of his ideas to government operations. Noting the lack of administrative quality in French government, he strongly advocated the introduction of sound principles of administrative theory. Following the formal presentation, there is a transcript of the ensuing audience discussion.

(#8) "Avant-Propos" to Chapter 3, "L'Administration au Front." (pp. 179-180)

Fayol introduces two articles written by two French army officers who served in the Great War, noting that the authors, both civil engineers, had joined the army upon their graduation and had written about the application of administrative principles to their observations and experiences during military service.

(#9) "L'administration positive dans l'industrie." (pp. 267-275)

This paper was subsequently published in La Technique Moderne, X, February, 1918, pp. 73-75. In it, Fayol wrote that of the many abilities needed by a manager, perhaps the most important is administrative. Drawing upon his experiences with the mining firm, Commentry-Fourchambault et Decazeville, Fayol used numerous mining examples to illustrate his discussion. The paper includes the following footnote: (p. 275 in the original) "I have established a Centre d'Etudes Administratives, at 100 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris, where I am collecting any comments that are sent. I would ask my readers to write to me there or to visit on any Monday from 1:30 to 3 p.m." The paper was translated by Ernest Dale and partially reprinted in his Readings in Management: Landmarks and New Frontier (2nd. Ed.).

Fayol's next major paper was (#10) "L'Industrialisation de l'Etat", which he delivered to the attendees of the October 24, 1918 meeting of the Paris section of the Societe de l'Industrie Minerale. The complete version of Fayol's paper was expected to be published in a succeeding issue of the Societe's Bulletin. This did not happen, but it did appear as an appendix to a later
publication, L'in capacite industrielle de l'Etat; les P.T.T., which
is referenced below. The paper deals with a number of topics,
perhaps the most interesting being Fayol's belief that
centralisation of authority versus decentralisation is a matter of
degree and is situational in character rather than absolute. The
Societe's monthly proceedings for 1919 carried a brief summary of
the paper on pages 8-10, followed by a verbatim report of the
ensuing discussion (pp. 10-13), during which Fayol made several
additional remarks. He stated a need for research to identify and
understand administrative processes, analogous to mechanical and
chemical processes. He responded to a question about the
desirability of centralisation versus decentralisation by
indicating that it depends on the size of the business and on the
abilities of the person at the head. In a large enterprise, the
head is making a big mistake if he does not rely on his subordinates
to deal with matters that they are capable of resolving by
themselves. This process is enhanced by having an organisation
chart that defines their responsibilities clearly.

At the Societe's meeting on January 30, 1919, Leon Guillet
provided a commentary on the paper, performing much the same role
as a conference discussant. The report of this presentation,
-together with the comments and discussion which followed, is
published in the monthly proceedings for 1919, on pages 50-60,
with further remarks (#10A) by Fayol (pp. 55-57). This time he
commented on a question about the role and value of Boards of
Directors, saying that he had not addressed this matter in
"Administration Industrielle et Generale" because he did not know
what made some Boards good and others ineffective. The question
was being studied at the time by the Centre d'Etudes Administratives.

During the next two years, Fayol was involved in a
comprehensive study of the operations and administrative problems
in the French National Postal, Telephone and Telegraph system. No
major papers and articles are recorded for this period, though
three items have been found (#11-#13 inclusive).
In the (#11) "Preface" for L'Essai sur la Conduite des Affaires et la Direction des Hommes, une Doctrine Francaise de l'Administration, J. Wilbois and P. Vanuxem, Payot, Paris, 1919, pp. 7-10, which was principally devoted to the importance of management as a business function, Fayol argues that the principles of management are applicable to all aspects of organised activity, from the simplest to the most complex. He also states that without someone being responsible for the general interest or welfare of an organisation, all of its efforts would be futile.

In 1920, a M. Neu presented a paper on an idea for a new mining extraction system, based on mixing the raw material with water and pumping it up to the surface. A series of calculations was presented to demonstrate the theoretical feasibility of the process. During the discussions that followed, Fayol commented "I would prefer a small laboratory experiment over any amount of calculation. It wouldn't be difficult to do, and an experiment would be much more convincing than arithmetic; calculations convince nobody." The session president commented that calculations were still worthwhile, to which Fayol replied "But even when they are done, I remain sceptical. Through small experiments that are not difficult to perform, one reaches completely different conclusions." This exchange was reported (#12) in Societe de l'Industrie Minerale; Comptes Rendus Mensuels, 1920, p. 101.

