PREFACE.

No century, perhaps, observed, as much as ours, men getting together in society to direct their thoughts towards the theory and conditions of their association's body of knowledge. Instead of carrying on from findings already established; notably so these be comprehensively established, they wanted to know the underlying reason for everything. They questioned the capacity to produce its titles; they claimed, in the name of human nature, pleasures and guarantees, the rights which its creator had intended for them. Work was shown to them as nurturing man; but they wanted to know how the fruits of this work were distributed, and according to which principles it was formed and wealth accumulated. They each subjected in turn their own beliefs in that very analysis; they considered their religion according to its philosophy and its morality. They finally consulted history, to clear up by the experience of the human race the theories towards which they had arisen. Thus they sought in politics their rights, in the creation of wealth their pleasures, in moral philosophy their duties, in history their experience. Such is the scope of the social sciences that was traversed during the last sixty last years by the human race, with an ever increasing active curiosity about it all. During these sixty years I have on several occasions been trivialized relative to the revolutions stemming from the agitation of these same social questions. I suffered from it in person, as well as financially; I observed the popular sentiments from up close, and I have not remained distant myself but joined in all the study,
with all the cogitation I was capable of, towards the experience that gave me, sometimes in spite of myself, the substantiation of events; I learned how to appreciate the life and manners, like the language of different nations, while living in their midst, and, although not bearing any function, I attested at least to exert some influence on them in my writings. Since nearly forty years, indeed, I took part time and again in discussions on the social sciences; while, in lengthy works on history, I sought to reawake the experiences of the past, I published in periodical reviews or separately more than sixty pamphlets on the questions which appeared to me important. I brought up in turn, constitutional politics, political economy, the acknowledgment of the rights of people, of a province or an oppressed race, and finally moral philosophy. These writings, almost always provoked by the state of affairs, may or may not have been instrumental in the highlighting of some new truth; but at least they carried the character of a deep conviction. Several of my friends have repeatedly urged me to collect these writings, scattered in the Reviews of various countries; the more so, it being impossible for them to make these acquisitions themselves. I had myself, as I will readily admit, a great desire to collect these transient pages, whereupon I believed to have unveiled the principles of a new science. I had struggled for truth, for humanity; and it seemed to me contrary to my duty to withdraw myself from this combat, when I felt that no new champion had emerged to come and take my place to advocate what I believed to be righteous principles. In addition, though in a long career I had hardly changed my opinions, and that it seemed to me that only a single doctrine was recognizable throughout the many articles, I also sensed that my ideas had clarified, and that they had been supplemented by experience and study. I was no longer fully satisfied myself with my original
work, and I agreed that the public had the right to be less satisfied still; that it would interested not in what I had thought formerly, but what I thought today, and which it would reject as having become indifferent all that would refer to circumstances passed, so even it did not push back not with scorn a reprinting of fugitive sheets, and it mixture informs of the wallet of an author. What to make however? I am quite advanced in the life for to undertake to build a great work, with these pieces scattered. I tried it however, but while proposing to me not to make lose entirely with the writings which I reproduce character of detached essays; perhaps each one will have its exposure, its independent introduction, and will thus make me incur the reproach of some repetitions; but this disadvantage is repurchased by an advantage. I know only too that it moment passed where the authors of serious books could to also count on serious, attentive and steady readers; where they expected with confidence that the deduction of their reasoning was followed from the first to last page; I am only too much informed impatience with which one runs on a ground which one believes to know, and of the persuasion of the reader that it is enough for him to divide into sheets to include/understand and judge. I thus sense the need for returning to several recoveries, and in new forms, on the truths that I believe fundamental; because if I joined together them all in the same chapter, if I presented them like the elements of science, I take place to precisely believe that it would be precisely this chapter there, these elements, that the reader would exempt himself of reading. Moreover, I am persuaded that one fell into low registers errors, to have always wanted to generalize all that pay to social sciences. It is on the contrary in the details that it is essential to study the human condition.
It is necessary to stick sometimes to a time, sometimes to a country, sometimes to one profession, to see well what is the man, and how them institutions act on him. Those on the contrary which wanted it to see isolated from the world, or rather which considered abstractedly the modifications of its existence, always arrived with conclusions contradicted by the experience. I would thus have vintage to weaken my work if I had cut off from them the specialities which contribute more to make it practical, and which perhaps also are made to fix the attention of the reader. In addition, by forming a collection of my essays, not in the order of their composition, but in that of the ideas, I took again each one of them separately in underpinning; I added, cut off, modified without any scruple; I looked at it deliver like still to me, because the public could only with sorrow in obtaining some knowledge. I thus joined again spins it between continued or given up ideas with long intervals time; I filled the gaps by new essays, almost as many as those which I reproduced; I endeavoured to supplement, finally, as much as my forces could allow it, the exposure of these sciences which appear to me most important of very for happiness mankind. By putting the hand at work, I recognized soon that task was more difficult and longer still than I had supposed it. Also, currency little on what remains to me time and of forces, I avoided, by publishing the first volume of these Studies, to announce what I proposed to do. The drafting of the second volume a little more insurance gave me; I arrived at half, or at least at the third of my work; and if the life is not given to me to continue it until the end, each volume having a special goal, the work will not have to be regarded as incomplete, although it is stopped. Each volume is admittedly far from exhausting the vast subjects
which it is devoted, or to consider them under all theirs faces. But also I announce only studies on the questions detached that I endeavoured to clear up; and while each attest will be able to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, their unit, without including/understanding all science, will announce them at least generating ideas from where it must rise. The first volume, or Studies on the constitutions of free people, was intended to expose what appears me to be true liberalism in opposition to the democracy, which dominates today in the theorists, and with the obscurantism, who dominates at the practical men. With the first, I do not recognize rights to sovereignty; that in the nation itself; but it is the sovereignty of the intelligence which I call upon, not that of the material force or the number. It is the sovereignty of the constant will as well as enlightened; and I endeavoured to establish how all had to contribute, how some were to resist; how all the rights, all the feelings, were to have theirs bodies, so that the national reason is matured, was purified, calmed itself, before pronouncing its stops. I have into same time considered mankind, as it is, private almost everywhere of its freedom and its rights. I sought to make to feel how much it was likely little to improve its condition by revolutions, and I endeavoured to trace walk gradual by which it could be flattered to arrive at more lights, more virtues, more freedom and more happiness. The second volume as well as the third are intended for studies on the political economy. I especially endeavoured there to expose the theory of the distribution of wealthes, while the chrematistic school deals only with their formation, work is the father of all the material pleasures of the man; work gives birth to wealth; and the true political economy, the rule of the city and the house, must profess to
direct human work so that all have share with pleasures that it must get, which all are nourished, housed, clothed, so as to benefit from the benefits that the Creator has prepared for the man; that all have enough leisure for to as well as preserve the health of the heart that of the body; that all have to also take some share with the feast intelligence; and that however some, more favoured by fortune, find in wealth the leisure, independence, the emulation, which is necessary to develop highest faculties of the heart and the spirit; that some can advance towards arts, sciences, towards the virtues which make the glory of the human societies; that these privileged men, these men who will be rich, for larger good of all, are rather numerous so that them example is advantageous everywhere; that they are like a leaven who makes ferment the mass, or as a light which lights it very whole; that their stay in the capital, the cities and campaigns, the degree of their opulence and their proportion with the remainder of the population are regulated so that from their wealth results the largest possible good for society; that it is always for their mutual advantage that, according to the intention of Providence, the poor one and the rich person meet. There is, between the constitutional studies and the economic surveys, such at least that I conceive them, more analogy that one does not have habit to recognize some. Ones like the others are the largest good of society, its happiness and its progress; the ones and the others deviate from their object if, considering society abstractedly, they lose of sight the members of which this society is composed; if they forget the men, for the institutions or the things. The legislator, the administrator, the publicity agent, must to propose to get the largest good of all. It is according to
this fundamental idea that, in, constitutional studies the first volume, we initially wondered whether all did not have an equal right to contribute to form will communes; but soon we recognized that the advantage of all was to limit the right of all; that more large good of society and all its members could not to be reached that as much as society would be directed by a wise will, just and lit, constant; that this will would not be the result of the wish of the majority, but in this one all the votes are counted like equal, while among the members of society, there is not equality of faculties, of will, attention and interest. We thus recognized that the largest good of all required that one learn has to weigh rather than has to count the votes, and than the best constitution was that which distinguished the rights that, for the advantage of all, it was necessary to preserve at all, of with those which, for the advantage of all, it was necessary to confer on the small number. While the constitutional policy has as an aim it contest of the wills of all, the political economy has for object the participation of all in the pleasures. Here, in the same way, we start with us to ask whether all do not have to also share the advantages which wealth gets; but soon we recognized that wealth is work, that work is excited only by the personal interest, that this same work is opposed to a intellectual development without which the man would remain an incomplete creature, we then sensed the need for preserving in society of the rich person and the poor, and we concluded that the best political economy was that which distinguished the participation in the products of work that, for the advantage of all, it was necessary to preserve at all, of with that that, for the advantage of all, it was necessary to hold for small numbers.
Thus only one thought directs us within the various parts of this work: it is the research towards the greatest good for the human race, and this greatest good always encompassing an integral moral perfectioning. Only one principle is used for us also to classify the rights and the claims men. Society being formed for the largest good of all, it is of its goal that are born all the rights of its members, and it is this goal which deteriorates or modifies their equality original. All the men undoubtedly were born equal in right, but all gave up this equality of rights for their favour common. The equal division of the political rights, it vote for all, would give, instead of the expression of national will, that only of the ignorance and of negligence; the equal division of the goods would give to all instead of universal abundance, misery and cruelty. Also the first wish of all was to seek not the equal rights policies, but the wisdom of the national councils; the second wish was to seek not the equal division of wealth acquired, but guarantee that social work will continue, and that its fruits will spread abundance everywhere. Then each one granted so that others could be richer than him, because it was shown to him that it would remain however more rich person that it would not have been it after an equal division. Thus them rights of all those which rise above the original equality rest on the advantage of those same on which society their granted this preeminence. The first of volumes of political economy which I publish today is almost only filled by the studies on the territorial wealth and the condition of the farmers, the second will be intended for the studies on the commercial wealth, and the condition of the inhabitant of the cities. Neither one nor the other the subject will not exhaust; it is rather vast so that it was not too much to devote a whole life to him. I only apply
myself to be put under the eyes of my readers on the particular observations, regarding the studies on the human condition in various countries; I specified these facts, before raising me with general considerations; I announced and described the evil before seeking the remedy, and I only regret not presenting more studies still on the condition of the farmer in the different countries; they would be useful for the advance in knowledge and for well-being of humanity. Among the essays which make up these volumes, three had appeared, in total or partly, in 'Encyclopaedic Review', in September 1821, May 1824, and July 1827; one, in the 'Re-examined political economy', in May 1835; two finally, though composed for this work, appeared this been in the 'universal Library of Geneva'; the others are new. It is only after one work which is not still started, that I will be able to judge what it will be advisable to reproduce, among what I published on the condition of the oppressed people of which I sought to assert the rights, either in Europe, or in the other parts of the world. I am less still in state to now judge, if my criticisms on the stories which appeared of my time deserve to be preserved: I feel however more partiality for a few pieces of philosophy moral or religious, which will enter in my last volume.
1.

INTRODUCTION.
The first volume of these Studies was devoted to seek principles of the political organization of the human society. We wondered how men, while linking itself together for their mutual protection, had to begin there to inform itself reciprocally on advantages which they were to propose to reach; how they made the light common sharper while joining together their individual lights in only one beam; how the national intelligence thus rose in the middle of all them intelligences of all, and by which difficult combinations one could manage to make it only dominate, while it would be always or subjugated or mislaid, if the sovereignty of society were delivered to a single chief, if it were delegated to small number of the distinguished men, or if it were reserved with the plurality of the votes. Thus our first volume was especially intended to seek how is formed, how lights and how dominates finally national will; in this one we propose to study the subject on which it must, above all them others, to be exerted. Society owes its first attention to
guaranteeing its material interests, its subsistence, and to let us seek to recognize which route it must follow, so that the tangible properties that work created for it, achieve or maintain the largest good for all: it is about what, according to the etymology of the word, we call political economy, because it is the law or the rule of house and of the city. That one does not reproach us for lowering the man with level of rough, while proposing, like first goal of its efforts, work management which ensures its subsistence to him by drawing, above all, the attention of society to very material advantages, one will see soon that, more than any of our precursors, we consider the political economy in its relationship with the heart and the intelligence. But with the subsistence the life holds, and with the life all the moral developments all the intellectual developments of which the human race is likely. Society must, like the individual, to think above all with the health of the body, it must above all provide with its needs and its development; because without strength that this health gets, without the leisure, which starts only afterwards that these needs are satisfied, the health of the heart is impossible. Of all shares facts arise to convince us that the way in which society provides for its subsistence decide at the same time misery or ease of great number; health, beauty, strength of race or of its degeneration; feelings of sympathy or of jealousy which makes that the citizens look themselves like brothers hastened between helping, or of the baited rivals enters themselves to destroy; activity of spirit finally, that a happy mixture of leisures develops, and who puts on the track of all them progress of the intelligence, imagination and the taste; or of irritated languor that the luxury at the ones produces, of the degradation which results at the others from the abuse from the physical forces and of their lassitude. This product of the human work, which represents with the subsistence all the tangible properties whose man wishes to enjoy, and almost all the intellectual goods to which it cannot reach
that using the first, was named 'wealth'; one looked at wealth, or the theory of the increase in wealth, like drank it special political economy, drank much indicated better, as of the time of Aristotle, by the name of chrematistic. One does not clear up the ideas while disputing on words, and we would not reproduce that one if it were not useful in even time to specify the cause of the false direction that with followed nowadays a branch of social science. This science always has and must always have for object the men joined together in society; economy, according to the clean direction of the word, it is the rule of the house; the political economy, it is the rule of the house applied to the city: they are the two large ones human associations, primitive associations, which are the object of science; all proceeds to it of the man, all must to refer to it to the man, and the men brought together by a bond common run. But wealth is an attribute, will say us, of the man or of the things; wealth, is a term of comparison who does not have a direction, if one does not specify at the same time has what one brings it back. Wealth, which is an appreciation material things all, is however an abstraction; and the chrematistic one or the science of the increase in wealthes, having abstractedly considered them and not by influence with the man and society, its building raised on one base which is dissipated in the airs. Wealth, we have says, it is the product of human work, who gets for the man all the tangible properties of which it wish to enjoy; it is the representation of all the pleasures physics, and still of all the pleasures morals which proceed these. Extremely well; but for which? This question should never be lost sight of the fact, while with the opposite it is never presented at the theorists. For which? According to answer which one will make with this question, the man himself belongs to wealth, or wealth belongs to the man. The shah of Persia estimates himself rich, because it counts among its wealthes all the inhabitants of his vast empire, who are its slaves, and all their goods, which it can take to them when he wants. Santo Domingo was formerly called a rich person Colony,
because one wanted to look at only the forty thousand white which lived it, and that one counted the four hundreds thousand slaves who worked for them among their properties; the trade of cottons in England is called a rich person trade, because it raises colossal fortunes for the merchant from the Indies which imports them, for the manufacturer who the factory in immense factories, for outputting which distributes on all the ground; but no account is held of the farmer who, while giving birth to cotton, remains itself in slavery or misery; of the weaver, which appeases hardly its hunger while it works, or which perishes in hospitals as soon as the work is suspended. With our eyes, us let us not hesitate to say it, the national wealth, it is the participation in the advantages of the life FOR ALL. It is in one various proportion undoubtedly that members of society have to divide the product of social work, but we will never call wealth the share but one of its members remove with the other. Each one believes, with the first access, to clearly include/understand what it is that wealth, and the effects of wealth on society; each one believes to include/understand how it modifies condition and of poorest and richest; more one looks closely however, the more of the contradictory phenomena, who up to a certain point counterbalance themselves, embarrass the judgement. It is that wealth is not one essence but an attribute, and that its nature changes with people or the things to which it is allotted. Like satisfaction of our needs, like source of our pleasures physics, the idea that we are formed some is still enough specify, but then it admits degrees very little: to conceive increase in wealthes when our needs are satisfied, it is necessary for us to leave ourselves and to consider suits it them things, or by the distinction which they carry with they, by marking the rows in society, or by work who was devoted to obtain them; and as these two appreciations are not even commensurable, like our spirit float unceasingly of the one and the other, we often finish by
us to ask what there is of reality in wealth, and if, after us to be enriched, we do not remain poorer that before. Indeed, all the products of arts are evaluated less expensive in the rich nation that in the poor nation: also, while we call ourselves richer than our elders, all our wrought goods cost us much less. It is true whereas we grew rich while accumulating more? How we will compare, for example, the fabrics which were replaced the ones the others in our clothing? how we will conclude, of the expenditure that we make for them, whether we are richer or poorer? As them satisfy real needs, their utility with all is about the same one since they have been obtained with less work, they are worth less; because they are exchanged against less subsistence, again they are worth less; and under the point of view under which they mainly passions of the rich person flatter, like distinction rows, they are worth less still, because the price of the dress most splendid is more with the range of the lower conditions that it was not it at any previous time. One ensure however that the introduction of a new manufacture enriched the country; that at the time that with same work one create ten times, hundred times more ells of fabric, one creates also ten times, hundred times more wealthes: what becomes however this wealth, in its application to the needs for society? that it in the inventory becomes which one could make an effort to make of a nation? Really decrease it as does its exchangeable value decrease? and then which is the utility real of all these modern inventions of arts, of which us let us be so proud? Indeed, one is always mislaid when one endeavours to consider wealth abstractedly. Wealth is a modification human condition, it is only by bringing back it with the man whom one can be made a clear idea. Wealth, it is the abundance of the things which the work of the produced man, and that the needs for the man consume. The nation
really rich will be that where this abundance will get more material pleasures with the poor on the one hand, the rich person other. Let us seek to make us an idea a little more precise of these needs, of these desires, these pleasures of the human race, which the happiness of societies is attached. Pleasures the poor one are composed of abundance, the variety and of the healthiness of food; sufficiency, proportionally with the climate, and cleanliness of clothing; convenience and of the healthiness of the residences, have of the same regard with the climate and the need for heating which it comprises; finally of the certainty which the future will not be lower than the present, and that by same the very work poor one will obtain all with less always same pleasure. No nation can to be regarded as thriving, if fate of the poor which in part is not assured sounds form the four reports/ratios only we have just enumerated. The subsistence in this measurement is the common right of the men, it must be guaranteed to all those which do what they can to advance common work, and the nation is all the more thriving that all it individuals have a share more some in ease of poor. The pleasures of the rich person are composed above all of satisfaction of the three same needs, as for food, with clothing and housing, same safety for the future as for the continuation of the wellbeing; but they include/understand a new element, the leisure; subsistence of the rich person must be independent of its work. In the satisfaction of these needs there is undoubtedly a rather great latitude: food, clothing, housing, can be infinitely better for the ones than for the others. One should not however not to be made illusion on the pleasures which are attached to the satisfaction of the needs for richest. Ones are purely sensual, and the philosopher who wants to appreciate advantages of wealth for a nation, without denying some the existence, will not attach much price to it. Others exist only like distinction, that like giving to that which is in possession a feeling of its superiority
on the other creatures. We will not deny only this distinction, and the respect which opulence inspires with vulgar when it sees it deployed on a sumptuous table, in clothes or of the splendid crews, or the vast and solid residences, cannot have some political utility; but while appreciating the happiness of a nation, happiness that wealth give the rich person, the philosopher will not make more case of this pleasure of vanity that sensual pleasure. It will make perhaps less case still of the third prerogative of wealth, as for these needs for the human race, that of to satisfy its inconstancy. But wealth ensures the rich person two more prerogatives whose advantages are reflected on all society: one, it is to employ their leisures with the development of all their intellectual faculties; the other, to employ their superfluity with relief of all miseries. It is by these two prerogatives that the rich person are necessary to the progress of any nation; while a nation which would not have rich person, it be-with to say not men having and their leisure and of their superfluity, would fall quickly into ignorance, cruelty, selfishness. That one does not have illusion on consequences necessarily brutalizing of the body work and of tiredness. By also calling all the individuals of the nation to deploy their muscular force, one would not deprive oneself only of all the fine art and advances in knowledge, but of all those of the intelligence, the taste, the spirit and the grace. The human cattle could undoubtedly fatten itself always more in its cattle sheds, but it would not always bring closer more the rough one, it would move away always more of the celestial intelligences. Intellectual progress gives birth to however in the rich person of the new needs and opens with wealthes a new employment; the intelligence, imagination, the sensitivity, require to be satisfied like the body, and seeks it beautiful esthetics, the beautiful moral one, beautiful intellectual, call with them a superfluity of human activity, like goods produced by the man, which could have remained without employment. Charity is another prerogative of
wealth, more important still for society than for the poor themselves. It is it which must repair the accidental disorders which disturb the regular distribution of wealth; but it is it much more still which must bind the rows, substitute the affection and the recognition for the fight of the interests, to spread with the benefits the lights, to return all them also participating individuals of the moral superiority acquired by some, to finally give to the nation consistency that it can preserve only by the love between the fellow-citizens. To appreciate the influence of the pleasures of the rich person on national happiness, it is necessary to take account not only of their intensity, but of the number of those which taking part in it. If us let us suppose that after having provided for necessary with all, the superfluity of the nation is put in reserve to equip the rich person, and that one then wonders in which proportion it is desirable to see them emerging, it is easy to answer initially that he is better to do much happy that only one, that that who will join together ten sufficient portions to ensure ten families them ease and the leisure will not be happy with him only like would have been these ten families; but one will recognize soon as, as for the nation, for the social goal of their preeminence, several rich person in the mediocrity are better than one only rich person in opulence. If the vocation of the rich person is primarily to develop its intelligence for the good of all, one should by no means forget that while brutalizing work will surely stagnate such development, luxury could also stagnate it through enervation, so that the beneficial influence of the rich on society decreases not only with the reduction in their number, but also with the increase in their wealthes, when that exceeds a certain range. If a secondary function of the rich person is to affect society through charity, one will also sense that more one decreases the number of the sown rich person on the ground, more, by enlarging their inheritance, one move away their residences, also one makes them foreign to the poor which they should assist; more one breaks between them by the distance from the places and that of the rows bonds of sympathy; so that at the time same as one would suppose as
summon charities of only one millionaire would equalize that of ten rich person, of the hundred rich person of which it would have joined together the inheritance in only one, still their moral effect, their social effect, would not be it more the same one. After us to be endeavoured to thus appreciate with their right value the advantages of wealth, and for the poor and for rich person, we include/understand perhaps a little better which is distribution of the most desirable wealth and for happiness, and moral progress, but we are hardly to advance to judge what enriches a nation or of what impoverishes, or to recognize which effects what appears initially a progress of wealthes must exert on general prosperity. The phenomena which we see under our eyes, far from clearing up our doubts, seem to have to increase them further. The man made gigantic progress nowadays in industry. Using sciences which it cultivates it learned how to lay out as a master capacities of nature, and assisted by wealthes which it previously accumulated, or by its capital, it produces each year a greater mass objects intended for the pleasures of the human race. Works of the man multiply and change the face of the earth; the stores fill, one admires in the workshops them capacities that the man knew to borrow from the wind, water, fire, with the steam, to achieve its own work; genius with which it overcame nature, and the speed with which it carries out industrial work which formerly would have taken centuries. Each city, each nation abounds in wealthes, each one wishes to send to its neighbors its goods which overflow, and of new discoveries in sciences make it possible to transport them, in spite of the vastness of their weight and their volume, with a speed which confuses. It is the triumph of the chrematistic one: never the art of to produce and to accumulate wealth had not been thorough so far. But is this also the triumph of the political economy? The rule of the house and the city it provided for happiness one and other? The man with whom this wealth is
destiny, the human society of which it must increase them material pleasures, gained in ease, have gained in safety proportionally with this immense development? In the first aspect of this question, one believes oneself if ensured that as soon as there are more things intended for the pleasures of the man, each one will be able to obtain some larger leaves, that one does not try hard to weigh his answer. However if one turns his glances on the man and not on things, if one details the human conditions and the advantages that each one can withdraw wealth, perhaps it doubt will enter it the spirits. Each man in his sphere, we, it will ask is ensured more of its subsistence what it wasn't it before this great development of industry? It has more rest in the present, more safety for the future? It enjoys more its independence. It is not placed only better, better clothed, nourished better, but has it gained, by the development of the irrational powers, more leisure, and also more aptitude for the developments intellectuals? The proportion enters the various conditions has it changed with the advantage or the disadvantage of the great number? Those which are with the lowest degree of the scale find there in larger or less number than formerly? There are more degrees than formerly between the poor one and it rich person, or there has it less, and is it more or less easy with first to cross them successively? For example in the campaigns, is this the number of the days laborer, or that of the small sharecroppers, the small farmers, of the small holders, who increased proportionally? In cities, is this the number of the days laborer, or that of masters and companions, that of the small foremen, that merchants in detail and wholesale, that of all the intermediaries between the producer and the consumer, who increased in the same way? That one senses the importance of all well these questions, when it is the sum of social happiness, with two different times, which one wants to compare. Wealth realized in pleasures; but to estimate the mass of the national pleasures, it is almost only
those which take part in it that it is necessary to stop, because pleasure by the rich man does not increase with its wealthes. We have an infinite sorrow to conceive an organization social different from ours, and to see a past in which we did not live. However monuments alone of one sometimes countries speak a language to us which we would not know us to refuse to hear. Those which surround us, in the place where we write this work, revive the past with a power which presents it entire at imagination. In Italy, from the most opulent city to the last village, it almost does not have there a house which does not appear higher than the condition of those which live it today; not a house which is not higher than what would ask today, even in the countries more thriving, of men of the condition of those which built it. The superb one Genoa, the city of the palates, was raised by the trade; but that one counts in Paris and London the palates commercial modern, that one still joins together there if one wants all those of provinces of England and France; one will not find one of them if great number that those which decorate this only city, one in will find no which is their imposing of size of magnificence. The opulence of the tradesmen nowadays neither nor future passed, also, it does not raise monuments. Only one of the Republics of Italy thus seems to have counted more commercial rich person than the two empires which hold today the commercial scepter. But the palate of the tradesmen of Venice, Florence, of Bologna, of Sienna, competed in magnificence with those of Genoa; while them palates of the military nobility decorated Milan, Turin, Naples, Pleasure, Modena and Ferrare, better than are not decorated Paris or London. Let us go down from condition, enter the smaller cities. That even close we live in this moment, Pescia, enjoys, by a rare exception, of all prosperity of industry; we saw there raising, nowadays, one of greatest industrial fortunes of Italy; but it who strikes us, in Pescia, more than opulence of the nouveaux-riche,
they are the palates (thus they are called), of the town nobility. Pescia is a town of four thousand hearts, and one counts there more than forty of these palates, which, for the dignity of architecture, the size of the rooms, nobility of the staircases, the vast one extended from the apartments, could be compared that with the hotels that the highest aristocracy from France occupies in Paris. It is true that the interior does not answer any more the magnificence of the first drawing; with the opposite, the owners of the greatest number have sorrow with to maintain upright; the pieces of furniture disappeared, the frescos degrade, and the family withdrew itself in the part less imposing of these vast apartments; but their first doesn't construction speak rather high? she does not say that it a time ago when the men of an average fortune but independent than they were much more numerous here are today, and that these men had the taste of size and of the beauty more than they have it today in countries more thriving of Europe? Still let us go down from condition. While placing itself in one raised place, near this same town of Pescia, the eye embraces of only one glance, in a radius of eight to ten miles, twelve or fifteen of these closed villages of walls, that them Italians name 'castelli'. This word answers that of castle, as it indicates a strengthened place, and which it is associated the ideas of resistance and independence. But it differs from it, like the guarantee of the civil life differed with the Middle Ages between France and Italy. The castle was in France the residence of only man who, formerly, was free in the campaigns; gentleman who, behind his ditches and his walls, guaranteed himself oppression; the 'castello', in Italy, was the residence free men of the campaigns, which joined for to defend; free men who had surrounded their residence of a common enclosure. and which had been sworn to run with the sound of the same bell, to push back the same ones enemies. Let us enter these castles; for the majority they are in ruins, and one counts there hardly than from twenty to thirty houses. But the strong ones and solid walls of these houses
three and four stages resisted during five centuries war, as
well as with the insults of time. In general they are inhabited
more only in one stage; those which hide there their humble
households seem embarrassed of all space where they are seen
lost. These houses had been built by men of a condition quite
higher than those who live them today, they represent us all
one order of men who do not exist any more in society. One
them do not find in England, in France, in Holland, in the
countries where wealthes seem to abound in all the
workshops, of all the counters, not more than in Italy. These
men of a condition narrow, but independent, worked their
hands to collect the fruits of their fields and of their vines; but
they did not divide them with anybody; they counted on their
own influence to direct the councils of their commune, and if
need be, on their own sword for to defend; they felt if assured
the stability of their fortune and of that their children, whom
they wanted that them houses which they built could last with
always. The valley of Nievole where all these 'castelli' rises
around Pescia, their small capital, is not larger than the field
moreover of a British par, on which one sees only the
splendid one residence of the lord, a score the large ones firm,
and a few hundreds of thatched cottages of days laborer(1).
One undoubtedly does not find in any other country the traces
of a also great prosperity passed, just as one does not see in
any of those which flower today too great diffusion of
happiness. One does not see nowhere, proportionally with
wide and the population, so much of fortunes poor, but
independent, and beside them so much of colossal fortunes,
between the hands of people who proved not only that they
had the endowment of wealth, but were moreover devoted to
beauty which ennobled their usage. This fact is quite
important; because the Italians, who were so rich, do not say

(1) The surface of the valley of Nievole is equivalent to
158,000 acres English; the field of the duke of Sutherland, in
Scotland, covers a million acres.
these capacities did not pose on nature that science us gave, they did not produce, they did not create wealth with this speed which confuses in our workshops. The monuments of architecture can give us one idea of wealth of the cities of other times, or all the class of men who had leisure and superfluity. But what would import especially with the good political economy would be to know to ensure the condition of poor, us if, provided that it worked, society made him find abundance and safety. In general, residences of the man of the people do not resist during centuries the insults of time; its clothes, its food, have much less duration still. Almost no old author tried hard to make known to us these vulgar things of its time, and who did not excite interest. Moreover, the political condition of each country complicates the results unceasingly purely chrematistic; oppression, anarchy, the war, came to often strike the lower rows of society; and their effects should not be confused with that of generating processes of wealth. It is not impossible to however perhaps collect in the historians of the Middle Ages of the features which they left to escape randomly, and which, without us to paint completely the lower orders of society, are enough to render comprehensible to us how much their state differed from what it is today. Since the suspension of the true feudality, and the lord did not need peasants anymore to defend him in his private wars, the most numerous and most oppressed class of the nation was that of the "villeins", who solely did all the agricultural work. Their condition was not everywhere the same, in France and Germany the number of serfs on the grounds was small: the remainder had with their priests the tithe, with their lords censes, rents and bodily services; with the king the entail and the corvée, which removed more net from the revenue of their grounds, but these grounds were supposed to be theirs. The entail, which was a very arbitrary imposition, was regulated according to their apparent wealth,
their attachments, their train of agriculture: also it engaged the peasants to still show itself more miserable than they were not indeed, and if they were not satisfied with housing, clothing, food coarsest and more rejecting, to hide at least all carefully that could indicate some ease. The house that they lived, the ground that they cultivated, remained has them and with their children; under this influence, funds even of their fortune was not without guarantee; but they did not have any of it for their revenues; in turn the lord and agents of tax department removed the fruits to them which they had sprinkled with theirs sweats, and reduced them to the most appalling distress.

It was not all: the troops of the king were put on their premises in free districts, or often they threw themselves to it and counters the orders of the government. Then not only it soldier came to eat the soup of the peasant, but it forced it with to kill for him ox of tilling. Often it stripped it, often it overpowered it blows to draw from him a ransom; and one sees in the books of the States of Languedoc, during reigns of Henri III and Henri IV, that these insults made to perish a great number of families of peasants, and that the number of fires fell quickly in the province. One could not think without quivering with a similar oppression; such an amount of insecurity, so much violence, so much misfortune, were to spread in all the population the seeds of hatred which burst with the Revolution. The peasant, who made to live the nation, felt that one did not ensure him itself right to live: society recognized a property to him and did not guarantee it to him; the feeling of misery joined unceasingly that of the injustice; because it was by violence, by the arbitrary one, that one removed to him at any hour what it had to believe to be in him. But one should not confuse, with regard to the condition of the peasant of the Ancien Régime, political oppression with chrematistic oppression. As a citizen, the peasant did not have any guarantee; but as agrarian, he would not have obtained a bad share. After having paid the entail, the tithe and the regular taxes, enough would have remained to keep
him in abundance; and indeed it is only because of this excess that he in general could be exposed to extraordinary extortions. One would not have the option to send troops to live with the negroes of the colonies, with the Irish farmer, with the English cottager, with the day laborer of any country, or with the proletarians. These latter are men for which one calculates just what they need to work and not starve. Each day a quotidian pitance is allocated; so some extraordinary extortion could very well be fatal, there is no way but for the quartered soldier there to ravish its occupants. In the despotic States the rights are not respected that as much as they are supported by the force; however inhabitants the cities, even poorest, were not deprived of a certain force. Their title even of middle-class man, in its German etymology, wanted to say confederated, answering one for the other. They had been indeed linked to be defended, to be made return justice; they knew well that the nobility hated, scorned them, but it feared them however; the city had middle-class privileges and magistrates who him returned justice, and its great association was divided into one a number of smaller associations, trade associations, of corporations which took care of the interest of their members, and who, if need be, could defend them with the sword with the fist. The more general anarchy was, the more powerful the corporations were and could be made respect. They succumbed it is truth sometimes! then misfortune with overcome; because the winner joined the cupidity and the ferocity of the brigand to the jalousy and with the resentment of the gentleman. Cities of Flanders and those of the bishop of Liege made the attest of it under the domination of the house of Burgundy. It was then what finishes the freedom and the safety of the middle-class men; the government became since more regular, but less just; the merchant, the workman was humiliated, misled, ridiculed by the gentleman who made it work and did not pay it; bourgeoisies, the corporations were powers, and the king wanted to leave other power upright that his; they
ceased decaying until the Revolution, which removed them. The spirit of the bodies is always jealous and exclusive. The bourgeoisies and the trade associations wanted justice, freedom, equality for themselves; but they did not extend their glances on all the nation. Jealous of their privileges, they felt reluctant to communicate them. They closed as much as they could the entry of their society; they pushed back the inhabitant of the campaigns who wanted to become citizen, they worsened the conditions of the training and did not grant that with difficulty control; but, in addition, they wanted as much as possible that all the middle-class men, that all the masters were equal; they did not allow that only one master had under him a great number of workmen; in much of professions, they limited it to only one apprentice and only one companion, and they thus succeeded in maintaining the industry of the cities in a great inferiority, as with the number of the arms which it employed; in a great superiority, as for the rewards which it granted, compared with the industry of the campaigns. The middle-class men had thus reserved monopolies as many that they exerted trades, and they collected on their fellow-citizens the benefit of these monopolies: i.e. they always held the imperfectly furnished market, that they sold expensive and with great benefit, and which they put little zeal to the improvement of their goods, ensured that they were to always find the flow of it. They were never made competition the ones with the others, they never sold with an added margin, they never made lower them wages by competition, and as they did not have the poor that those, in small number, that an accident put out of state to work, they supported them themselves: each trade association had its purse, and seldom resorted to hospital; those, founded by charitable men, were enough with the needs for the population; the number of beds which found proportioned with poor of a city in a generation was also proportioned with poor of the generation following: one had never realized until
Revolution which the helps of charity created of the poor. This system, considered compared to the things, by influence with creation of wealthes and according to rules' of chrematistic, was undoubtedly bad; it put obstacle in even time with abundance, the improvement and the good market, but under the influence of the people one calculated well all its effects by destroying it? It contained strongly countrymen, always hastened to ebb in the cities, although they lose there their health, their independence and them happiness; it put an almost insuperable obstacle at the disproportionate increase in the industrial population, because it numbers masters was limited, and no workman married before to have become master; he maintained the equality enters masters, ensuring each one independence and the mediocrity instead of allowing that only one, gathering in its workshop hundreds of workmen. absorbed. the industry of all the others; it ensured whoever entered the industrial career a sufficient subsistence as soon as it started to work, a regular, but slow progress towards ease, a state ensured for itself and its family, when it had arrived at the ripe age. Indeed, the historical evidence does not miss for to establish that industrial professions, during all it the Middle Ages, and until the fall of Ancien Régime were always amply remunerated. A great ease reigned at craftsmen; so prolix historians on the war, so briefs, if ignoramuses on all the other phenomena of the life of the nations, never produce of the middle-class men on the scene but during public calamities; it is the tumult of the 'Ciompi' which puts in scene the poorest craftsmen of Florence, the domination from both Artevelde and the quarrel of the white-hoods who make known to us those of Flanders; civil wars the Burgundian ones and Armagnacs, and especially the League, which us initiate among all the orders of the middle-class in France. It is after the reading of the Memories of these stormy times that one remains convinced of the credit that exerted in the society
the good middle-class men; masters in professions which today are honoured; hereditary ease which preserved itself in their families, of wealth of their clothing which it was necessary to contain by sumptuary laws, finally liberal wages that always work found, and of certainty what attested the workmen to be received, well paid in another city, when a revolution forces them drove out of the their characteristic. Which is thus the goal of the human society: this is to dazzle eyes by an immense production of useful or elegant things; to astonish the understanding by the empire that the man exert on nature, and by the precision or the speed with which of the inanimate beings carry out a human work? this is to cover the sea of vessels and the ground of ways of iron, which distributes in all the directions the products of one industry increasingly more active? this is finally to give to two or three individuals between a hundred and thousand capacity to lay out of an opulence which would be enough to put these a hundred and thousand in ease? In this case, we undoubtedly made progress immense, while comparing to us with our ancestors; us sums rich person of invention, rich person of activity, rich person of capacities scientists, rich person of goods especially; because each populate in A not only for itself, but for all its neighbors. But if the goal that with due proposing society in supporting work and guaranteeing its fruits was well rather to ensure the development of the man and all the men; to spread with a beneficial hand on all society, though in different proportions, the fruits of work of the man, these fruits which we call wealthes; if these fruits, which include/understand moral and intellectual goods like tangible properties, must be a means of improvement as well as of pleasure, is it sure that we approached our goal: it is sure that in seeking wealth we did not forget the order and rule of the house and the city, the political economy? In all military monarchies of Europe, the property was badly protected, as well as all the other rights
citizens; that of weak was not it at all. The good the country poor, the poor craftsmen, were exposed with vexations, with affronts, which one does not know any more with today but in despotic monarchies of the East; it is not on this state of violence, fruit of hateful political organization, which should be considered the reward assured formerly with work. We saw it, the last order among the inhabitants of the campaigns, the farmers, were as a General owners, in charge of royalties it is true, but royalties which would have left them a superfluity, if plunder the powerful ones had not often removed it to them: the last order among the inhabitants of the cities, the apprentices and companions, were in general well clothed, nourished well, placed well in the house of the master with which they worked, and they were sure, by their assiduity, to arrive at their turn with being masters and to be then for the remainder of their life with the shelter of the need. The order that we substituted for that one, and which the school chrematistic regards as its triumph, is founded on of all other principles. This school continuing abstractedly to some extent the increase in wealth, without to ask in favour of which this wealth must be accumulated, for goal with the nations the production proposed of more great possible quantity of work to cheaper. wealth, has it says, it is the product of a useful work and not consumed, which accumulates on the ground; this wealth accumulates in two manners, while producing more, or while spending less. Each member of society wants to grow rich, each one thus makes an effort or to increase its production or of to decrease its expenditure; each one thus tends to disrupt the common goal of human society. That one leaves with all these individual actions all their rise; that far from obstructing the men or in their production, or their economy, one excite on the contrary between them a competition, a competition universal; that it also reigns between all them conditions and between all the men under the same condition, and one will see wealth increasing is in increase in
production, is in reduction in expenses, with an activity that the last centuries never knew. Consequently, indeed, the chrematistic ones, or all those which nowadays were done a name in political economy, were due to all the industrialists with all the contractors of work of any kind, speeches in favour of the indefinite freedom of the trade and of industry, in favour of the most animated competition, which could be translated as follows: “Seek your front interest all; your interest, you will find it to be preferred with your rivals, that is to say that it is a question of selling or to work; you will find to make the most lucrative conditions that you will be able with those which want to be useful to you, that is to say that it acts to buy them or to make them work for you. Perhaps will thus reduce them us to misery, perhaps them you will ruin, perhaps will destroy you to them health or them life. It is not your business: you represent the interest consumers; however each one is a consumer with sound turn: you thus represent the interest of all, the interest national. As listen to any consideration, as none pity does not stop you; because perhaps be you invited to say with your rivals: Your death it is our life. ” This language will undoubtedly appear hard, but it is not more hard that in all Europe the control of the rivals was not it invited by these new doctrines to supplant itself, enters itself to destroy. Two actions also encouraged by chrematistic, started everywhere where free plan was granted to the individual interests. On the one hand, one wanted to create more wealthes, more these things which work achieves, and that the man wishes to consume them. However, like these things become wealthes only at the time when they find the consumer who agree to buy them to make some use, and as the needs did not grow with the production, each industrialist sought to occupy the place of its rival, to remove his purchasers to him. The nations compete one with the other for the production, and they attach them to it glory. If the French can run out his goods in one foreign market hitherto reserved to the English, or if the English
can on the contrary exclude from it the French, one and the other applauds, and asks for the applause of its compatriots, like having made not only one good speculation, but a patriotic work. However that which removes a market with the manufacturer who supplied it, that which reduces rival manufacture to be able not to sell, condemns the manufacturer with the bankruptcy and his workmen to die of hunger. The same competition exists of city to city in the same empire, it exists of workshop with workshop in the same city. Everywhere also it is a war with death, it involves the ruin of chiefs and mortality among their subordinates: it reverses as many fortunes as it raises some; and connects it of trade who thrives more is probably that in whom, in the fascinating one as a whole, one would count more bankruptcies, because new fortunes rose only by the inversion of old fortunes. Indeed, before the introduction universal competition, the celebrity of manufactures was secular; the name of the large manufacturers was like a title of nobility which they transmitted with pride to theirs descendants; today antiquity is a title with the distrust and a forecast of ruin; there is only beginning them which are contractors, industrial, and who knowingly under-sell their rivals. But if each one works to increase its production each one also work to produce with cheaper, and one of these actions is the consequence necessary, the complement other. However wealth, we have says, it is the fruit of work; the economy on the expenses of production cannot thus be another thing that economy on the quantity of work employed to produce, or economy on the reward of this work. Indeed, from one end to another of the countries where the free competition is allowed, is excited, the dominant thought of whoever undertakes production works, of whoever them pay, it is to make more things with the same quantity of human work, or as many things with a less quantity of human work; or to obtain human work for a less reward; however, all times that one obtains
one or the other of the first two economies, one obtains necessarily also the third, because one rejects on the market superabundant hands which are forced to be offered to reduction. That one examines all that one progress named in arts, manufactures, agriculture; and it will be found that any discovery, any improvement are always reduced to make more with same work, or as much with less work; that any progress tends thus to reduce the value and the reward of work, or the ease of those which have to live only work. That one remembers what we said of the former state society. There was undoubtedly, especially in the despotic governments, well of misery, well of oppression for the last classes. But these last classes, actually living to work, did not live solely of their work, they were associated prosperity, they themselves the benefit of all the discoveries collected, and they gained as much with the progress of their art as it lost with the least value of their physical force. peasant, the villein, very maltreated and scorned that it was, was owner: any progress of agriculture was well for him also a means of saving on its work, because the spade is a machine, the plough is a machine, and the harnessed oxen make a human work; but it did not have guard to employ the machine, even simplest, if it did not get to him not or of the profit or the rest; however, in spite of the saving that each progress in its art made him make in its work, all its work was still required of him. If the villein had a property in its field, the industrialist in, had better guaranteed one still by its corporation, in its control. All work of the cities, without exception, was achieved, using tools, or of machines, more or less simple, more or less complicated, than work of the man put moving; but the men who these tools handled were counted; their number could not increase unless they them giving themselves were agreeable to that. Not having a war to support against one rival
industry, not of competitors to be resold, they put undoubtedly very little of eagerness to make news discovered in mechanics, to put itself in a position to achieve in eight hours the work which they made before in twelve; they thought of it only when one new need made feel, that when a new market opened for them. Indeed, all regulations of the ancient guilds are conservative; to maintain art such as it is, it seem to only think of prohibiting new ways to him; art made however also slow progress, but never they reacted against the man, never they did not attack the worker by reducing his reward. The fundamental change which occurred in society, in the middle of the universal fight created by competition and by the immediate effect of this fight, it is the introduction of the proletarian among the human conditions, the proletarian, whose name borrowed from the Romans is old, but whose existence is very new. The proletarians were, in the Roman republic, the men without good, which taxable quotas did not pay, and which were due to the fatherland only by the offspring (proles) that they gave him; because Romans had observed as us that these have the families them more, which, not having anything, does not give each other any concern to raise them. With the remainder the Roman proletarian did not work not; because, in a society which admits slavery, it work is dishonouring for the free men; it lived almost only at the expense of society, the distributions food which the republic made. One could say almost that the modern society lives at the expense of the proletarian, of leaves that it cuts off to him from the reward from its work. The proletarian, indeed, according to the order which tends to establish chrematistic, must only remain in charge of all work society, and must be foreign with any property, and live only of its wages. Society, according to the chrematistic school, divide into three classes of people, as for the work which produces wealth: landowners, capitalists, and days laborer or proletarians. The first give the ground,
seconds direction, and third labour: in return, the first perceive the revenue or rent, the seconds profit, third wages; each one of them endeavours to retain more than it can of the total product, and their reciprocal fight fix the proportion between the revenue, the profit and the wages. The abolition of the corporations and all their privileges created first proletarians, days laborer of the cities: each one could enter any trade, and leave it to choose one of them other; each one could offer to which wanted to employ it its force of body and its address; each one, without training, admission in a body, without workshop and shop, could work on the capital of others, in society of others, front to have accumulated anything, and it believed to gain a freedom while losing a guarantee. Initially workmen, proletarians, were that in small number, and as in a situation of exception following the trades; but soon they multiplied by the causes which we will expose, while all the former masters, companions and apprentices, disappeared almost absolutely, and today the proletarians carry out only most of the work of the cities. The revolution which has occurred in the agricultural work or in agriculture was not so abrupt. Farmers, far to lose any part of their property, have it on the contrary sight to improve by the suppression of the feudal rights; those who were owners, censitaires andsharecroppers continued to link with their interest of labourers a right in the property who neutralizes it; farmers only, in the countries of field crop, started to find that it was appropriate to them to direct work instead of working themselves, of to place itself on the line of the contractors of manufactures, and to make carry out work which they needed by proletarians of the agriculture, which they took or returned according to their suitabilities. The economic revolution which has replaced the former peasants by the proletarians of agriculture achieved itself only in England, but one can say that it starts already everywhere. One sees everywhere some days laborer: their number increases, while that of
peasants decreases. The peasant is the farmer who holds with country, which has its hereditary right, its share with the country; the day laborer does not hold with only at its day, it is the farmer who is without interest in the country; the first aspires to perpetuity, second without passed and future. In the continuation of the good market of manufacture, the school chrematistic recognized as principle that there was always loss in the division of a given force; that the capital who represent the force, in the creation of wealth, are employed all the more usefully as they are joined together; that a hundred and thousand ecus achieve more work in only one society that ten times ten thousand ecus in ten different companies; that there is saving on the construction of large machines, over their duration on their frictions, accountancy, the inspection; that finally more wealth is accumulated in only one hand, plus it can carry out at good market the work which it undertook. At the same time as it principle was recognized by the theory, it was continued with strength by the personal interest, and it is its application which, making intolerable all the joint situations, pushed back all those which it drove out towards the rows of the proletarians, so as to increase their number daily. This principle, indeed, which digs an abyss between extreme opulence and extreme poverty, also applies to all industries, and it pursues everywhere this happy independence, this happy mediocrity, which was so a long time the object wishes of the wise one. According to English economists', there is much more profit and much more economy to be practised agriculture by the large ones that by small farms. The factory inspectorate is easier there, less time is lost to pass from the one to the other; the farmer, master from a considerable capital, received a proportioned education with its fortune; also it lays out of more than intelligence and studies; all its tools, its cattle, its buildings, are better and of more than duration; it is in a hurry to sell, so that its markets are more advantageous to him. Indeed, everywhere where the large farmers were in competition
with the small ones, they ruined them. The English owners took from the latter their cattle, they evicted and demolished their houses, they converted into fields and meadows their gardens and theirs orchards, and they look like a small farm, that it is necessary to study itself to make disappear, that who has less of half-thousand or of 320 acres extent. The thousand entirety has 640 acres square, and much farms, in the provinces more thriving in the east Lothian in particular, have more than two miles of extent. A farmer with the head of a society if considerable does not work with its hands; he has the claims and the manners of a gentleman; all work is made for him by the proletarian, by the day laborer, who is not any more one man, but a thing, in the estimate of its superiors; one with oxen tilling compares in turn and the machines, to choose that of the three instruments of work of which one can draw the most products with less expenses. By continuing this alleged improvement, one obtained in agriculture a saving in human lives that the school chrematistic finds admirable. All agricultural work from England, which one evaluates surface with 34,250,000 acres, were achieved, in 1831, by 1,055,982 farmers, and one hopes to still reduce the number of it. Not only all the small farmers are descended in the condition from days laborer, but still a great number of days laborer were forced of to give up the agricultural work: because, us are assured, it y had in the system of the small farms much of lost labour, which one does not lose today any more. But industry will be able it to occupy the families which one returns of fields at the city? will it be able to give them bread? One has ever thought of the proportion which must necessarily exist between the products of the ground and those of arts? And when one sees, in a country of exception, craftsmen as many as them labourers, wasn't it recognized that these craftsmen are numerous only because they provide objets d'art the whole world? With the fact, the industry of the cities adopted the principle of the union of the forces, of the union of the capital, with more strength although that of the campaigns. In England it is only
by the vastness of the capital which manufactures thrive. It is not that as much as one has a very great credit which one finds of the economy on the power of the machines, on their duration, on the inspection of the workmen, the scientific work, accountancy, the facilities of flow. Large workshops fighting against the small ones have, on all the markets, an advantage proportioned with their size. Indeed, manufactures which worked on funds of thousand books sterling disappeared the first from England; in France on the contrary, still today, the greatest number of manufacturers works on funds which does not pass this summon, or 25,000 frank. Soon in England those which worked on 10,000 pounds sterling (250,000 frank) have been estimated small, and too small; they were ruined, they yielded the place to large; today those which work on 100,000 pounds sterling are estimated among averages, and the moment is perhaps not distant where these only-will be in a position to support the competition which will work on a sterling million. Each time larger capital is joined together, that one larger workshop rises, than work accelerates and concentrates under the same direction, so that one sees to leave of even the building, of the very factory, manufactured cloth, with what, twenty-four hours before, was one fleece on the back of an alive ewe, the chrematistic school pushes cries of joy and admiration. It raises with naked the prosperity of a country where only one man can each day to charge a vessel with the clothes, or the instruments of iron, or the pottery, which could suffice for several thousands of its similar; but which strange lapse of memory of the mankind, which not to get informed once about what becomes the man that large the factory did move? Because finally all them consumers whom it provides were not before nor without clothes, neither without tools, nor without pottery; but they were supplied near these hundreds of small manufacturers who lived formerly happy in independence, and which disappeared for to make place with the only lord millionaire of the mercantile world.
The capitalists are on the outlook to discover the means to concentrate same manner all industries, of to remove the trades everywhere, to make place with workshops; they endeavour to make in factory all the parts of iron work, frame, joinery; the chrematistic school is in admiration in front of the sifters of the Gironde, which return useless millers; in front of the factories of barrels from the Loire, which makes useless the wet coopers; in front of companies of steamers, diligences, slow train, railroads, which using immense capital replace all petty industries of the boatmen, the carrying ones, independent carriers. Each one of these had a small capital, he was a master; all work with the opposite large companies is made by people with pledge, proletarians. Same admiration burst when the opulent ones merchants in detail opened their immense stores in large capitals, and that they offered, using the rapids lately invented means of transport, to supply on their premises all consumers, until the ends of each empire. They are in way to remove all thus wholesale dealers, all merchants in detail, all the small tradesmen who populated the provinces, and they will replace these independent men by clerks, men with pledge, of the proletarians: one will not thus realize never that in the name of wealth and of the economy one pursues the man of place in place, which one proves in each condition in its turn that it is not necessary, and which there will not be need to change language to only persuade with the nations by should economy they cease existing? Just as by the power of the large capital one has tackled all independent industries, and there is constrained the man who was before a master in a trade to be gone down to the row from day laborer, proletarian, one also attacked all house works of the lower limbs of the family, and the chrematistic school assisted by its arguments the force of money and the seduction of the good market. Why, it has says, the housewife would slip by it, would weave
it, would it prepare all the linen of the family? All this work would be made with infinitely cheaper with manufacture; with much less money the housewife will have more finer fabrics, and fabrics. Why it would knead itself sound bread? never it will make it so light, never if cooked at point, never with so cheap that the baker? Why it puts itself beef stew? An establishment on large scale, with provisioning made in advance, a capital considerable, and a common inspection, will get to him better food, with a great saving in time and of heating. Mobile kitchens will be able to even to bring him each day its very hot soup to its door. Why? -- Because the reciprocal care and duties form and reinforce the domestic links; because the housewife makes itself expensive in the family of poor by solicitude with which it provides for its first needs; because love often for the unskilled labourer only one brutal passion is and momentary; but that its affection for that which each day prepare for him the only pleasure which it must obtain from day increases also each day. It is the housewife who envisages and who remembers, in the middle of this life so quickly pulled by the physical work and needs; it is it who can join together the economy, the property and the order with abundance. It is in the happiness which it gave that it finds the force to resist if one needs it for the pressing requests drunkenness and greediness. When one does not leave any more with woman of another role in the house that to make children, believes one that one will not have shaken not crowned the bond of the marriage, more than by the lessons or the examples of more condemnable immorality? Manufactures carried it however, in nations that one names more thriving, on work servants, as on the independent trades. One announced their successes like an extraordinary conquest of industry, and publicity agents like the chiefs of the chrematistic school are happiness with the envy on the rapid increase public wealth. But an alarming reality came
suddenly to disturb the spirits, and to shake all the principles
who had been announced of a so dogmatic tone: it is the
appearance of the 'pauperism', its increase fast and
threatening, and the consent of oracles of the science which
they felt impotent to produce remedy there. The 'pauperism' is
a calamity which started by being felt in England, and who
has of another name still only that which gave him them
English, though it starts to also visit all the others industrial
country. The 'pauperism' is the state to which the proletarians
are necessarily reduced when the work their lack. It is the
condition of men who must live of their work, which can
work only as much as the capitalists employ, and which in
their idleness must fall down with the load of society. This
society which lends any sound support with the rich person
does not make it possible to the proletarian to work with the
ground if the owner or his farmer does not call it there not. It
does not enable him to work with the trades if it manufacturer
or his factor does not call it. However ones and them others
are studied to save on human work, to return it useless; all and
sundry, because of each progress that they make with
agriculture or industry, discharging a certain number of
proletarians, and condemn them to an idleness who would be
death for them, if society did not assist them not. Justice and
humanity equally acknowledged the necessity of 'legalized
charity', or of a provision made by the social authority in
favour of the poor whose anguish would not be less alarming
than painful; no society believed to be able to refuse with this
legal charity, but it is all recently, it is almost this very day
that the experience and calculation also showed the impotence
of society to support such a burden: the tax in favour of the
poor increases their misery, their dependence and their
defects, at the same time as it is enough to draw them from
the indigence only as much which it absorbs all the revenue
more the net of the nation richer. That became however this
opulence, so a long time recommended? where are this
progress towards prosperity that one us
invited to admire? Since the nations grew rich, are not they in
a position to nourish themselves any more? While forgetting
men for the things, while multiplying without slackening the
material wealthes, another thing was not thus made what to
create the poor? by exciting each one to seek sound proper
advantage, at the expense of all those with which it
contracted, one did not obtain, instead of the balance of all
individual forces, that the action combined of each one, for
itself undoubtedly, but with the disadvantage of all? It has
indeed been a long time that we had said it, but them writings
do little impression when they attack a system dominating.
The facts are less easily subdued and more opposed; one has
beautiful to refute them without them to hear, as if it were
only writings, they are not represented any less, they grow
bigger even often to be neglected, and they fall down then of
all their weight on the theory most skillfully built, crushing
and reversing it at the time when its author himself-
congratulated victoriously to have refuted all its adversaries.
They are also the facts that we propose to collect here, instead
of exposing a new theory; they are the facts, such that they
refer to the man and not to wealthes; it are the various
conditions of society that we propose to study, to appreciate
the happiness of each one, not only under the influence of the
satisfaction of the need physics, but still under that of the
tastes, the inclinations of the man, under that of the
intellectual and moral developments who are born from the
life day labourer. Our goal indeed is of to determine which
must be the rule of society as for its material interests, as for
its subsistence; but instead of seeking it in abstract concepts
on the value or the real price, we will appreciate wealth itself
only in reference to the happiness and the moral dignity of the
man. Thus we flatter ourselves to finally manage to know how
much pleasures or of sufferings are attached to each condition
how much of intellectual development society allows each
classify, how much finally each modification social order of
the political economy, is worthy of praise or blame.
FIRST ESSAY.
BALANCE OF CONSUMPTION WITH PRODUCTION.

The industrial world, the world, under its economic aspect, underwent, in the sixty last years, of the revolutions not less surprising that the political world; it does not have less not changed of face; it does not present at the observer less new questions; it less does not invite to give under discussion, according to the experience, of the maxims that theory had arranged with the number of the principles. Formerly, during the Middle Ages and until the time of our fathers, cupidity was perhaps not less than it is it today; each one also aspired to grow rich, because wealth, then as today, access to all the pleasures gave material; but then all those which had some force, of some power, aspired to grow rich by adapting the fruits by industry by the others, and not while producing themselves wealth. A universal prejudice attached the idea of a degradation to any lucrative work, all employment which the man would make with his hands to help itself.
The agricultural work was abandoned with villein, with the men of 'potte', that the corvée degraded and that one could 'cut', to strip, at mercy and mercy. The work of the workshops, in the cities, was considered by the gentlemen as not less contemptible, although middle-class men, while joining for their common defense, had succeeded in being done to fear and to occupy in the State a row higher than that peasants. The action to buy and sell was also looked like ashamed, and a gentleman could not to enter the trade without derogating. There was much less shame to beg and especially to fly, that to gain its life while working. While the feudal system was in full strength, the lord, strengthened in his castle, believed in right to make the war with all mankind, of détrousser passers by, to subject to exorbitant tolls travellers, and to hold to ransom more than all the others tradesmen. Later admittedly when a government exchange had made return in obedience all these small lords, sovereigns of a fortress, it forced them too to respect a little more the law and order and the foreign properties with their fields. Consequently, the gentlemen believed that it remained to them of way to only arrive at fortune war. Their balance did not enrich them; but they lived with discretion in their country even at the peasant or the middle-class man, and they were pleased to have much 'gained', as soon as in entering the enemy country them plundering was allowed. The servant ranked famous extremely above the industrialist, the majority began the training of the life with domesticity. They then sought to advance in the courses; and pensions, the present of the kings, or finally the play, were the resources on which they hoped to provide for their expenditure. In the seventeenth century, when the war was subjected to laws a little more human, and that occasions 'to gain' by the war became rarer, the poor gentlemen found themselves without resources: then the intolerance started to slacken in their favour; and a few were allowed to plow their own field, hanging up their sword in favor of their plough;
as to others, working in the glassmakings, because there, at
least, they did not live by work of their hands, but of their
breath, and the 'glass gentlemen', again retired the sword,
while preserving in extreme poverty all the pride of their
dignity. But it was not only the class in possession of all the
territorial property, the nobility hereditarily dedicated to carry
the weapons, that prejudices condemned to idleness; all those
which grew rich in finances, in magistratures in the uses of
any kind; all those who rose in professions of the educated,
the doctors, the lawers; all those whose ecclesiastic heritage
made them independent, all those who made their fortune in
the trade or manufacturing, aspired to nobility; they bought
from the king their entrustments which raised them above
their former station in life, while renouncing at the same time
any lucrative occupation. Though pushed back by the ancient
aristocracy which always reproached them about the 'servile
works' of their forefathers, they at least sought to prove to
them of being able to live a 'nobleman’s life', i.e. without
need to earn anything. Before even to be ennobled, they
endeavoured, as soon as they could escape the former need for
it, to erase all signs of their earlier ignominious work, and to
prove that they had been born to devour, and not to create
wealth. At the same time as all the rich person regarded as a
degradation any share which they would have taken
personally with any industry, another opinion, then sanctioned
by the religion, prohibited to them to contribute to it by their
capital. According to the interpretation which one had given
to the legislation of the Hebrews, any loan with interest was
described as usurious; all the scrupulous men abstained from
advancing any melt to take part in any advantageous society.
If some were put above the warnings of their confessors, or of
the threats of the courts, and lent with wear, they did it in
secrecy, with large interests, and with squanderers rather than
with useful companies. The government only had reserved
faculty to borrow; them only
had given the existence to the class very few and often misled, often stripped, of the shareholders. It was of have their if difficult to benefit from the capital, that one was much less tried to accumulate some. If it were not intended fruit of its economies to buy plots of land or entrustments off the king, one kept it in a safe, one buried it, or one dissipated it with measure. These manners, which seem so distant from ours, still represent themselves with us all alive in the comedies and the novels of the reignes of Louis XIV and Louis XV. The abbot Prevost and Destouches us always represent the gentleman not counting for to live, if it is poor, that on the favours of the king, on play, sometimes on the flight or the swindle, but never on the work, which it pushes back like an ignominie. In the course of the last sixty years, it took place in the opinion, with regard to work and of industry, a more complete revolution still than that which changed the rights policies. Philosophers recognized, proclaimed, that work was the benefactor of mankind; consequently it has become ennobled to some extent. Soon, indeed, when the nobility of France saw itself proscribed and emigrated, it attached sound not honor with living work of its hands, rather than to beg for the helps, and it put the lessons into practice which it had applauded during the reigns of Louis XV and of Louis XVI. Its example completed to reverse a prejudice that the reason had already shaken, and feeder arts mankind took again their legitimate place. Undoubtedly the rich men still have and will always have loathing for coarse or tiring work, but it is not by fear to derogate more that they refuse there. They like their comforts, their reposes, all the luxuries of life; they does not want work which would deprive them, but they by no means refuse to gain, they accept with greed all participation in the industry which does not remove any pleasure to them. The industrialists nouveau riches, merchants, manufacturers, do not give up their industry by receiving letters of nobility, while entering the council of the kings or peerage.
free nations. They take care much more still not to withdraw some their fortune. Personal work, especially the muscular work of the rich person and of noble, undoubtedly does not add much to the production commune of the industry of mankind; but it work of all their wealthes, all the capital that they lend to industry, adds to the capacities of the man of one manner which holds of the wonder. The first of the lesson political economy, it is that the capital is the engine of work, that no work can be achieved if a capital is not advanced to put it in activity, if it does not provide the raw materials, the tools, the maintenance of the workman, during that work is carried out; that more the capital accumulates between hands of those which intend it for industry, and more work is carried out. At the moment when Adam Smith discovered and revealed in the world truths principles of political economy, the capital was still so disproportionate with work requested, that with its eyes the most desirable thing for a nation it was to accumulate capital, that industry most advantageous him that appeared which made circulate the capital more quickly. but it was precisely the time of transition, the time when work ceased being a shame to become an honor, the time when the church ceased pronouncing its anathemas against the loan with interest. Today all the capital of the rich person is put at the service of industry; this capital did not cease increasing by the constant efforts of all the men to grow rich always more; at the same time, to still redouble the energy of this first engine of any manufacture, the clever processes, such as the institution of the banks, and all the modifications of the credit, were put of use for in to activate circulation and to employ it entire to put in movement a more considerable work. Nobody confuses more wear with the loan with interest, and it is not any more nobody who has scruple or to lend to a trader, or to buy an action in a commercial society. It is not only by their activity or their vigilance,
and by the use of all their fortune, that rich person and people quite born these servile works, this production assisted of wealthes which they formerly looked at like a kind of dishonour. Their heads consequently worked to control nature, to put of use all irrational forces that the study physics made them discover, to assist the labour of the man. As long as the prejudice which condemned work, like degrading, reigned in all its force, the physicists the naturalists, the mechanics, the mathematicians, have claimed to cultivate sciences only one not involved manner. They would have had shame to make be useful has a cheap lucre these noble girls of the Muses; they sought for themselves them properties of the matter or the properties of the numbers; all with sometimes more were allowed they to make of them some applications to public works, or the maintenance of health; still it chemist pushed back it of all his forces the danger to be confused with the apothecary, or the mechanic to go down to the row of the clock and watch maker. Sciences could be cultivated only by those which had received a liberal education, and all these would have believed to degrade itself by putting at the service those which achieved servile works. But today of pulpits are founded in all the universities for chemistry, physics, mechanics, applied to arts; all scientists prick themselves to justify the utility of their work and theirs discovered, by showing the party that one can about it draw for to facilitate all industries, to enrich the markets and to get pleasures with the consumers. Men of one great name and of a great fortune even turned all the activity of their spirit, and all the capacity and the credit which they enjoyed, with a more immediate application. They wanted, by patriotism, to contribute to create wealth. They made study in the foreign countries the processes more improved agriculture, arts and manufactures, to introduce them into their country. They offered premiums and of the rewards to all the discoveries applicable to work; they bought the secrecies of industry, not only to practise them, but to reveal them; they were done
glory to found themselves and to direct workshops and manufactures in places where one had never thought of establishing some, where no interest called them. They have finally continued art to grow rich not with cupidity, but in some kind with a patriotic satisfying. Already progress of civilization guaranteed to each one, almost in all Europe, pleasure of its fortune and fruits of its work, all the most difficult steps in sciences were made; it acted from now on only them to apply to arts. After a long war, baited and universal, peace condemned a crowd of active men to to seek a new career, a new livelihood, and means of repairing all the losses caused by the public calamities. A very considerable number men was dedicated all at the same time with sciences in the intention to apply them to arts; their progress was accelerated by the emulation, by rapids communications which were established between them in all Europe, in everyone known; by the glory which stuck to their discoveries, and which was growing as the human spirit disgusted more futile illustrations. Also in the last quarter century one saw making with all the natural science of the gigantic steps, and which confuse imagination. Hardly however a great scientific discovery it is hatched in a brain, which it finds its application in somebody of useful arts. It is not any more like formerly isolated experiences, almost clandestine industries, which grow and thrive by the application of somebody of the mysteries of science; all men of talent on the contrary, in all the rows of society, are with the mounting of these discoveries to make some, with the activity which distinguishes our century, the application to some advantageous industry. The inventor knows in advance that more its society will be made on a great scale, and more the profits which it will carry out will be considerable; also seeks it at once on the market public of the capital which can print the movement with the industry which it proposes to create. The capital overflows today in all Europe; the interest rate lowered
successively and still drops; banks of loan and of placement are hastened to support any new industry; the funds which a private fortune could not join together advanced by the anonymous companies. The capitalists are if embarrassed to find for their money of advantageous employment, that one saw them precipitating with blindness, fury, million after million in societies of waterways, in those of mines, in the loans of the new republics American, and today in the railroads. No distance stops more the speculators; the hope of profit makes circulate with speed the capital of an end with the other of the known universe. No industry which offers profit is stopped, lack of funds, on some gigantic scale that it is conceived; and it is not in a place only that it is carried out, in twenty various countries one sees to be born at the same time new industry; soon also, like the giants born of the teeth of the dragon sown in the ground, one sees them, as of the moment of their birth, to fight with eagerness ones against the others. Work, the originator of all production for the needs of this world, is since sixty years lacking. Neither arms, nor it capital, nor the science applied to arts, were not enough with requests of consumption; also, though industry was scorned, it was amply rewarded. There was the poor, there was much of it; because public convulsions, the private extortions, did not leave often any more bread to that which had gained it with the sweat of its face. But of other there leaves was poor which, while working, was not sure to find what to live, not capital devoted to the industry which did not bring back a profit, not trade which with a limited intelligence, assiduity with work and economy, did not lead to wealth. It was only under the reign of Louis XV that one saw all the moralists agreeing to encourage work, to fade laziness. At the same time philosophers started to deal with the formation of wealth. They announced at society that it was nourished very whole by work; they announced the capital
like putting this work moving; they recommended to preferably employ them in the trade where circulation was fastest, so that they put more work moving. Finally they called of all their wishes the production, which seemed to them identical with wealth, and at that time they were right fully. But we remember to have intended to tell in our childhood, that at the time of the enchantments, Gandalin, which placed a wizard in his house, noticed that it took each morning a handle with brush, and that saying on him some magic words, it made of it a water carrier which went at once to seek for him as many water buckets to the river that it wished some. Gandalin, the next morning, hid behind a door, and by paying all its attention, it surprised magic words that the wizard had pronounced to make are enchantment; it could not however hear those which it known as then to demolish it. At once that the wizard had left, Gandalin repeated the experience; it took the handle with brush, it pronounced the mysterious words, and the handle with brush water carrier left for the river and returned with its load, it still turned over and returned, a second, third once; already the tank of Gandalin was full and water flooded its apartment. It is enough, shouted it, stop; but the man machine did not see and did not understand anything; insensitive and untiring, it would have carried in the house all the water of the river. Gandalin, with despair, armed itself with an axe, it struck of it with redoubled blows its insensitive water carrier; it then saw falling on the ground them fragments of the handle with brush, but at once they were raised, they take their magic form and ran to the river. Instead of a water carrier, it had four of them, it had eight of them. it had sixteen of them, more it fought, more it reversed men machines, and more men machines were raised for to do in spite of him its work. The very whole river would have passed at his place, so fortunately the wizard had not returned and had not destroyed the charm. Water however is a good thing, water not less than work, not less than the capital, is necessary to the life.
But one can too have, even better things. magic words pronounced by philosophers, there is soon sixty years, gave work in honor. political causes, more powerful still than these magic words, changed all the men into industrialists; they pile up productions on the markets much more quickly that the handles with brush did not transport water, without worrying if the tank is full. Each new application science with useful arts, as the axe of Gandalin, the man machine cuts down that magic words had made to drive, but to make some raise two, four at once, eight, sixteen, in its place: the production continues to increase with a speed without measurement. The moment it did not come, the moment at least cannot it come, where it will be necessary to say: It too is? According to the theory which is professed today in all the schools of political economy, this moment did not come, it should even never come. According to the persuasion which direct the governments of Europe, without them realizing well there, it does not matter that this moment came for mankind, provided that their nation continues to produce and to sell without buying. Contradiction between the practical sights of the ones and the theory of others is one of large causes of the confusion which reigns in the discussion of all finance laws. Hold we in, for now, to examine the system of the philosophers. Disciples of Adam Smith, who, while continuing its speculations, transported them in the area of the abstractions, Ricardo, and J. - B. Say, that England and France regret, MacCulloch, Senior, and all the others which one is accustomed to consult today like oracles, agree to saying that it is enough with the economist to deal with the production of wealthes, because more great prosperity of the nations makes a point of producing always more. They say that production, by creating means of exchange, create a cause of consumption. They say that one does not have to never fear that wealthes encumber the market, which that is the quantity that produced human industry of it,
because the needs and the desires of the man are insatiable, and all these wealthes will always convert into pleasures. However another economist, endowed with a great power of meditation, Mr. Malthus, who would have perhaps made to take with science faster steps if it did not have too much often involved its adversaries in the depths of metaphysics, and too applied to the moral fibres calculations exact sciences, had foreseen the need already to maintain a balance about exact enters the productions and consumption. He had extremely well understood that the last were not a consequence necessary of first; he had seen that the market could be encumbered manner to return the activity of the production a cause of ruin for the producers themselves; and as it was however persuaded, with all the school from where it had left, which great efficient cause of wealth was to produce always more and always more quickly, than the nations had of all their power to activate the industrialism, it had arrived from there at the a little strange conclusion that it was not less important to activate consumption; that the duty of the rich person was to make disappear quickly the production which accumulated, while pressing itself to enjoy, and that their dissipation, all like prodigalities of the government, were as many acts of benevolence towards those which were to work for to live. Since nearly twenty years we started to raise us against the system of the indefinite increase in wealthes. We never denied that work was not a thing too honourable that useful; that mankind had not been freed of a prejudice as absurd as unjust when it had ceased fading the sources of its happiness and its life. We do not have ever denied that the accumulation of the capital was not necessary to print the movement with the industry of the man; that the application of sciences to arts did not facilitate and did not multiply this work, more still than the capital; that the man, in overcoming nature and by forcing the air, water, the steam, to obey to him, had made a conquest also glorious only useful. But
we said that one could have too, even the best things, that all the efforts were to be commensurable with their goal; that the goal of work was the pleasure, that the goal production was consumption. We said that the needs and the desires of the man are admittedly without terminals; but that these needs and these desires are not satisfied by consumption that as much as they are plain with means of exchange. We added that it was not enough to create these means of exchange, to put them at the hands those who had these desires and these needs; that it even arrived often that the things to be exchanged increased in quantity and in value in society, while the application for a job or offers it of wages decreased; that then desires and needs for this part of the population which lived of wages could not be satisfied, and that consumption decreased consequently. Instead of looking at the increasing production of wealthes like an unambiguous sign of the prosperity of society we announced that for the nations, as for private individuals, the production could be more or less advantageous; that it could even carry out only losses, and that it was its proportion with the request which determined until which degree it was advantageous; that any manufacturer knew well that by always making the same quantity of work, it could gain much, it could gain little, it could to even lose; that it was the same for society all whole; that what each one gained each year, or by work of the ground, or by the work of the capital, or by the work of the men, his revenue formed; that revenue of each one was the measurement of what it could consume; that the whole of the revenues of all, which formed it social revenue, was the measurement of what all could consume, or of what society really consumed; because consumption would cease well quickly, if the consumer intended to pay it another thing that its revenue, if it the source tared which must be enough in the future as with present.
Two fundamental questions thus seem to result from this opposition enters the theories: which is the relationship to be maintained between production and consumption, and what is the true nature of social revenue? We propose to treat these two questions in this essay and in the following. When we fix our eyes on the human society in order to understand its organization and the goal towards which it moves, we find ourselves initially as dazzled by the movement of trade; such a conflict of interests, such a crossing of sights and of wills whirls in front of us, that we cannot to seize general walk. Only manner of conceiving direction that the men must follow, it is to insulate them, it is to suppose them acting for themselves without exchange, without trade, and to seek what would be then their desires and their interests. This goal of only one man must also be it common goal of all the men; there must remain the same one if the trade is legitimate, i.e. if it is intended to serve society and not to turn against the ones the force of the others, to enrich the ones at the expense of the others. True trade is only one division of the social functions between those which want to achieve a common goal. Each one exchanges its services against the services of its neighbor, each one forms only its part; each one putting itself in its turn in the place of another, continuous the started action; but this action is one, as the interest of society is one, as this interest is identical with that of a isolated man, who would only work and without exchange services to be provided for all its needs. This man alone would be an at the same time producer and consumer. Its goal while working would be to satisfy its desires and with its needs; because one only works to enjoy, one does not produce that to consume. But this man alone, to suppose what it has the force of it or, will produce he addresses more than it, will accumulate cannot consume wealthes? because we will call of this name the products of its work which are clean to satisfy its desires and its needs. Yes, it will do it, but to a certain extent only. It will be provided initially
things which are dissipated immediately by the pleasure, such as its food; then of those which it will enjoy a long time by consuming them, like its clothing; then of those whose utility will last perhaps more than him, like sound housing. These three classes of objects also enter its funds of consumption. As soon as by its work it has them products; it enjoys it, and it starts, by its consumption, with to destroy. But beside its funds of consumption, it even man, if it can it, will still have reserve funds. He will not want owe with a daily work his bread daily newspaper, but it will seek to ensure it in advance, all with less for the year; it will make in the same way all its other provisioning of food; in addition to the clothes which it wears daily, it will do of them others of which it intends to only make use later, it will prepare even fabrics which it does not count to implement of some time. Indeed, he does not want to be private subsistence if some unforeseen cause it forced to stop its work; or if bad weather of seasons removed the fruit from it to him, or so even an inconstancy to which he wants to be a master to deliver itself made him prefer, for a time, to give up itself with idleness. But after having thus supplied and its funds of consumption and its funds of reserve, it will stop; although it was in a position still indefinitely to increase by its work its consumable wealthes. It likes better to rest to produce fruits it could not enjoy. It knows that all its provisions him would ask care, which with long would be equivalent to work to produce them; it knows that all worsen in keeping, and that it would have more disorder and of tiredness with to accumulate as of now that to wait to prepare them it moment to make use of it. Thus by examining the interests of this industrious individual, that we suppose to be absolutely isolated, we find that its production and its consumption are balanced, but which to a certain extent makes for a difficult subject to calculate; indeed, not only it has this provided for his subsistence, but it has prepared things that he
indeed has already begun to enjoy, and for a long time will continue to give him pleasures, and others which he does not yet enjoy, but still holds as it concerns a future need. However, after having thus provided for its funds with consumption and at its reserve funds, any work which it would make beyond would be useless, very produced that it would accumulate would be without value. Society, catch as a whole, are absolutely like this man: it has its funds of consumption, which is composed of all that its members acquired already and intended for their pleasure, though, among these things, the ones are destroyed at the moment when each one in fact use, the others continue to be useful during a time which can be extremely long; it has moreover its reserve funds which must provide for the interruptions accidental or with the delays of the production, like at wasted time, to forward the consumable things of the producer to the consumer. But after these two funds are filled, all that occurs beyond is useless and cease having a value. However trade, or them exchanges and of services and goods, divided enters members of society the functions which tend to a goal commun run. Each one, by working towards its private end, loses sight of the fact the interest general, and could not measure with exactitude sound action so that it meets the need for all. Work divided themselves, and each one thinks of producing only one thing; it works towards its end without knowing precisely how much of these things, society requires of him, and that he himself would like to produce indefinitely; because he sees it no longer in terms of accumulating food stuffs, but of the possibility of doing so in terms of money, or having credits on other men; he only thinks of growing rich and does not put a limit onto his desires. However it does not enrich before its consumer is found, or the intermediary between him and the consumer. It is the purchaser alone who gives an actual value to his product, and which he learns if it indeed created wealthes, or if it did nothing but give to the matter a new form, that society reject like being useless to him. All consumers, i.e. all individuals
in society, can have and their funds of consumption and their reserve funds; they can, in addition to the things that they already devoted immediately to their use, to have still provisioning to await a future need; however the majority count rather on the provisioning trade, because in the division of the social functions, the traders were made the administrators of the reserve funds of society; they receive in their stores the products who await the convenience of the consumer. But institution trade made much more appreciable loss what would make society by the accumulation of funds of reserve disproportionate with its needs. The trade recognized that the accidents are compensated, that the average of work and of its products is each year about the same one. When each one prepared, for its own account, to meet the chances of the future, it was to wish to be provided, even for the most annoying chance, and by consequent most improbable; but when trade charge with covering all the chances of all the individuals, as it knows that the majority of these chances are compensated, it can do it with funds extremely lower than each one would have calculated for oneself. Thus a isolated family would probably wish to have in advance her corn provisioning for two or three years, the calamity to be private for it so much by two bad harvests of continuation appears frightening to him. The trade, on the contrary, endeavours to calculate rather just consumption of all so that its corn provisioning at most exceed month or two the current year; because it loses the interest of all the corn which it stores of too, it loses even on its purchase price; because, after harvest, the old corn does not support any more competition of new corn. The fabric trade is more vigilant still to perhaps limit the reserve funds social. It seeks well to present at the consumer one set which can allure its taste or its whims, but in even time it thinks unceasingly that all that it does not output quickly causes him a considerable loss; the advanced capital bear interest against him. the fabrics tarnish, the fashion
changes, and the funds of store are the ruin of the merchants. It is not all: more the trade acquires activity, more, according to common concepts', society grows rich, and more its reserve funds decreases. By a singular consequence of its activity, society has of as much less merchandises accumulated that it produces them more quickly. Of even as after the establishment of a bank a banker is invited to currency hold much less money in case that between them all the merchants did not hold any of which it makes businesses, after the establishment of a shop where each household takes the practice to go to supply itself each day, this shop contains much less provisions than one did not have habit to hold some in reserve between all the households that it provides. Since one started to make into large in the capitals retail trade, and to provide from there all tradesmen, sometimes even, all consumers of province, one removed all the stores of goods who were at a crowd of merchants in large and in detail; since the goods circulate with the speed of the flash by the cars and the steamers, one removed all those which were trailed slowly on tanks of the carriers. The goods spend less time in the store of the manufacturer, less time on a journey, less time in the shop of the retailer; it is with pains finished that it passes to the hands of that which in wind to make use. But this speed is calculated like part of benefit, or rather it is calculated, and because of it the merchant sells at low price. All times that it is suspended, all times that there is a downtime some share in circulation, the holder of the goods attests a loss; initially that of the interest of its money, then that of the clogging of its capital, the suspension of sound trade, which involves its ruin. Thus trade, taken as a whole, is much more interested than was not the man isolated not to let enlarge the reserve funds, but with opposite to reduce it unceasingly, and to maintain the balance equalize between the production and consumption.
Before habitating in society, the men could not to mistake on the goal which they were to propose in theirs work; each one knew that which it needed, each one compared the tiredness of work with the reward which it would find in the pleasure, each one could estimate in advance if what it wished was worth the sorrow that it would be necessary for to him to obtain it, if what it had were worth the sorrow that it would be necessary for him for to preserve, if what it feared were worth the sorrow that it would be necessary for him to avoid it; and according to this triple comparison, it regulated its economy as for its daily consumption, in principle its of consumption and its of reserve. But since men, by their meeting in society and by the introduction of the trade, withdrew from one common thought continuation of their common interest, them partial interests could only be made listen; it is with them that one entrusted the maintenance of the political economy and the direction work of all, so that it provides for the needs for all. The conditions were separated by the introduction and progress from the trade. With the ones are remained the plots of land, with the others the capital, the others the force of their arms only, with all the desire to always gain and gain more, to draw a party increasingly larger from the power who their is remained to produce. Thus the owner fact all that depends on him so that its ground is put very whole in value, so that it covers harvests them more abundant, so that finally those cause him less expenses possible, so that by selling them at a cheap rate, it the preference obtains on its candidates. The capitalist, with not less eagerness, studies itself to find an employment advantageous for its capital, to give birth to a production industrial, that because of its utility, of its innovation or of its good market, it can sell, at the time even as the other industrialists would not sell, because its capital is useless for him if they do not make work. The man of sorrow, finally, cannot eat, can live only as much that it works: there is thus studied not to remain a day without work, it is offered to which wants to employ it; it is recommended
while showing that by its force or its address it makes more of work that another in little time, or that it works more a long time, or with cheaper. They is three classes also thus study themselves to produce always more, to produce with cheaper, to produce more especially as they are less rewarded, to find on the quantity what they lose on the price. They are studied to do it without being regulated on the faculty which they will find in the consumers for to buy; they look at this faculty like invariable rather and fight between them with which will be able to be made prefer; each one seeking its advantage in a faster flow, which will ruin its rivals.