A report of Fayol's comments on M. Sainte-Claire-Deville's paper on the Mines of the Saar region appeared on pp. 205-210 of the same publication (#13). The paper discussed the activities and organisation of the mines of the Saar region, which were operated as a state enterprise. Fayol made favourable comments on the author's report of adopting a 10-year business planning cycle and expressed a hope that the implementation of other administrative principles (such as reducing spans of control) would demonstrate their value and applicability to a state-run enterprise.
(#14) "L'incapacite industrielle de l'Etat; les P.T.T." was published in the Revue Politique et Parlementaire, CVI, 10 March 1921, pp. 365-440. (It was also published in book form for the Centre d'Etudes Administratives by Dunod, Paris, 1921, including the earlier paper "L'Industrialisation de l'Etat", as an appendix). Feeling that his recommendations had been ignored, Fayol subsequently provided a further summary under the title (#15) "La reforme administrative des P.T.T.", published in Rapports et Travaux de la Semaine des Postes, Telegraphs et Telephones, Association Nationale d'Expansion Economique, Paris, May 1923, pp. 313-321. Comprehensive summaries of both items can be found in Brodie, 1967, pp. 19-29.

Together, these two articles reflect a year (1920-21) of Fayol's work examining the operations of the French Postal, Telegraph and Telephone service. In the first, Fayol was especially critical of the P.T.T.'s administrative operations. He recommended the adoption of a sound "Outillage Administratif", or "administrative apparatus", comprising the Survey, the Plan, Reports and Statistics, Minutes of Meetings and the Organisation Chart. This was a new concept, not specifically discussed in his earlier writings. (Breeze, 1981 gives a review of the development of these particular techniques that Fayol subsequently decided were of greatest importance for successful management).

The second item, published two years after the first, notes that the original recommendations were almost completely ignored. The following translation of the Introduction provides insight into the contents of the report and into Fayol's own style;

"I have been examining...the Post, Telegraph and Telephone operation; I noted several administrative deficiencies, the principal ones being;

1) A transient and incompetent Under-Secretary of State at the head
2) No long term plan
3) No financial accounting
4) Excessive and unwarranted intervention by members of parliament
5) No incentive for zeal; no reward for performance
6) No accountability

...Even though this study is incomplete, it proves that the State is incapable of managing an industrial enterprise."

In the (#16) "Preface" to L'Entreprise Gouvernementale et Son Administration, A. Schatz, Bernard Grasset, Paris, 1922, Fayol appraised the state of French government operations and called for sound administrative theory to be adopted as the focal point for improving their efficiency.

The Second International Congress of Administrative Sciences opened in Brussels on September 23, 1923. Fayol delivered the keynote address (#17) "La Doctrine Administrative dans L'Etat", which was reported in Comptes Rendus des Seances du IIe Congres International des Sciences Administratives, Goemaere, Bruxelles, 1923, pp. 13-34. This paper, which was translated by Sarah Greer and published as "The Administrative Theory in the State" in Gulick, Luther H. and Lyndall F. Urwick, eds., Papers on the Science of Administration, formed the basis for much of Urwick's subsequent writings on the theory of administration. At the end of his prefatory remarks, Fayol said "In approaching my subject, I will assume that members of this Congress are familiar with my Administrative Theory. A summary of this Theory will be provided with the record of my speech". The Congress Proceedings indeed carried (#17A) "Resume de la Doctrine Administrative" as an Appendix to Fayol's address (pp. 38-55). Unfortunately, Sarah Greer did not include a translation of this very significant item, she mistakenly referenced Urwick's paper in the same Papers on the Science of Administration, called "The Function of Administration", which summarised Fayol's theories in a quite different manner. A more relevant account of the Resume can be found in Breeze (1981).
In 1923, a photograph of Fayol and a hand-written salutation from him (#18) appeared at the front of Pour former les Hommes qu'il faut a la France de l'apres-guerre, by Antonin and Leon Franchet, Bibliotheque d'Educaton, 15 Rue de Cluny, Paris Ve, probably 1923. The statement reads "To the extent that the world has a greater or lesser need for administrative ideas, it is necessary for individuals that the need for and the capacity for administration becomes greater as they occupy higher positions. H. Fayol."

In 1924, the same authors published Projet d'Organisation du ministere de l'éducation nationale (Selon des Principes de la Doctrine Administrative), Typographie de l'Ecole Estienne, Paris, under the auspices of the Centre d'Etudes Administratives. Fayol contributed a brief preface (#19) that expressed his delight in seeing his ideas applied to a state enterprise and wished them the same success that their previous project achieved.

An interview (#20) with Fayol, by L. M. Du Crouzet, was reprinted in Chronique Sociale de France, January, 1925, pp. 10-26. Under the title "La Gestion des Entreprises et l'Outilage Administratif", Fayol again stressed the importance of the "administrative apparatus" and the great need for reform in the public service. Portions of this interview were also reprinted (#20A) in Le Fondateur de la Doctrine Administrative; Henri Fayol, Henri Verney, Dunod, Paris, 1925, pp. 37-40, 48-49.