But while the productive classes increase by all their capacities their productions, trade properly known as, the trade which distributes wealth to those which must in making use, this exuberance pushes back also vigorously of production. Each merchant refuses to undertake goods whose flow does not appear to him to have to be easy and prompt, it is studied to keep the least of them that it can in store, most frequently to renew its sets that it can, and it attests a loss as soon as sound capital ceases circulating with the most extreme speed. In this state of affairs, it seems singularly imprudent of to press the producers, who are already well rather active, and of to force to throw itself in greater number on the trade, who pushes back them.

It would appear to be more natural to side with the consumers, because it is an increase in consumption which any increase in really advantageous production must disolve. But on the other hand the increase in consumption is nothing but the increase in expenditure, so that one would be hard up to explain how the means recommended to nations to grow rich, could be to spend more. The examples besides did not miss, of governments spendthrifts, of nations which spent more than their means did not comprise, inter alia for the war, and this prodigality constantly caused their exhaustion and their ruin.
Several governments admittedly by a remainder of attachment with the mercantile system, proposed to push the nations which were subjected to them to produce much, with to consume little, and to sell the abroads all the surplus of their production on their consumption; currency that they would receive in return of the gold or money which would accumulate indefinitely between their hands. All the economists, it is truth, agreed to show the falseness of this system; to prove that precious metals, like any other goods, escaped from gone year where they were superabundant; that there was not besides more advantage than of possibility to accumulate them; that there was even profit with to happen some, when one could replace them by tickets of bank; that finally in last analysis a nation bought always foreigners as far as it sold to them. We will not repeat their arguments, because they remained unanswered; one admitted them like establishing from now on a shown truth. That does not prevent only the English ministry, that of all which most completely adopted the principles of new school, does not persist in wanting to make of England manufacturing of the universe. It wants that the people of Europe, those of America, those of India, become them barges of the English merchants; that each fresh progress national industry binds with the opening again market with the outside. At the same time, instead of counting for consumption on exchanges between a growth of products, it continues to be flattered to exclude successively foreign markets foreign producers, with measurement that the English will arrive there with products or superiors in quality or inferiors in price. We will be satisfied to say on this system to which men in being able and perhaps even the people hold still with so much of obstinacy in their practice, though all gave up it in theory, that the nations are there in competition ones with the others; the prosperity of industry at the ones the ruin of industry at the others causes; and if all adopt it at the same time, if all intend
that each year a greater mass of exports at the market foreigner; if all, offering to the reduction their goods, endeavour to be removed their barges reciprocally, and of to sell more than they do not buy, their competition, which will encumber the market of the universe, will be harmful with all, or only one will be able to succeed at the expense of the others: then that one will only benefit from the freedom of the trade, while them others will have to be put in defense against an industry which kill theirs. Also the same ministers who encouraged increasing production adopted the prohibitory system. Chiefs of the chrematistic school, on the contrary Misters Ricardo, J. - B. Say, MacCulloch and their disciples, are in favour of an absolute freedom in the exchanges between the nations; they established that their system, instead of being exclusive, could be followed by all at the same time; that producers, with place to be in competition were useful reciprocally of barges ones with the others. They admit that there is a balance necessary enters the production and consumption; but last, say, always increases with the first. As for the foreign trade, it does not disturb anything with the exchange who is done between these two quantities; it only satisfies, by the introduction on the market of equal values, but more varied, varied tastes of the consumers. If, for example, the production of cloths is growing in England of one hundred thousand parts per year, all that makes the foreign trade, it is to allow the English, instead of consuming in kind a hundred and thousand parts moreover, to consume some value out of wines, grocers, or in any other form that the trade will be able to present to them. With the eyes of Misters Say and Ricardo, by creating objects to be exchanged, one creates exchanges and consequently of consumption. The equality of consumption to the productions appears to them always shown, either that one considers the market of all the universe, or that one supposes each nation isolated from all the others. Mr. Ricardo and after him Mr. MacCulloch believed to arrive with the demonstration of this system by a form of reasoning who was clean for them: “Let us suppose, said they, hundred
labourers producing thousand corn bags, and hundred manufacturers in tease producing thousand ells of fabrics; let us disregard all other products useful for the man, of all the intermediaries between them; let us see only them in the world. They their thousand ells against their thousand bags exchange. Let us suppose now successive progress of industry; capacities productive by work increased by a tenth; consequently the same men exchange eleven hundred alders, against eleven hundred bags, and each one of them is better clothed and better nourished. A fresh progress makes exchange twelve hundred alders against twelve hundred bags, and so on; the increase in product never makes but increase the pleasures of those who produce. ” This form of reasoning, we have say, are clean at the English chrematistic school, but we must add that we know any no who carries less the conviction with it. These philosophers, indeed, claim to simplify a question by neglecting all its accessories; but of this manner they give to their assumption a character absurd, contradictory, to which the spirit could not lend itself. If one tries however to develop it, one could not see where it reasoning sins, because one arrives in vain at absurd consequences, they are not it more than the assumption from where one left. Here us are represented the farmer exchanging all the corn which it collects against cloth. That one remembers that it is about the final exchange intended for consumption, not a temporary market followed soon of another exchange against the objects which the farmer needs. However which is the farmer who will exchange all his corn counters cloth? The farmer, after having kept the part of its corn of which it has need for itself, exchange the surplus to get the things which it also needs; however its need for clothes is by no means increased because it collected more corn, just like the clothier, to have made more fabrics, does not have any not better appetite. The consumption of corn cannot increase that if there are at the same time more mouths for to eat and more revenue to pay it; but if the
consumers become richer without becoming more numerous, their corn consumption, instead of increasing, could decrease well; because as they cannot eat more than they did not make before, they will eat more delicate things, of the meat, for example, instead of bread, and they will ask that one convert the fields into meadows, and that one dismisses the labourers. Consumption out of fabrics can increase undoubtedly somewhat without that the population increases; the farmer more with his ease perhaps will make two clothes of the same cloth, instead of one; but if it continues to see growing its revenue, it will give up its clothes ordinary to ask some finer; it will discourage thus existing manufacture, and it will call a news of it. The reasoning of Mr. Ricardo is founded on two assumptions which we believe distort one and the other(1).

(1a) I had with Mr. Ricardo, in the last year of his life, a conference whose memory will be always invaluable for me; he brought there all urbanity, the good faith, the love of the truth which distinguished him; I tried to expose in front of him which would be the consequences of the increase in the capacities productive of work in agriculture, by limiting me like him to only tilling, with the only production of corn, and by also admitting like him it English system of tenant farming, where the farmer makes work days laborer that they can return at will. That one allows me to insert here a long note to reproduce this exposure. Very hypothetical calculations me appear to have a base too not very unquestionable to deserve a place in text. Let us suppose a farmer who, on a given extent of ground, maintains ten members his family, servants and workmen working for him, and which causes production of annually with its field a hundred and twenty bags of corn. Not to complicate our accounts too much, we disregard all other produced of its agriculture, or let us represent we it by corn. Still let us suppose that the wages that it gives to each one of these workmen is equivalent to ten bags of its corn; of these ten bags, the workman will consume three in kind per year of them; he will employ seven of them to get by exchanges them other products or of agriculture or manufactures, which, after the bread, are necessary to the life. There will remain twenty bags with the farmer chief. For to simplify always more our accounts, we suppose it owner into same time that the farmer. However ten bags are necessary for him, three in kind, and seven in needs for the life, to live, with equal of each one of its workmen; ten other bags will provide him, by exchanges, the pleasures that us will call of luxury, those which it does
not divide with all the remainder of the working men.

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The first which any increase in production is one increase in returned, while we believe that it often realize that a loss; the second, that all augmentation

(1b) Let us recapitulate: the field produces a hundred and twenty corn bags, among which thirty-three are eaten on the spot, by those which work it, seventy-seven are exchanged against the needs for the life; they are thus eaten by those which produce the goods that the poor one buys; ten are exchanged against objects of luxury; they are thus eaten by those which the goods produce which the rich person buys; because we call rich person that which, after having provided for its needs, can intend part of its revenues for its pleasures. At that time, a discovery in mechanics, one new machine invented to plow the ground, or art to overcome them domestic animals, and to make them carry out a human work, increases of fifty percent products of the work of the man. If we had taken for example a family of labourers owners, of which all members had about equal rights, the discovery would also benefit all; eight working hours suffice for the eleven members of this family, with to obtain the fruits which they obtained before with twelve; and if it for them no later request for work presented, which was to them advantageous with all also, they would rest four hours more per day. But we supposed society with its current organization; on the one hand, an owner who directs only work, which collects only the fruits of them, and which only benefits from the discoveries; in addition, of the manouvriers who do not have of another property that their aptitude for work, and of another revenue that their wages. Each workman of our farmer had produced twelve bags to him of corn; each one, according to the discovery, will be able about it to produce eighteen. However, the quantity of corn which the farmer wants to produce is limited: 1° by the extent of its fields; 2° by the value of its agricultural capital; 3° by the request of market for which it intends the surplus of its harvests. It makes its account: seven workmen, with eighteen bags per man, will produce hundred twenty-six bags to him; they is six of more than before; to sell them, it will fêra, if it is needed, a light reduction on the price. It thus returns three of its workmen, and it continues to carry out its farm with the same extent of fields, the same capital, but with seven workmen only, instead of ten, at which it preserves initially the same pledges. Let us make our account too. The field produces hundred twenty-six bags; us let us have seven workmen and a master to which we
provide the needs for the life at a rate of ten bags per man, total four twenty bags. We have more forty six bags which remain with the master for his pleasures of luxury. As for the first batch, twenty-four bags will be eaten in kind on field, instead of thirty-three which consumed before; fifty six bags, instead of seventy-seven, will be exchanged against the needs for the life, and will be eaten by those which produces the goods what buys the poor one; as for the second batch,

of returned determines an increase in consumption, while we believe that generally it determines only the consumption of things not

(1c) forty six bags, instead of ten, must be exchanged against what we called luxury articles: they will thus be eaten by those which work with manufactures of luxury, but only when these new manufactures that should be created, will exist. We thus have, with a very light increase in the product, a very notable reduction in the consumption of two existing industries, agriculture and manufacture the poor one; we will have in addition almost quintuplet the request which made before with an industry hardly incipient, the manufacture of the rich person. To make more sensitive this change in the consumption, which results of a progress in industry, not given by a greater application for a job, let us consider this same progress under another point of view. We have supposed that ten corn bags represented the suitable wages of a man; that it ate three of them, that it exchanged seven of them, and that thus a considerable part of its wages reappeared like wages of the workmen who worked for him. The farm, in its primitive state, producing a hundred and twenty corn bags, thus paid their wages with ten labourers, their master, a workman of luxury; more eighty four bags that these twelve people exchanged with those which provided them all the others objects necessary to the life, the corn except. That supposes eight more workmen two fifths working for them. It is conceived that those make in their turn exchanges of the seven corn bags which they do not eat in kind; that those which work for them also make some, until the totality of corn distributed between forty people, at a rate of three bags per anybody. On these forty people, there is of them only one which consumes objects of luxury; there is only one of them also which produces them. Industry takes the first step then that we supposed; by a discovery in agriculture, the product of work of the labourers is increased
by fifty percent. The farmer has dismissed three of its labourers, and his production changed to hundred twenty-six bags. Its firm pay consequently wages of eighty bags, with itself and seven workmen labourers. Between them eights, they make an application for a job of poor equalize with fifty six bags, or five workmen and two fifths: these workmen call others of them, until the totality of the eighty bags, which represent work necessary to give birth to all harvest, gave bread to twenty-six workmen two thirds, occupied to create the needs for the life. By comparing this state with that which precedes, there will be thus thirteen workmen and a third in suffering, or which will not have received their bread yet. It is true that it is hoped that they will receive it manufacture of luxury. Indeed, the owner offers forty six bags to be exchanged against the products of the manufacture of luxate, or with that which must provide for its personal pleasures; and as this work did not exist yet, it must encourage it by superior in quantity, but of greater price. Thus when the agrarian, by some progress in agricultural science, succeeds in increasing the fruit of its work, it will not ask (1d) stronger wages; it offers twelve, fourteen, fifteen corn bags, instead of ten, with that which gets the pleasures to him that its new wealth makes him wish; all that the workman of luxury in addition perceives to his wages necessary, it employs it in its turn in pleasures of luxury: the remainder returns to the manufacture of poor; but it is only after the manufacture of luxury was created, it is only after the forty six fallen bags divides some with the master will have passed by the hands of these workmen of luxury, and that the surplus will have been exchanged by them; it is only then, say I, whom the bread will be returned to all those which offer work. When this distribution is accomplished, on forty-two people who from now on will have share with this harvest, thirty-seven and three fifths, instead of thirty-nine, will work to produce the objects necessary to the life, four and two fifth A to produce the luxury articles, and the population will have been increased by two people(*). We thus arrive, like Mr. Ricardo, to find that at the end of circulation, if it is not nowhere stopped, the production will have created a consumption; but it is by disregarding space and time, as would make the German metaphysicians; it is by disregarding all obstacle who can stop this circulation; and more closely, more we look we it see that these obstacles are multiplied. By the supposed change, three workmen are returned agriculture,
and the livelihood of ten, in manufactures, which was ensured before, find more or less compromised; it depends from now on a future quota, establishment of a new manufacture. It is thus of the prompt training of these workmen of luxury that it depends re-establishment of balance. But initially they do not exist; it is necessary to give birth to them. The owner, who gained only ten bags on his farm, was far from thinking of asking for the kind of work which it is appeared to need since that it gains forty six of them. Carriage-builders, founders of ices, them clock and watch makers, of which it wishes the works, were not born yet; if it is tiny room to await them, since the moment of their design until that where they will be able to earn their living: the process will appear long to the men who fast, while waiting for that those can work. The patience of the first will be still

(*) We supposed that ten bags represented all the objects necessary to the workmen, working with the universal degree of ease in their class at that time. The forty six bags will not nourish whereas four workmen of luxury and two fifths, in some manner that they are distributed. If their wages go up to fifteen bags, the master himself will employ only three workmen of luxury; but these three will employ between them a fourth of it, and this fourth part of the time of a fifth.
not greater quantity of the manufactured objects than it consumed before, it will ask some less perhaps, but it will devote the surplus of its revenue to its luxury, and

(1e) put at a cruel attest, some court which we suppose the training of the made men who will agree to learn new trade. Here however another embarrassment: to found a new manufacture, a manufacture of luxury, one needs also a new capital; machines should be built, to make arrive of the raw materials, to give activity to one trade remote; because the rich person are seldom satisfied with the pleasures which are born under their steps. Where we will find however this capital new, perhaps much more considerable than all that which request agriculture? The impulse was given all the social machine by the invention of the plough, or by art to harness the animals there: this invention did not give birth to any new capital. Our workmen of luxury are well far still to eat corn of our labourers, to wear the clothes of our common manufactures; they are not formed; perhaps they were not born, their trades do not exist, the matters on which they must work did not arrive from India. All those to which they were to distribute their bread wait it in vain. But let us attest of another assumption. Our farmer owner, with moment when it made the discovery which increases productive capacities of work, instead of returning three of its workmen, the guard all ten. In effect, these workmen who cannot live that of their work will not resign themselves not to cross the arms and to die of hunger. They know of another trade only tilling, and as long as there will remain to them a breath of life, they will continue to offer the work of their arms to the reduction, to make corn, with the increased capacities that the new discoveries gave them. This competition will cause to drop wages of all the ground workmen; let us suppose that it lowers only one tenth, and certainly it too is not, if we take into account on the one hand the number of the days laborer left without work, other the difficulty which by a third its exploitation attests the master to increase (*).

(*) Perhaps it will be said that after having established that ten bags represent the wages necessary, it is absurd to suppose that the workmen are satisfied with less that the necessary one. But we do not know which is the necessary quantity to maintain the life of the workman, and it is not it which we have intended to speak. In each more or less prosperous state of society, there are common, sufficient wages to provide not only to the needs, but still with the pleasures compatible with a manual work; it is the wages that, to shorten, I named
necessary; one could not say up to which point it can be reduced, nor up to which point the life of the workman can be stripped of any species of pleasure.
to shorten, we invite luxury all that exceeds its first needs. He will thus discourage manufactures which exist already, those of essential items, while it

(1f) On this new assumption, the farm will produce a hundred and eighty bags, but the ten workmen will receive any for their part only ninety, which we will add ten of them who represent the share of the master in objects necessary to the life. Of these hundred bags, thirty three are consumed in kind on the farm, sixty-seven are exchanged with the manufacture of poor. Before the discovery, this one consumed seventy-seven. Them of it wages are thus reduced there in a larger proportion still that they are not it in agriculture; however everyone saw, everyone works, and each one can expect the effect which the eighty remained bags will produce divides some with the owner, and intended to encourage news manufactures of luxury. If one succeeds indeed has to create eight new workmen of luxury, and that those, having the eighty bags which fall to them in division encourage with their tower the manufacture of poor; when circulation is finished, population will be increased by a third, and sixty people instead of forty will have to eat corn of the supposed farm; but it is well in this second assumption that we disregard space and time. It is necessary to disregard space; the new invention made seven men sufficient to cultivate the space of ground which occupied ten of them before. For not dismissing these three men, not to condemn them to die of hunger, it is necessary to suppose that there is a new cultivable space, new grounds to be cleared; what could not be true in an absolute way, all the countries and all times. Moreover, it is not enough that the ground to be cultivated exists, it is necessary still that it is in such hands, that at once that one offers to his owners a profit, they are determined to put it in culture. That one examines however how the waste lands of Europe its bound, of manner to withdraw them at the requests of those which offer to put them in value by their work. There are communal inalienable ones here; while over there, the sustentative grounds for people who have neither capital nor means of giving guarantees to those which would lend some to them; elsewhere yet, vanity is interested to keep all in the state of yore. The rights of the crown, the church, the nobility, of the people, are opposite in turn with this action of the market, on which one counted the economists, and whose power their appeared irresistible. It is indeed easier to the English to go to clear the deserts of Canada, or those of Caferie, that the communal ones of the vicinity of London. It
is necessary to disregard time, when it is supposed that the farmer who, by a discovery of mechanics or rural industry, finds average to increase by a third the productive capacities of its workmen, will find also a capital sufficient to increase by a third its exploitation; to increase by a third its agricultural equipment, its crews, its cattle, its silos and its circulating
will call on the existence of manufactures that do not yet exist, of manufactures of luxury. In the same way, when the manufacturer of fabrics, by some progress in its expertise, by

(1g) capital that must be used up in order to attain a return. It is necessary to disregard time, when workmen of luxury are supposed, and a capital loan to found manufactures of luxury, sufficient to consume them eighty bags which to them are intended this year, with the places of ten that the previous year was intended to them. It is necessary to disregard time when one supposes sixty people ready to eat the corn which this new harvest will produce, while there were only forty of them to eat corn of preceding harvest. Thus when a discovery in the productive capacities of work is applied to agriculture, without to be caused by a former request for work; when, moreover, society is organized of such kind, that only one being owner and all the others offering to live their work with the bidding, only one benefits from the discovery which the advance in knowledge suggested to him; the capital, the materials, the men, industry, fails to equilibrate all the remainder of society, with the too fast step which agriculture takes. Our reasoning would be applicable to any other species of industry, as well as with that which produces corn; but, if we take place to fear that, even for this one, our calculations did not appear at the same time and too tiring and too hypothetical, we should have awaited us to still reject more our readers, if we had taken our example in one manufacture, because the consumption which makes the manufacturer of its proper products is much less considerable than that which does the farmer. That one appears oneself however that a discovery which saves a third of labour is introduced successively into all manufactures which producing all the parts of clothing, the utensils, furnishings of poor, everywhere it will be the manufacturing chief who will benefit from it; everywhere, if it returns three workmen out of ten, it will produce a fraction moreover with a little less world; everywhere it will decrease by three tenth consumption that its own workmen made its own articles, and it will decrease in the same proportion consumption as by doing those which worked for its workmen. So that each discovery, in such circumstances, decrease the request with the already existing workshops, and creates one of them, in compensation, which is addressed to workshops which still do not exist. Each discovery makes depend the maintenance on part of manufacture of poor of creation of a manufacture of luxury; and however one cannot create a manufacture of luxury
without capital, workmen, a waste of time that those which one suspends the livelihood cannot support. The hatter, with its two workmen, manufactures at least twelve hundred hats per year; itself, with its workmen, consumes only eleven of them, and its circulation is not
the application of some scientific discovery, succeeds with to
to more produce to gain more, it is not its perhaps corn
consumption which it will increase, it will decrease it, but it
will devote the surplus of the revenue which it intended with
its food, with a table of luxury and the encouragement of the
agriculture of luxury. Thus the agrarian and the clothier, by
example, will go in vain of an equal step towards the
improvement of their art, they will not become, more than
they were before, the barges one of the other. However it is
important to observe that a manufacture of luxury employs
not more hands, but of the more skilful hands: all like the
agriculture of luxury, the fattening of the herds, employ not
more, but less hands than tilling. We are and it enough was
not noticed, in a completely new condition of society, on
which we still do not have experience. We tend to separate
completely any species of property of with all species of
work, to break any customers enters the day laborer and the
master, to remove with the first any species of association in
profits of the second. This social organization is so much
news, which it is not even with established half; that there is
not that the most industrial countries, richest, more advanced
in a system that we hardly attest, where it work of agriculture,
as well as that of manufactures, that is to say made by
workmen that one can return at the end of each week: it is
there that we tend; it is where us let us announce a danger,
and not in the discoveries of sciences. Our eyes were done so
much with this new organization society, with this universal
competition, which degenerates in hostility enters the rich
class and the working class,

(1h) accomplished that when it covered twelve hundred
heads; however, if we suppose them in all the same
circumstances that the farmer, we will see it initially devoting
eleven hundred hats and covering eleven hundred heads, to
get the wages necessary to itself and its ten workmen; while
after the discovery which will increase by a third their
productive power, its manufacture will consume nothing any
more but eight of its hats. The exchange direct of its hats with
the manufacture of poor and agriculture nothing any more but
seven hundred ninety two will employ of them, while it will
offer four hundred and sixty of them to the manufacture of
luxury, that it will need sixty heads news to wear its hats, and
that there will be however three hundreds the poor which will
have to do without hats, until the manufacture of luxate, that
encourages the enriched hatter, that is to say in full activity.
that we do not conceive any more any other mode of existence, even those whose remains surround us by all shares. One believes to answer us by the absurdity, by opposing them to us defects of the preceding systems. Two or three systems are succeeded indeed, as for the organization of the lower classes of society; but, because they are not regrettable, because, after having done a little good initially, they made to then weigh appalling calamities on the mankind, can about it one conclude that we entered today truth; that we will not discover the vice fundamental one system of the days laborer as we discovered that slavery, vasselage, trade associations? When these three systems were in force, one did not conceive, of even, which could come then: correction of the order existing would have appeared, in the same way, or impossible or absurd. time will undoubtedly come where our nephews will not judge us less cruel to have left the classes working without guarantee, that they will judge and that we consider cruel ourselves, the nations which reduced these same classes in slavery. Each one of these systems had appeared, in its turn, being one happy invention, being a progress towards civilization. Slavery itself, very odious that that is to say its memory, succeeding in a wild state of universal war, where the man, unceasingly under the weapons, time of remainder did not have to give to work, not guarantee for the fruits that work had procédurés to him, slavery, succeeding the massacre of the prisoners, was a progress in society, it allowed the accumulation of wealthes, it became, at the Greeks and them Romans, the base of a civilization almost equal to ours. As long as the masters remained poor, as long as they worked and ate alongside their slaves, the condition of those was bearable and the population increased. Progress same of the system, wealth of the masters, their luxury, them ignorance of all work, their contempt for this part population which made them live of its sweats, their hardness, their avarice which cut off something unceasingly with the subsistence of this human cattle, sowed finally the mortality
in the working class. They made it disappear, with the time of the greatest splendour of the Roman empire, perhaps when the economists, if there were, applauded constant progress of opulence. The corroding cancer of antiquity was slavery. It was the state of oppression and misery where the slaves had been reduced who destroys the population of the Roman empire, and which delivered it to the Barbarians; those, at the end of a few centuries, invented a more generous system, they substituted reports/ratios of protection and customers enters the lord and his man, with the whip which had been a long time the discipline of the slaves. Feudality had its time shining and thrives, that where the vassal one armed fought beside its lord. When it lord, become rich, only thought of acquiring always more wealthes and to spread out always more luxury, it becomes heavy again its yoke on the poor one, and the feudal system became intolerable. The people conquered the system of freedom then where us entered; but, at the moment when they broke the yoke that they had carried a long time, the unskilled labourers found not stripped of any property. In the campaigns, as sharecroppers, censitaires, farmers, they were associated with the property with the ground. In cities, like members of the corporations of the trades, that they had formed for their mutual defense, they were associated with the property of their industry. It is our days, it is in this moment even as the progress of wealth and competition break all these associations. revolution is not even with accomplished half. But the farmer, become rich, cease to work with its hands; it separates of the day laborer, and it treats with him with the reduction. The foreman, become rich, instead of working on the same bench with a companion and an apprentice, gives up manual work, gather thousands of workmen in his manufacture, and milked with them with the reduction. Admittedly, our experience is quite recent in this social order which puts in fight all those who work, because this social order does nothing but start.
The species of obstruction of the products of human industry that we sought to explain hardly could to present itself during the previous time of society. In the state of cruelty, when each man only worked for itself, each man also knew his needs, it was not to fear that it was essential an useless tiredness to create goods which it did not wish. In the system of the slavery, which succeeded to him, and which admitted the development of a rather great civilization, the master did not ask even with its slave whom the industrial products of which it had in advance given the use. Its request had preceded and fed work, its consumption followed it immediately; the obstruction did not become possible that when the master slaves was done manufacturing and commercial, like the east today the grower of Jamaica. In the system feudal the lord asked his vassal much more services and combat that lucrative work: industry, far to be excited, was strongly discouraged, and it was not obstruction which one was threatened. In the system of association all progress of art benefitting that even who exerted it, each one proportioned his efforts at the market that it was to supply, the farmer better still liked to rest to produce corn which it could not to sell, and one often reproached the corporations towns of have never had of another policy but to restrict the product, to remain main market, and of to always tend to do less work than one them in asked, for selling best. The state where we enter with today is completely new; working population is free; but no guarantee was given to its subsistence; it must live of its work; but it does not see not, she does not know that which will consume the products this work, it does not have any means of measuring its efforts with the reward that it can about it wait. When fate of as well of million men is based on a theory as none experience did not still justify, it is right to consider it with some distrust.
With the remainder, which one does not believe that antiquity had never reflected on the difficulty which occupies us, that it had never sought, never finds the solution. If the fundamental question of the political economy is, like us it let us believe, the balance of consumption with the production; if it is a consequence necessary of the progress of arts, industry and civilization, that each man who works produces more than the value of what it consumes, and which by consequent the producers alone cannot suffice for all to consume, it is necessary that, for each increase in productive capacities of work, there is an increase corresponding in consumption in a class of men who nothing produces, or whose products are not purchasable. It is the conclusion at which Mr. Malthus arrived in its last work of political economy, and it found one there reason to affirm that prodigalities even government had sometimes served the public wealth, by creating one classify idlers and consumers, without whom production would have been stopped soon by the obstruction of the markets. They seems to us that the old ones had arrived much further that us in these considerations on general walk from society. We will not allot more to their policy prodigalities of the government of Athens, that those English government with the last principles of Mr. Malthus; but they had recognized that, to maintain this balance essence at societies, between the production and consumption, three means were had a presentiment of: the first, to employ the surplus of the purchasable productions to nourish workmen of which work was not sold, and has to raise public monuments, or civil or religious; the second, to encourage the luxury rich person, so that they consumed the work of the poor; the third, to give to all the mass citizens an occupation of spirit, a patriotic occupation, to fill hours that progress of industry allowed them to save on work. The first means, which was more or less put of use by all the States of antiquity, could not be seen anywhere better
developed than in the organization of Egypt. This region was covered with a farming population of which the number astonish imagination; and as it joined together the advantages of a fertilizing sun, of a fertile ground and abundance of water, it drew from the ground a quantity of food infinitely greater has than it could consume. Egyptians had a decided, or political or religious aversion, for navigation. They thus sought to be enough has themselves, they had very little foreign trade; they exported neither their corns nor the products of their manufactures, and those never arrived has very large gloss. Their form of government did not in the least admit lords who consumed, in luxury, what their peers had produced by their sweats; and indeed, amidst the ruins of the great many temples which cover Egypt, no palaces can be detected. There was admittedly a extensive class of priests, the Almightyes; but their religion imposed to them an ascetism which excluded the luxury; their consumption personal was little of thing higher than that of the workmen. These priests sought the means of preserving mass Egyptians in the practice of a constant work, and of an equal abstinence their industry has. They always wanted them ignoramuses, always subjected; they wanted that the leisure did not allow them to develop faculties of their spirit, instead of those of their body; and they gave them the task gigantic to place in their temples all the divinities of Olympe. Monuments such as the world will not see any more the similar ones covered Upper-Egypt; their proportions are so colossal that one almost refuses to believe that the man power were enough to raise them; and finished to them is so delicate that eternity seems to have belonged to those which lavished thus their time to achieve them by work successive generations. Catacombs, undergrounds mountains which border the valley of the Nile, do not conceal less wonders: the vastness of this work confuses our feel and our reason. One needed the constant work of several million workmen, during several hundred years,
to create this world of enchantments. Undoubtedly; but it was necessary for these millions of men to eat corn from Egypt’s granges. It was necessary for an entire population of masons and stonehackers to consume what the industrial inhabitants of the valley of the Nile did not cease to produce. The Hindoustan of antiquity conceals also movements which equalize almost those of Egypt in extended and perfection. There, also, the religion ordered an useless work, but colossal, because the social organization had multiplied them producers, and had almost made disappear those which consume without anything to make. Etruscans, and all people at which the corporations of priests exerted a great power, adopted the same policy more or less. One finds Rome of the monuments former to the first times has histories, which one can hardly explain construction, a long time before the beginning of opulence Roman, that by the capacity which the colleges of priests exerted on the former inhabitants of the region. By this policy, the totality of the population could work without encumbering the market; manners were preserved pure, them robust bodies, the equality were not disturbed; each one took part for a portion equal to the pleasure of monuments public raised by the combined work of the nation. But, in addition, the constant work of all stopped all developments of the spirit; also the nation was abandoned without defense with the ambitious caste of the priests, who had undertaken to control it. The second system of antiquity was about ours; with Sybaris, in Corinthe, Syracuse; in Tyr, in Carthage, and more late in Rome, when this capital of the world leaned already towards his decline, one gave up the trade and manufactures with their natural course: the excess of the production on consumption of the producers was immense. It nourishes access a great export trade; but soon afterwards it formed a luxurieux rich person class, of which the only business was to vary their pleasures unceasingly; these rich person lived to rest, consume, enjoy, just as
the remainder of their fellow-citizens lived to work. Like work was almost accomplished in entirety by hands served them, there was not with the fight which we see to be established nowadays, to obtain with the reduction work craftsmen; and to suppose that in some trades the market was encumbered, the sufferings which could result from it for slaves fixed the glances of the contemporaries little, and do not have not left traces in the history. But the legislators of antiquity, who had compared one much greater number of free states than us, who had meditated much longer on the idea than the government is instituted only for the happiness of the people which are to him subjected, for the happiness of all, not for that of only one classify, rejected the Sybarites system completely. It appeared subversive to them of the republican equality, to establish that the ones worked so that the others enjoy. They found that the excess of lowness and servility always stuck to the excess of opulence; that the hearts were irritated in mollesse; that the swirl of the pleasures was also contrary with the development of the spirit which could be to it the constant tiredness of manual work. They estimated that if they made enjoy all the citizens the portion of rest acquired by the progress of industry, they ennobliраient them character; that, if they delivered a small number of it to a complete idleness, they would condemn them at the same time to the worship pleasure. They thus agreed with all the philosophers and moralists, with all the religious men, and as a private individual with all the Fathers of the Christian Church, to proscribe luxury, like necessarily bringing the ruin of manners and the loss of the States. It is rather strange that the unanimous feeling of the men of which we respect more the decisions, under all the other reports/ratios, does not exert today any more, even a light influence on our opinions in this matter. On this principle the third system, adopted was founded by Athens as well as by Sparte, Rome in its strength, and by all the most famous republics of antiquity. So that for those who have no other revenue than work
find sufficient demand for that work, the republic itself occupied its citizens almost constantly, and thus prevented from offering in their turn their work to be sold. Legislators of antiquity, far from encouraging like ours the accumulation of fortunes and the luxury, took care without these of to make also divide the heritages between the children, with to maintain a kind of equality enters the inheritances, especially with to repress all the practices of indolence or ostentation, with to remove with the citizens the desire and the occasion to make a too great consumption, to put in honor sobriety, simplicity and abstinence. They wanted that, as each one had its leaves in the activity the body, each one had also its share in the activity of the spirit, and each one its share in the pleasures. To maintain this division equal, they diverted the citizens manual occupations, and did not let to them devote that a small part of their time to agriculture, or with direction of arts and trades; they invited them in the public place to deliberate, with the courts to judge; with the Academy, with the Gantry, to sharpen their spirit and to raise them heart by noble lesson; with the theatre, to form their taste and to inspire elegance attic to them; with the temples, to charm their imagination, and to make them link them espéren these future with the pleasures of the life. The application of mechanics to arts and industry gradually decreased the quantity of work necessary for to support the human life, but it was not a reason for that the social order raised an individual charged to rest, of to consume, to enjoy for two, four, ten, percent, for thousand; an individual who kept for him totality of the profit, which even worked to reduce the share of the workman, as the product increased: economy made on the work of all benefited all; the citizen of Athens was satisfied, in spite of this progress of industry, for coat of the coarsest fabric, for bread food and of figs dry. But certainly, the absence of any luxury had not destroyed the elegance of its spirit or the smoothness of its taste. By proscribing the pleasures, as legislator, he had
not lost the activity and the spring of its character like private man; and when the Athenian needed wealthes, not for him, but for the fatherland, the sterile ground of Attica was enough with the armaments to this republic, which made tremble Asia-Minor and Sicily; it was enough with the equipment to these colonies which spread on the most distant shores principles of the true civilization. Only luxury of Athens, they was the men whom the republic produced: happy the country which will be able to produce the similar ones! Happy it whole world, if Greece which frees itself revives soon such noble models! Perhaps it will be judged that we moved away well question discussed between Mr. Ricardo and us, and whom it would have been better to indicate what remained us, to make that it that antiquity had made. But what remains to be made is a question of a difficulty infinite, which we have by no means the intention to treat today. We would like to be able to convince the economists as fully as let us be we it ourselves, that their science follows from now on a false road. But we do not have enough confidence in us for their to indicate which would be the true one; it is one of largest efforts that we can obtain from our spirit, which of to conceive the current organization of society. Who would be however the enough strong man to conceive an organization which do not exist yet, to see the future as we have of sorrow to already so much see the present? However, if all them enlightened spirits finally agree to seek which is the guarantee that society must with the classes charged to nourish it, what only one could not do, perhaps the meeting of the lights of all will be able to achieve it. Thus let us complete the analysis of the system in which us sums entered, before thinking of that which will have to replace it; let us study its walk: let us judge, without us to let it distract by the comparison with a very ideal theory. If I presented here what I would judge a remedy for the current evils society, criticism would give up the examination one it appreciation of these evils, not to appreciate but my remedy more,
probably to condemn it, and the question of the balance consumption with the productions would be by no means judged. I will only allow myself to announce, that to suppose that I had carried in the spirits a rather complete conviction to be able to obtain in the legislation all the changes that I would wish, still I would have the thought by no means, or to obstruct progress of the production, or to delay the application sciences with arts, and the invention of the machines. I would seek only the means of ensuring the fruits of work with those which do the work, to make profit the machine with that who implements the machine. If I obtained finally the result, I would rest then on the interest of the producers for not to make a work which would not be required of them. Such an amount of that the producer can be regarded as only one person, and that it is moved by only one interest, it is always directed by this proverbial maxim, which it is to better rest to work for nothing. Also all the facilities which him will be given for its work will never determine it with to produce more than one does not ask him; it will rest, it will enjoy, when it makes its work, that is to say that it achieves it in twelve hours or in two. It is, on the contrary, the opposition of interest between the producers who contribute to the same work, between the master and the labourers, who only causes obstruction of the markets; the balance between them distracts from the other balances more important between the producers and them consumers. The masters are determined to undertake a work, not because consumers theirs ask, but because the workmen offer to them to make with the reduction. The task to again associate the interests of those which contribute to the same production, instead of putting them in opposition, belongs to the legislator: it is difficult without doubt; but I do not believe that it is it as much as one could to suppose. It would have been made much already, if one prevented the legislation to act in a direction diametrically opposed to this social interest. If all the laws were removed
who oppose the division of the heritages, and who, supporting the formation or the conservation of great fortunes, prevents that the capital and the land ownership are distributed in small parts with those which exert manual work; if one removed all the laws which protect the coalitions of masters against the workmen, all those which remove with the workmen their average natural of resistance(1); the examination of the ones and others, the examination of those which could oblige the master to guarantee the subsistence of the workman whom it employs, would be long, difficult, and we will not enter there today. It is enough for us to have indicated that it is there that we would seek a remedy with the evils whose society suffers and those of which she is threatened. While waiting for the time, moved away perhaps well, where the meeting wishes of the economists will be able to indicate to the authority sovereign a change in the system of the laws, it us seem that the discussion which we have just entered can have as of today some practical results. Us let us believe that, in the human society, the increasing request of work is the constant, regular, annual result of progress of the man. This request is, in its turn, the cause beneficial of all the developments of industry, all improvements of arts. When there is request for one new work, i.e. average new to pay it, and new need to consume it, all progress which will make society to satisfy this request will be advantageous with all. Of a share, there will be call to an increase in population; there will be more marriages, more saved children in their youth, more activity in their training,

(1) At the moment when this was printed for the first time, I read in the newspapers that in MacClesfield, the silk workmen worked only eleven hours per day, and when they found to work twelve hours, the hour of surplus was paid to them. On Saturday April 3, 1823, the manufacturers took the resolution to make work, from Monday, twelve hours per day, without paying more than the ordinary day. The workmen resisted; one proclaimed against them the martial law. Which was however the reason for the masters? The fall of the prices. Because they had already too many goods, they asked more the cheaper.
more labour employed by those which are already large. All these results are obtained however only successively, in a rather long space of time, so as to not to disturb balance, not to cause obstruction and so that the new population, which, in the course of ten, fifteen and twenty years, will enter the active life, arrives there, not to do the work requested today, but for to serve those which work of today will enrich in continuation. In addition, there will be a call to the increase in capacities mechanics of the man. Work requested today could be accomplished only by the men existing today; it is necessary thus or that they devote more hours each day with their work, or which they make use of all the means that science gives them to make more than they did not make before: each increase in their productive capacities, provided that they do not exceed the measurement of only those which asked work can pay and consume, each increase, I say, will create a new wealth, which with sound turn will excite a new request. Wages of these workmen, more skilful or more productive, will be raised, theirs pleasures will grow with their revenue; they will ask their turn that a greater number of workmen works for them, or that the same ones make more work; because they will have average to pay this increase. The same amount which required and used to pay a new work will reappear in a continuation markets, to activate all old work. In spite of progress of mechanics, the existing men will not be enough not to do all that will be required of them; new beings who out received the life at that time will find, while growing trades which await them; the population will increase, and agriculture will have to also increase to nourish it. All the movements of society are connected, they result all from/to each other, like the various movements of wheels of a watch; but, as in a watch also, it is necessary for this sequence of movements that the driving force acts where it must act; if, instead of awaiting the impulse
which must come from the request of work, one thinks to give by the anticipated production, one does about what one would make in a watch, if, instead of showing again the wheel which carry the chain, one violently made some move back another; one would break then, one would stop all the machine. However society takes part in this inherent vital force with the man who makes it triumph over the partial disturbances, and to repair itself the evil which it attests. When, in an unspecified branch of industry, the products exceeded requests, and that the market is encumbered the workmen endeavour to change trade, to change country, of to adapt finally to their new situation, and they succeed there almost always in a less long time more one, provided that one does not precipitate the revolution which took place in mercantile interests. In a similar crisis, prejudices who oppose the adoption of a new invention, them difficulties of communications or imitation, obstacles of any kind which seems to slow down the advance in knowledge applied with arts, are all advantageous with humanity; they give time, they make it possible the vital force to act, they leave with those which were struck the leisure to be raised of their wounds. These prejudices, which in many occasions are perhaps the surest guarantee of society, oppose in general with the individual interest a sufficient obstacle so that balance is restored. It often undoubtedly arrives that a contractor of manufactures or having invented one useful application of sciences, or discovered an advantageous practice from abroad, melts a new industry, and creates products which are not required of him. It rests then on the hope which it will remove their barges with some one of old manufactures, 'which it will spoil the trade'; because the word is technical, but that it will spoil it for the others, and with sound profit. There is in general a kind of balance between the interests individual, which prevents that one of them entirely can to upset all the others. This inventor will make any possible sound to maintain its own secrecy and to only benefit from it; it will attest moreover resistance of all its fellow-members to which it
endeavour to make wrong, that of all the workmen who see although it tends to decrease their wages, that of all the popular prejudices and buildings which always tend to push back them innovations, that of the capitalists who do not lend themselves readily with companies which they do not include/understand and do not know not. It will triumph over all these resistances, but slowly, so as to not cause jolts, to leave the families that it moves time to line up, to acquire one new livelihood, or even with the consumers to form a new application for a job. Also it is not in general the natural progress of industry, such as it is caused by the personal interests, which with product the obstruction of the markets, and which condemned to idleness and with the famine of the thousands of workmen; it is by a foreign influence with the personal interests, that us saw 'spoiling' systematically, and into large, 'the trades', sometimes by the governments, which putting in greenhouse-heat all industries, wanted that their nation did all it that they saw making with all the others, and made him produce what one did not ask him; sometimes by dedicated citizens and of the scientists, who believed to be able to be useful more usefully their fatherland that into important at the same time all the inventions which made wealth of the other countries, by attacking all them prejudices, by reversing all the practices, while spreading quickly all the discoveries also far which they could to go, and while asking the capitalists, in the name of their patriotism, the foundation of manufactures which they would not have not obtained them in the name of their interest. For today, we will leave in peace the governments whose existing policy already gave place to several discussions. We will address ourselves only to those which theirs philanthropy mislays, when it makes them support of all their capacity of the productions that nobody asks them, and to which they do not find themselves their interest. If we made a success of to convince them that while making produce one is not sure to make consume, we will perhaps bring back them to give more attention to the principle on which rests
their own system of political economy. They ask absolute freedom of industry, because they estimate that their interest individual, while being compensated, meet all in the interest general; that they thus see that they are themselves who disturb this balance of the individual interests, which, when they create a manufacture by love of the art or of science, as they did not follow the indications of the market, they often sacrificed the real men and interests to an abstract theory. It is the business of the scientists, to be held always ready, by progress of mechanics, chemistry, study of nature, to answer all the requests market; it is their business to be with range to assist the work of the man strongly, at the moment when a work more large is asked to him; but, as long as the current organization last, as long as the existence of poor is abandoned with the effects of a free competition, they should not put a weight additional in the balance, in favour of the foremen, against the workmen; they must remember that the maxim fundamental of the economists of their school, it is: 'leave to make and let pass'; that they also leave with the generations made superfluous time 'to pass'. Otherwise, by acceleration that they give, with an imprudent zeal, with the adoption of each discovery, they strike unceasingly, sometimes one classify, sometimes on the other, and they make attest at the whole society the constant sufferings of the changes, instead of benefit of the improvements.
SECOND ESSAY

ON SOCIAL REVENUE.

The first phenomenon which struck us in the revolution what nowadays undergoes the economic world by the change our practices and our manners, it is the increase disproportionate of the production, increase which is not determined by the market demands; and slowness, the difficulty, with which consumption successively applies for the use of the man wealthes that work created for him. But this first phenomenon us in let us see soon being born a second, who does not deserve less of attention: it is the state of embarrassment, of suffering, which industry witnessed when it exceeded the needs for consumption; it is the obstruction of the markets, and the misery which beholds all those who contributed to human work at the time that too many wealthes were produced. The stating alone of this phenomenon seems to imply one contradiction: we speak about an increase in products human work; these products, says us one, are wealth; how the increase in wealth can it thus be one poverty causes? We speak about the reduction in the means consumers to get that which they need; how their means can decrease, while its same men, as producers, have more things with to give in exchange? The phenomenon however is certain, it fact is indubitable; there is, or there can be, obstructed markets, and when goods produced
do not flow, commerce as a whole suffers greatly. To some trader, with some industrialist whom one addresses, it will confirm the truth so it will even affirm that the obstruction of the markets, than difficulty in selling, is at the same time the calamity more frequent and most frightening for the trade. Since it fact is certain, it would not know contradictory being, or rather if it presents a contradiction, it is in the terms that one employ, in the definitions which one adopted, and not in things. We proposed to avoid this difficulty in not starting with the definition of the words which we employ, or by the appreciation of the essence of the things. Us spoke about wealthes, value, production, of consumption, without seeking to define these words, because we would not have been able to make it that with other words: we employed them such as the use gives them to us, by resigning us so that they left a little vagueness in the spirit of our readers; front all, we sought to clear up the ideas, and those will fix in their turn the value of the words. If a more exact analysis us makes find some share a contradiction, it is not the idea which must yield, it is the word; it is in the definition, not in the fact, that vice reasoning is. It is to have followed contrary walk that science seems to discuss today against impossibilities. If instead of to consider abstractedly wealth, the production consumption, the exchange, one penetrates front in the organization of society; if one seeks carefully which is that which product, which is that which consumes; if one disentangles between hands of which remain the exchangeable things, and if one seeks to know if it is always these which attest it need for the things to exchange. So finally, one constantly has to keep people, under their various conditions, in focus; not their wealthes, and less still a gist of such wealth abstractly represented; then one no longer will be hindered by difficulties or contradictions that one oneself had created. One will then no longer behold of any impossibility, by which extreme abundance
finds itself side by side with extreme need; and one will not deny any more, against obviousness, that the obstruction of the markets and the excess of production can become a cause of general suffering. The social sciences are composed of too delicate relationships for it to be able to express itself by numbers, and the relations of social life are too complicated so that one can abstractedly consider them without scrambling dissimilar things, and so that one can isolate a social position without distorting it and to denature it. The idea of abundance or destitution, wealth and poverty, is for each individual sufficiently clear; according to the struggle by which each one is called to live, it is the proportionality of both situations that one finds oneself in the most often. But it is only with extreme difficulty that one manages to generalize this idea to apply it to society, in its very whole. Indeed, each economic philosopher gave a different definition, and it is then always an abstraction, always an incomplete definition, and consequently distorts, of what constituted wealth or the prosperity of a nation, which disappointed each maker of system in political economy. It was to have believed that gold and the money constituted wealth of a nation, that our precursors invented the mercantile system and balances commercial, and that continuing an untrue prosperity society, they subjected it to burdensome rules, with prohibitions, with deprivations of any kind. It was still to have believed that the product Net constituted wealth, that other philosophers invented the system not less disappointing physiocrats, and whom they endeavoured to replace all taxes by what they named the direct tax. It is because the governments are appeared today that national wealth consists with much producing and consuming little, that they endeavour to give activity to industry and with the export trade, while obstructing the importation. It is because economists nowadays suppose that wealth consists of an indefinite increase in production and of consumption which, in their view,
is its inevitable consequence; and refuse to reflect on the increasing misery of the proletariat, while the value of production and that wealth is increasing. The true reformer of our science, however, Adam Smith traced all of this quite differently. He felt that our conception in no way is penetrating or comprehensive enough to be able to embrace society as a whole; he felt that we always needed to fix our glances on only one object, for to know well, and it had undertaken to render comprehensible to us the social organization, not while seeking which were attributes of society, and by treating sound abstractedly work, of its trade, its wealth; but while going down unceasingly of society to the man, by taking it then under its complex condition, its relationship with all its similar, and while convincing itself although society not being that an aggregation of men and fortunes human, which constitute the happiness of each one constitutes also the happiness of all. We will follow the same method, the method of our master, to seek to understand the phenomenon which is presented at us, the obstruction of the markets, and for in to find the solution. We see extremely well how work provides for the subsistence and the pleasures with the isolated man, of the isolated family. We sense extremely well that when each one work for itself, it makes the thing which it needs, in the measurement which is appropriate to him. It does not proportion exactly its production with its consumption, because provisions that it succeeds in accumulating give him the feeling of the ease and of abundance. If its provisions overflow, if they are corrupted without to have been useful, there is undoubtedly a little work of lost, but it does not result from it from suffering: this superfluity alone which was dissipated, which was produced in vain, and it was it because the remainder of the product was sufficient for the needs and the pleasures of the family. This state of insulation is not a fiction; it is on the contrary the primitive state, almost the normal state of all the incipient companies. When one observes small a nation entering the
course of civilization, or better still a new colony: society is composed of a number of scattered families on a given extent of ground. Each one cultivates some for oneself its portion; each one builds its thatched cottage clears a part of its ground, the other devotes to the pasture, sows corn, plant vegetables, cultivates the fruits which it can eat; each one spins and weaves its hemp and its wool, and makes its clean clothes; each one lives in abundance, without trade; because one can hardly call of this name the exchange which make sometimes these families between them of some part of their superfluity. Not only this state of society exists; one could to affirm that no colony, no new society will be able to succeed if it does not start thus. The organization more complicated than we have under the eyes, and where we live, in which the subsistence of each one depends on the trade and of the exchanges, is too artificial so that the incipient society did not run each day the risk to be famished or to be suffocated by the revolutions of the trade if it counted on him to nourish it. The progress of wealth, however, brought the division conditions and that of the professions; it is not any more superfluity of each one which was the object of the exchanges, but subsistence itself. Each one worked to produce what appeared to him clean to satisfy a need or to flatter a taste, not of itself or its family, but of the public, and it counted that the public would pay him in return its subsistence. Thus, in this new state, life of any man who works and who product depends not on the completion and the success of sound work, but of its sale. It is little that the work is well fact, it is necessary that it is asked, it is necessary that it is in one exact proportion with the production. The producer who can sell cannot live. To be sure to sell it would be necessary that he knew two things of which most skilful cannot to be made that a very vague idea: which is the quantity thing which it produces which the public needs, which is quantity which can be produced of it by all those which do it even trade that him. It is not given to him to arrive
at a quite exact appreciation of these two quantities: also its subsistence which depends on the sale is always precarious. need for the consumers or the increase in request however for him the symptom of prosperity is; superabundance contrary to the production on the request, or the obstruction of the markets, is for him the unquestionable sign and the precursor of misery. But on what this request is thus regulated which is for him of so high importance, this request which it forms itself for certain articles, and which it satisfies with others? It is here, again, which while wanting to take a sight general of society one was misled; that it was believed in turn that they was the precious metals in circulation, that it was the “produit-net” of the physiocrats, that it was the production itself which formed the measurement of the request. While each man appears in turn under the capacity of purchaser and of salesman, producer and consumer, it is to us impossible between their movements which cross, which complicate, to disentangle the movement general; it is to us impossible to appreciate the need for society in a manner abstracted, or its capacity to satisfy it; but we need to go down again in the centre from the families, to study in each one on what its consumption is regulated, and to recognize which are the limits which prevent it from being more considerable. There we will recognize soon that for each man, for each head of household, the most important point of view under which wealth arises, it is that of the revenue. The measurement of its consumption it is its revenue. The first thing that it is advisable to him to know, it is, according to the popular sentence: how much this man has it to eat per annum or by day? Any other concepts relating to this wealth still remains quite confusing to him; he can only have very vague ideas about values either of its capital, its industry, or of its plots of land; he even knows that this evaluation is able to change considerably without its condition being affected; while the first thing that
he perceives clearly, is that there is a certain part of his provisions that can be consumed without becoming any poorer for it; because continuously living like he lived before, and working like he worked, this portion of his provisions will reproduce daily or annually, and he will be able to start consuming it again, in the same time span, later. He also understands that there is another portion of those provisions which he cannot touch without this leading towards ruination. He thus distinguishes revenue from his assets, and will call revenue its annual profit or daily one, of some share of its occurrence. We give here in the name of revenue the broadest direction, and we include/understand under this denomination not only the revenue of grounds or of the capital ready, or the houses given to rent, but still profits of any industry, all trade, of any agriculture, wages of any work, pledges and emoluments of any servant of the public or private individuals. Only the head of household, if it is poor, is in the use to consider only its revenue daily; it knows what it can eat each day, i.e. what it can consume, which it can spend, without remaining about it poorer. On the contrary, if it is rich or only if it is a farmer, he contemplates his annual revenue, because in general it is each year only that it receives it all with time. The nations are only aggregations of individuals; what is true of each one is true of all. The consumption of nation, the consumption at least which can be continued year by year, without impoverishing it, without ruining it, is not different thing that the consumption joined together of each one of its members, such as each one can do it without exceeding its revenue. not essential of the administration of any private fortune, it is the proportion of the revenue with the expenditure; it must be still the essential point of the administration of public fortune. If the first question which the people make is always: “How much does this man have to eat per annum or by day?” The first question in political economy should be: “How much does this nation have to eat
per annum or by day?” Of the answer, indeed, with this question, must depend the appreciation on the expenditure or consumption that it can make without getting out of order or ruining themselves. On this consumption or the revenue which is measurement must be regulated the reproduction, if it is wanted that each producer find to sell its work, that the market where it door does not remain not encumbered, and that the element of wealth it is embarrassed, and of which it cannot be demolished, for him a cause of ruin does not become. Thus all the social welfare is really related to the maintenance, with the increase, or with the reduction in the social revenue. In the direction of a private fortune, the revenue is only reasonable measurement of the expenditure or consumption. Each one knows extremely well that it runs to its ruin if it eats its funds with its revenue. Each one only calls ease summon pleasures to which the revenue can be enough, and only dissipation in the pleasures sees which exceed them means of each one, and which will bring on him an inevitable misery. It is the same for a nation or human society very whole. Its wealth is only the aggregation of all private fortunes, its capital is the capital of all, its revenue of all. And it is true of a nation like individual, whom it runs to his ruin, if it eats its capital with its revenue; that the amount of its consumption indicates to us his ease only as much as us let us be assured that there is dilapidation, and that its expenditure does not exceed its revenue. Any father of family knows that it can grow rich only by economy, by adding to its capital part of its profits annual. It still knows that it does not grow rich by the only production by the fruits by its industry, if its profit does not increase not with its work; it knows that there can be a production advantageous and another which is not it. The shoemaker knows that if it made hundred pairs of shoes the year spent, on each one it gains 3 frank, and two hundred pairs, this year. on each one of which it gains 30 pennies, its revenue remained the same one, and its work is doubled, so that the augmentation
of its production was not advantageous to him; that if on each of the two hundred pairs, it gained only 20 pennies, it sees that its work doubled and that its revenue decreased of a third. It can about it be the same of a nation. Production, not more than consumption, is not a sign certain of prosperity; this one increases only if the revenue is increased. Any head of household realizes about of the difference who exists between the real profits and the contingent profits, profits of a play. It counts only the first in sound revenue, and rejects the seconds among the happy chances, which the return is not assured for him. The real profit does not cost nothing with anybody that which pays it finds there his advantage, all as that which receives it. Such is the increase in quantity that the man obtains ground by agriculture, when it sows one corn bag, and that it collects five of them; or improvement of quality which it obtains by industry, when of a wool ball it makes a cloth fabric; or the greatest convenience which it obtains by the trade, when it brings to the cities salt collected on the edges of the sea. But contingent profit, profit of play, is a loss for that on which it is made. The player either about the charts, or about the public funds, or about the goods, knows extremely well which it grows rich only with the expenditure by that which treats with him; that there is not in its fact of increase in fortune, but a simple displacement; it understands, what does not import to him it is much true step, which though the profits of its play add to its revenue, they not adding anything to that the nation, because they should be deduced from revenue of its adversary. But the father of family includes/understands better, because it is interested more there, that it can grant to this him who makes real profits a confidence that it refuses with player; bus or this one plays with equal chances and it must to as often lose as it gains, or it plays with advantage, and it is a rascal. This man still understands, or it learns by the experience, that that which continues chances random loses successively all essential qualities with the good administration of its fortune. Dubious about the future
he seeks all its pleasures in the present; it does not distinguish not its capital of its revenue, because it really does not have not revenue; it does not put any wisdom in the forecast of its future; because it really does not have future. For one nation, more still than for an individual, the distinction enters real profit and the contingent profit is important. Its revenue is born from the first alone, it second presents positive quantities to him and negative which is compensated; but the second spreads at the same time, among the population, of the defects which destroy its industry and its precaution, and which carry out it almost as certainly with its ruin as the dissipation of its capital. Any treasurer still knows that on his revenue it must regulate training and the increase of its family; he knows that he does not have to take of woman, if it does not have to eat for her as well as for him; that it should not wish children, if it does not have a sufficient revenue to divide it with them, if it is not convinced that it will leave them after oneself a revenue equal to his. The most vehement passion of those which enter to heart of the man can undoubtedly make him illusion; but more its revenue will be fixed with precision, more it will be stripped of any random chance, less this illusion will be possible. Each workman knows that his children, with their birth, not only for several years out of state nothing will be to gain, but that they will prevent their father and their mother to give all their time with the work, and which they will decrease consequently their revenues. The family cannot increase without increasing the expenditure, and to decrease the means of doing them. However if the father of family can be enough there without touching with its capital, it sacrifices other pleasures to those of paternity. If it is ensured to find for his children an advantageous state, as soon as the forces come to them, it sees without concern to increase its domestic society; the education of its children is for him like a savings bank, it places there its economies that it capitalizes, and which will have one day to give him a revenue. But if on the contrary he realizes that this annual gain cannot be sufficient for him, if moreover he recognizes that the job
will not last, and that he won’t be able to ensure that his loved ones are sustained from the revenue exchange by having worked, then the birth of each new child is a calamity to him. If he is in an honest ease, he takes care not to be exposed to it; but if it is in one of these unhappy positions where men cannot appreciate their future revenue; if it depends on circumstances on which it does not have any control, of this terrible game which society sometimes plays at the expense of poor; then generally, it does not give itself any concern of it, and it lets an untimely death repair the excess of the births. The revenue is the measurement of the increase in population, for society as for the family. The revenue is measurement subsistence and ease of each one, the unit revenues is the measurement of the subsistence and the ease of all. More the nation includes infants, proportionally with the total number of its population, and more its expenditure increases and its revenue decreases; more on the contrary it contains individuals from twenty to fifty years, proportionally with its total population, and more its power of work is large. However the population increases all the times that work is rewarded so as to increase the revenue working class. Then there are more births, them fathers making the advances of the education of their children, in the hope of a happy future; there is also more longevity in all the working class; because ease is the cause of health, and ease is the fruit of required work. But if on the contrary, the revenue decreases while work increase; so in particular the wages decrease; and if it poor, to be recovered on the quantity, endeavours to make more work, it wears by work and the deprivations; it dies young person, or it languishes in the disease; the number of valid men decreases then appreciably. Perhaps the number of births will also decrease, if practices of prudence and order prevail in the nation; perhaps on the contrary it will increase, if man degrades himself enough not to think any further than of the present moment, and of carnal appetites.
Thus one sees the occurrence of drunkenness increasing with indigence; but the children become the first victims of misery; the more of them are born, the less well taken care of they will be, just like conservation would tend to restrain rebirth of any kind. The nominal population will be able in this case to be maintained, it will be able to even rise, in spite of the reduction in the revenue, but population of virile age will decrease, the chances of life will decrease, and this great number of births which one often gives as a sign of prosperity will indicate only the large one numbers those which are only born to die, without having known softnesses either that duties of the life. Malthus had assigned as limits population limit subsistence. Mankind, said it, grew in a geometric progression, and subsistence in an arithmetic progression: the first went thus towards an appalling famine. It is not doubtful only it does not have there terminals beyond whose the subsistence could not to increase more in a geometric progression; that there are even terminals beyond of which they could not increase whole any more; but we are still with an infinite distance from these terminals. There is place on the ground for an immense development of culture, and all those of its products which we intend for our subsistence, animals like plants, multiply in a progression geometrical infinitely faster than the man. This one is gifted indeed of a faculty of multiplication such as numbers men could double or quadruple all them twenty-five years; he shares this faculty with all nature organics, though between all the animals and all the plants, the man is still that which has it with least degree. But the man is not intended to make a usual use of this faculty, and never does it. It is only in rare cases, after a great destruction of the population, or after the transplantation of the man on a virgin land, that a great need for work being felt, a great revenue is born from this work, and the population is proportioned there quickly, because life of those which would have died in
misery is preserved in ease. As soon as the level is restored, the population does not increase any more but in the manner slower, and its slowness even is generally an index of great prosperity. Where the mean length of life is longest; where each one of those which are born with the greatest chance to arrive to a advanced age; there too, as in Geneva, the number of the births approaches more than one perfect equality with that of deaths. There, still, where the number of the marriages is proportionally largest, where the most individuals take part in the duties, the virtues, and the happiness of marriage, there too each marriage produces less children. In Geneva the average is below three, two children represent the father and mother, and will collect the revenue which was enough for the parents; fraction, below the unit, of third, represents the individuals who will not arrive at the age marriage, or which will die in the celibacy. The subdivision heritages of which the economists threaten us unceasingly English is unknown there; because population, this proportioning with its revenue, is maintained in an always equal ease, or even always increasing, without it being possible to say if its progression is geometrical or arithmetic. The law that Malthus had supposed, with its two progressions, one geometrical, the other arithmetic one, and the danger of famine of which he threatened mankind, would not find thus their application that in a completely hypothetical time, and that the human race will probably never see. While it is today, that they is the every day that the increase in population must be measured with the increase of its means of existence. When it suffers, it is not because corn and meat are lacking at the market, but because it does not have the means of buying them. When it is well-off, this is not because new foods became displayed to it for sale, but because its revenue became enough to command in greater quantity that what it needed. Malthus himself, though he expressed this material and coarse limit of subsistence, only in reference to his theorem of two progressions,
appears to have had a vague notion of the proportion of population to that of revenue; he explained why subsistence had to be understood as all human needs according to its condition, without paying attention that products of human industry grow in a geometrical proportion a good more rapid than the population. But if the revenue is the measurement of ease and prosperity of all, if it is the regulator of consumption, if it is the regulator of the population, how it arrives that Malthus expressed it, only none the economists its importance did not announce, does not have almost pronounces its name? How can one explain this lapse of memory, while Adam Smith, the renovating truth of science, did not owe all progress that it made him make that with the care which it had constantly to compare the fortune deprived with public fortune, that with the judicious application of all the rules of the economy domesticates with all the problems of the political economy. It is that all dogmatic writers, all those which want to raise a system, need to attach it to some idea striking and understood of all, and that the idea of the social revenue, of this power which gives the impulse to all the mechanism social, merges in their eyes, more they endeavour to fix it; it escapes to them by the infinite multiplicity of its relationships, by its continual transformation, the daily exchange who is done, either in the production, or in consumption, revenue of against the capital of the other. The philosopher economist, while walking his glances on all them social wealthes, can never say: this object is a capital, this other is a revenue, without somebody being ready has to answer him: what you name there capital is my revenue; what you name there returned is my capital. This impossibility of finding within material objects an attribute that makes it arrange itself as belonging to either one or the other class; this need for regarding the classification as being an abstract one, and as existing only in the appreciation of its holder, made it all the more convenient to entirely deny any differentiation; and to deal only with the production of society instead of with its revenue, and that of its consumption instead
of its expenditure. Everyday experience however, should teach us that a nation, just as easily as a private individual, sees its well-being sometimes decreasing proportionally, while its production increases; that sometimes also the increase of its consumption, far from being an expenditure, is one makeshift solution, and that the goods of which it made use are reproduced with as well abundance, as when it consumed, it piled up capital. The recent sufferings of society will not be really explored, and it will not be possible to bring a remedy there, that as much as one will stick to the division of the capital and the revenue, in spite of what it has of abstract, of imperceptible. It is useless to open to the people savings banks, if one make sure before that it has a revenue on which it can save; it is useless to work with its education and its instruction, if only time before is secured that it is obliged to employ to give birth to its revenue one will leave him little rest for the thought, a little strength for the meditation; it is useless to lead it to a new production, if one did not ensure oneself that from this production will be born a new revenue fully proportioned with the efforts that it will require of him; it is useless to open the trade to him foreigner, if one ensured oneself only while selling the abroads it will increase its revenue; that while buying the abroads, the saving which it will make on part of its revenue will not destroy not at his place some other more important revenue. Population, production, consumption, accumulation, prosperity, misery, all correlate to revenue, everything is explained by revenue. However, what is there yet to be queried about social revenue? It is the sum of all the revenues of each one. But by how much can this sum increase? We have no idea. Of which material part of wealth is it composed? We don’t know that either. We cannot distinguish this revenue, but by the means of its holders; its recognition lies in the account that each one makes for oneself. Science announces mysteries that it has no way to clear up; administration is reduced to conjectures when it cannot arrive at exact calculations.
Moreover, whenever public wealth is concerned, where its many positive or negative quantities are balanced only to a certain degree, where even the concept of value is perceived under various different definitions, where the cost price, the price of the market or of competition, the price estimated in working days, in subsistence and currency, scramble unceasingly so many opposed ideas, one never arrive at an inventory which can express itself by numbers, with a quantity which is other that conjectural. The mercantile system made consist wealth of one nation in gold and the money that it had, and which, following its instigators, it accumulated unceasingly; the system of the physiocrats recognized like wealth only the goods of ground. Both were victoriously refuted by Adam Smith, both however still preserve an influence involving on many spirits; because with the question: what wealth? they answered in a false way, he is true, but positive, and which one remembers; while Adam Smith could answer only by one enumeration incomplete, vague, and whose idea is not long in disappearing, after same as one seized it well. The public wealth, according to Adam Smith, it is all that constitute the fortune of each one; houses, fields, them instruments, cattle, the man himself with the skill that it acquired and its faculty of work; then all products industry of the man, although some are if fugitive that they are not suitable for accumulation. This enumeration appears quite vague; and however it is enough for to dissipate several errors. While comparing in the fortune of each one all these various goods with the quantity of gold and money that each one has, it is recognized that the currency does not make that a very small part of wealth or private or public. Furthermore, one soon recognizes that the credits of a private individual on another do not form part of the public wealth; because these are two positive and negative quantities, that compensate for one another. The public funds disappear in the same way, because it is credits of the lenders on the goods of the taxpayers.
Paper money also disappears, since it is only one promise to pay in currency, or a mortgaged credit on the precious metals in circulation. This only inventory public fortune, any vagueness which it is, is enough for to dissipate the error of those which allot to the credit a capacity creator, while it does nothing but give to provision good of the other, without increasing neither its quantity nor its power. The enumeration of the revenue of all will be perhaps vaguer still, and however it could also be enough to dissipate a great many illusions. Maybe that the man devotes his work to agriculture or with the industrial arts, that is to say which it causes production of with the ground of fruits, or which it gives to these fruits a form more adapted to uses of the man, it increases the value or the quantity of materials on which it is exerted; it makes its wealth of it, and this wealth is higher in value in advance with the means it was obtained. Superiority of the annual product work of the man on his annual advances comprises all revenue of society; but this appreciation has two different evaluations, one, according to the work which it has cost, and the other, according to the need that those attest some which will employ with their use. When a family lives completely isolated; when, for many that it is, it is always directed by an interest commun run which always proportions its work with the needs of each one of its members, there will never be any work done for which there is no use, or without its purpose being very certain. There is numerical price, since there is still exchange, and however the idea of the revenue develops to with it much more clearly than in our complicated companies, where one gave up giving a special guarantee to the interest general, and where, putting at the catches the individual interests by exchanges, one flattered oneself that they would arrive at the same goal. In case of this isolated family, that we supposed being extensive, one recognized that one annually needed a certain quantity of food, clothing, pieces of furniture.
The members of that family already had materials, provisions, tools, products from their anterior work; that could be regarded as capital that they accumulated, such as corn for the seeds, the fleeces of which they want to make cloth, the instruments that will be useful in that respect; the others are the revenue of the preceding year, which they will consume while giving birth to that from the news: it is their food and the clothes of which they are covered. Members of the family put themselves at work, they share work, they plow and they sow, they prepare leathers, they the wools weave, they gather finally and achieve all the provisioning which will be useful to them for the future year. In this provisioning, we recognize three parts: one is a capital, it is the restitution of the advances which had been made with agriculture or industry, sowing of the agrarian, fleeces and hensp of the weaver; the other takes part nature of a capital and a revenue, it is subsistence of the family during the year of her work, them food which it consumed, the clothes which it used; it was a revenue like product of the previous year, but like accumulated product, which must always find the same one with beginning of each year, to start again work, and so that they can be productive, it was a capital. Finally the third part is purely a revenue: it is the material quantity whose product of the year exceeded that of the previous year, or the profit of work. It is seen that even in this simplest state of society, the revenue preserves something of its mysterious and inexplicable nature, it is converted into capital, the capital consume like revenue: it is the blood which feeds the body human, which is converted into its substance, and which however reappears unceasingly. Under this condition however, some ones of the laws of society are more clearly felt than when the complication was increased. It is recognized that produced work is more bountiful, as the methods to produce improve, that the machines are better; but it is also sensed that any increase in
product is not advantageous. The needs for society are limited; all that it cannot consume him is useless. Quantity of food which a number given individuals can to eat is reached soon: consequently there would be loss of work to increase it, and all the superfluity of feeder work does not have to be employed any more but to increase quality, not quantity, to make food or healthier or more delicate. Quantity of clothing which requires a given number individuals is a little less precise: though same clothing can be enough for one year, it can be pleasant to make of them new four times, eight times if one wants, by year, so that same clothing lasts only six weeks; but it is necessary well to stop there; all that one would produce of clothing beyond would cost an useless work, without advantage for society, without revenue. If the producing capacity always goes growing, by the improvement of the skill and the instruments, it arrives soon in the term where it must cease increasing quantity, and to occupy itself more but to improve quality. It is not one of the products of the human work to which the same rule does not apply. At the same time improvement quality has also its terminals; they are posed by work itself to which society is called; all them productions which one cannot enjoy that as much as one has leisure he are useless, unless it cannot be reserved these leisures. Thus the production has limits that it is prescribed to him of not to exceed. They are only while being contained within these limits that the redoubling of its power is an advantage. Quantity must be regulated on the number of the population, quality on its leisures. When the man succeeds in calling with his assistance them the highest sciences; when progress of mechanics he make it possible to achieve infinitely more work in infinitely less time, it is necessary also that it suspends its capacities producers much longer, than it is reserved much more leisure; because the exquisite food, clothing of great price and all highly sophisticated works, are with the use only of people of leisure.
These rules that one takes for granted, and that are quite obvious whenever a single family is concerned, regardless of how many of them one has in mind, also hold true for the state of society as a whole; yet, the latter is not subject to any enhanced control by some intelligence comprehending all its members' mutual relationships, other than by a willingness that makes all of them contribute to the common good. Individual interests broke the bond which linked them; it has to them been allowed, using the exchanges and of the currency, to be satisfied each one separately, without worrying about the common good; they were all in opposition one to the other; only the philanthropists judged more convenient to say and believe that their reciprocal opposition the container all, they tended as well by their action combined towards the advantage of all that if they had kept it really in mind. The interest of the production was regarded as independent of the interest of consumption; and this interest of production itself was divided in a great number of interests rivals. Those which were to have in hand some quantity of accumulated wealthes took care, in general, direction of the annual production: they were divided in two classes to look after, ones agriculture, them others industry. They said to the owner grounds: give up us to it use of your ground, your buildings, of your improvements. We will direct work, and on their product, we will reserve an always equal portion to you, one tenant farming or rent: it will be your revenue. They said to the agrarian: let take the direction of your work, us to us we charge collecting the fruits with it; but before you can await them, we will pay you, day after day, wages that we will take on our capital and which will form your revenue; we will advance, on our side a new capital for various improvements; the product of your work will be more considerable than if you had directed it yourself; but it will be our profit there. Then occur it government and the Church which take, on the tenant farming, them wages and profits, a new share which they redistributed like revenue to all classes of public civil servants.
At the same time of other capitalists undertake the direction of industry, they ensure wages the workmen, one rent with the owners of the factories and the machines, an interest with other capitalists who are satisfied to lend to them capital without wanting to try hard any; they pay finally taxes with the government, they keep a profit for themselves; they are thus the distributors of an annual revenue to four or five classes of people; but this revenue, either in the fields, or at the city, is never other thing that the surplus of the value of the work produced on the advances who were done to produce it. If work had been made in liaison with those which must to consume, the production would always have been proportioned upon request. But the more the trade extends, the more them exchanges multiply between countries moved away, more it becomes impossible for the producers to measure exactly them needs for the market which they must provide. Moreover, they in-give each other few concern; each one thinks only of itself, and instead of wondering whether its efforts will really increase the social revenue, it only works to be allotted some larger share at the expense of the others, and often to attain that, the easiest way is to decrease the share of all. The capitalist, contractor of an industry, would see with certainty its revenue to increase, if the requests of the consumers, for the products of this industry, increased on the market which it supplies; but this increase, if it is common to all society, is singularly slow and gradual. So that there is a greater request for food, it is necessary, not that there is a greater number of births, because this circumstance, if it is alone, being accompanied by an increase in expenditure and a reduction of profit, the population in mass will nourish itself more badly, and the majority of the children will die in low age; but one needs increase in ease, especially for the poor one, because food fact three quarters of the expenditure of poor, while it hardly comprised ten percent of a rich person's expenditure.
An increase in ease will prolong the life of poor, and will be cause that more children will arrive at virility. However, in the countries where the population increases most quickly, either by the births, or by longevity, one does not have it ever seen, except in Ireland, like also in the colonies, to double in one century; though one calculated sometimes that if it continued to increase on the foot of the last years, it would still double in good less time. In general, in the really prosperous countries, it does not increase significant manner. Its progress is however them terminals which agriculture in the production of the food substances must be essential. By leaving aside the oscillations in good and bad harvests which compensate for one another, the increase in the quantity of subsistence doesn't need to be greater than one percent yearly, since that is the fastest progress that one observes in parts of Europe were the population is happy; and as each improvement of agriculture gives products much more significant and more rapids, each one of them must be followed abandonment of the cultures which give more great volume of food substances, a certain number potato fields, for example, to produce corn; corn fields, to produce meat or of fermented drinks; fields cultivated in substances food to produce the flax, hemp, the garance, raw materials of the industry of the cities. It is indeed what generally arrived, except that several substances, cultivated initially for the man were then intended for the animals: what returns to the same result. In the moved back districts, which have few communications with their neighbors, quantity of food substances which can be consumed each year is sufficiently known of the producer so that it does not cultivate and does not throw on market a quantity of substances which it could not sell; but when the farmer is with range of large city, of a seaport, a channel, a railroad, about a market finally of which it can by no means calculate the extent, it is not concerned with it any more. If it can it, it doubles and
quadruple its harvests, and counts that it will sell them by giving them has price a little low than the other producers. For to lower the price, it starts by endeavouring to decrease the revenue of those which contribute with him to the production, of to give less tenant farming to the owner, less interest with that which lent money to him, less wages with the workmen, less taxes with the government. While carrying more corn on the market that it cannot about it sell, it produces necessarily this effect; because the corn lowers price at once; all the farmers make the same complaints then as him with the owner, with the capitalist, the workman has, with the prince; the tenant farming decrease, the interest money drops, the wages are reduced. It reacts at the same time against all the other farmers. If its methods of culture are better, with the same one work and the same advances, it can produce larger quantity of food, and to still gain on the price to which others lose. Thus it continues to grow rich, while they are ruined. It then offers to take with his their goods with farm, and it finds capitalists who facilitate to him this operation; its work of inspection will not double when even its administration will be doubled: moreover, it is to him to better gain 4 percent out of two hundred and thousand frank that 5 percent on a hundred and thousand. The small farms disappear; one does not see any more but of very large farms. Thus all the revenues coming from the ground decreased by this exaggerated production. The owner agreed to lower its tenant farming; the capitalist was satisfied with an interest of 4 instead of 5 percent; the farmer, of a profit of 4 with place of 5 percent; the day laborer, of wages of twenty pennies instead of thirty pennies per day. All these, however are consumers of food products, and by joining together them, they make alone greatest mass of the consumers. For each one of them, the reduction in the revenue will be followed of a reduction of consumption, or in quantity, or quality the poor one will again leave the meat for the bread, and it bread for potato. The effect for the rich person will be more complicated: the consequence of the reduction in the revenues,
it is that one needs more capital to live, one needs more grounds to withdraw the same revenue from it, more money lent to withdraw from it the same interest, larger farms for that they give the same profit; and like the rich person always give a great attention not to be let their families degenerate, not to make imprudent marriages, one will see the number of the former rich person decreasing, as the number families of old nobility, indeed, decreased everywhere, with each generation, and consequently the heritages will become more considerable. Consequently, the consumption of the class rich taken in mass will decrease, not only according to the proportion of the reduction in the revenue, but also according to that of the reduction in the number of the people. This double action is very apparent in England, although the number of the careers which are opened there with perhaps fortune maintains there a greater number of opulent families than everywhere else. The total number of owners of ground very appreciably decreased there, that farmers decreased there perhaps more still. quantity of corn, meat, good beer consumed by they, had to decrease too; and as for the days laborer, they are gone down again of the meat to the bread, the bread to apples of ground; their consumption decreased in quantity and quality. We stuck preferably to agricultural industry, because the relationship between the production and consumption is more easily seized; but the things occur precisely in the same way in the manufacturing production. Thus, so that there is a greater request for clothing, it is necessary not that there are more births, but that there is more ease among those which must wear clothes; that there are more revenues among all the classes of the nation, because all employ part of their revenue to be gotten dressed. The increase in the births can only increase the number of deaths, and nothing to change with consumption fabrics of any kind. Increase in vitality, in prolonging the virile life, the time when one makes the most die
think for its clothing, has an influence much more felt. However, we saw it, nor the multiplication of births, nor longevity, do not double the population in hundred years. Ease will advance the consumption of clothing much more quickly, and especially the ease of poor. There is advantage for health, cleanliness, for the pleasure, to frequently change clothes. Sultanas of large Mongolian reviewed honor to tear their dresses every evening, not to carry them more than one day; perhaps women in Europe are made they up to thirty clothings per year; it is probably highest consumption which the whim can determine; but like care of hygiene or cleanliness, an average of four new clothings per year for each individual is probably the most term to which can reach consumption main road. As soon as manufactures arrived to produce this quantity of fabrics, they cannot go usefully beyond. It is necessary that they stick to quality and either to the quantity; that they vary materials of fabrics, their smoothness, their elegance, and then finally that they stop; that all the supernumerary hands are employed with another thing that with fabrics, or that the workmen perish of misery. However the increase in the products in manufactures goes infinitely more quickly than in agriculture: such machine, with a quantity of work given, doubles them produced in one year, such other the quadruple, multiplies by ten them even. The quantity of fabrics which is enough to equip all it world was produced soon; the terminal in the improvement of quality, at least for all the men who work, is reached also soon. Work is incompatible with clothes of a large smoothness or a great elegance; the worker looks at the duration with there tiredness like the most invaluable quality of its clothing; but this quality even exempts it to often renew them and decreases its consumption: as for the substitution of cloth to the frieze, cotton with wool, it is not an increase in consumption, it is often on the contrary a reduction, when
the second fabric is less expensive, costs less work than the first. But the manufacturer, like large-scale farmer with range of a large city, does not know its market; it is lost in vagueness, it is appeared that the purchasers are without a number; or without worrying about the loss about its rivals, it think that to attract barges with him. It is believed patriotic when it does not ruin, by the developments of its own industry, that a foreign manufacture: then it draws vanity from it; but, with truth, it more does not spare that of its compatriots. All its work, all its skill, consists in reselling them; sometimes by substitution for some improved machine, more expensive, but more productive, with those which were already of use; sometimes by obtaining a reduction on the rent of buildings, on the rent of the capital, and thus decreasing it revenue of the idle rich person; sometimes by decreasing the wages of its workmen and revenue of the industrial poor; sometimes in reducing the profit of its own industry, which it can do profitably if it continues it on a greater scale; sometimes by alluring the taste of the consumers by the offer of new products, by the invention of new fashions. Thus it increases its production by decreasing the revenues of the capitalists, of the owners of factories, of the manufacturers, its fellow-members, and of itself, finally of all its workmen. For several, this operation is mortal. When it carries from one hundred thousand frank to a million its annual manufacture, it kills them nine manufacturers, its rivals, to a hundred and thousand frank each one, who made him competition; when it reduces the pledges of its workmen, or that it makes congédier those of his rivals, it makes to perish of misery weakest of them and their children, and soon after the majority of the others. Its prosperity is disastrous with the things as with the men. Its new manufacture, its new machinery, made useless the old one, that its competition ruined, and all the capital which had established it are destroyed. There is loss of revenue for society by reduction in the interest of the money, by the reduction in the profits of industry, by the loss of the rent of all the factories,
of all the machines become useless, by the reduction total number of the workmen and wages of each one. There is thus a reduction in the consumption of all these classes; and while the manufacturer works of all his power to increase the number and to improve quality of fabrics which it exposes on sale, it works also actively, also effectively, to decrease the number of the purchasers one or others, and to decide all those who are impoverished to make serve their clothes longer, and with to satisfy with qualities increasingly coarser. We would tire the reader vainly while following in the same way the manufacture of all the other products of industry, them utensils, furnishings, weapons: everywhere we will find that consumption cannot exceed some limit, difficult to however trace undoubtedly, but some; that as soon as the production exceeds it, this production exuberant, far from increasing the revenue, decreases it, and that then the increase in the material wealth, of wealth connect, for all society only one increase in embarrassment and misery produces. We believe, by this analysis of the social revenue, to have sufficient answered the difficulty that we raised; we believe to have rendered comprehensible how there can be too much, even of the best things. Indeed, work is a good thing, but there can be too work offered, if it exceeds the request, if it makes thus lower the wages, and if it decreases consequently the revenue of the worker. The capital is a good thing; but there can be too capital, if it is the capitalist who leads to the production, and not the consumer who asks it. Then, indeed, production is higher than the value of the revenue which must buy it, this disproportion cause a drop in the price of all it that one wants to sell, and decreases consequently more further revenues of all those which have something to sell; the owners of these revenues are however in their turn consumers, and the loss which they will have attested will return them all the more unable to buy the production of the year
following. The production itself, finally, is good thing, but there can be too production, that is to say that it that is to say due to the superabundance of work, or that of the capital, or with the too powerful assistance that science gave to useful arts; because when the production was not regulated by the desires of the consumers, and by the means of satisfying them, means whose their revenue is measurement, production remain unsold and it ruins the producers. Another proposal still results from what we come to expose, and it contradicts the received doctrines; it is that it is not true that the fight of the individual interests is enough to promote the largest good of all; that just as prosperity of the family require that in the thought of its chief the expenditure is always proportioned with the revenues, and production is regulated on the needs for consumption, of even, in the direction of public fortune, it is necessary that the sovereign authority always supervises and contains particular interests to make them tend to the good general; that this authority never loses sight of the fact the formation and the distribution of revenue, because it is this revenue which must to spread ease and prosperity in all the classes; that it especially takes under its protection the poor class and working; because it is it which is less in a position to defend oneself by itself, which is earlier sacrificed by all them others, and whose sufferings form the greatest calamity main road; finally that it is not the speed of the increase in the national wealth or revenue only the authority sovereign must especially have in sight, but its constancy or its equality, because happiness is attached to the duration of an invariable proportion between the population and the revenue; while when one or the other is subjected to random chances, the unexpected opulence of some never can to be regarded as a compensation for the ruin and died miserable of some others. It is necessary to go down to special considerations for to render comprehensible this need for protection which attest them classes poor and working, as well as the way in which
the sovereign authority can exert it. Most of these classes is that which is dedicated to the agricultural work; it is, in addition, that of which the writers of the chrematistic school occupied themselves. However it attests today perhaps more than any other reaction of their principles. We will intend the following essays to render comprehensible its current condition, and what it is essential to make for it. With place to generalize our observations, we will not fear to fix in turn our glances on only one country, and on various consequences of the various contracts of exploitation for grounds. We will seek the facts in the analysis of special works, often intended to prove anything else that it that we propose to extract some, and we will not forget not that on a subject which unceasingly seems to be under our eyes, and which however if little is known, it is perhaps more essence still to expose what is, that to show what must be.
FIRST SECTION.