June 7, 1925 was a remarkable day in Fayol's life. The alumni association of Fayol's engineering school, L'Ecole nationale des mines de Saint-Etienne, held a banquet in Paris to celebrate the 65th anniversary of his graduation and a commemorative booklet was published to mark the event. Published by Dunod, Paris, 1925, its principal title was Le Fondateur de la Doctrine Administrative; Henri Fayol. Part 1 of this booklet was also published separately as Un Grand Ingenieur; Henri Fayol, by the Societe Amicale des Anciens Eleves de l'Ecole Nationale des Mines de Saint Etienne, Saint Etienne, 1925. In addition to a review of Fayol's life and
career, the book includes a detailed account of each of the major phases of his investigations and publications, covering his technical studies, his geological studies and his writings on administrative theory. These sections were written by the author, Henri Verney, himself a graduate of the school and the administrative manager of the alumni association. The book also includes the speeches that were made after the dinner, including Fayol’s own response (#21) to the complimentary remarks made about him (pp. 92-94). The third part of the book is called "Resume de la Doctrine Administrative" (pp. 97-116). Although it is presented as a reprint of the appendix from the proceedings of the 1923 Brussels Congress (i.e. item #17 above), there are major differences in the scope and content that make it possible that this represents either a later version of Fayol’s own ideas or is Verney’s own version of the theory. (Breeze and Miner discuss this issue.)

One of Fayol’s last public comments was made on October 10, 1925 at the second Congres International de l’Organisation Scientifique du Travail, again held in Brussels. It was at this meeting that Fayol made his famous remarks (#22) stressing the complementary nature of his views and those of Frederick W. Taylor and his disciples. In essence, Fayol argued that "Taylorism" and "Fayolisme" were mutually beneficial rather than conflicting in their ideas and intent (also, see Pearson). These comments were reprinted in the Bulletin de la Societe Belge des Ingenieurs et des Industriels, VI, June 1926, pp. 257-265.

Another very interesting contribution from Fayol (#23) appears in the "Memorandum", Annex C in the Rapport Concernant l’Organisation de la Fonctionnement des Monopoles des Tabacs et des Allumettes, submitted to the Ministere des Finances, Direction Generale des Manufactures de l’Etat, Paris, 1925. According to Brodie, Fayol supported the principal findings of the Commission that authority and responsibility were deficient and many other elements of administration were lacking (very similar, it appears,
to the problems of the P.T.T.). But Fayol went beyond administrative issues and questioned the value of this monopolistic enterprise existing in the first place. Without addressing this fundamental issue, was there any point in proposing administrative reform? For a more detailed discussion of this item's contents, see Brodie's (1967, pp. 29-31) account of Fayol's life and writings.

Some of Fayol's more informal comments on his experiences investigating the Tobacco and Match Monopoly can be read in (#24) "Les Cahiers Inédits d'Henri Fayol", edited by Frédéric Blancpain. This item contains sixteen extracts from Fayol's personal diaries, which also record his thoughts at various times from 1898 to 1924 regarding the nature of administration, religion and education. They were published in the Bulletin de l'Institut International d'Administration Publique, No. 28, October/December 1973, pp. 35-48, and No. 29, January/March 1974, pp. 101-116.

The last item to be recorded in this survey is (#25) "Copies of pages from Fayol's personal diaries", Le Cinquantenaire de la Doctrine Administrative: Administration Industrielle et Générale 1916-1967, printed by Imprimeries de Chartres for the "Séance Solennelle du Cinquantenaire de la Doctrine Administrative tenue au Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, le 24 Mai 1967."

Still to be located and verified is an "Address to the International Federation of Universities", source unknown. (This address has been reported by several authorities, but no evidence of publication has yet been found.)

The purpose of this effort has been to briefly comment on Henri Fayol's lesser known management contributions. In the past a seeming unawareness of the scope of his writings has been prevalent in American and English management literature. To a large extent this may be explained by the general inaccessibility of much of Fayol's work, which is not readily available in the United States and Great Britain. This note has been aimed at partially uncovering the "information gap" resulting from this difficulty and has hopefully created in its readers a greater awareness of Fayol's extensive writings.
REFERENCES


Pearson, N. M. "Fayolism as the Necessary Complement to Taylorism." American Political Science Review, XXXIX, February 1945, pp. 68-80.


APPENDIX 1

Major Sources of Biographic Information on Henri Fayol


2. The biographic sections in the Verney publications, listed in the main references.


APPENDIX 2

Condensed Bibliography of Henri Fayol's Administrative Writings and Speeches

(#1) "Discours prononces par M. Henri Fayol...a la Seance Solonelle de Cloture." Bulletin de la Societe de l'Industrie Minerale, 3rd Series, XV, 1901, pp. 759-766.


(#4A) Preface, pp. 145-152.

(#5) "De l'importance de la fonction administrative dans le gouvernement des affaires," pp. 225-267.

(#6) "L'enseignement de l'administration dans les ecoles techniques superieures," pp. 269-295.

(#7) "La reforme administrative des services publics," pp. 305-317.


(#9) "L'administration positive dans l'industrie, pp. 411-419.


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