TERRITORIAL WEALTH.

THIRD ESSAY.

WHICH DISTRIBUTION OF TERRITORIAL WEALTH PROCURES THE MOST HAPPINESS FOR SOCIETY.

We considered up to now the efforts of the man for to give birth to its subsistence by its work, and effects of it work on the very whole society. We recognized that work alone came all that we name wealth; because it is him which gives birth to, which modifies, or at least which collect all the objects of the nature which the man applies with the satisfaction of its needs; but we foresaw also that work, when it received a false direction, could itself create the misery which it is made to dissipate, and we understood that instead of pushing the men with to deliver itself to it with an always increasing heat, it could be useful, for the good rule of the house and the city, for healthy political economy, to assign terminals with this devouring activity, to preserve the nation of an obstruction of produced its own industry which would overpower it, and to give guarantees with the workers themselves against the effects of the competition which they are laid out to be made the ones with the others. To recognize with precision what it was advisable to do, in order to save calamities which seem to threaten them, them the most interesting classes, most invaluable of the community, those which nourish it very whole, we are
outline as that they was these same classes as it was appropriate us to study instead of fixing our glances on nature abstracted from the things which it was necessary to ask the observation it who in the social life made their happiness or their misfortune to follow country in country, in their manners, their practices, their domestic economy, and not to think of systems that after us to be well ensured of the facts. In this study of the man and human conditions, we believe duty to start with the profession into same time most and most important of all, that which gives birth to the fruits from the ground. It is that without which no society could exist, that which it seems it easier to make happy, since it is only for it that the dreams of imagination created the golden age, and it is that however which suffered the most from the human cupidty, which had to attest all the calamities of the extortions more cruel, of misery and slavery. While considering, indeed, any society under the influence of work to which it owes its subsistence, we see it dividing in two main categories: one requires of the ground them fruits of its work, the other the request with the men; the first, only occupied to fertilize the ground which is entrusted to him, he makes the advance of its work, its sowing, and waits of it in return of higher harvests in value like in quantity with wealthes that it delivered to him. It is one undoubtedly exchange, but an exchange that the made man with nature. The farmer entrusts his capital to him, and receives of it its revenue; it saw territorial wealth; moreover, it is independent, and does not need to some extent the others men. We can imagine, we even can observe in more than a single country, a society consisting only of pastoral people and labourers; the former devoting themselves only to agricultural work, while their wives prepare their clothing at home, whereby they live without any exchanges or trade, other than their struggle with nature itself. Men of the second category, who obtain their livelihood thanks to the existence
of commercial wealth, are only found in civilized countries, and are always in society of others just like them. Destined to exchange their services, their work, or the fruits of their work, with other men, they were called with the existence for to serve the farmers to some extent; to relieve them of all the care to which the agricultural work had returned them not very clean, and to prepare the conveniences, the superfluities of life, while agriculture provides to its first needs. Progress of civilization, progress of wealth, confuse up to a certain point these two classes of men, from which the character seemed initially so different; while the children of the territorial wealth give up successively with their independence to subject always more their industry with the chances of the trade, those of wealth commercial by borrowing the forces of nature and in making work for them, acquire a resemblance to farmers. The distinction enters the two kinds of industry fields and cities is however always sufficient for the goal of science. If the class of men which saw territorial wealth is oldest and most necessary, that which saw commercial wealth owes its birth with civilization and with progress. Also it was always looked with predilection by those which sought in wealth the sources of national power. It is the importance and the multiplicity of exchanges of which the trade is composed which made invent the instrument which facilitates them and supports them more, the currency; these exchanges carry on the capital itself of wealth commercial, while they embrace only one part revenue of the territorial wealth, left even as much smaller than society is less advanced. Also purely agricultural countries have infinitely less currency than commercial countries. Commercial trade instituted credit, because all the capital of a trader passes through his hands, often several times during the year, it can fulfill the commitments which he undertakes, to as such command his
entire fortune; while the ground owner has well the sorrow to carry out its revenue, and cannot, without the assistance of the trade, to discharge the debts which start its fortune layer. The currency however and the credit have a long time been regarded as component only wealth. It is them that the governments covet, them that they employ for national defense; it is them also which made them illusion on the importance of the commercial wealth, and which theirs made regard as component especially the opulence and the resource of societies. It can appear strange that this preference of wealth commercial is maintained still today, since the nature of the currency and that of the credit are understood better, since one does not claim any more to enrich the nations in attracting in the enclosure of their borders, and not leaving more to bring out the precious metals. To consider only the number men to which agriculture also gives and it work and the subsistence, one should rather have repeated the matter of Sully, that pasture and tilling were the two udders feeders of the state. But the mercantile system had accustomed to look at agriculture only under the influence commercial; and the chrematistic school, while pushing back it system, did not adopt broader sights. J. - B. Say, in its 'complete Course of political economy' (1), defined with precision the point of view under which the new school consider agriculture. “It is, says it, a manufacture of rural products, which must be comparable with any other manufacture; it is barter of all the expenses of production that it makes against all the products that it obtains, barter all the more advantageous as one gives less to obtain more .... Also, according to him, agriculture is in progress each time it manages to obtain more utility for same expenses, or same utility for less expenses. ” It is the principle there, not of Mr. Say only, but

of all the chrematistic school, principle vigorously followed
up by all those which claim today to advance agriculture:
the fertile principle, and of which we will often have to deplore
and fight the consequences. According to these philosophers,
the prosperity of agriculture must be estimated by the net
product that it gives to its grower. This one gain, either while
producing more, or while spending less. It gain on the
consumer, that is to say that it sells one more to him great
quantity of its products, that is to say that it sells them to him
with one higher price. It gains on its co-operators, on its
workmen, either that it finds average to have the same
quantity of products while making make their work without
them, or whom it makes make them work by them realizing
less wages. Thus one us like the national benefit of agriculture
one gives private profit that one makes result from two
national calamities, or the dearness of remaining, or the
misery of the workman. It is in a way much broader,
according to us, than the political economy must consider the
territorial wealth. It must see in this wealth largest of the
national interests, since the very whole nation draws its
subsistence from it, and since, in a well regulated nation, the
greatest part population, of much, devotes to the ground sound
work, and receives ground its reward. Under this double point
of view arises the question which we believe duty to treat:
which is the distribution of the territorial wealth who gets the
most happiness at society? A first doubt arises. The ground
which is subjected to work of the man is not itself a
production of this work, it is a free gift of nature, like the air,
water, fire, the light; it is a gift which seems makes with all
human race: why thus part of this race in would it be
disinherited? why an exclusive privilege would be granted to
another part? This privilege will not become it all the more
expensive as quantity of grounds a nation has being
irrevocably fixed, and not being able to extend, will its
holders have for them all the force of a monopoly?
This community of the ground is not a vain speculation, it was put into practice by the people hunters, by the pastoral people, some people even which started to seek resources in agriculture. It is also their experience which must answer our doubts and to clarify our theory. The people hunters, wandering in forests or of interminable savannas, looked at the ground as also given to all; they could not think of to divide between them, because they are obliged to move without cease to follow a game which escapes in front of them, and of which only they await their subsistence. But also they cannot nothing to prepare for the future, they can accumulate, they do not have revenues; hunting gives them one rather contingent profit, profit of the terrible game which they play against the savage animals and consequently against themselves: each advantage that they obtain indeed decreases theirs own resources; any other industry creates, theirs destroyed; their ease, today that they killed much of game, causes their future ruin; also the famine the threat with any hour, and it will make soon disappear their race: the red man cannot resist civilization more that the others animals of prey which depopulate with him the forests. The pastoral people form companies more powerful and more durable. There are countries, such as Arabia and the Tartar, which seem intended by nature not to never know other inhabitants; other regions saw being fixed, with opposite, their wandering people, when the population increased, and that society agree to give a guarantee to agricultural work. The Arabs and the Tartars do not give none of it; the ground is with all, say, like the air and like water; they do not suffer there from enclosure, not of privilege of first occupant, and consequently they do not leave with any man to be born the desire nothing for adding to its natural fertility, to devote a work to him of which it would not collect them fruits. But they recognize and they guarantee the property of pastoral people over his herds; whereby they encourage it to multiply; thousands of animals with horns obey its voice,
their dairy produce and the annual births form the revenue of shepherd; the herds proportion themselves about with the quantity of fodder which without care nature gives, while with the hundredth pains started from this same fodder could have been devoured by the game which the people hunters continue. Thus first aid given by the man not on the ground, but with the animals which live ground, a first guarantee granted to the property claimed on the animals children of nature, infinitely multiplied the resources of the man and its means of subsistence. Among the pastoral people, there used to be the Germanic one, there is today on the borders of the Persia, which wants to lend itself well to some agriculture; who allow to enclose a field and to sow it, but which, more jealous of their equality that of their ease, require that after harvest the batch of ground of each one turn over to the common mass, for to be subjected, if it is needed, to a new division. Some thing of similar is also seen among people hunters from America. The red man cultivates around his wigwam a little corn, a little potatoes; but like after harvest it from will go away perhaps with its tribe, with the continuation of game, a few hundred miles, it claims with any property on the ground, it gives up it after harvest, and under no circumstances would it think of clearing, of planting, of doing any permanent work which increases wealth of the ground. It is something however to have granted one guarantee at annual work of agriculture, and society very whole starts to find profit there. Already the man withdraw much more subsistence of the ground by the education of the domestic animals than by the hunting of the savage animals; of new it withdraws some much more by the culture of cereals that by the spontaneous birth of the graminaceous ones. A new guarantee has been granted to the property, it was extended on new free gifts of nature, and it is the whole society which in profited. As soon as some among its members obtain more subsistence all, is some more with their ease, and the danger of the famine is isolated for all the nation.
The experience could not leave a doubt about the useful ones effects of the appropriation of the grounds. The hunter, the gatherer who had sown a field, had passed from a wandering life, deprivations and of misery, to one filled with abundance and stability: it saw clearly that its work of enclosure and clearing would profit to him more especially as it would continue them more a long time on the same place. From the day it had sown the first grain of corn he aspired to the perpetuity of property; it who generally prevented this desire from prevailing was, not jealousy of those which would not have had share with the division, because there were enough grounds to give some to all, but taste of plunder inherent in the cruel races. Each small society had neighbors who wished to harvest there where they had not sown. Agriculture put society in their dependence by fixing it in the same place, and reducing it to the defensive. Each small society counted too in its centre of the men violent one who did not subject themselves to no rule, and which one did not know how to repress. Double armed robbery and of the fellow-citizens and the enemies delayed a long time the fixing of the wandering people, although each one they recognized that while adopting the agricultural life they would pass from misery to abundance. Finally the feeling of the wellbeing which the life ensured of fields carried it; the nations guaranteed to each one of theirs citizens the property of work by which they improved the ground; and as this work could never be detached from ground, the perpetual property of the ground followed. Then the man overcame nature and entirely renewed his face; then one could recognize the difference between wealth that the ground can produce and the poverty of its natural gifts; but too one could recognize that what gave to the man the intelligence and constancy in its work, that what made him to direct all its efforts towards a goal useful to its race, it was the feeling of perpetuity. The most fertile grounds are always those which water deposited along their course, but these are also those that they threaten of their floods or that they corrupt by marshes. With the guarantee
perpetuity, the man undertook the long ones and painful work
to give to the marshes a flow, to raise dams against the floods,
to distribute by channels arrosement of fertilizing water on the
same fields that same water condemned to sterility. Under the
same one guarantee, the man, being satisfied more with the
annual fruits ground, disentangled among the wild vegetation
the plants. long-lived, the shrubs, the trees which could be
useful for him, it improved them by the culture, it changed
into some their essence left, and it multiplied them. Among
the fruits, in effect, one recognizes of it that centuries of
culture only could to bring to perfection that they reached
today, while others were imported the most remote areas. The
man at the same time opened the ground until large depth, to
renew its ground and to fertilize it by mix its parts and the
impressions of the air; it fixed on hills the ground which
escaped from it, and it covered the face whole of the
countryside of a vegetation everywhere abundant, and
everywhere useful for the human race. Among its work, it
there has it will collect the fruit only at the end of ten or
twenty years; there are of them others which its last nephews
will enjoy still in several centuries. All contributed to increase
the productive force of nature, to give to the race human a
revenue infinitely more abundant, a revenue whose
considerable portion is consumed by those which do not have
share with the territorial property, and which however would
not have found food without this division of the ground who
seems to have disinherited them. Thus the perpetual property
of the ground was invented, has been guaranteed for the
advantage of all. This origin does not have not to be lost sight
of the fact; because the property is not legitimate that as far as
it is managed in accordance with the goal for which it was
instituted. The territorial property was delivered to the
particular interest, so that this one increased production and
social revenue. The owner thus does one unjust and
illegitimate thing if it misuses the concession which him is
made to restrict the production, or to be formed
a revenue not of what the ground will give him, but of it that it will remove with other men. The territorial property has to him been guaranteed, so that having a perpetual right in it, it always manages it for the future. It thus makes a use of it unjust and illegitimate, if it gives up it with men who y have that a daily and fugitive interest, and if it thus deprives society of all the advantages of this perpetuity which does not have to him been guaranteed, that so that it guarantees in return to wealth agricultural of constant progress. Our imagination could not design more happy state that that of a population which was dedicated to the culture of grounds, which practices it its own hands, and which knew to give a rather energetic and rather free political organization so that the fruits of the ground are always guaranteed to that who gave birth to. It was the fate of the majority of small incipient people, of the small people which left the wandering life to fix themselves and go towards civilization. It is in taking this important step that Greeks and the Italians replaced the Pelasgians, and that consequently their civil and military virtue, their population and their happiness, were growing during several generations. With this origin of societies each one was an absolute master of the ground which it cultivated of its hands, it did not pay the revenue with anybody of it; each one worked with an equal right, for equal advantages; work were distributed in all the course of the year of such kind that each day had its sorrow, but that each day also had its relaxations and its pleasures; food was born from the ground, but it was varied and abundant; clothing was born also ground, hams, wools, skins of the animals, in provided the matter; but they were worked by women in the interior of the houses. Rome had already risen with a high degree of power, glory and even of wealth, that it had yet any manufacture, no shop, no trade; all that we call today the industry of the cities was accomplished in the interior of the houses of the owners farmers. A terrible institution existed however already in this society if thriving,
it was domestic slavery; but it was there only germinates about it, and one could have envisaged the bitter fruits then only it was to produce when opulence would have increased. Slavery was not although a softening brought to the right of the war. This war which was exerted between small tribes, of even race, of the same language, of same manners, did not leave not after it of deep resentments; the prisoner, called to work with its master, lived with him, ate with its table, joined its sons; because in the Roman legislation the wire were with the capacity of the father to the same degree as the slaves; the debtors stopped for debts were the same for them assimilated. Slavery was yet only one exception rare, it had not dishonoured work yet. It changed completely of character as soon as great fortunes arose. As long as ancient Europe was divided between small people free and farmers, their prosperity was growing with a marvelous speed; the culture extended from the plains till the tops of the mountains, all the means of increasing the fertility of the grounds were successively discovered, all the products of the soil which could satisfy the tastes of the man were called in turn in existence; this countryside of Rome now deserted, cleansed by the breath of the man, was covered with a population so tight that five arpents, were supposed to be enough amply with maintenance to a family; however in spite of the frequent wars this population increased unceasingly; just like a bee-hive each year produces a new swarm, each city, after the development of each generation, had to produce a new colony away from it; and this colony, restarted it social progress according to the same principles, with peasants owners, totally involved with agriculture, quickly progressing towards similar prosperity. It was thus that the human race spread itself on the face of the earth, whereby within reciprocal interdependence, within abundance and virtue, nations grew whose fate was later to be played out by politics and war.
The rural happiness whose history presents us with an outline of the glorious times of Italy and Greece is neither unknown at the present time. Everywhere where one finds peasant owners, one finds also this ease, this safety, this confidence in the future, this independence, that simultaneously ensures happiness and a virtuous existence. The peasant who does with his children all the work of his small heritage, who does not pay a tenant farming with anybody above him, nor of wages to anybody below, who regulates his production on its consumption, which eats its own corn, sound drinks proper wine, clothing himself from his hemp and his wools, worries little to know the prices of the market; because it has to sell little and little to buy, and it is never ruined by the revolutions trade. Far from fearing for the future, it sees it to embellish itself in its hope; because it makes profitable for its children, for the centuries which will come, each moment that does not require him to it work the year. It was enough for him to give few moments of work, to put out of ground the core which in hundred years will be a large tree, to dig the aqueduct which will dry its field forever, to form the conduit which will bring a source of running water to him, to improve by care often repeated, but catch over its moments lost, all species of animals and plants it is surrounded. Its small inheritance is a true case savings always ready to receive all its small profits, with to use all its moments of leisure. Power always acting nature fertilizes them, and returns to him a hundredfold. The peasant highly has the feeling of this happiness attached to the condition of owner. Also it is always hastens to buy ground at all costs. It pays it more than it is worth, more perhaps than it will not return to him; but how much At it not reason to estimate at a high price the advantage of placing from now on always advantageously its work, without being obliged to offer it to the reduction; to always find with the sound need bread, without being obliged to pay it with the bidding! It is especially Switzerland which it, that is necessary to traverse should be studied, to judge the happiness of the peasants owners. It is
Switzerland which should be learned how to know to be convinced that the agriculture practised by these even which collect some the fruits is enough to get a great ease with one very many population; a great independence of character, fruit of the independence of the situations; a big business of consumption, consequence of the wellbeing of all inhabitants, even in a country whose climate is hard, whose ground is poorly fertile, and where late frosts and the inconstancy of the seasons often destroy the hope of the agrarian. Maybe that one traverses laughing it Emmenthal, or that one be inserted in the most moved back valleys of the canton of Bern, one could not see without admiration, without tenderizing, these wood houses of the least peasant, if vast, closed so well, built so well, so covered with sculpture. In the interior, large corridors release each many room it family; each room does not have that a bed, and it is abundantly provided with curtains, covers and the linen it whiter; neat pieces of furniture surround it; the cupboards are filled of linen, the dairy is vast, ventilated, and of an exquisite clearness; under the same roof one finds great provisioning of corn, of salted meat, cheese and of drink; in the cattle sheds one sees the cattle the best neat one and it more beautiful of Europe; the garden is planted flowers, the men as the women warmly and are properly equipped, the last preserve with pride their antique costume; all carry on their face the print of strength and of health, they strike by this beauty of features which becomes character of a race, when during several generations it suffered neither from vice nor from the need. That others nations praise their opulence; Switzerland will always be able their to oppose with pride his peasants. The peasant owner is of all the farmers that which benefit the most from ground, because it is that which thinks it in the future, just like that which was lit the most by the experience; it is still him which makes best profitable it human work, because distributing its occupations enters all the members of its family, it holds for all them
days of the year, so that there is unemployment for anybody; of all the farmers it is happiest and at the same time, on a given space, the ground does not nourish well, without becoming exhausted, and never as well inhabitants occupy as when they are owners; finally of all the farmers it peasant owner is that which gives the most encouragement with the trade and industry, because it is more rich person. In we will conclude that all the owners should be also labourers? Not, we take society as it is, with the poor and rich person, and we believe this variety conditions advantageous with its development. The class of rich person appears necessary to us, because there are faculties of the heart and of the intelligence which develop only with one complete leisure; because the material activity blunts them other faculties, because continual attention with the interests pecuniary the heart narrows, because most beautiful progress human spirit must be continued in a not involved way and not for the lucre; because a made up nation equal men all, though nourished well, placed well, well clothed, and working only as much as their health of would find well, appears to us disinherited more beautiful gifts that Providence made with the man, if it were unable to rise with the fine arts, high sciences, with sublime philosophy; much more, it would be out of state to cultivate social sciences sufficiently to know to keep sound proper happiness. We do not believe only the men who must be used for humanity of torch, are generally born within the rich class, but it only appreciated and it has leisure to enjoy their work. The rich person can be regarded as the consumers rather than the producers intellectual wealthes. Without them there would be no more ask for progress of arts, the letters and science beyond of an immediate utility: all that there is in development of the man of transcendent would be abandoned. It is not only to preserve rich person in a nation, it is necessary that at least a part of them lives them
campaigns. Generally they sense themselves them the desire. Those, among the rich person, that the worldly pleasures do not allure not, will want to preserve at least a share in the pleasures nature which we claim for the poor. Moreover land ownership develops in the rich person of qualities that it is important with the nation to preserve. Owners living in the countryside are more closely plain with the people, they know it better; they are dependent of interest and affection with the province and the district which they live. They have a sharper memory of the olden days, a more real zeal for their posterity; their property, which is transmitted generations in generations, gives them a feeling of perpetuity which them makes preserving, in the middle of the innovations day labourers of other orders. They do not run the random chances which the one day old rich person to the insane expenditure and pleasures excite from one day. They are less exposed than them with the competitions of profit, with the resentments and hatreds, because their calamities their come from the sky and not from the intrigue of the men. Finally their presence in the campaigns tends has to civilize this one, to spread there this softness of manners, this taste, this elegance, who, to a certain extent, can also become popular; there to introduce still, not high culture of sciences, but their application, and to make profit as a private individual the agriculture of all the discoveries of the speculative studies. It is enough to give up has their free rise the interests of the men, so that, in each society where freedom and the property are protected, one sees families rising with ease or with wealth. The legislator by no means needs to make rich person or the powerful ones, but its protection, its intervention, are necessary to maintain between the rich person and them the poor the balance which will be recognized most advantageous with society. Rich person are needed, undoubtedly, but one should not only all the property passes to the rich person, and the law can guarantee to the poor their share in the territorial wealthes; it is necessary rich person still, and it is necessary some everywhere; it is necessary some in one such proportion, that their beneficial influence extends on
all parts of the country; it is necessary thus that the legislation take care that the property does not concentrate in excess small number of hands; because each time two inheritances meet in the same family, society, on two rich person loses one, and loses half consequently of them advantages which it hoped for of the presence of the rich person in the countryside. We did not come from there yet to the means from application, with the changes which it could be desirable to bring in the laws; we seek only in the interest society, in the influence which wealth exerts on happiness of all, the guiding principles; we make an effort to recognize what a thriving nation must wish front to dare to trace to him what it must do. These guiding principles, such as they appear to us, are quite far removed from current practice. It could be said that economists nowadays do not even believe to have to involve themselves with any inquisition into the most equitable distribution of wealth so as to further the progress and happiness of all. Ones, always appearing itself that the private interest is the best guide towards the interest general, ask that all the transactions which regulate the distribution of the properties be abandoned to the natural fight enters the poor one and the rich person, it is what they call a system of freedom. Others, penetrated of the idea that the democracy threatens of all shares and the capacity and the property, only think of protecting, of accumulating wealth; they invented for that primogenitures, substitutions, all inequalities in the divisions, all favours granted to the ancient property which appear to them clean to guarantee to the rich person the perpetuity of theirs wealthes, and it is what they name a conservative system. However the men do not have in any time wasted of sight this social happiness from where we would like to make rise them guiding principles for the legislation of the territorial property. They felt on several occasions that the nation was composed primarily of the great mass of the farmers; that the happiness and the force of the country were to be sought in happiness and the safety of the peasants, and they out given to them then
guarantees against themselves so that they were not tried to alienate all their property with the rich person. It had for that to be made so that the number of the peasants owners remained always about the same one, as the grounds which their small heritages formed were never going to make them look fatter heritages of the lords. One succeeds there in France while giving with the grounds themselves character of nobility or commoner's condition; Mr. de Montlosier claims that this distinction dates from the Gaelic republics. "The grounds, says it, had conditions and of the rows, the 'freeholds' were for the rich person, the 'tributary' for the poor (1)." Classification rather seems to carry character of the Middle Ages, during which it was always into force. The lords could not buy the grounds of the villeins, because they carried with them a kind of degradation. In the same way in England, the aristocracy had the 'freehold', and it left to the peasants the 'copyhold'; but nowadays tenure in 'copyhold' does not affect any more the condition of owners: also all the 'copyhold' were repurchased by the rich person, and it does not remain any more in England of peasant farmer of sound proper ground. In Austria, where the government defies intellectual development, but where it often protects with effective material happiness, the law guarantees to the farmer that its share in the property of the ground will not be decreased. The noble one which buys the property of a peasant must resell it with a peasant and cannot charge the condition of it. We will find with more sorrow of the examples of one legislation which provides for the equal diffusion with the rich person on all ground of the state, which puts obstacle at the meeting of several inheritances in only one; because though this concentration of wealthes, by decreasing the number of the rich person, weakens them classify, it is advantageous to the individuals, and it is them in generals who exerted the power and who made the laws: as they hardly thought as of the means of preserving it that they held once, and to increase it unceasingly. However at times when one identified territorial property much

more with military capacity than with wealth, the nobility did not allow a single manor that had fostered them was given up. In spite of the collecting through heritage of several manors within a single family, they required that for each such stronghold, a suitable knight was presented to be of service to them. A society that guarantees the fortune of the rich to be useful to all of the citizens, that wants that whatever is being sown on its territory is directed to enlighten and benefit all, is still more interested than even the overlord was formerly, in refusing to tear down manors; so that this small center of civilization, this hearth of charity, this market of the surrounding small campaigns, is not closed to the poor. It is on the poor inhabitants of the campaigns, indeed, on the poor farmer, whom the eye of the legislator must usually be fixed. The other conditions will succeed well in general to defend themselves, but in the fight between all them interests, the class which is more close to the need is also always more close being oppressed. Universal competition invited each one to endeavour to weary its adversary to make the cheaper with him. That which has less provisions make for the future is earliest tired; the poor one cannot not to wait, and in the fight which began for the territorial property, the poor one cruelly was indeed stripped. We saw how much the poor farmer can be made happy by its participation in the property; how much it was happy, indeed, at all the small people of antiquity, contemporaries of the first Romans; like property gave to the campaigns a many population and quarrelsome which, by the products of a rich person agriculture, spread abundance everywhere; we saw how much it is happy this very day in Switzerland, how much it approaches still of this happiness in less free countries or less better controlled; but when the despotism overpowers a nation once, the peasants are the first victims. Commercial wealth is mobile, and merchants are able to successfully hide it for a time from the eyes of their oppressors,
but agricultural wealth is always exposed to them at a glance, whomever gave rise to it cannot move some of it away; its very livelihood keeps it connected to the whip of the tyrant who wants to strip it away. Tyranny upon the cultivator is in general exerted by only a single master, as under Eastern despotism; it is so by several masters in the Western hemisphere, and it is the latter which can become cruel. It is necessary that a certain order exists in society, and that the properties of the rich person be guaranteed, so that those can evenhandedly calculate how much or little is necessary to allot to the poor in order to keep them apt to work. During the Roman epoch, slaves were only in charge of all work with agriculture, and them suffering, their oppression, were as appalling as have it been never those of the Negroes of the colonies; but when progress of the despotism had removed with the properties very guaranteed, when all the borders were opened to the Barbarians, one saw this servile population only in charge of work of fields to decrease with an inconceivable speed; among Roman slaves the ones were removed by the conquerors barbarians to be resold in other markets; others were going themselves to seek a refuge in their camps; others, invited to do in addition to their work all that of fugitive, perished of tiredness and misery, never the human race had not seemed so close dying out: slavery could hardly have been maintained longer. In Asian monarchies, it does not only seem culture is abandoned to the slaves. The peasant, the fellah, or would flee in the deserts or would perish in few weeks, if some hope, some appearance of property did not attach it with its ground. One makes him believe, indeed, that he is the master of its fields, by paying the yearly rental, the 'miri', that it must with the government; but this government which overpowers it extraordinary exactions is not in a position to protect it against those of its own subordinates, or all them gang leaders, of all the brigands, who come in turn to strip the farmer.
In English India, the Asian system was subjected to rules a little more precise, it was consolidated, and it is worth the sorrow to know it to appreciate the fate of twenty-four million farmers who live under the domination the East-Indies Company. This Company, which succeeded rights of the sovereign, is regarded as sole owner grounds; all the peasants farmers, to which one gives the name of 'ryots', hold of it them ground under a fixed royalty, which they pay in kind. To perceive hands of ryots this royalty, of the collectors which one names 'zémindars' its employees of unmemorable time. The zémindar retains for he it tenth of the revenue, and pays the remainder with the sovereign. Under the Moslem sovereigns, the zémindars were into same time magistrates of police force and persons in charge for peace in their district; it are reduced today to the function of collectors. But the ryot or hereditary sharecropper is protected against their exactions. There is in each province a maximum named 'nerick', above which cannot rise the royalty of each ryot. The small heritage of this one cannot he to be removed as long as it pays its royalty, and it transmits it to perpetuity with its descendants. The extent of these heritages varies from six to twenty-four acres English (1). With safety that the English courts guarantee today to the inhabitants of subjected India, the condition of ryot is not unhappy, and several of the peasants of Europe could carry desire to him. It is looked like owner of a good which is forever assured for him, and that it cannot lose; because even after devastations of war and of tyranny, descendants of the fugitive ryot, which in the exile several generations passed, redemandent and often obtain the heritage of their grandfather. The royalty ryot is not excessive, it independent in its work, and is ensured to collect the fruits of them. It does not miss with peasants of English India to see the heritages of the rich person intermingled with theirs. The ground of India does not carry

(1) The English acre equals 40,860 square feet in France.
men of leisure, men of intelligence, men proud, free men mixed with the farmers; and those, like a herd without shepherds and dogs, do not know not to defend oneself, when some powerful oppresses them. While returning from Asia towards Europe one meets the Slavic population which covers a vast part of our continent, and which as of the oldest times seems to have practised agriculture; but in addition, as much as one can go up in his history, one sees the class of the farmers there subjected to that of warriors and reduced to a state of serfdom; perhaps the vicinity of herding tribes and the ease by which these could invade the associated vast plains has it contributed to put in opposition these two castes. The agrarian attached on the ground by its work will have been easily subjugated by the herder always on horse and always ready for war. The conditions of serfdom were onerous, but not entirely oppressive. The chief warrior, looked upon himself as the owner of the land, but he shared it with the serf. He granted to the latter a dwelling and a portion of the fields which formed a patrimonial inheritance, and asked him in return to devote one half of each week to cultivate the fields which the warrior reserved for himself. Each lordship was thus composed of two shares: grounds of the lord, cultivated by means of these corvées, and a portion that was shared between a great number of peasant families; each family cultivating their share during the three days by week which they remained free to do so. In Russia, the corvée of the peasants was generally replaced by a silver coin, named 'the obroc' which by nature supposedly always remains the same, but that, in a country without freedom and guarantee, the lord can worsen according to his whim. The Western areas of Europe, which formed formerly the Roman empire, were invaded by Germanic conquerors, independent, proud of their bravery, jealous of their freedom and prone to scorn the suppressed people that they had conquered. The yoke of the conquerors was hard and oppressive, but it was not uniform. The lands of the empire were
cultivated by slaves; often the conqueror reduced its former master to slavery, and made him work aside his existing slaves; wars and oppression on their part quickly depleted, the rank of free men, and under the empire of Charlemagne, in the middle of its apparent glory, the corroding cancer of slavery destroyed the population so quickly, that the vast provinces of Gaul were out of their league to defend against just a few hundred Norman, when these adventurers undertook to devastate them. But before the end of the reign of the Carlovingians the imperial stronghold broke, true sovereignty passed to the lords castles with the right of war and peace, and those, feeling the need to find strength in their peasants to make soldiers of them, reduced the yoke that they them had initially imposed, and their become grounds delivered to them almost deserted so that they cultivated them under more favorable conditions. At this point in time they started various orders of peasants who we see still existing today. The very great majority of the families was extinct among the nobility as among the peasants, so that inheritances first were of immense wide; it had allotted themselves in property of the provinces, but deserted provinces, and whatever had been its cupidity, it would not have been able to draw from its peasants of the considerable royalties. Generally it was driven by other feelings: sometimes by power hunger, sometimes by pride, and sometimes just by whim. It shared the lands of the dominion with the villeins, handing them over for perpetuity, but with the imposition rather of services than of rents; from some it demanded military service, from others the corvées, but from all obedience, and often coupled with more humiliating habits; each manor had its own, but as a whole, these feudal habits held the entire class of the farmers in fear of humiliation, rather than be poverty stricken. Peasants could at any hour fear to lose his cattle and harvests; but at least the ground under him was his, grounds
tenure in vilenage, charged with rents and perpetual services, was with perpetuity to also to pass to its descendants. Even before the Revolution the most odious services imposed to the villeins had been successively abolished, and from this origin these many peasants owners come today who make the force and wealth of France. Other lords however, thinking of securing a revenue rather than capacity, distributed the grounds of their dominions under two different conditions. To the ones they gave a portion of ground with the capital necessary to put forward it, under condition which the peasant would be in charge of all work culture and which it would share harvests with its lord: these were the sharecroppers; with the others, which had already piled up some capital, they gave the bare ground, under condition that the peasant would cultivate it with a whole independence, but that during a given number of years it would pay some in money an always equal revenue: these were the farmers. One and the other system indicated a progress of civilization and of safety; the peasant did not alienate any more his condition of free man or its dignity, it stipulated almost the equal one to equal, on simple pecuniary interests; it made a good market for itself, and better still for the owner; because this one obtained consequently an ensured revenue, and which did not cease increasing with the improvements of agriculture; but it market was temporary, all the others were perpetual. The condition of the sharecropper admittedly being always the same one, the owner generally preserved the same family, from generation to generation; he could be tempted with the opposite to benefit from the same improvements as the farmer had made to ask him, at the end of its lease, one more considerable tenant farming, or to return it. There were formerly several ways to arrive at the distinction or with the capacity, all today seem to lead to only one, the acquisition of wealth; also this goal is more openly offered to the efforts of all, more systematically for follow-up, and nobody is satisfied any more his fortune if a means is offered to him to gain more. This emulation
of cupidity which is felt in all the states reacted also on agriculture; one can allot the scandal already to him old of the re-establishment of slavery in the colonies by the most commercial people and of its recent extension in the free States of America. After our fathers had universally proscribed this criminal violence made with brothers, with the equal ones, after they had made honor of sound abolition with the diffusion of Christianity, the progress of the lights, the respect growing for freedom and the human rights, our contemporaries restored slavery with an aggravation horrors which had never been known in Europe since fall of Rome; and they are the most lit nations, more free, those which profess the most attachment with the religion, who continue to print this spot with humanity. But more close to us, and a less scandalous way undoubtedly, increasing greed for the profit shook again the condition of the farmers, which was slowly improved during all Middle Ages, and gives them occasion to regret, in the middle of a prosperity which one says increasing, times that one named cruel. It is the condition of the farmers which opened a new field with the activity speculations, just like with the lesson of the school chrematistic. New economists on the one hand, them more skilful agronomists of the other, do not cease celebrating them rich person and intelligent farm who direct large farms; they admire the extent of their buildings, the perfection their instruments of agriculture, the beauty of their cattle. But in the middle of this admiration for the things, they forget the men, they even forget to count them. thousand English contains 640 acres square: it is about measure of beautiful and English firm rich person. Old farms, those which a good family of labourers could to cultivate its hands, without foreign assistance, days laborer, but also without unemployment, each member of the family having a work assured for each day the year, did not pass not sixty-four acres; one would have needed ten of them to make a modern farm. Ten families of peasants thus were
evicted to make place with the farmer of the new system who is not a peasant. This one contributes to the production only by the use of its capital and its intelligence; it does not work with its hands, but it regulates the cultures, it supervise and it presses the workmen, it buys, it sells, it holds the accounts, it finally occupies in agriculture the same place that the merchant or the chief of manufacture occupies in industrial arts. Indeed, one indicates it in the countryside of Rome by the name of 'mercanti di tenute', in England by that of the 'gentleman farmer'; but as much one raises the condition of the farm rich person; as much one lowers that of the men who make for him the agricultural work. The first is reserved the exercise of the will, the choice, the intelligence, is thus with saying that it refuses them with its workmen and its domestics. It asks for those only the use of their force muscular, and it plasters them as much as it can with the row of the machines. Society must take care not to put in opposition interest of those which have the intelligence and wealth, and of those which have only arms. First, to increase theirs profits, can be tempted to push the seconds in one condition increasingly more precarious. Often then ones and them others call upon force, and a bloody terrible revolution, or even upsets society. If on the contrary fight dully continues, if the interests are put in opposition on open markets seemingly, it is always the rich person who makes the law with poor. The farmer makes the law with day laborer, and often in his turn the owner makes the law with farmer; because the extent of the ground being limited, that which has it acts against those which want to work it with all power of the monopoly. We saw it, the chrematistic school considered in agriculture only the interest of the men who act with power of this monopoly; it called 'profit' any economy which they can make on their expenses of production, i.e. on the maintenance of the men that they employ. In our eyes these men it is the nation; because the farmers form some not only of much the greatest number, but still
the most essential part for the subsistence and for defense of the country; expenses of production which one wants to save on them, it is happiness, it is the superfluity of poor, which represent all these material pleasures; good food, good housing, good clothing, the good health which stick to this physical ease; the mixture of rest, it mix leisure which is necessary so that some gaiety, some pleasure enters the life, so that a little time that is to say given to the culture of the affections, a little time with culture of the intelligences. But it is not only the happiness of the men only one endeavour to remove, like useless expenses the production, it is the man himself. The principal advantage which one represents as attached with the large farms, with capital rich person, sophisticated machines and an intelligence higher, it is faculty acquired to make the same one quantity of work with an always less number of farmers. While , indeed, that in all the remainder of world one estimates that agriculture employs of the three quarters with the four fifths of each nation, in England one succeeded in returning the three quarters of the nation of the fields in cities. The economist of the men and not of wealthes will not see without a deep pain a similar progress. No manual work maintains health as well, strength of the body, gaiety, that that of agriculture; none do not prepare better soldiers for the defense of the fatherland; no, by its variety, the intelligence develops as much; no, if the agrarian is associated the property, promises with those which live their hands as much of safety for the future; none excites if little jealousy between of the same people profession, does not offer if little seduction for the vice one and does not preserve as much morality. When once all ground of a country is put in culture, each saving of manpower that one made on rural work returns fields to the city as much families which one condemns to misfortune. At the time same that they succeed in being placed in a manufacture, it must give up the fresh air, the sun, the exer-
cise, with the spectacle of nature, the joy of the fields, with variety in their occupations, with the guarantee of their future: their situation becomes precarious and dependent; their manners corrupt, because the vice is the only means which their is given to daze itself over the present, and they are hardly long in perishing. Undoubtedly it is not appropriate, in the countryside more than in cities, that the population exceeds certain terminals, that it that is to say reduced to compete with itself, to offer sound work with the reduction, or to devote a greater part of it to produce less, so that it amply ceases being remunerated; but in any country where the farmer has some guarantee of his existence, some happiness present, some future, its prosperity even opposes a barrier to the disproportionate increase in population. It is even the only one which that is to say effective. Nobody voluntarily goes down from his condition, and it is rare in any country that a son of family marries before being ensured of being able to live about like made his father. In the countries of small culture, indeed, none peasant, whether he is owner, farmer or sharecropper, marries if he cannot lead his wife or in the smallholding of his father to which it must succeed, or in another who has to him been assured. But the son and all the wire of the day laborer marry as soon as they acquired the spade one picks it, that they can be only property of their father, and as soon as they have the force of to work like him, But society must wish that the population is as numerous as it can be it while living honourably, morally, fortunately, but that it never exceed this limit. The revolution that the economists and the agronomists propose to achieve in agriculture by the introduction of large farms, and of a very scientifc system of culture, still threaten of another manner national happiness; it fact of losing sight of the fact to the farmers the influence so essential with to maintain between the requests of consumption and the production; it delivers to the trade almost totality harvests of each large farmer; it puts each one thus in
dependence of all; it delivers each existence to chances of the market, and according to the prices which are established there, it condemns one in turn to be choked by abundance, the other to languish in misery. Until completely recent times the agricultural wealth was withdrawn from this great play of chance of the markets; the farmer achieved with the ground only the principal exchange from which its subsistence depended. Such was, such is still the economy of the peasant owner in any country where the agricultural class is really thriving. It count what it is necessary for him to live with its family, of corn, of wine, food products of any kind, and it is the first product it is ensured; having to pay neither revenue with an owner nor wages with workmen, it only attest need for money for some products almost of luxury of the industry of cities; it intends to buy them some food products which it carries to these cities, among those that it is the most ensured to sell, and with such a restricted goal it runs little of chances to encumber the market. The peasant who bought his ground with credit and who responsible for debts, or that which burdened it with a perpetual silver royalty, is less free in its industry. It is not enough for him to have collected what to live, it him is necessary to sell, and sell at all costs, to get the money which it needs, It is necessary for him to sell nevertheless in the city next one does not worry to buy; it is necessary for him to sell with loss if it cannot do it with profit; at least its proper consumption which includes all the expenses of production of its harvest is withdrawn from this chance of the market. If its royalty is stipulated in food products, it escapes this annoying need; it is not, like the farmer or the debtor of a revenue, called all the more to sell corn that it corn is at lower price, or, which returns to same, that consumers need some less. In the other farming systems, the agrarian who, under various conditions gives birth to the fruits from the ground, saw these fruits, without carrying them to the market. It knows the quantity of corn, of wine, oil, of hemp, which it needs for itself; it works, it collects, it does not make the account nor of
value of its days nor of the value of its food products; when it lived in abundance, it is content; it fears of another calamity only that of the contrary seasons, and it does not conceive not the chance to be ruined by wealth of the gifts that him will make nature. It does not keep very for itself however: the sharecropper gives to the owner his Sunday share, the ryot of India carries to the zémindar the share of harvest who belongs to the sovereign, the Slavic lord tightens in its attics the corn which its serfs gave birth to by their corvées on the seigniorial fields. It is there the share which must feed the cities, it is the share subjected to the trade and range with market; but it belongs all to the rich person, the rich person alone short chances of the rise and the fall; it runs them on what is for him a net profit; its revenue can increase or to decrease according to these chances; its capital is not committed in agriculture, it is thus never started. In the agriculture of the large farms that us are represented as improved, the totality of the products of firm on the contrary is subjected to the chances of the market. The consumption of the family of the farmer is so insignificant, compared to the expected harvests, that they don't even ponder it. It pays out of money, on the one hand its tenant farming, other all its days laborer; as it is necessary as it makes money with its corn before to carry out any profit. The farmer English, most intelligent, more undertaking of all, hardly get informed about the quantity of corn whose its province has need. The sea, the canals, the railroads give him means of communication so easy that it looks at whole England like forming its market. It never does not suppose that while producing more than the request, it can cause a clogging on such a vast market. However when corns of America, the Baltic or the Black Sea, come to dispute to him, it feels injured, it complains, it asks prohibitions, it shows that the loss on its industry do not only carry its revenue, but that it reached its capital. It obtains, indeed, what is called protective duties, which are not always enough for the pro-
tection; because it is not sure that it is not itself which has caused the obstruction the markets which ruins it. At the least these rights protect not only him, because the true farmer, the day laborer, has a very contrary interest; having only its wages to live, it wishes that the bread is at a cheap rate. Soon it attests against the farmer under whom it works and with which it must live a resentment which ends up putting in danger society itself; indeed, in all of life's relationships it meets in him an enemy, a man who endeavour to decrease its wages, to make useless its work and to increase it its subsistence. The question of the free trade of the corns, which since so much years so many passions raise, and which seems insoluble like all those of the modern political economy, it does not have thus ever invited nobody to reflect who it was born from what we call our progress? Before the invention of large farms, before these improvements of the farmer who made useless so much of work human, and refused by consequent of the bread to so much of mouths, never one had not thought to ask laws to make increase the bread, all the study government tended on the contrary to make it arrive people with cheaper. With the remainder, the chrematistic school seldom works towards the end abstracted that it to propose without deviating some by the way even by which it claims to approach some. Like us, it in work the great creator of the social wealthes sees; but while it takes care with a rigorous attention of it that the poor one never dissipates voluntarily its days in the joy and idleness, it does not hesitate to frequently condemn it not to work because it does not find a work, to remain crossed arms, but with the empty stomach and the corroded heart of concern. It offers to the rich and intelligent farmer a double profit, that to do it at the same time all and in the most suitable season the most important work; with hundreds of workmen whom it will then evict, and this him to achieve by machines all those of work where the intelligence and the address of the man are not necessary;
but the peasant owner, the peasant who works for itself, instead of separating its interest from the interest of those that it makes work, knows that seasons ago died in the year, of the days of rain and snow where one cannot nothing make in the fields, and it holds for these times work who are not urgent; it arranges for all its family them work of all the year, so that it is always also occupied; it does not scorn those same which do not pay their wages, i.e. those which could be achieved by more economic means, if most economic of all was not to do them at wasted time. A machine to beat the corn which would leave it without work with his children, during the bad days of the winter, would only cause him loss. The farm rich person returns his workmen after the harvest without being concerned with what they become during the winter. But society, if it makes its account well, will say that it steals public charity thus, it will say that to make a true account of profit which it derives from any mechanical invention, it must to always deduce from it the loss which it makes attest with all them workmen whom this invention deprives of work, until they found an employment as advantageous as that which they had before. Those same which want to calculate only progress of wealth; who do not count for nothing the developments of the popular intelligence, if they are not made out of money, are however obliged to admit its importance when it fact of better achieving the work more quickly and. In manufactures, this work is generally identical beginning at the end of the year; also one finds there profit to separately charge each workman of an operation manual always the same one, as it makes all the more quickly that it is more accustomed there, and for which it need does not have neither of intelligence nor almost of goodwill. One does if well of the one and other that a machine replaces one man, and that a man is nothing any more but one machine. But agriculture does not admit this sacrifice of noblest faculties of a human creature to cupidity. Its work unequally
urgent, unequally important, vary each day, and ask, beside a
great development of force physical, a constant application of
the intelligence, and an interest supported to succeed in what
one does. The farmer who gives up the intelligence and with
the interest of its workman makes a bad calculation; because
this intelligence and this desire to succeed must direct each
blow of billhook and almost each blow of shovel. So that the
ground is cultivated with intelligence, for love, it is necessary
that work is made by that even who makes the advances of
them and who derives the profit from it. No farmer, all equal
things besides, can under this influence to compare itself to
the peasant owner, who joint with the interest most direct all
memories of the experience, and all them hopes of a long
future. The usufructuary of an emphyteutic lease, or the owner
in charge of a ground rent, has almost same advantages,
because it is ensured of perpetuity. The sharecropper comes
then; though it has only half fruits, it has as much interest than
its owner with their abundance, and with the success of all its
work. The small farmer, that which works the ground of its
own hands, has it even interest that the owner in the first years
of its lease, but its interest changes in the last; it is whereas it
sacrifices the future to the present, and that, according to the
proverbial expression, 'it cuts the vines in ruin'. The made serf
as badly as it can its corvée on the ground of the lord, but he
works with love and intelligence with his clean. farmhand
rented at the year is without real interest in sound work, but
by sympathy to its masters it still seeks to succeed. The day
laborer taken at the week does not have any interest that that
not to tire themselves and not to be made return, he brings
neither intelligence nor love has his work. The slave finally
has only one interest of hatred and revenge, he is delighted
when work which so much made it suffer bring back any fruit
to its master. Thus more one system exploitation the condition
concerns the farmer; more it him leave ease and of
independence, also it makes him link with its work the
intelligence and the love which ensure success of them.
But of the considerations more raised than those of the profit and of the loss appear to us to have to direct the legislator. It must seek to preserve at the farmers, in wealth that they give birth to, the greatest reconcilable share with the continuation of their work, to spread the most happiness possible on the most class of the citizens; it must to fix in the fields and to occupy with the agricultural work it greater possible number citizens; because with equality of revenues, the poor one will enjoy there of more than health and more than happiness that in the cities. It must develop their intelligence as far as a rather hard personal work can allow it; finally and especially it must cultivate and strengthen their morality. In this goal it must give stability to the existence of the farmer, to support all the contracts which give him a permanent right on the ground, to push back on the contrary those which return its precarious condition and which leaves it in doubt about its following day, because morality is closely related to the memories and with the hopes, it is nourished by the duration, it is null for that which considers only the moment present. By even reason the legislator will avoid multiplying the occasions of fight and competition, that is to say between the farmers themselves, maybe between them and the other classes of the nation, and it will look at like the operating system most favorable to harmony and with the happiness of all, not that which will give it more revenues with the owner, but that which will link more narrowly interests of the owner with those of the farmers. To better understand how the legislator can achieve this task, how it can take care not of the increase in wealth considered abstractedly, but with that of the happiness and the morality of the most class citizens, we believe duty to fix our glances in turn on some of the countries where fate of the farmers will be able to teach us what it is necessary to seek, which it is necessary to avoid for them.
FOURTH ESSAY.

CONDITION OF THE FARMERS OF RACE GAELIC IN SCOTLAND, AND OF THEIR EXPULSION.

We sought to render comprehensible the opposition of two doctrines, one which we name chrematistic or increase in wealthes, the other, political economy or regulates house and city: the first proposes for goal to produce much at a cheap rate, the second of to distribute work and its products so as to ensure it more possible happiness. To better seize this opposition we fixed our glances only on the territorial wealth or agricultural industry; because social interests that it brings into play are much complicated, and that its effects can be judged without embracing of only one blow of eye the whole world, as when it is about wealth commercial. The chrematistic school posed in theory that wealth increases while gaining more or while spending less; its secta-teurs very quickly managed to conclude that all the pleasures among all those which they employ to create of wealthes are expenditure; that the human intelligence which appreciates these pleasures and the freedom which facilitates research of it are causes of expenditure, that the nation finally, that population, are expenditure, and that a country would all the more grow rich quickly that it would cut off all these things. However it y has something of so absurd and of if revolting to consider like a progress destruction of happiness, freedom, of the existence even of a nation, for the advantage wealth, that one expressed this consequence forever,
though it necessarily rose from the first principle posed by the chrematistic one. But what one did not dare to say, one does not have fears to do it. To obtain wealth, one put at reduction the subsistence of poor, one reduced it to what appeared most narrowly necessary so that it could continue to live and to work. One represented in theory progress like attache with the large farms; in agriculture it is large farms in commercial industry the large ones manufactures, of large factories; everywhere a large capital putting forward thousands of arm by only one will; but to strip these arms of any individual will, it has been necessary well to make them dependent, to make them work on melt of others, as under the orders of others; in making days laborer, of the proletarians, who do not contribute to the production that by their physical force, which does not have anything, which can count on nothing, but which also always threatens the entire social order. The success of all the territorial or commercial large farms was always founded on the good market of labour; and one easily brought people who do not have only their arms, which cannot wait, while the need the press, to be satisfied with least possible wages. So temporarily competition raised the rate of their wages, those which employ them sees them without regrets to spend this surplus in the intemperance; the proletarian is more flexible when his purse is empty, one brings back it then more easily in this state represented like normal by any industry, the good market of labour. But the rich person, consulted on the manner of producing much at a cheap rate, did not trust any competition everywhere that the proletarians the ones with the others would be made to make to lower the wages. He asked to attest itself if he could not nourish its workman with less than did not consume the proletarian, and to draw from it as much or even more work. It asked, in the name of progress wealth, that it worker was delivered to him in slavery, so that the hand-D' work cost the least possible, that work was largest possible, and that the nation sold its goods easily.
in the foreign markets. The Negro, ensured it, too is barbarian
to include/understand without the assistance of the blows the
economy and it work, and culture of the sugar, most
advantageous of all, will not pay its expenses if the farmer
gains as much as proletarian, if he wants to do as much
expenditure than him. One did not ask the colonist how the
culture of sugar was more advantageous of all if it did not pay
its expenses; one him granted the draft and the slavery of the
negros; and today that one is finally convinced of the atrocity
and the nonsense of this legislation, today that one is forced to
recognize that the slave costs more than the proletarian and
than it works less, one still hesitates to remove an order of so
ashamed things that criminal. The civilized nations did not
agree to deliver to slavery that a race of men different from
their, for whom they do not feel sympathy, and which
moreover is subjugated with work at a distance of several
thousands of miles they, so that they can easily forget the
horrors of this state; but their cupidity hardly saved more the
white, their compatriots, who work and who suffer under their
eyes, and a philosophy which still dominates in all the pulpits
of political economy advised to give up their fate with the
fight of the individual interests which are balanced, she says,
and to however continue the increase in the national wealth
which will necessarily result from what one will produce
more things with less of expenses. Producers of wealth, the
directors of the large farms or territorial or commercial, thus
sought to replace the working man, the proletarian, here by
water, there by wind, elsewhere by fire; they looked like as
much of gained each reduction in labour which they could to
obtain in each industry, they pursued the man in all the
various states by which one can earn his living, and they were
almost appeared that it was of too in the human society. Like
the industry of the cities divides itself between one an infinite
number of professions, as it is created some unceasingly
news, and as their work is generally
tiné at a too distant market so that one can easily to appreciate or his needs or his limits, one does not realize immediately effects of this progress, of which philosophers new school congratulate us. This progress is as much cut off human lives, and their profit is not other thing that subsistence of a given number of human creatures which one estimates not to need more. The good market of the production with licence with the nations most advanced in arts to go to seek their consumers further, from where it is resulted until now which them export trade more quickly extended still than their economy on the life human; the returned workmen of a profession entered in another: thus these industrial nations, instead of to produce as much with a less number of hands, or of to produce more with the same number of hands, employed more hands to produce infinitely more work. men that they make useless and of which they remove the existence are not their compatriots but foreigners. Those feel it, and despite everything the lesson of chrematistic, they look like their enemies the people who undertake to supply the universe of theirs products, and which thus come to make die hunger their workmen on their premises, However the connection of the causes with the effects in industry commercial is not rather obvious, it does not jump not enough with the eyes so that one ceased denying it. But the industry of the fields is limited in a more positive way, and all more easily appreciable than that of the cities. Like the territory of people is circumscribed by his neighbors, quantity of fields which it can put in culture is always the same one: also all the economies which it makes on labour in agriculture move necessarily a number proportioned farmers. They pass from the fields to the city, when the city can receive them, but if the city does not offer to them more work, it is necessary that the nation which judged their existence useless rejects them far from its centre. England is of all the countries of the ground that where the saving on the agricultural work was
range further. All its fertile grounds not only are put in culture, but they grew rich by all the agronomic advances in knowledge and they give products considerable; all this work is achieved by the quarter English nation approximately, while the farmers form three quarters or four fifths of the other nations Europe. One counts in England 34,250,000 acres of ground subjected to the culture, and 1,055,982 days laborer of ground, which gives a little less than 3 days laborer for 100 acres, or of 21 days laborer by square miles; in the valley of Nievo in Tuscany the culture of the square miles occupies of 300 to 700 individuals. How it arrives that one is not ever asked what become all these farmers that did England drive out its fields? While the chrematistic school wants to save on men to make wealth, we do not hesitate with to say that it is necessary to sacrifice wealth to have the men. One in vain would show us that each innovation that we push back is more advantageous under the point of pecuniary sight, which we would still say: if it decreases it numbers happy individuals, intellectual individuals and moral which lives on a given space, it is bad; and it is under this point of view that we fought, that we will always fight this system of industrialism which has put human life at the reduction. But we cannot leave to escape this occasion to make sense the new one how much this system is false, even by admitting the barbarian assumption that one should calculate only the profits or the losses for nations, not life or the happiness of the men. Our adversaries are appropriate with us that the production cannot to continue if consumption does not follow it closely and does not counter it balance; that wealth ceases being wealth when its products make obstruction in the markets, that finally them consumers are not less necessary to industry that industrialists themselves; and however all efforts they are praised tend to limit the number or the power consumers. Maybe that one drives out them out of theirs
hearth, or that one reduces them in slavery, or that one forces
them to be satisfied with the most exiguous portion of
subsistence and of pleasures with which a man can to live,
one is always able at the same result, one decreases or one
stops consumption, one disturbs balance on which is founded
the social organization, one plants ankle in one of the wheels,
and that one is not earlier stopped than all the social
mechanism must stop too. Perhaps the chrematistic school
will deny that it ever proposed or to expel part of the nation of
its hearths, or to reduce it to the absolute destitution, or to
subject it with slavery. It is for this reason even as us let us
believe duty to specify the facts, which we believe duty to
take whole nations and social conditions for examples. It is
with the examination of these great errors, which cause a so
great mass of sufferings, that we will be able to recognize
which is the danger whose social organization is everywhere
threatened, which is also the remedy for calamities which one
cannot study the details without quivering. Perhaps several
readers will refuse to believe that one that is to say ever
proposed like rural experience, improvement agricultural
system, to become from the peasants whom put forward the
ground, and to drive out them of their fatherland. The
operation was done however on several occasions, and in
various parts of the British domination, in England, in
Scotland and Ireland. Concerning poëme of Goldsmith, 'the
Deserted village', painted for a long time with our
imagination; the newspapers this very day are often filled of
the details of this execution to military half that one calls 'the
clearing of year estate'. They say to us how such large Irish
lord or even English, thwarted by the contrary party in an
election, expelled all its tenants, profiting for that, sometimes
of what they did not have of contract, sometimes of what they
owed him some arrears; how such other large lord solved to
have only Protestants for farmers and drove out all catholics;
but as the spirit of party is involved in
these charges, which they are pushed back by the spirit of party, the facts are disfigured on both sides so that it is extremely difficult to arrive at the truth. Also believe we to have to attach us to the exposure which made methodically and with calm, of this great operation of agriculture, 'the clearing of year estate', the cleaning of a field, that even which has it carried out on the greatest scale. In 1820, James Log, esq., published, in London, a volume in-8° 354 pages and 39 Boards, heading: 'Report of the allowances make with the fields of the marquis de Stafford. The author, who itself had directed these allowances, was employed by large lord to which it was attached to justify them with the eyes of the public. But it is not this personal cause which must occupy us by analyzing his book. We will seek there true history of the great revolution which underwent with this time population of the mountains of Scotland, by the application of the chrematistic doctrines to their exploitation, and we like to believe all that Mr. Loch affirms on humanity that it brought in its execution, according to the orders of the powerful family of which it was the agent. In the space of time which passed since the beginning the this century, the nation of Gaêles, remains antiques Celts, today reduced with three hundred and forty thousand individuals, was almost absolutely expelled of its hearths by those same as it looked like its chiefs, by the lords to which it had shown, during a long continuation centuries, an enthusiastic devotion. All properties that it had cultivated, of generations in generations, under fixed royalties, were charmed to him; the fields which it plowed were intended for the pasture the herds, and were delivered to foreign shepherds: its houses and its villages were shaved or destroyed by fire, and one did not leave the mountain dwellers the expelled nation of another choice to raise the huts on the edge of the sea, to try to maintain by fishing their poor wretch existence, for the mountains from where one them had made leave, or to cross this sea to go to seek their fortune in the deserts of America.
As this revolution took place with eight hundred miles of distance from London, in an almost barbarian country, and of which the language is unknown with all the remainder of the empire, it was some time ignored, or at least it excited only well little attention; but when one learned in England that some inhabitants of the north of Scotland had awaited them soldiers intended to drive out them their villages, that sometimes they had pushed back them with stone blows; that one had intended them to ask to be massacred with their wives and theirs children, on the tombs of their fathers, rather than to be envoys, to perish in misery and the abandonment, towards one world which did not want to receive them, and where no place their was reserved, this resistance awoke the compassion of generous people. Among the lords shelled who drove out their compatriots of the ground which had seen them being born, marchioness of Stafford, heiress of the county of Sutherland, attracted especially attention, either by the extent of its fields, or by the activity with which it pressed the achievement of intentions. maybe by the vastness of its capital, which it paid at the same time on this country of which it changed all the administration. It was learned that approximately fifteen thousand peasants were forced by it to leave a large region like one average departments of France; that these unhappy was the only remainder of many vassal of its family, which during so many centuries had spread their blood for it. One ensured that to force them to withdraw itself, the factor charged to make evacuate the country put fire at their houses; one claimed even as an old man, others said an old woman, having refused to give up its hut, to go to face the exile and misery, its presence had not stopped the flamer, and that the victim had perished in the flames. Then the AD-version public appeared by signs which, at a nation free, could neither be ignored nor faced. The marchioness of Stafford did not believe to deserve the judgement severe that one started to relate to it, and it is to be justified with the court of the public opinion that the book where us let us find these details was made up. Its author made an effort to
to prove, and it did it with enough success, not only that the
marchioness of Stafford did nothing but use of the rights that
him the law recognizes today, but still that in their exercise it
did not lose sight of the fact the conservation of the existence
of its vassal, it felt that it was responsible. As for us, which
we believe worthy of study in this book, they are not the
evidence of control more or less skilful or more one less
generous of a great lady, it is the spirit even of the legislation
which abolished the old limitations of the property established
by the use; it is the application principle which the owner is
the best judge of his characteristic interest and of that of the
nation as for its property; it is the application of the principle
which agriculture is also in progress, that is to say which it
obtains more utility for the same ones expenses, or same
utility for less expenses; it is the application of the principle
which any economy on the hand-D' works, one in other
words, any suppression of the human lives who contribute to
an industry is a profit, if industry remain the same one; it is
finally a great experience of the application of chrematistic to
agriculture and its results. Ancestors of the marchioness of
Stafford, according to what we learn in the book from its
agent, were sovereign, in the most septentrional part of
Scotland, the three quarters approximately of the county of
Sutherland. Their possessions eight hundred and thousand
acres measured shelled, or a million acres English, which
makes more than four hundred and thousand hectares of
surface. This extent is higher than that of the department from
Haut-Rhin, and not very lower than that of the department
from the Low-Rhine. When the countess of Sutherland
inherited of these fields, which it brought in dowry to the
marquis of Staf-Ford, created since duke of Sutherland,
population of all this territory did not exceed fifteen thousand
inhabitants. One can say with precision to how much it went
up in the oldest times; it is known only that Gaëles made then
to trembling southernmost Scotland, and which one saw to go
down from their mountains of the battalions of soldiers that
their exhausted nation would be well far from being able to
provide auljour-
of today. Reduced as it was it, the population of the Sutherland appeared too still much numerous to the lord, since it did not require of it any more military service. All was a soldier indeed in the old organization of the country. About thirty only gentlemen raised immediately counts; they were named 'Tacksmen', and the district which was assigned to them was called 'Tack'. These gentlemen had divided their district between their subordinates, who governed each hamlet and with each valley, and below the latter were labourers. The 'Tacksmen' were the only judges of theirs peasants during peace, and their captains during war; but the obedience of the subordinates was softened by persuasion where they all were that they formed only one only family. All said parents of their chief, all bore the same name. Each chief could use of the prerogative to give one to withdraw at will, with the men who him obeyed, the ground portions which they cultivated, and on which they were to live. But each one, far from thinking of to strip its tenants, was interested to increase its power, by attracting new labourers in his harbour office. Moreover revenue perceived by the count of Sutherland on the 'tacksmen', by those on their vassal and their back-vassal, was of little thing, that one was to look at it rather like a recognition of sovereignty that like one revenue. Mr. Loch gives the register (rental) of Kintradwell for 1811, by which one sees that until this time each family was tenne at most with an annual service of some silver shellings, of some poultry parts, and of a few working days. But in addition, any man who was born on the field of Sutherland, in all the degrees of the feudal scale, was held to lavish its blood and its life for the defense of the sovereignty and of the honor of the family to which it looked like aggregate. Before the tenth century, the Danes, unloaded on the coasts, had conquered the plains of Caithness and pushed back Gaëles in the mountains. Consequently it
Caithness and Sutherland, formerly joined together under the same name and the same government, had been separated by one constant enmity which the difference in language maintained and race. But 'Mhoir-Fhear Chattaibh', as one called it in gaelic, or the 'great man of Sutherland', always had found his/her comrades in arms ready to defend it, with the danger of their life, against all his enemies, Scottish Dane or, foreigners or servants. After the revolution which drove out Stuarts, private wars became, in Scotland, rarer and less dangerous, and the kings of England, without never extending a real authority on these provinces moved away, wanted at least that the capacity the large ones appeared to be an emanation of their. They encouraged thus lifting of regiments of family, which they granted with the lords shelled, and they enabled them to combine this new military establishment with the system national of the clans, so that one was used as support' with the other, the 93e regiment was granted to the count of Sutherland, and its pay consequently became the principal revenue of the family, tan-say that the gentlemen of the county obtained from their colonel, with the help of the abandonment of part of their balance, 'tacks', of the ground concessions proportioned with their rank in the regiment. In their turn they got recruits in the same conditions, by sharing these ground concessions between their subordinates. Thus the tenure of the grounds lost its old character of liberality. The concession was not any more one act of munificence of the head of the household, but a pecuniary market, in which the 'Mhoir-Fhear Chattaibh' sought to gain. It had some need indeed: it was called with the court, and 'the great man of Sutherland' was quite small in the middle of the luxury and of the opulence of London; it was sensed well humiliated by this shortage proverbially reproached by the English all his nation. All its officers, all its 'tacksmen' had with their turn, in their garrisons, to face the ruinous expenditure from England; they took there at the same time the taste of one luxate that they did not know before. They redoubled
all of efforts to possible Draw from the agrarian all that it was to obtain some. At the same time they ceased encouraging the industry of the country drank; they were not satisfied any more has tar-tane and of the plaid fabrics in their family, the forged claymore in their mountains, oats cake which had to them held place of bread; food, drink, clothes, let us weapons, furnishings, all already started to Be provided to them by the trade, and either by to their domestic industry; and in return they had only well little thing to offer to the trade, to their products had only well little been worth; grains with which they were satisfied, the wools of which they wove to their coarse clothes were not worth those of England, and could not to support the loads transport. Their hardware climate did not cuts been whitebait to provide to consumption rich person, like the poor, that in time when manners of the first were hardware too. Since the chief and his officers asked money to get all the luxury articles of which they could happen more, it was however necessary to cultivate either to consumes, goal to export, sell, and one sold only with contempt. Local All industries disappeared; in A country where one counts hardly has dry day between two days of rain gold snow, one did not find any more No work advantageous to make with cover; the poor one ceased to cuts year occupation for every season of the year, for all the members of its family, idleness increased misery; the population decreased quickly, broad goal not enough however with the liking of those which wanted to improve thesis fields. This population was distributed in A rather equal way one all the surface of Sutherland. Each valley contained its hamlet; the grounds of alluvium had been intended for culture of the oats and the barley; however made wafers of first, one distilled “whiskey” second. The mountains, glazes one bleaches one grass rather thick, were abandoned with the herds which provided dairy produce, meats, the wool and leathers. All the needs for the population had thus satisfied, have long ace it had known to Be satisfied with thesis
coarse products. However the race of the animals with horns, accustomed to feel the need, was weak, the wool of the sheep was hardware; the oats and barley fields received only one imperfect culture; because it was generally abandoned with the women: the men believed to Be made only for war, but At most for the painful monitoring of the herds in the mountains. They were adventurous, brave man, passionately fasteners with to their nationality, their language, their cos - tume, with the honor of to their race, their chiefs, their mountains, goal not very industrial. Have the work of to their wives was enough to provide for to their subsistence, they cherished to their idleness. Entire country, having for resources only tilling and the pasture, under has climate have rough have that high mountains of Switzerland, and also exposed to the frosts late and At the contrary seasons, became the every day more poor instead of making any progress; it was without manufactures, without trade, money; one had not established there the post office, not traced hand roads, not open of communications between the various shares of the county, yew it is not for the pedestrians: and majority of the inhabitants, far from obeying to the laws of England, did not even follow have they dussent to govern. In addition thesis villagers had gathered in their huts all that was necessary to their subsistence; they did not feel the need, they lived happy; and At the time even have the calamities of the sky destroyed theirs sometimes harvests, and decimated them by the famine with to their herds, they could to it Be subjected with resignation, because the hand of the man did not cuts any share with to their sufferings. Between the year 1811 and the year 1820, thesis fifteen thousand inhabitants, training approximately three thousand families, were driven out, but, according to the softened expression of Mr. Loch, who had chaired with the operation, “drawn aside, moved” (removed), of all the interior of the county. All to their villages were demolished gold burned, and all to their fields converted into pastures (Improve-dregs, etc, by J. Log, p. 92). With similar operation was made, butt simultaneously, by the seven gold eight others Lords who had the remainder of the county of Sutherland, but
year extent of more than two hundred and fifty thousand English acres; much more, almost all Lords of the north of Scotland acted then in the same way, but were not long in following this example. Mr. Loch ensures however that the marchioness of Stafford much more humanity showed than any of its neighbors; it dealt with the fate of those which it moved, it them has retirement offered one its clean terrés; and in their beginning again seven hundred ninety-furnace thousand acres of ground, they were in possession since year unmemorable time, it to their liberally left six approximately thousand of them, but two acres by family. Thesis six thousand open acres to Be used have refuge to small holding were before in waste Land, and did not return anything with the owner. This one however did not concedes them free; He fixed them with year average returned of two shellings and half per acre, and it did not make to skirt beams that for seven years; drank it promised to renew the lease for seven other years, yew the ground were cultivated well. (Ib., p. 107.) The seven hundred ninety-furnace thousand acres of which marchioness of Stafford took again possession thus were divided by Mr. Loch, his agent, into twenty-nine broad farms, extremely unequal in extent. It is larger than the department from the Seine, which itself includes/understands forty six thousand hundred and eighty one hectares, and would not form consequent not more of the ninth of the surface of the field of counts of Sutherland. Thesis farms, destinies only with pasture of the sheep, are inhabited each one only by one only family, and have the industry which they introduce into the country is new, they hardly employ Scot, goal only farmhands from England. Seventeen gentlemen however, but old “tacksmen” of Suther-Land, took have many farms of the marchioness, in splashes of national damages which attached the idea of exemption from it new trade. The twelve others are English. Hundred trente-un thousand sheep already replaced, in 1820, the brave man men who poured formerly to their blood for the defense of Mhoir-Fhear
Chattaibh (Ib., p. 147), and undoubtedly to their number are with-jourd' today extremely increased. No human voice makes more to resound narrow throats of thesis illustrated mountains other time by the ancient combat of year race; nobody recalls some more glorious memories; the valleys not cuts any more hamlets, No accent of joy gold bread disturbs more thesis vast lonelinesses; to the county of Suther-Land who from now one drank to heir is fixed in England, to several hundreds miles of distance from the fatherland of its maternal ancestors, gave the responsibility itself to enjoy and to rest for its old vassal; it edge spread out in the castle of Trentham has pump royal, and to encourages by its luxury the factories of England. We revoke by No means doubts it goal this upheaval property, practices, affections, of the whole of existence has small nation, does not cuts prodigiously increased the already colossal fortune of the countess of Suther-Land. Mr. Loch endeavours to show that it increased also wealth of the country drank; that there is more money, more the activity, more industry, more pleasures of luxury; that all Sutherland is from now one in A progressive state of prosperity, after having been stationary during centuries. Custom indeed let custom believe that by judging state of the country according to the principles of the chrematistic school, by calling prosperity it that it calls of this name, Sutherland is in progress. Several roads of forty, forty-five, fifty miles length, cross-country race already all the country; bridges out of stone and iron, of which some are of has boldness remarkable, were high with the expenses of the countess, aujour-to today duchess, one the broad rivers, of the piers and of prejudices stop the floods, of the ports were opened with trade, diligences crosses the country until small cities built At its ends; hotel trades, houses of post, were built by the marquis de Stafford, and have of the year 1820, the export of furnace hundred and fifteen thousand books of fine wool made cuts has presentiment of how much wealthes could one day to send to far has country which one succeeded in putting in
value with a so admirable economy and inhabitants, and of work, and of happiness. That one lets act, says us one, the individual interests, that the legislator does not claim to be more skilful than himself will be the owner in the administration of its fortune. If it is rich, active, intelligent, it will create the prosperity of a poor and wild country, and more its inheritance will be extended, less it will meet obstacles, with its useful projects. All these almost sterile fields, which nourished misérablement vassal stirring up and anxious, prompter to handle their antique sword, them claymore, that the spade, sheep will nourish, whose wool will feed manufactures and to provide the markets with distant areas. But them inhabitants! -- Mr. Loch ensures us that the fate of these thousands exiled families of their fatherland was not also deplorable that their fears and their regrets predicted it. Some ones admittedly did not want anything to hold of that which drove out them their residences. The clan 'Gunn', or of the 'Mac-Hamish', by giving up the mountains of Kildonan and the valleys of Naver and of Helmsdale, left entire the country, and the author does not learn to us what it became. But with the reserve of this tribe, and thirty-two families of 'Strathbrora' parts for America in the years 1818 and 1819, them others, so that it ensures us, have 'almost' all accepted the batches which the marchioness of Stafford offered to them. Rejected on edges of this immense field, between the sea and the foot of mountains, they found there grounds clean with the culture, and Mr. Loch affirms, which must appear extremely strange, that it is only in one belt of half-thousand of width, at the edge sea, girdles hitherto left in waste land, that Known-therland can give profits by the production of cereals. These unhappy exiled, indicated by the name of 'small-tenants', received from the owner of the helps to help them to build their new houses, of the encouragement to clear their new grounds: also the gardens on which they must live were rather promptly emphasized. In all these families young people deployed Ca
adventurous character which seems specific to the mountain dwellers of Scotland. Any foreigners who they were with the sea and its practices, they bought or manufactured boats; they did one rapid and bold training under the boatmen that the marchioness of Stafford had given the responsibility to form them, and they were to await on the large bench cods and the herrings, which alternatively, and in different seasons, visit these trimmings. Vast stores were built in Helmsdale and with Brora, to clean and prepare fish; houses of trade of Scotland and of England sent factors there, and fishes it, increasing years by years, of 1814 to 1819 became an abundant source of wealthes which are exported all instead of consuming itself in the country. (Ibid, p. 125). Mr. Loch concludes from what we have just exposed, who projects formed by the marchioness of Stafford for the improvement of its grounds in the county of Sutherland had full success. Not only it collected immense advantages of them, it still made quickly pass the country which depended of it of cruelty to civilization. If it caused most painful anguishs with these small people of which destiny he was entrusted, in return, said our author, it has opened a vaster field with its industry, and it tried to soften its regrets, while offering to him for the future the hope of more than ease. We cannot prevent ourselves to notice it how much this manner of pressing it the walk of civilization resemble that which Mehemet-Ali implemented at the same time in Egypt; and he also was highly celebrated during a time by the chrematistic school, like restorer commercial and arts; he also confused in its person rights of the sovereign with those of the owner; he also judged prosperity the State, not by abundance or the safety which its inhabitants enjoyed, but by the activity of the traffic, the value of exports, the profit shareholders; he also traced ways, opened channels, raised bridges and dams. It covered Egypt of the structures; it called there the scientists, the engineers, them industrialists: it wanted to found there of all shares of the manufac-
tures; he also finally, while perhaps wanting to make the
good, had especially in sight increase of its own revenue. In
its calculations the lives of men appeared to him only like
figures, and it took them into consideration with cotton bolls,
just as the marchioness of Stafford them fact of entering with
the wool balls. It calculated, but the affections, the memories,
the hopes of unhappy of which it laid out, are not elements
subjected to calculation. The duchess of Sutherland is, so that
one ensures, one woman of a high skill; it manages with
intelligence its immense fortune; it increases it and it prepares
to him in the future of new developments: also it advances if
need be, for what it looks like the allowance of country, of the
capital which would never have been provided with as much
of promptitude by other private individuals, or even by
companies of shareholders. But which can envisage which
will be its successors, if they will have as much liberality,
humanity, intelligence? Immense opulence causes the
immense ones dilapidations, and much of pars of England,
with their colossal fortunes, are in charge of debts. They ruin
then their fields, they are avid with their farmers, they let
seize their grounds by their creditors. Thus therefore, in seven
years, fourteen years, in each term of their lease, these
dépaysées families of Sutherland will be of new exposed to
the errors, false calculations, dissipation, avarice, the madness
or the injustice of the owner, who without responsibility no
their fate between his hands will hold. By admitting, with Mr.
Loch, that the marchioness carried out its projects with as
much of humanity than of prudence, still must one quiver with
the idea that the law, such as it is interpreted in England,
made it possible to expel all these people of its hearths,
without providing at all for its subsistence and sound leaves to
come; that the government would have with the lent need the
support of a military force for this expulsion, and that it did it
more once; that finally, according to Mr. Loch itself, other
owners of the county were not so human. “The population of
Gruids on Lochshin, says it, was con
siderable; it does not appear that no batch of ground was assigned with these people, or which it received no compensation at the moment of its expulsion, which was carried out in the winter from 1818. " This expulsion of the people Gaelic out of his antiques hearths is regarded as legal; but will dare one to say what it is right? There is not a too striking influence although a strange contrast enters the draft of the negros and the expulsion of the white? And the crime of those which transport to African Martinique unhappy to plow there foreign fields, should not it be compared with that of the men who push back far from the coasts of Europe the unhappy one Scottish, which they do not make it possible any more to plow theirs proper fields? This ancient nation of the Celts or Gaé them, who was main, not only British Isles but of Gaule, and part of Spain and Italy, it will be driven out, in the name of the laws, of these same rocks where it overcome forever, of these rocks where it maintained its independence lost everywhere else? The latter representatives of the most former masters of Europe must to be off-set? It is by a cruel abuse the legal forms, it is by one iniquitous usurpation, that the 'tacksmen' and the 'tenants' either of the county of Sutherland, or of the remainder of Scotland, are regarded as not being entitled any to the ground which they occupy since centuries, and that their above captains are authorized to violate the contract which linked during so many generations the farmer with his lord. The English legists constantly assimilated all the rights policies with properties, and they took defense with it of it titrate. They wanted to see a property in the capacity all policy of the lords, as they claimed to see one of them in the exclusive right of certain middle-class men to be elected or the members of the Parliament, or the magistrates municipal, like they claim to see of them one in the right of the Church to its dignities and with its revenues; forgetting that when functions are instituted for the advantage of the people, it is to the people that appar-
holds the funds by which they are remunerated. Legists English hardly wanted to admit that society, while making progress, had the right to remove capacities which him were with load; at least they wanted that while removing the functions one preserved the remuneration which was to them attached. At the same time, instead of attempting to include/understand institutions different as of their, to also look after the interests of all those which they affected, they do not have desired to never consider that the only person who withdrew some a pecuniary profit, and they arranged this profit in the same one classify that the possession of a field or a house. The vast one extended from the seigneuriaux fields is not a particular condition in England. In all the empire of Charlemagne, in all the Occident, of the whole provinces had been usurped by quarrelsome chiefs, who did them to cultivate for their account by overcome, slaves, or sometimes by their comrades in arms. With the ninth and tenth centuries Maine, Anjou, Poitou, were, for counts of these provinces, three large farms well rather that three principalities; Switzerland which, under so much of reports/ratios, point out Scotland by its lakes and its mountains, its climate who so often misleads the hope of the agrarian, by character, manners and the practices of his/her children, was of even at that time divided between a small number of lords. If the counts de Kyburg, of Lentzburg, Habsburg and from Gruyeres, had been protected by the English laws, they would be today precisely under the condition where were the counts of Sutherland twenty years ago: some perhaps ones of them would have the same taste for improvements, and several republics would have been driven out from the Alps to make place with herds of sheep. But whatever at its origin the right of the count could be, the legislation did not cease, during eight centuries, in all Europe continental, to guarantee and improve the lot of the feudatory, the vassal one, of the serf, which concerned him; to strengthen the independence of the peasant, to cover it shield of the regulation, to change its habits into rights, to put it at
the shelter of the exactions of its lord, and to raise little by little its censives with the row of the properties. The law gave the peasant Switzerland guarantee of perpetuity, while it is to the lord Scottish that it assured this same in the empire British, and whom it left the peasant in a situation precarious. That one compares the two countries and that one judges them two systems. In France also the condition of the tenant is constantly improved. Vassal French was originally or one overcome, or a slave, or, in the most favorable assumption, it was a 'arimane', or free man, which renonçait with its freedom to become 'leude', and which was committed rendering to its lord certain feudal services in return for a ground which it received in gift of him. But what missed with its rights in the origin had been successively granted to him by the use: not only its property was recognized, it became in very equalizes with that of its giver. The tenant Gaelic on the contrary had never been conquered; it did not hold its fields of the liberality of its lord but it was in the origin joint owner with his captain, or rather still with its clan. However this captain that it accompanied with the war, and which it obeyed for their favour common, initially regarded it as his/her friend and his/her relative, then like his soldier, then like his vassal, later like its farmer, and finally like a agrarian with pledges, which he wanted to suffer well for his own advantage on the ground of the common fatherland, but which he was a master of to drive out as soon as it did not find any more interest to keep it. One should not forget indeed only the highlands of Scotland, the gaelic mountains, never underwent the yoke of a foreign invasion; that the feudal system never became the law of the country, though the national habits were assimilated that one observed there of any antiquity to this adopted system in the close countries; that the influence even of the names that one believes to seize in the English language does not find any more in the language of the country, and that the count of Sutherland is not for Gaëles that the 'great man in the south of Caithness'.
One cannot hope to find at a barbarian nation, who did not have even the use of the writing, the authentic documents on the way in which these large were formed associations of families known in Scotland under the name of clan, either that on the successive meeting several clans in only one sovereignty such as was that of Sutherland. But their name even 'Klaan' means into gaelic 'children'. All their uses, all their reciprocal reports/ratios, all their affections, are indeed founded on the tradition which them persuade that they are children of the same family; all theirs rights indeed were those of children of the same father on common inheritance. They were not submitted to other subordination that with that whose common defense did one to them need. The instability of the division of the grounds did not weaken not right of ownership of the great family; it was with it what belonged the district where it had been established. Such was the public law of the Celts, like also of the German ones; and at the latter, which were organized much more for the war that for the culture, for fear the families did not stick too much with the fields which they plowed, they had to change frequently, or even annually, of batches. All were entitled to all at the Scot, but the field of each one could pass to its neighbor, that is to say that it was assigned to him by leaves, or that one extended or restricted his glebe according to forces' of his family to cultivate it, or that ground portions were assigned like rewards for the services rendered to fatherland. There is, with the remainder, no country of Europe where one find traces even rather recent temporary division and variable of the field of the community. In Scotland one wanted that the division and the subdivision of the grounds indicated and subordination between the soldiers and their chief maintained. 'great man' of each clan exerted, perhaps even it usurped from the community, the right to only make these distributions; it gave and took again different the 'tacks' from its ground with its officers, according to whether they had been shown more or less useful for the war. But though it could thus reward or punish militarily the members of the clan, it could not decrease
in nothing the property clan himself. The favoured individual was different, but the obligation of the service was always equal. Military magistrates established for the good of all acquired or lost a more or less considerable share in this national field, without Sutherland ceasing to belong entire to the men of Sutherland. Tenure grounds was always the same one; their contribution for public defense, their royalty with the lord who them led to the combat, and which maintained the order on their premises, were not ever increased. When civilization started to make progress, the lords, with the language and the clothes of England, started also to adopt the uses and the manner of thinking of the English. They did not include/understand any more or did not worry any more to include/understand the national contract of the Celts; and to give him the form used among civilized people, they wrote it in writing; at the same time they granted to the their vassal 'tacks' or ground portions, for a given time. They thus appeared to make them a great concession, because before they could return them at will. It was on the contrary a usurpation on the community, since formerly, while returning them, they always had to replace by others, in conditions absolutely similar, while, as soon as they started to give these grounds with farm, they insinuated into the contract that with each renewal of the lease they could make conditions news, or to worsen the royalties of their tenants. By this deaf person usurpation, lords of the gae-lic grounds, who, properly, had right only to one invariable revenue on the property of their clan, changed it against unlimited property of the field which paid them this revenue. However they were far from envisaging, or their vassal was far from fearing, that they would benefit one day from the time from renewal of the beams, not to increase the royalty labourers, but to expel them. Before coming to a as barbarian resolution, it was necessary as the lord had absolutely ceased sharing the opinions, the feelings, it not honor of its compatriots; it was necessary that it had not
only ceased believing their father or their brother, but to even sense itself Scottish, it was necessary that a low cupidity had choked in him this feeling of consanguinity on which theirs common ancestors had counted, when they had given up with its good faith destiny of its people. It is at once that a similar loading takes place in the opinions, in interests, in the respective position of the various members society, that the legislator must intervene so that very whole nation is not delivered to the thank you of small of man' S numbers avid and imprudent. It is not about to request the pity of the lords, but to establish the rights of populate Gaelic; it is a question of making so that in the future one lord cannot any more conclurer according to the principles of the chrematistic school, that the man can be of too in society human, that there can be economy, progress, prosperity, with to cut off the nation from its country; or it is a question of making that afterwards to have reasoned consequently with its principles, it does not act not consequently with its reasoning. If the marchioness of Stafford had the right to replace the people of all one province by twenty-nine families from abroad, and some hundreds of thousands of sheep, it is necessary to hasten to abolish, for it and all the others, such an odious right. It is already a great misfortune for a State which to have licence the meeting of the territorial properties in too small number of hands. When only one man has it territory which was to suffice for several hundreds to families, its luxury replaces their ease and the revenues which would have nourished their virtues are dissipated by its madnesses. But what will become the State if the owner of a province appears himself that its interest is in opposition with that of its inhabitants, and that it is advisable to him to replace men by sheep or of oxen? It is not to this end that the territorial property was established, or that it is guaranteed by the laws. people recognized it in persuasion that it was useful with those which did not have anything, as with those which had some thing; but society is shaken when the rights of the property are put in opposition with the national laws. One
count does not have more the right to drive out on their premises inhabitants from its county, that a king to expel of his country the inhabitants of its kingdom. Most despotic of the monarchs, if it in made the attempt today, would learn soon it that it costs some to have exceeded the terminals of its authority. How the large lords of England take guard! less they are numerous, more it would be dangerous for them to put itself in opposition with the nation, and to prefer itself with it. That they do not say, when it is about their interest, like the agent of the marchioness of Stafford: “Why, in this case, would adopt one a rule different from that which was followed in all others? Why absolute authority of the owners on their property should it be given up and sacrificed for the public interest, and according to reasons which relate to only the public?” (Log, p. 41, note.) If they come from there one day to believe that they do not need the people, it people will be able to believe in his turn which it has no need for them. If they estimate that three hundred and forty thousand mountain brave men, race Gaelic, can be replaced, with profit for them, by four million sheep, these mountain dwellers could, with more facility still, to find useful substitutes for thirty or forty, perhaps for three hundred lords, who ceased being their compatriots.
Our intention, while joining together, while supplementing and publishing these Studies, was especially to probe the wounds of society in modern times. We were struck misery the poor one, increase frightening in a class formerly unperceived, that of the proletarians, who threatens the existence civilization. We saw that more one country made progress towards the commercial activity and the accumulation of wealth, more one saw multiplying the number of men who do not have any share with this wealth, no guarantee of their existence, any past, any future; who, living work of their arms, obtain sometimes a full remuneration for their efforts, but which, as of the following day, without there being of their fault, without none prudence of their share can preserve some, can to see itself private of their subsistence. We saw how, by the progress even of wealth, and agreement with the principles of chrematistic, a profession after the other, a condition after the other, are uprooted ground where they were formerly fixed, and precipitated in the peat of proletarians, from where a new failure makes them fall then into pauperism, or in this state of irremediable indigence to which society is held to carry assistance, and which it declare however unable to relieve. It is at the time when so most of the population, sometimes even the majority of the nation, became étran-
manage on the ground of the fatherland, indifferent at its institutions, enemy even of a law and order which oppresses it, that the movement policy of the spirits carried the most civilized nations to reinforce the democratic capacity in their institutions. We endeavoured to show that while being obstinatned with to count like equal the votes of individuals so prodigiously unequal in lights, experience, virtues and in force will, one did not find in the vote of the majority the true national vote. We showed that after having created this multitude of proletarians, if one allotted sovereignty to the number, one was not to hope that they put in safety their own interests, far from providing for those from nation. We finally sought what one could do for them in the political order, and for which institutions one could call the public reason with the government of all. We study today another side of the same question. Increasingly more struck danger of which is threatened the law and order, since the physical force is really with the hands of these men without guarantee, future, who are exposed each day with all the more painful deprivations, which they unceasingly have under the eyes the spectacle of opulence; we requested account of their existence from the chrematistic one, or with the theory of the formation of wealthes, and we also sought what true economy policy could make by the distribution of wealth, for that a cause threatening of disorders was not introduced in the house and the city. We see the universal tendency wealth to separate the action from the capital of that arms; we see that in each profession, in each trade, which one names progress, it is the meeting in only one center of an immense capital, with all the assistance what can give to the leading will the employment of science and of a high intelligence; it is, in addition, subordination of the physical force, several thousands of arm, of all the arms which work, with this leading will who only undertakes to think it, to combine and of to pay; or more briefly, we see that progress Re
ordered by the chrematistic one, it is the strengthening of aristocracy of the money, and the creation of the proletarians. But is not rather only to disentangle this tendency general, it is necessary to study the fate of the various professions, it is necessary to some extent to catch the chrematistic one in the act, destroying the independence of small, removing their guarantee to them, forcing them to go down from the rank of masters to that from mercenaries, and accumulating, or rather wanting to accumulate wealth in some hands, by reducing all work their with most miserable the pitance, under pretext of the good market labour. This study of the various professions can be done only by fixing in turn our glances on one only country, on only one profession; that while going down to local details, attested by witnesses worthy of faith, and which collected with very an other aim that that which us let us propose to reach. The chrematistic one made us rather a long time illusion by general information and abstractions; while claiming to be only one material science of facts and numbers, it rather a long time mislaid our glances on a horizon at a loss of sight. We claim on the contrary to fix them on only one country, only one time, only one profession. We have, front all, desired to study the class of the farmers, because it is usually, and should always be of much more; because it is most necessary to the existence of all, because it is easiest to make happy; because its military efficiency is the best guaranteed power and independence of the nations, while its love of the order is the pledge of their interior peace. The class of the farmers is, in the majority of the countries of Europe, associated some manner the property; it holds, by antiques affected, as its interests, with ground which saw it being born; it hopes to see her children remaining there of the same attaches, and it entrusts their future fate to the guarantee perpetual rights. However one finds in any country which pass for prosperous a small number of reduced farmers with the row of proletarians: they are days laborer, who do not have that their spade and their vineyard plough, and who are called by
other farmers in the moment of the press of work, fear of
achieving the work that the family associated with property of
the ground cannot carry out. The days laborer can to be
returned each week; nobody is engaged with to maintain; they
do not have future and not past; they always sense with two
fingers of most extreme misery. They are without interest in
the art to which they work; the good or it bad fate of harvests
does not import to them, and their advantage is diametrically
opposed to that of the men who them employ; because they
wish the high price of labour and the low price food products.
The existence of the days laborer is certainly a disorder and a
danger in society; but as long as they are in small number, one
can look them like one of these inevitable disadvantages of
any social kind, and to even find that beside a certain evil,
they do some well: however the writers of the chrematistic
school for some time work to persuade us that the state of
days laborer is the normal state of the farmers; that when one
wants to employ with the agricultural production the highest
power and of capital and intelligence or science, it is
necessary that the ground that is to say divided into large
farms, exploited by a rich man and informed, which does not
work itself, but which invent or makes invent the most
sophisticated instruments; who advances the funds, which
directs the markets, and which is with he only will and
intelligence of the thousands of arm that it employ. It is
precisely the same theory which the chrematistic bracket with
the industrial arts. This teaching scientist is widespread today
in all Europe; the public opinion adopted in theory, there even
where it does not have not last in practice; ground owners and
them capitalists believe it in conformity with their interests,
and the large one culture, with the proletarians whom it
creates, threat to invade them country where the peasant was
so far happiest. It is a quite sufficient reason to study the
effects of this system in countries where it is already
universally in force. Empire British is that where the
chrematistic school has more the COM-plétement subjugated
the opinion, it is that where it had on
legislation the most powerful influence, it is the only one where it reduced the almost whole class of the workers to the state that it regards as normal. It is thus of a high interest for very whole European civilization, happiness of humanity, to consider the effects of this system there where it is fully concerned. The chrematistic school said to contractors of rural work: “Produce always more and always with cheaper.” We have just seen how those, to conform to this council, considered to be superfluous the work of the Scot, calculated that it was not worth subsistence of the workman; and solved to demolish itself of him. Us let us see how the same contractors do not find more work of the profitable Irishman, if they do not reduce it not with the existence of most miserable to which human being can go down; we will see then how the same ones contractors do not find more work of the profitable day laborer only by reducing it in slavery; how they degraded the negro with row of rough to make profitable its force, without leaving no rise with its intelligence or its morality, without him to grant none the pleasures the man. One will undoubtedly be astonished to see us taking our principal examples in the British nation; and much more still, since we declare at the same time as us let us look like the most civilized, the most lit, more free, most religious, more sympathizing of those which exert a great influence on the ground. But this nation is also that perhaps which produced the best observers, that with the attestimony of which we can best us in to pay for the facts. Moreover they are not its feelings moral which is at fault, it suffers by the effects of the disastrous theory which it adopted on the increase in wealthes, this disastrous theory which made him forget the man for things, and which still plugs it at the time when it discusses to remedy an excess of misery which it worsens still often by all the efforts which it makes to relieve it.
Before drawing the conclusions of the facts, and more still before seeking remedies, it is important us to put clearly these facts under the eyes of the reader. We want he to make known Ireland, the country, without exception in whole world, where the poor population is at the same time most and most miserable, the most degraded. We have fortunately, it to make, the attestation of one observer worthy of all our confidence, and to which the nation British has on his side granted all his, Mr. H.D. Inglis, whose Voyage in all the parts of Ireland, during the beautiful season the year 1834, is the table most complete, most faithful, most touching, of the state of this unhappy country. An analysis of its book us appears the first demonstration to put under the eyes of our readers, of the disastrous effects of a false system. (1). The state as afflicting as frightening of Ireland is not admittedly absolutely ignored those which deal with sciences social. It is known generally that the population Irish is miserable, one knows that it is oppressed; the spirit of party makes even a usual use of its misfortunes, for to fight the adversaries which it endeavours to make odious. On the continent, those which are appeared to show patriotism by professing their hatred against the English allot all sufferings of Ireland to the jealousy, cruelty, Cu - pidity of its oppressors. On their side the English protest often that the Irishmen are ungovernable people, that they are unable of order, of continuation in work, economy; that they will never arrive neither at industry nor at freedom. The fanatic Protestants show moreover misfortunes of Ireland the spirit of Catholicism, and character intrigant of clergy. The catholics in their turn allot the misery of Ireland to the confiscation of the goods whose national Church was richly equipped, with the concession of these goods to a rival clergy

(1) With Journey throughout Ireland, during the spring, been and autumn of 1834, by H.D. Inglis; in two volomes. (Whittaker and Co. 2D edition 1835).
who does not have a herd, with the obligation or are the faithful ones to pay the dime with priests whom they look like héré-ticks. and to maintain at the same time by contributions volunteers, the worship which their consciences claim. These reciprocal charges have all some base, but none reaches yet the true source of the evil. However their conflict still came to turn sour the suffering; also it in is resulted between the parties an animosity so violent that they are unceasingly about to come to the hands. People is defied government, the government is defied of the people, and the maintenance or the re-establishment of the civil order became like impossible in the middle of so keen hatreds. All these evils are only too real; they contribute to worsen the condition of these unfortunate people, and to return correction of the more difficult current state. But all these evils are only symptomatic, they are the consequence of one badly more serious still and deeper, they are not its cause. Ireland is reduced to this appalling distress, because Ireland is a country where the almost whole mass of the population does not have any share with the property absolutely, because Irish nation is very whole a nation of proletarians. All the grounds indeed belong to a small number of families, all the capital with a small number of rich person, and in outside of these two categories if not very many, all nation, the true nation, has only its arms to live. It awaits its bread each morning of work; but work is to him impossible if the rich person do not agree to advance ground with the agrarian, a capital with the industrialist. The need presses without slackening a nation which is not formed that unhappy workmen; a universal competition was established between them to obtain work in the conditions most advantageous for the rich person. No law, no regulates, no point of honor does not prevent those from profiting in all its extent of the benefit which is offered to them. Life of all poor is to some extent subjected to insane bidding. The ground is generally leased by small
pieces, and on a very short lease, or even without lease, and that which offers the most tenant farming, a tenant farming which, even in the best years, lets to him hardly what live misérablement, is preferred with all its rivals. In the same way work is offered to the reduction for the days laborer, that is to say in the cities, maybe in the campaigns, and that which is satisfied with least wages, of hardly sufficient wages to get one coarse food, is only employee. This universal competition, that one decorated with the name of unlimited freedom of industry, is still the beautiful ideal of several economists; this competition is the fatal term towards which the social organization of the unskilled labourers among all people tends modern Europe. It is thus not the curiosity alone or the sympathy which commits us reading, to study with all the meditation of which we are able the table of misery Irish layout by Mr. Inglis; it is also a return on ourselves and our country; it is a national interest, and the interest of all humanity; it is one of major problems the social science, that the current moment calls us with to solve; and some painful that can be the contemplation of these tables, we should not hesitate with all to see, with all to know, all to hear. Mr. Inglis, the description of Ireland obtained in England a credit that one does not think any more of disputing, started its explorations with all the advantages of a good observer. It had already published a Voyage in Spain, another in The Tyrol, then a description of the islands of the British channel, but he did not know Ireland in spring of 1834; it arrived there without prejudices, and indeed it hardly lets recognize with which party, to which sect he belongs, while the fury of the factions mislaid the people in the medium of which he went to travel. It was given with all to see, with all to judge by itself. It had been made give letters of introduction to men of all the opinions, all the rows, all religions. “On the basis of Dublin, he says (volume I, chap. 2, p. 21), I was charged of more than one hundred thirty letters of recommended
tion for people of any condition, since the par of kingdom to the farmer (I was introduced myself with agrarian); for people of any opinion, since Justice of the Peace orangist of Down or Derry, until the 'repea-ler' catholic of Kilkenny or Tipperary (that which wants to return to Ireland its old independency); since the dignitary of the Protestant church to the vicar of countryside, since the catholic bishop with the priest of parish. I do not need of saying to those which know Ireland how much these letters were prolific. Before returning to Dublin, I had presented at least three times the number of the recommendations with which I had left. “Our traveller had arrived to Dublin in a beautiful morning spring of 1834; it set out again about it after a stay enough short, right tie at midday, the channel of Saint-George until Wexford; from there it moved towards the west, while following the southernmost coasts of the island, then in north, while following them Western coasts, not without to have traversed also more most of the interior, and followed in almost all them length splendid edges of Shannon. He followed even edges of the septentrional sea of sleeping with raising; and it went down again finally from Belfast to Dublin, having thus completed the full rotation of the island. It walked on in turn in convey, in the tanks of the country, in boat, with horse, foot even, and it was almost always accompanied by his wife, that it names however only once, to explain what gained to him the attention of people of countryside. “I had, says it (volume II, chap. 16, p. 290), one other favours. In almost all my voyages of discoveries, through the mountains and valleys, as in the suburbs of the cities, I was accompanied by my wife. One will be able to smile, but those which know the Irish peasants will include/understand easily how much it was useful for my drank. People of sorrow in Ireland are in a so miserable state, and it reigns if little intelligence between them and the classes higher, than the approach of a well equipped person towards the door of their cabin, or the enclosure of their farm, in
son-in-law at once their suspicions, but the appearance of a woman even disarms them at the moment; the ushers, the policemen, the tax collectors of said or the excise, all the people official finally, are not accompanied by women in the performance of their duties. Moreover there is if few communications between the aristocracy of Ireland and them lower orders, than the entry of a lady in a cabin is regarded as a very particular condescension, and a proportioned return of confidence excites. Who does not know how much the affection an Irish mother is easily gained by a little benevolence shown with his/her children; how much a caress with the one, a ground given to the other, opens its heart; how much finally the laughing face a woman who, in entering a thatched cottage, pronounces these words: “God blesses all those which are here,” obtains confidences easily who would be refused with all the police chiefs of all governments? ” Ireland east, in general, a gracious and picturesque country. Wealth of its ground, the strength of its vegetation, magnificence of its water and elegant cut of its mountains, its deep guls, its innumerable lakes, present one continual attraction with the amateurs of the beautiful nature, though on a small scale. Mr. Inglis, without having the claim to write a descriptive voyage, associates to you with its pleasures. It inspires a keen desire to see the edges of Suiré; the course splendid of Shannon, who runs lakes in lakes, presenting in each new beauty; the sites enchanters that it meet of Clifden until Killeries. It is almost in leaving Dublin which it advances towards the first of these landscapes celebrated among the painters, the 'soft valley of Avoca'. “I remained three days here, says it, traversing the narrow valleys and the mountains, mixing me with the people, causing with each one, and subordinating the interest which I felt for a beautiful and romantic country with the interest of a higher order which sticks to the social condition of the people. This contemplation was less pleasant; because, though I was in county more close to Dublin, in a decorated country,
filled of 'villas' and residences of great landowners; though the mines of the county of Wicklow employ around this place nearly two thousand people, I had well little place to be satisfied with the condition of the people. “The tenant farming in the county of Wicklow are almost everywhere higher than what the ground can return, and the small ones farmers have as much sorrow than the days laborer to be gained enough subsistence not to die of hunger. Among the Protestants as among the catholics, the dearness of the rent of grounds was a universal subject of complaint, and the ones like the others lived in the most miserable state. When one their asked why thus they had engaged themselves to pay a tenant farming that they could be too high, they all also answered: how could they have lived differently? what could they have made? Indeed, in Ireland, competition for the grounds is other thing only the irresponsible bid the people reduced at the end. “As for the condition of the days laborer, it did not answer hardly so that some of my friends had said some me of Dublin, which should however have known Wiklow. They had ensured me that all the days laborer found work, and that their life was rather happy. One after-dined, to consider, I taken the road of the hills; a short walk brought me in a narrow valley, in which were sown several huts. I visited three of those. The first where I entered was built out of waste; it did not contain that only one part; one was there with the shelter neither of the wind, nor of rain; the ground was extremely wet; I did not find there, for all pieces of furniture, that a small bed very mincement covered, a bench of wood and a pot of iron. There was neither chimney nor windows; but on the ground one saw some remains of thorny broom (ulex europoeus) that one had burned there. The occupant paid two pounds sterling of rent for this poor wretch remains, with which was not attached an inch of ground. The second in which I entered was built on the slope of the hill; its construction was in very similar to that of the preceding one. I y found a woman with her four children; their pieces of furniture
consisted of two glazing bar of bed without trimming, a stool, a small bench and a pot. Here also one had burned broom, alone combustible that the poor can get in this province. The children were in rags, and them mother afflicted herself to be able for this reason to send them to the school. The father was a day laborer, engaged with six pence by day; but it paid in work eighty of these days from six pence for the rent of its cabin; so that it him remained that four pence and half per day to be maintained with its wife and her four children, with apples of ground which cost him four pence the measurement (stone) of 14 liv. ” It will be noticed that Mr. Inglis counts absolutely for nothing in all Ireland work woman and children, because indeed in a country where half of the men do not find occupation, it would be more impossible still with weaker beings to find some no which was remunerated. “I entered then a third cabin, more miserable that two others. One was there with the shelter neither of the wind, nor rain; there was bedstead, and absolutely no piece of furniture, except a stool and a pot of iron. One y no sign saw that there' had been fire. In this poor wretch remain there was a woman decently equipped with five children. Her husband was day laborer, to six pence per day. This family had had a pig, but it had been seized little by days previously to pay the rent. These poor people had intended to be able to discharge by selling their pig when it would be fatty, and they had spent their six pence per day to be maintained themselves; but the high price of apples of ground had constrained them to postpone itself, before the pig was enough large to be sold with profit. Perhaps that which made seize does not have to be blamed: it was a small farmer mountains which paid twenty schellings per acre of tenant farming, and which had as much sorrow to live and to pay its firm that the poor day laborer who depended on him. ” (Volume I, CH. 2, p. 27-32.) It is in this manner that Mr. Inglis, in all his Voyage,
study the population; thus of place in place, it enter the cabins of the labourers, whom it describes their furnishing, that it makes sure of the amount of their daily wages and of their food. The county of Wexford, where it was then, is one of more thriving of midday of Ireland; numbers rich people and beautiful country houses y is considerable, the ground is fertile there, very sophisticated agriculture, and the very abundant products of the ground. three cabins from which we come to copy description give however an idea right and by no means exaggerated way in which the average of the farming population saw, not only in the county of Wexford, but in all Ireland. There is N it is true, some exceptions, in the places supported by the vicinity of an opulent city, or better still by the moderation of a rich and generous owner, who had the rule to maintain the tenant farming of his grounds with the old price, and to refuse the offers more advantageous which he are made. In these districts cabins of the days laborer are a little better; sometimes they are divided into two rooms; one finds there some pieces of furniture, a little ground crockery, and the days laborer add sometimes some another food with their potatoes pulps. Thus, for example, the baronnie of Forth is a district celebrated in all southernmost Ireland as being inhabited by a race Welsh men of origin, who enjoy of more than softnesses in the life, which is industrial, careful, peaceful, clean and sober, and which puts their pride to preserve them appearances of the order and ease. “I left, says Mr. Inglis, Wexford early in a tank of the country, to see my eyes all singularities that one had announced to me. I found a country which was not announced by any natural beauty, but which was everywhere cultivated with intelligence, and whose inhabitants appeared, comparatively, with their ease. Farms and thatched cottages, because I will not call those of the cabins, were into large numbers, and with a margin of few exceptions, the first indicated ease, seconds at least of cleanliness. I
visited a great number of the ones and others; because
currency to always find, and finding indeed always, like in all
Ireland, a benevolent reception, I left my tank, I crossed the
fields, and I raised the latch without to hesitate. The more I
advanced in this district, the more I were struck in effect of its
characteristic features. Not only interior houses was more
comfortable, some pots of flowers, some small gardens,
announced that the poor one felt it desire to decorate its
residence; agriculture was worthy of praises, the ploughings
were good, the clear ground, wheat harvests and of broad
beans, of which one cultivates a great quantity here, were
extremely beautiful, and a plough with two horses was led
with address and labour saving by only one man. But one
should not believe, according to what I have just said, who
inhabitants of this baronnie roll in abundance, or that their
manner of living is entirely different from that from remain
island. If they are higher in cleanliness, order, connect ease, it
is the result of a difference in character rather than of position:
the tradition their made attach their pride with clearness and
the decorum, and the children have beautiful to be more badly
than their fathers, they do not forget these feelings; in
addition, industry and the precaution have put capable farmers
to improve their agriculture, and to employ a capital perhaps a
little more considerable; using this one, they offer to the days
laborer more work and in a more regular way, so that there is
of it little which do not find any employment; but their
pledges are not more tops that elsewhere, and consequently
their mode of living cannot be very different; however the
potato do not only form their food, they make rather large use
of bread of barley, and among the women, the tea is an object
of very universal luxury. “The most common extent of the
farms, in this Ba-ronnie, is 30 to 40 acres, their tenant farming
of two books fifty schellings per acre, and at the current price
of the food products it is all that the farmer can do that food
and pay its revenue. I entered the house of a farmer who held
one
firm of forty acres, as it was going to sit down at table to dine with its family. This dinner consisted of apples of ground, milk of butter, skimmed milk, barley bread and butter. ground had been during four generations in the family of this farmer. Its back grandfathers paid of them six schellings by acre, his/her grandfather ten, his father twenty, and him forty. By means of good work and of that of his son, it could to live, says it, as we see that it made, paying sound tenant farming, and to save some small thing for his/her daughters. ” (Volume I, chap. 2, p. 46-49.) The table of this modest prosperity tightens the heart almost as much as that of misery, because it is felt that it will finish; when these good people, who has just what to live, will want to renew their beams, one will increase them to them, like one increased them from generation to generation, as one unceasingly increases them in all Ireland (volume II, CH. 8, p. 140); and it will be necessary for them to give up successively with butter, the barley bread, the butter milk, skimmed milk, and with this appearance of cleanliness and decency which was to them more expensive still than a more substantial food. A tenant farming, as we will call it, according to the English use, a revenue of two books per acre, though extremely higher with the average of the value of the grounds in England, east extremely lower than the revenue than the owners often tear off with their farmers of Ireland, although the products of this last country, intended almost all for export, pays to the farmer much less. “During my stay to Waterford, says Mr. Inglis, I made frequent excursions in all the surrounding country, and I ensured myself how much the revenue of the smallest properties was exaggerated. I found small rented farms with 4 liv. 10 S., 5 liv. and even 7 liv. by acre. In all, the potato only made food of the farmer. He joined to it only sometimes rejects of the salting of the pigs. There is indeed with Toilet-Ford a named place Arundel-Public garden, where bones of the spine and the other parts of the pig which are not worth the expenses of export are sold at a rate of a penny and half or of
two pence delivers it, and Saturdays evening all this place is filled of avid purchasers. There is no possibility of living, for the farmers, by paying such high revenues: several of them were appropriate with me that they could not to never pay their arrears, and which they had not accepted of such conditions that because the hunger pressed them. Such is the universal consequence of the hiring of the ground to the bidding. Men who only know of another industry agriculture, and which are in so great number without employment, all will promise that one will ask them to find with to put (volume I, CH. 3, p. 64).” The farmers whom one drives out of on their premises to rent with the last encherissor have none means of legal resistance against an act of cupidity which them reduced, with their families, with the begging or death; but can one be astonished that they often threaten to burn the house or harvests of that which will replace them? “A man known as Mr. Inglis, showed me a threatening letter which it came to receive. He had come from Waterford to give to farm, at a higher price, some grounds which it had close to New-Ross, and which one had paid him 3 hitherto liv. 5 S. the acre; but since the threat that one had made him, it could not find any more of farmer (volume I, p. 59). Almost all the insults and the murders which soil Ireland, says it more far (CH. 4, p. 117), are born from the one of these two causes, or the competition for the grounds, or the covering of said. “Before leaving Waterford. I visited some of worse districts of this city, and I found there more alarming misery. Under huts between open I live until three and four families, of which each one, lying on the straw, a corner of the building occupied; near them there was no species of pieces of furniture or ustensils. These buildings were of all shares surrounded by mud and refuse. Chiefs of these families missed; they made rounds in campaigns to beg for potatoes. ” (Volume I CH. 3, p. 67.) Only this appalling misery should not be forgotten meet, not in a disgraced ground of nature,
but on the contrary on the most fertile ground, in the climate it more favorable to the vegetation; in a country where frosts, them long drynesses, the floods and hail, are almost unknown calamities; where the harvests intended for export are almost never lost; that at the same time these fields, of which the day laborer either that the farmer the products will never taste, are subjected to agriculture more improved, than the traveller who crossed them, while arriving from England, did not find, by comparison, anything with their to reproach. It is necessary to think that beside these asylums of more degrading misery, the castles of the high aristocracy rise. Mr. Inglis visits all auprès the splendid field of marquis de Waterford, of which the park, of four thousand six hundreds acres of extent, is most beautiful and vastest that one can to find in the three kingdoms. The field of Lord Besbo-rough, who is also at Waterford, is not less remarkable by its magnificence. Around are sown into large numbers castles of gentlemen, and in their galleries tables are joined together the works of the largest masters of art. Finally all auprès is still the manufacture of cotton of Mayfield, that rich person Quakers, Misters Malcomson, established, in spite of the been obstinated opposition of the marquis de Waterford and all Beresford. It supports competition from Manchester even on the English markets, and it distributes wages with nearly nine hundred workmen. It is not thus not wealth which misses, neither knowledge, neither industry, nor the example, nor the encouragement which the large ones can give owners, nor the highest civilization and the protection of laws. The traveller who does not look at that the things is of all shares struck of admiration; that which deals with the fate of the man attests in turn or indignation, or most painful pity. It is in Thomasown, in the county of Kilkenny, that Mr. Inglis refers to this contrast, after having spoken about pleasure which some beautiful cabinets of tables had caused him in the vicinity. “It is impossible that a feeling painful the pleasure more beautiful C do not join
Maines in Ireland. All that the heart can wish finds concentrate in the walls of the castle, sometimes even it contiguous village can have with the charity of an owner benevolent the appearance of some ease, but beyond all comfort disappears. The opulence and the humanity of a private individual can extend their influence only up to one distance limited well, and beyond this circle one does not find any more but rags and begging. This reflexion struck me here, where I was surrounded by residences of several rich person owners, and where roof the world agreed to rent the benevolence of the main thing of them; and however the condition of the people was generally deplorable. I met in my walks of the women and the mothers who begged in countryside, and which returned to their hut with some potatoes in their bag, some small shares collected along the ways, under their arms. And it was not ordinary beggars, but as I ensured myself some, them women and girls of the labourers who could not to find employment. Several had not been able to obtain what to sow their small potato squares. Misery huts was extreme; in several one did not see of pig. I started with better including/understanding the country. With first access I had been shocked when I had seen the face mask of one pig to the door of a cabin; it seemed to me that its inhabitants were to be quite miserable if they had only one common dwelling between him and their family; but from now on its sight delighted me, and I reserved my pity for those who did not have a pig. Undoubtedly, it had been better although it was in its small cattle shed; but still, if it did not have a separated residence, I had pleasure to see that which, according to the Irish peasant, 'has the most right in the house, because it will pay the revenue of it', to enter or leave by the door cabin, or to hear it grogner in its interior. I screw at Thomastown the example of highest prosperity to which could reach a poor family; three pigs lived with it in its thatched cottage. It is necessary to add that at the time when I made these observations, work was
particularly required, because it was the season to plant them potatoes. ” (Volume I, CH. 4, p. 79.) Mr. Inglis denounces without any care the lords who, by their exactions, worsen the misery of the people. Such is Lord Clifden, owner of the town of Callen and country surrounding, in the county of Kilkenny. This lord, who in car a revenue from ten to twelve thousand pounds sterling, not only reduced all the inhabitants to most appalling dismissal, by the rigour with which it requires them excessive tenant farming, and does not do anything for relieving some, but still it raises taxes on their misery; it established with the doors of Callen an import duty on all the objects necessary with the life, potatoes, coal, the milk of butter, which brings back approximately 250 pounds sterling to him; inhabitants are four or five thousand, on which there are of them thousand which is occasionally without employment, six or seven hundreds absolutely without resources, and two hundreds beggars whom their infirmities make unable of any work. It seems that the pretext of this import duty was maintenance roads; but never a ground was not spent in this goal, and they are in a so appalling state, which one allocates twelve minutes of favour to the mail to cross the city, because no traveller would agree to do it differently that with foot. In the districts of the people, cabins or rather the dens of the inhabitants are holes dug in ground, with a little straw, and one could not distinguish there no trace neither of comfort nor of civilization. (Volume I, CH. 4, p. 99.) What one must especially notice in Ireland, it is with which not the whole destiny of the poor class depends on classify rich. In this country, indeed, one does not see a progression gradual of poorest with richest, which establishes a bond between all the conditions; one does not see intermediate row between those which have all and those which do not have nothing; one does not see ease without opulence. Also only one owner must consume with his all the products agriculture, higher than the coarse food of poor,
who are not exported. Its house is the only market for all small food products, the crème, fresh butter, eggs, vegetables, fruits: also all that is not likely of export ceases being requested from the ground. It is still the lord who only asks and who only pays any species of work which is not immediately intended to increase them agricultural produce; it is him only which can undertake any labour of public utility, to think in the future, and to deal with improvements. In all the rest of Europe, ease or misery of the agrarian, the industrialist, the unskilled labourer, depend primarily on its prudence or its misconduct. If it works, if it is sparing, if it is virtuous, it does not have need for anybody to make his way. But in Ireland, and up to a certain point in some parts of England, the rich person, by joining together all the property, took still all the responsibility for the destiny for poor; and it are not only the defects of the rich, responsible man of so much of lives and so much of happiness, it is all its whims, all its errors, the failures which it attests in its fortune, its low age, its diseases, its absence especially, who can reduce to the begging a district before thriving. The Irishmen like the glare, they want to shine, they want to enjoy; the lords have a taste of prodigality in general and of magnificence disproportionate with their fortune. It is in Connaught, the least civilized most Western part and island, that the national character is shown more with overdraft; there the owners all are almost obèrès. “I have occasion, says Mr. Inglis, to converse, in the Galway, with several ground owners, and I regretted seeing how much they felt little sympathy to the condition of the poor, how much also they pushed back with terror the idea of a law in their favour. The reason which must explain it, as well as oppressive control of the owners of all the west of Ireland, it is their own improvidence: businesses of majority are disturbed, and their own embarrassments force them with being hard towards their tenants, endeavouring to obtain more
high revenue which can be offered to them. Thus each class living ground, an equal need attests; the farmer not having not a schelling of remainder after having paid its revenue, or it lord. after having alleviated its creditors, any allowance is impossible, work is not asked; the agrarian, to find work, offers ground an excessive tenant farming, the day laborer agree to work fourteen hours by day, for six, or even for five pence; at one time when this price of its day would hardly be enough for him to buy one stone (14 liv.) of potatoes. ” (Volume II, CH. 2, p. 24.) But the position of the poor inhabitants becomes crueler still when the creditors of the rich person seized his property, and make manage for their account. Then the agent does not have choice, and cannot use of mercy; it is necessary that it covers the revenue, it makes seize hanging harvests, it removes the cattle in the stables, it does not calculate disproportion between it's a pity that it causes and the money that it covers, and all chain men who live ground, farmers, sub-lessees, days laborer, are victims of the improvidence of owner. (Volume II, CH. 3, p. 39.) A new school of political economy, which seems to be proposed to prove that all is compensated in the human society, that all takes again its level naturally, that charity is without merit, the luxury without danger, dissipation without disadvantages, wanted to also show, by abstractions, that the provision of the rich person to eat their revenues far from the districts which produirent them, or what one names in Ireland 'the absentism', is without disadvantages for the country from where they draw their revenues. This school does not consider them facts as a whole, and such as the observation presents them; but it claims to analyze them, and for this reason it insulates in imagination some causes, and it deduces some consequences; then it draws from the equations that the practice never check. It is however necessary to make a strange abuse this creation of an imaginary world, and a hard violence with the simplest reasoning, to manage to conclude that the producer does not attest any disadvantage when his con
summoner leaves it, and from goes away to a few hundreds of miles to consume the products of another producer. It is necessary, inter alia, to forget all the class of the products which cannot to consume itself that on the place even, and who cease as of that the rich person from go away. All the acts still should be forgotten of benevolence, and to regard calculation as the only mobile human actions. Our traveller better still destroys by facts this theory. "Mitchelstown and its vicinity cruelly suffered, says it, of the failures that attested recently the family of the count de Kingston. He ceased of y to spend per year a revenue of forty thousand books sterl. No example, in Ireland, puts more immediately under the eyes the loss which a province attests that its rich person owners cease living. All lower classes in also suffer, as well at the city as in its vicinity. The distress was so large in Mitchelstown, while I y remained, that so that several hundreds of individuals do not perish of hunger, an assembly of the county started an investigation and opened at the same time a subscription…. It that in a town of five thousand inhabitants will be believed, one found thousand eight hundred people private of food? Of those there were of them thousand two hundreds between the days laborer remained without work and their families; six hundred others were old men, disabled person, widows and children. In addition to these thousand eight hundred people, one still found some thousand two hundreds in the same parish, but out of city, which was also without resources. " (Volume I, CH. 6, p. 142.) We spoke about the misery of the farmers in Ireland, it is also necessary to make known that of the inhabitants of the cities. Us will take for example the town of Limerick, one of more large, of most commercial, and most quickly increasing in importance of Ireland. It is true that one most of the ground on which this city is built, and of its surroundings, belong to the count de Limerick; a man of which Mr. Inglis allows himself to say only one thing, it is that, that is to say that it questioned the large ones or the small ones, the rich person or them
the poor, it forever intended to say a word to the advantage of its seigniory. (Volume I, CH. 13, p. 311.) “It had been announced to me that I would find in Limerick more of misery that in any the cities which I had previously visited. I continued my investigations with all the care I am able, and I am forced to say that they confirmed the most sinister reports/ratios which had been submitted to me. I devoted one day to visit the districts of the city where I were to find more dénûment and of misery. I entered more than forty of these residences of poverty, and until the last hour of my life I will not be able to forget the scenes of abandonment and suffering without hope which arised with me this day. -- Some of these retirements were attics, others of the cellars, others of the huts resting on naked ground, in courses or narrow alleys. I will not speak about their dirtiness, it could not be exceeded in the places only intended to be the receptacle of rubbish; that one appears all that there can be disgusting, and the truth will not be exceeded. In the three quarters those of these poor wretches residences where I entered, there was not neither pieces of furniture, nor ustensils of any kind, with the reserve of one iron pot: not table, not of chairs, not of benches, not bedstead, but two, three, or four small packages of straw, with sometimes one or two old door mats and torn, rolled in a corner, unless they were not then even occupied as a bed. Among the inhabitants, them ones old, were curved, or overpowered by the diseases, others were young, but hâves and thin, and surrounded famished children; it of had sat there on the wet ground, others upright, others which could not rise of their heap of straw. Hardly there was one of these dwellings one I found only one potato. In one I noticed a small opening which led to a part lower. I was made a torch of a piece of paper, to see what it contained. It was a cellar completely obscure, and of twelve feet in square; with the two corners were two heaps of straw; on one had sat a woman
who could not rise, on the other two absolutely naked children were lying, and a haillon thrown on them was useful to them of common cover. But I saw something of worse still: in an almost obscure cellar, on the wet ground I felt my feet to slip, I found a man sat on a little sawdust; it was naked, it did not have even a shirt, but it surrounded its body with a door mat torn and covered of refuse, its thinness would have done it to take for a skeleton, the bones seemed to leave sound body; it died of hunger. -- Instead of forty residences I could about it have visited hundreds; instead of a few hundreds of men, women, children, in this state of dismissal. I could about it have visited thousands. I entered to chance in the alleys, the cabins and the attics, and I do not have no reason to believe that the forty residences which I have visited were more miserable than hundreds of others, with the doors of which I passed. “I live also another species of misery. Individuals about which I spoke were old, crippled or sick; but I live another class of beings which still had the force and the will to gain their subsistence; however they advanced quickly towards this same state of disease and impotence. In fact tisserands had worked for five hours of morning up to eight hours of the evening, and which only gained two and half with four schellings per week. Several of them women and children had; their food was reduced to only one meal, of potatoes pulps, by day. I do not need to explain how the air locked up, work, insufficient food and despair quickly reduced to the same state exhaustion and of impotence to work where I had seen the others.” (Volume I, CH. 13, p. 302-305.) The author takes occasion of this appalling tale to insist on justice, the need for some legal provision in favour of the poor one; on the obligation imposed on all government not to allow that its subjects die of hunger under the disappointing protection of the established order, of not
to allow that the burden of public charity rests all entirety on some people generous of which fortunes are limited, while men of a colossal fortune, men who often, by their cupidity, caused misery appalling of these human creatures, Lord Limerick, for example, conceal themselves there almost absolutely. We will go further him, we will say that the social order in Ireland is primarily bad, and that it must be changed basic in roof. We will say that only it is not a question to give bread of charity to poor famished, but to ensure the existence, the property of any man who has for only wealth it to be able to work, and to make that this wealth is enough for him. We will say that in the social contract which instituted the property, and which gave him guarantees, this right of some ones with higher advantages in the life was not recognized by all, was protected by all the police force, only parce that it was regarded as the best means of increasing the opulence or the ease of all, and consequently to ensure, even with poorest, needs for the life. But this contract is bilateral: if it ensures the rich person the peaceful pleasure of its multitude and its luxury, it is under the condition express train that the poor one which, by its work, creates all wealth, will obtain for this work a whole remuneration. This remuneration must include/understand not only what is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the life, but still some advantage which returns, even for poorest, preferable social life with that of the savage. Thus the poor one acquires by its work, and its respect for the property others, rights to a housing and clean clothing and salubrious; with a rather abundant, varied enough food to maintain the forces and health; much more, it acquires rights to some share with the pleasures of the life, some pleasure attached to the satisfaction of its needs, some safety for the present, some hope for the future, some relaxation in work, some rest given to body, so that the intelligence and the sensitivity can be exerted in their turn. It is only after all these things were
ensured poor on the fruit of its work, which begins right of the rich person. It is only superfluity, after it was provided for the life with all, which forms the revenue of opulence. There was spoliation, there was flight of the rich person on the poor one, when this rich person perceives of a fertile ground and skillfully cultivated a revenue which makes it swim in opulence, while it farmer who gave birth to this revenue, which bathed its sweats all the products of which it is composed, dies of hunger there without being able to touch. We will not continue to follow Mr. Inglis step by step in the remainder of the circuit of Ireland. We will only say briefly, that the only districts where the condition of the farmer appeared comparatively happy to him, are more montueux, most wild, most sterile, those where civilization and the capital penetrated the least, and where competition has the least realized to raise the revenues (volume II, CH. 3, p. 41, CH. 4, p. 61); in others, on the contrary, where cultivated-tion it had made fast progress, where agriculture more improved had been recently introduced, some improvement which one believed to see under the condition of the things, it y in had none under the condition men, because all it surplus of the products had been to enlarge the revenue (volume II, CH. 7, p. 120). Finally in the Protestant province of Ulster, where a population of Scottish, sparing and industrial race, carried some cities to a high degree of prosperity, the subsistence, the true property of the poor R' has any guarantee: one saw, on the contrary, the condition of the labourers of worsening quickly in the fifteen last years course (T. II, CH. 12, p. 220), and if a remedy there is not brought, the same cause of misery will return in few years the condition of the farmers of north from Ireland as deplorable as those of the farmers of the south. Which is this remedy? it is the question which it is impossible not to repeat with a cry of pain and fear, almost in each page of the book of Mr. Inglis. Which is this remedy? it is the question which we propose to examine in one another essay: because there is not a man, some foreigner that it is in Ireland, or all the British empire, which
must wish with heat to tear off million human creatures to a misery, a suffering, one will dégradation, which make the shame of civilization and Christianity. Moreover the contagion extends each day, by the floods Irish emigrants that the need pours on the coasts of Scotland and England; it gains already the Largeone, and soon it would corrupt all the continent, because the causes which had on Ireland a so fatal influence start with their turn to be acted on us. Undoubtedly it is right, it is suitable to think of one legal provision for the poor, or with the contributions that them society must to draw them from the distress. It is suitable to deal with the hospitals, of asylums for childhood, the dispensaries; it is suitable to found savings banks and pawnshops; it is suitable to found schools, to support the worship, to put the helps of the religion at range of all. But all these efforts of charity are only palliatives, when evil and so major and so universal. With what the schools would be used, for those which do not have time with them; the instruction, for those which beg in vain the body work most arduous; savings banks, for those which far from saving do not have enough apples of ground pulps to alleviate their hunger; pawnshops, for those which, far from being able to pawn jewels, do not have even a bench on which to sit down, a bowl of drink to eat their soup, a roll of material to cover their nudity? Not, they is front in the organization of society which should be dug; it is the relation between the rich person and the unskilled labourer which should be reached; it is the great contract on which primarily the human society the contract between the owner and the farmer, that puts back should be brought back at its true bases, so that that who, by his work, fact food the whole nation, is not private of his right to the life; so that the peasant happy and is ensured of his existence in country; so that its condition, in our progressive civilization, is not infinitely worse than it was it at décriés times of feudality.
SIXTH ESSAY.
CONDITION OF THE FARMERS IN TUSCANY.

To know the condition of the farmers, and the manner they are affected by progress of the territorial wealth, we believed to have not to hold us with the reasoning only, not to conclude from the principles to the consequences, but on the contrary to study the special facts, to question the nations the most advanced in civilization and wealth, to ask with their best observers, with those which are influenced by the systematic mind, which is really the state of peasants on their premises, and of this state to raise us with the causes which out due to produce it. We would like it is true to have met a greater number of works such as that of Mr. Inglis; we would like to be able to gather tables also scrupulously true, such detailed, on the life of the classes industrial, in the various systems of economic administration and rural, and in the various countries of Europe. Indeed we do not miss, for all the countries which have some social importance, of tables of figures, we do not miss not precis which represent us the value of the imports and exports, for each region, for each city. We do not miss reports/ratios on the activity of the trade or that of manufactures. Just like, for another kind of research, we do not miss books and newspapers which comb us, of country in country, life of the society peoples, and pleasures or defects of opulence; but most important enters the national features
is there never; in almost any of these books one us the
domestic life of the common peoples showed; null one leaves
our did not give the inventory of their small fortune, one did
not make known to us their usual food, theirs pleasures and
their work. However, under the influence even perhaps the
only chrematistic one, it has no fact more important there to
know than the domestic life of the great number; because it is
it which determines the domestic consumption. The numerical
proportion of the rich person with the poor one, that enters
various conditions, and yearly consumption of each condition,
should be among the first data with to join together in
statistics; because they are among those which most
immediately affect the reproduction of wealth. The table
which we presented of the Irish population leave in the heart a
cruel suffering, a burning desire to produce remedy there; but
this remedy would be easier to disentangle if we were lit by a
greater number of comparisons, if we could consult the
practical experience several other people. We studied with
several recoveries, by our own eyes and in various countries,
the state of the peasants; but we feel well that observations
made on a journey are not enough to really penetrate in the
interior of the families of poor. A length is needed stay near
them, a friction, day laborer and even one discussion of
interests which cross, to study them thoroughly. Also we did
not believe to be able to supplement the table of which us felt
the need that for the condition of the peasant Tuscan, or rather
still for that of the peasant of the valley of Nievole. We have
in this province a quite small heritage, it is truth; it however
put to us with range to better know some the peasant that
possessions somewhat wider than we also have in Savoy and
Switzerland. We are indeed, in Tuscany, associated the
peasant, who does not have interest of us nothing to hide;
while the farmer and it my-nouvrier, in Switzerland and
Savoy, see in the owner an adversary with which they believe
duty to make attack of
smoothness. Besides we have another reason to trace here a draft of the condition of the peasants Tuscan; it is that us were highly struck reports/ratios which exist between them and Irishmen; so that we feel into same time and the soft hope which the happiness which enjoy them peasants Tuscan can be put at range of the Irishmen, and terror, on the contrary, that in the name of the advances in knowledge, great principles of the political economy, increase in product Net, one does not reduce Tuscan to the state of Irishman; because there is, in this moment, something of shaken and dubious in the economic system of Tuscany, like all Europe. The extraordinary encouragement given to the production, during thirty years of war universal, broke balance between consumption and production, and threatened of obstruction all the markets. All the owners are everywhere in suffering; each one is especially dissatisfied with the system that it practises, and to which it allots its losses; in Tuscany in particular, men endowed with as many patriotism than lights, make an effort to introduce into the agriculture of the more improved methods, but they speak also to reform it the contract which binds them with the farmer; while in our eyes of the modifications well light with the system which one follows today suffraient to remove with the peasant Tuscan all the guarantees that gives him the use, and to make him lose all softnesses at the same time of an existence where it tastes happiness and which does it charm country. Tuscan, like the Irishmen, are endowed with sharp imagination, of a prompt spirit and brilliance, which bursts especially in distributed of the man of the people. In one and the other country, the race is remarkably beautiful. One does not traverse not markets or of Tuscany or Ireland without being struck meeting of a great number of men or women that a sculptor or a painter would take with eagerness for models. The inhabitants of these two countries join to much broadmindedness a great kindness of heart, one eagerness to oblige and to make themselves pleasant, a reception
respectful at the same time as cherishing, a generosity, who on behalf of poor is often admirable, to divide its narrow necessary with those which suffer or which are more miserable than him, and a liberality not less large to support their Church. The two people are strongly attaches with the catholic faith; but the Church is still extremely rich in Tuscany, while in Ireland it was stripped of all its goods. The voluntary contributions which the clergy raises are however hardly less abundant in one from these two country that in the other, because clergy of Tuscany east infinitely more, than it still includes/understands some orders beggars, and that it takes, in addition to the accidental one and masses, very considerable sums for the decoration of churches and the splendour of their festivals. In one and other country, perhaps one could observe that one put the clergy in one false position when or obliged to request the financial aid thus the faithful ones, and that one decreased by-there the moral influence what should exert the religion. In one and other country, indeed, of great crimes are made by men who did not abjure any religious feeling; the homicide especially is not rare there, and each one, finding in itself a frightening provision with impassioned transports, is so lenient for the anger of the others that the murderer y excites less horror than of pity. There exists many other relationship between Tuscany and Ireland, and a surface observer could believe both countries reduced to the same condition. Not only, indeed, the population is very considerable in one and the other, but it overflows. Commercial and manufacturing industry only open its workshops to him only in some districts; while, in others, no work is to him offered, if it is not that of the fields. In one and other country one affirm, workmen of the cities, which they never think of the following day, and that they spend regularly, Sunday, all what they gained in the week. No legal provision is not ensured the extreme indigence, not more in Tuscany that in Ireland: also the places are covered beggars
in rags which request alms by ensuring that they suffer hunger. However the hospitals are liberally open, in Tuscany, with accidental miseries of humanity, with the patients, with the found children, foolish, and their number does not increase. It is that there is between the two country this essential difference: misery pursues unceasingly, in Ireland, any man dedicated to work; in Tuscany, misery of the inhabitant of the cities is the only one who is real; that campaigns enjoys on the contrary, in fortune more narrow it is true, of all satisfaction, all safety, of all the interest in the life, that a work proportionally and constantly rewarded can ensure poor. It is a model worthy of study, it is a soft table of variety, abundance and peace, on which there is pleasure to put back the eyes. One distinguishes, in Tuscany, three classes of farmers, who are known under the names 'of affittuari', 'livellari' and 'mez-zaiuoli'. The 'affittuari' are the farmers who, as in France, in England and in all the other countries, have a lease with term for a limited number of years, during which they are absolute masters of their culture, with the help of a revenue fix that they pay the owner; with the renewal of their lease, they have to battle against the owner, for not to increase the annual rent or to reduce it. These periodic combat, with the approach of which the farmer takes more with the ground than a temporary and short interest, or even wishes that the signs of prosperity there are not recognized who would authorize to increase his revenue, made push back the farming lease of any system of agriculture resting on the product of the trees and shrubs. Any plots of land planted olive-trees and vines would be undoubtedly ruined by the farmer. Tuscany is a country of hills, primarily clean with the olive-tree, the mulberry tree and the vine; and in all the hills where agricultural industry obtained successes, one does not see farmers or 'affittuari'; but one meets some in the flat rich person of the valley of Nievole, and especially of Pistoiais, though they are planted mulberry trees and of VI
gnes, because, in these wet grounds, the product of trees, abundant in quantity, inferior in quality, imports much less with the owner and the farmer that that of cereals. One also meets some in all the depopulated part from Tuscany; the farmer awaiting his profit especially there of the economy which it can make on human work, is by improvement of the instruments of tilling, is by the abandonment of any agricultural industry which requires care meticulous. The farming lease, in Tuscany like elsewhere, go with the field crop. It drives out ground the small farmers, and at the same time it strips it trees and shrubs which make its ornament and its apparent wealth. farming lease, in the districts of Tuscany where it is common, also created a fourth unknown class of farmers in all the others, the 'pigionali', the days laborer who take with rent (pigione) a thatched cottage: those do not have not ground with them, they are put at the service of the farmer in the time of the press of work, and plunders live during the remainder of the year, often forcing the farmer to defend with blows of rifle its harvests, its fruits and the sheet of its mulberry trees. Misery, the precarious existence, immorality and hostility towards the social order, which we announced at the 'cottagers' of the British empire, find all at the 'pigionali' of Tuscany, and for the same causes. The second class of the farmers Tuscan is that of 'livellari', or owners burdened with a perpetual revenue. 'livello', the emphyteutic lease, seems initially only one modification of the farming lease; but it differs from it primarily by its character of perpetuity. It transfers, of the master of ground with its farmer, all the guarantees of the property, all its pleasures, all love of the master, all the zeal who ensures society that the holder of the ground will not slacken himself not in its efforts to draw from the ground what it can to return. It was the large-duke Pierre Léopold who increased considerably the number of the 'livellari', by obliging the Church to almost alienate all its goods under this condition. It guaranteed, indeed, with the pious corporations, a revenue in
variable, and it was all that one could wish of better for them; while it returned to all the goods which had been held in 'mortmain' the eye and affection of the master, without which the appropriation of the grounds ceases being an advantage for society. The simultaneity with which this measurement was applied to very vast extended from ground was cause of the only disadvantage that one had to reproach him. The emphyteutic lease must create farmers, peasants owners it is his goal and its high utility. All the peasants who undertook themselves of 'livelli' proportioned with the work which them family could to achieve, with the fruits which it could consume, are happy and thriving. These peasants exchange theirs directly sweats with the ground; they sow and they collect for themselves: it is only the surplus of their products which they carry at the markets to pay their perpetual revenue; years of prosperity for the agriculture, during which products were sold at triple and quadruple prices of it that they are today, allowed them to capitalize them work, to continue their clearings, to change into as many gardens the batches of ground which fell to them in division, and to increase the value so much by it, that a ground subjected to a perpetual revenue which had been estimated equal to its entirety tenant farming is often sold for more, of half, of what would be worth a free ground. Since them bad weathers came, that the food products have inordinately lowered price, the 'livellari' undoubtedly suffer, because it is necessary that they sell a much greater part of their collect to pay their revenue; but this revenue is always paid, so that the pious corporations did not lose anything; never they thought of giving up to them 'livello', never they do not have suffered the pressures from misery: while working they have lived, they were maintained independent. Unfortunately of others that peasants also took 'livelli'. The fast increase in the value of the food products made appear the advantageous speculation; capitalists greedily seized the occasion to acquire an extent of for the third time
rain extremely higher than the value of the capital they had. That which acquires a 'livello' pay only with the owner, as 'laudemio' and like guarantee of the funds who is entrusted to him, 15 percent of his value, or five times revenue, the annual gun. There is undoubtedly a great advantage to return the peasants owners, without forcing them to strip for that it all their small economies, without breadth-turning culture of the ground the capital with which they must to put forward. In the countries on the contrary where one put on sale a great mass of national goods, one really has withdrawn from agriculture all the value for which these funds were sold. The capital, indeed, that farmers, owners or speculators withdrew, for to make their purchases, from some useful society, passes to the government which dissipates it for the war or prodigalities of administration. But when in Tuscany the good market of grounds offered to 'livello' engaged of the capitalists has to go into this speculation intended for peasants, these capitalists thought of observing any proportion between the extent of ground of which they took care, and forces it of their family for to cultivate, or numbers it mouths of which it was composed to eat the fruits of them. More they could obtain ground, the more they could devote work to this ground, the more they could draw some from fruits, and more they were content. Such an amount of that the food products were maintained at a high price, their speculation succeeds. They took days laborer or servants to cultivate their 'livelli'; they carried to the market the most food products than they could, currency with their product to not pay only their annual gun, but also all their expenses of culture; they made all their industry dependent on the trade; and as they worked of all their capacity to encumber markets, that their consumption did not increase not with their production, they were soon late for the payment of their gun, embarrassed to do them annual advances of the culture, and all the more constrained as their condition approached more that of the gentlemen. The 'livellari' not peasants are indeed owners obé-
abstr., which suffers always cruelly from the fall of the price of food products, and which not living ground, but of the sale of the products of the soil, continue until their final ruin of expenditure which they cannot reduce when their revenue decreases. Many of these 'livellari', or speculators, or gentlemen, gave themselves their grounds to be cultivated with 'mezzaiuoli'. It is the third class of the farmers Tuscan, and that on which we wish to fix the attention especially because the contract which constitutes the 'mezzaiuolo' or sharecropper is so much more common, that very other is not considered in country that like an exception. The owner entrusts to sharecropper a house and a smallholding already in a state of influence with the cattle and the agricultural capital necessary to do them to be worth. In the districts where agriculture is looked after, in the valley of Nievole especially, this smallholding does not pass in extended ten arpents. The sharecropper commits himself in return carrying out without expenses, with its family, all work of the ground and to be satisfied, instead of wages, of half of harvests, while it will consign other half to the owner. This convention is often the object of a contract, to specify certain royalties and certain services to which the sharecropper oblige; however differences between the obligations of one and those of the other are tiny; the use also regulates all these contracts; it compensates for the stipulations which do not have been expressed, and the master who would like to deviate from the use, which would require more than its neighbor, which would take for base another thing that the equal division of harvests, would go so much odious, it would be so sure to be able to find of honest sharecropper man, that the contract of all him sharecroppers can be regarded as identical at least in each province, and which it never gives place to any competition between the peasants who seek to place themselves, with no offer to work the ground at better price one than the other. It is the fate of these sharecroppers whom it is a question of comparing with that of the other peasants of Europe; it is happiness and
safety that the culture with half fruits succeeded in guaranteeing to the class of men whom, not only, makes all the hardest agricultural work, but which still does not have a property layer and almost not of personal estate. That peasants owners live in general in larger abundance, one must expect it by the fact alone which they are owners; that the farmers can themselves thrive more, we should not be surprised for it, because to take a ground with farm it should be had a capital that does not have the sharecropper; but it be useless to wish that the sharecropper that is to say more rich person, since nobody asks for the division of goods; what it is important us to know, it is at which point its only wealth, work, benefits its happiness, by comparison with those which, just as, have only theirs to him arm for any wealth. The sharecropper Tuscan receives hands of nature all its subsistence; he does not have almost no need for money, he does not have almost any payment to make; he does not realize an existence taxes, because they all are the responsibility of the owners; and like it nothing to disentangle forever with government, he is to him in general strong attache. It does not have more interests to disentangle with the Church, all subsidies that it him pay are voluntary. Strong a long time ago that the dîme is abolished in Tuscany, though its name remains still to indicate some light royalties and invariable with which certain funds are burdened. All them properties of the Church are in ground goods, or rather still in perpetual revenues on ground goods which cannot to give place to any dispute. The sharecropper finally, in its relations with its owner, is regarded as one associated in community of interest, and it does not have almost anything with to discuss with him; the use fixed its rights invariably and its obligations; its contract could admittedly be broken each year for bad conduct of its share, but the experience learned with any owner that it always loses with to return a peasant, while it can hardly gain, because no new peasant will give him more half of
harvests; no it will be able to ask more. Also it sharecropper
lives on his smallholding as on his heritage, the magnet of
affection, working to improve it unceasingly, entrusting in the
future, and currency although its fields will be worked after
him by his/her children and children of its children. Indeed,
the greatest number of sharecroppers live of generation in
generation on the same ground: they know it in detail with a
precision that the feeling alone of the property can give. The
hills of the valley of Nievo are planted olive-trees, vines,
mulberry trees, fig trees, fruit trees of any kind, and one
cultivates with their foot wheat, more still to maintain the
clean ground and piece of furniture, that for the profit which
the corn can return. Fields raised in terraces the ones above
the others often do not have more four feet of width, but there
is not of them one of which the sharecropper the character did
not study to some extent. This one is dryness, that one cold
and wet; here the ground is deep, there it is only one crust
which covers hardly the rock; the wheat thrives better on one,
rye on the other; here it would be sorrow lost to sow corn of
Turkey, elsewhere the ground refuses with broad beans and
the lupins, further the flax will riendra with wonder, and the
edge of this brook will be specific to hemp: thus one learns
from the sharecropper, with astonishment, that in a space of
ten arpents, ground, aspects and the slope of the ground,
present more variety than a farm rich person cannot any as a
General distinguish in a farm from five hundred acres extent.
It is that the last feels that it is there only of passage, that
moreover it must act by general rules and neglect the details.
But the sharecropper, with the experience of passed, felt its
intelligence waked up by the interest and the affection to
become best observers and with all the future in front of him
it does not only think of him, but with his/her children and
with its grandchildren. Also when it plants the olive-tree, tree
secular, and that it spares at the bottom of the hollow that it
fact for him a flow with water which could him to harm, it
studies all the layers of the ground which it is called to smash.
While the happy condition of the sharecropper fastener with ground, and gives it for object to its affections, its hopes and its studies, this condition did not almost leave any object of dispute between him and the other men. Before the reform from this year, laws on the transmission of the property were extremely bad in Tuscany; one never bought with safety, one was never with the shelter of the oustings; the women, the minors, the former creditors, the Church, had rights which were contradicted, which was prescribed according to different rules, and which could still be unceasingly upset by 'graces' of the sovereign or 'consulted', species of council and court which acted as its name. This one removed with administration of its inheritance, and the other alienation good substituted for his/her children allowed; it assigned with a third of food on a good dotal that a husband had committed himself making intact, and always it put its arbitrary decision, its 'motu landlord', with the place of the laws. From there was born an extraordinary number of lawsuit between all the owners, and a spirit of baffle who made that few people reddened to form a request opposite with equity. But the sharecropper has the advantages property without the disadvantage of defending it. It is with owner that with the ground the war belongs; for him it lives in peace with all its neighbors: it does not have in their connection any reason of competition or distrust: it preserves the good harmony with them, like its master with the tax department and the Church: he sells little, he buys little, he touches little money, but nobody does not ask any him. One often spoke about the character soft and benevolent of Tuscan, but one did not notice enough the cause which the most contributed to preserve this softness; it is that which withdrew all the farmers, formant more of the three quarters of the population, with almost all occasion of quarrel. When one deviates from main road and the cities, and that one climbs the hills of the valley of Nievole, one meets with each step of small paths which, whirling between the olive-trees and the vines, are never furrowed by the wheels, and
are accessible only to horses of mountain charged with their bldg. Along these paths, to each step hundred, one finds on the reverse of some flowered croup small house which presents the soft image of industry amply rewarded, of the affection of the man for the ground, abundance and peace. This house, built in good walls, with lime and cement, always at least a stage has, sometimes two, above the ground floor. More often one finds at this ground floor the kitchen, a cattle shed for two animals with horns, and the store takes its name, 'tinaia', of the large tanks (tini) where one makes ferment it wine, without subjecting it to the press: it is there that the sharecropper lock up under key its barrels, its oil and its corn. Almost always it still has a hangar supported against the house, so that it can work there with cover to mend its tools, or to chop fodder for its cattle. With the first and on the second floor are two, three, and often four rooms with bed: the windows have only shutters, they are without panes, but it should be also remembered that the winter is without bragged. Most roomy and the best ventilated one of these rooms is in general intended by the sharecropper, during the months of May and of June, with the education of the worms with silk; the large ones trunks to lock up the clothes and the linen, and some chairs of wood, are the principal pieces of furniture of these rooms; but a new wife always brings her convenient there of drink walnut tree. The beds are without curtains, without bed valance; but on each one, in addition to good a guard-straw filled of elastic straw of corn of Turkey, or sees one or two mattresses out of wool, or, at poorest, in packing, one good pricked cover, of cloths of strong fabric of hemp, and on the best bed of the family, a carpet of waste silk that one spreads out the feastdays. There is chimney only with cook: in the same part one always finds the large one count of wood where the family dines, with its benches; the large one case, which is used at the same time as cupboard to preserve it bread and provisions, and of kneader; a set enough complete and very little expensive of pots, dishes and plates.
out of terra cotta; one or two lamps of brass, a weight with Roman, and at least two red copper jugs to draw and to preserve water. All the linen and all the working clothes of the family have been slipped by the women of the house. These clothes, so much for the men that for the women, are fabric which they name 'mezza lana' if it is thick, 'mola' if it is light. The screen is a large wire or of hemp or packings, the filling is of wool one of cotton; it is dyed by the same ones country-women who spun it. One would appear oneself how much with difficulty, by an assiduous work, the country-women can accumulate and of fabric and 'mezza lana'; how much cloths are with joint filing; how much each member of the family has shirts, jackets, trousers, underskirts and dresses. To render comprehensible it, we join in notes a part inventory of the family of peasants whom we know best; it is neither among poorest nor among richer, and it lives happy by its work on half harvests of less than ten arpents of ground (1). All these

(1) Inventory of the trousseau of Jeanne, girl of Valente Papini, with its marriage with Giovacchino Landi, on April 29, 1835, in Porta Vecchia, close Pescia. 28 shirts, 3 waste silk dresses color, 4 dresses of silk foil color, 7 dresses of Indian or fabric of colonist, 2 dresses of work of winter (mezza lana), 3 dresses and underskirts of work of been (mola), 3 white skirts, 5 aprons of painted fabric, 1 black silk apron, 1 apron of black merino, 9 aprons of work (mola) color, 4 white handkerchiefs, 8 handkerchiefs color, 3 silk handkerchiefs, 2 embroidered veils and 1 tulle veil, 3 towels, 14 pairs of bottom, 2 hats, one of felt, the other of fine straw,
fabrics and these fabrics which it has could, us says one, being manufactured with cheaper in manufactures, with sophisticated machines; we agree on it, but what would make the women of the peasants then? What makes they in Ireland? What does those of the English days laborer? Nothing; absolutely nothing; the day laborer must maintain them alone with him by its wages: and it is this forced idleness of half of the population that one can assign like one of the great causes misery of the proletarians. It is not that the women of the peasants Tuscan do not work that with their stopper rod: all works in one Tuscan house, all works without stitchers, inspectors, without monitoring of any kind; because each one works for itself and his, each one works with love and all the intelligence of which it is able. In each one of these small smallholdings of the valley of Nievole, two young people heifers are nourished constantly with the cattle shed; one does not see however meadows there, not artificial fodder, not of pastures; all the grass that these heifers eat must be collected in the fields which one unceasingly cleans of all parasitic plants, in the ditches, and along the walls almost perpendicular of grasses (cigli) which support hills. The women and the children of the family are occupied each day to conceal this grass with the other cultures, 9 gold cameos, 2 earrings out of gold, 1 chain with two piastres Roman, 1 coral collar with its gold cross. This wife had had 50 ecus of dowry; including 20 paid currency, and it remain in the long term, with two ecus per year. The ecu of Tuscany is worth 6 frank. All the richer wives have moreover 'the jacket di seta', the large dress of toilet, of silk, which they carry only four or five times in their life. The most common dowry for the country-women, in the remainder of Tuscany, where the smallholdings are larger, is of 100 ecus, 600 frank. The men do not have a trousseau; the husband while marrying did not have who 14 shirts and the remainder in proportion. He has yet now only 13 pairs of cloths, while in the family of his wife there are 30 pairs of them.
to chop it with straw before giving it to the cattle. In the family that I have under the eyes, and which lives under the same one roof that me, the father and the mother are still young people; they have three ten year old children, seven years and fifteen months; also they have been obliged to take a small maidservant of countryside that they nourish, and to which they give a little more than two frank per month of wages. It is fourteen years old; it is it which, with the mother, nourishes the heifers, makes the kitchen, slips by, and made detergents of the house of the masters. The two wire are glorious to work all during the day with their father; the elder one, to ten years, is already intelligent and skilful; it learned from his father reason of all that it does, and its young experience is added to that of its predecessors; it has fun and rests by the variety of its occupations, and it grows in force and intelligence, while earning already fully its living by its activity. The variety, freedom and the hope, are indeed the charm and the support of the agricultural work, for the father and the mother, as for the children. Work starts with the first paddle of the day, and finishes only when the darkness covers already ground. But this work is directed only by the will and the intelligence of that which carries out it; it is always dependent in thought of this one with the result that it expects some for itself and for his/her children. It changes each day, and more often several times in the day. There are undoubtedly some skill of the hand, a regularity and an ease in same work, which is born from the practice, and which is lost when one makes in turn a great number of works; but this very body advantage more than is compensated by the development intelligence, when all movements of bodies are the result of the attention and the will. There is for health, the beauty of the race, an extraordinary advantage to develop all the muscles in turn, instead of to always tire all the day the same ones, and to start again the every following day. It is recognized that, in some measure, a work rests of another almost as well as rest. Finally it is of this variety that one sees being born in life of the poor sharecropper an interest, a recreation constant.
In the other countries the unskilled labourer is so constantly pressed by the need, which one holds no account for him recreation or trouble of its work, which it would not dare not even to confess that the monotony of this one annoys it. However it is recreation or trouble which depend the pleasure, or tires it life; and should measure to us the happiness of poor, well as much by the recreation or the trouble that it attests, which by the food of which it nourishes. While following the calendar of the sharecropper Tuscan, we will judge better of this variety of work, the art with which they are distributed in every season of the year, of the mixture exercises which require force with those which require the address, and of the relaxation which the man attests of pains while passing from the ones with the others. In the three first month of the year, January, February and March, principal work of the farmer Tuscan is to cut and raise the vine, work of address and intelligence, where each blow of billhook must be reasoned, and which cannot be abandoned with hands mercenaries without involving the ruin quickly of vine. The sharecropper must still collect olives, that is to say while shaking trees, work which requires as much care that of address not to spoil following harvest, that is to say in raising olives by ground; work of patience and attention all the more painful, the grass in which it is necessary to seek is impregnated of frozen water. It takes finally time in time to break these olives with the press, and this work, which continue the night like the day, requires a great deployment of muscular force. In May and April, the peasant plows with the spade and sows all the fields intended for corn of Turkey, with African millet (holcus sorgum), with chick-peas, beans, with the lenses; it plows with the vineyard plough the foot of the vines and the foot of the olive-trees, which it smokes at the same time, but it work, which requires a main muscular effort, is intermingled of a work of address, to cut the olive-trees, to remove it to them deadwood, domestic and to direct the young growths which renou-
will velleront the damaged branches; to prune into same time the chestnuts which cover all the croup of the mountains. July and June is intended especially for harvest hay and with that of corn; but at the same time the house of the peasant is filled by the worms with silk which grow and which is famished. They should be looked after without slackening the night like the day, to delicately transport them plait on the other, as their litter warms up, by taking them one by one with the hand; it is finally necessary to strip the mulberry trees of theirs sheets, without harming the tree which carried them. At the same time harvests of the fruits start; as they are gathered it is necessary to carry them to the market, or to dry them for provision of winter. These harvests continue during all them following months, almost until the end of the year. As of the second week of July however, at once that the harvests have been completed, it was necessary to start again to plow the ground with dig to again sow it out of corn. In the same one month and the following the sharecroppers gather them in turn ones at the others to beat on the surface discovered the grain that they have just collected. Several hours before the day they cut the straw, and they build to mulch it, not holding that ears to subject them to the plague, during more great heat of a sun of August. They always gather in a sufficient number so that all the corn of a smallholding of hill can be beaten, winnowed and be measured in the course of the day. But this day is for them merriest of the year: the 'will battitura' is the festival of the countryside; gaité of work supports his courage and his force to them; the sharecroppers receive and their assistance and their hospitality return in turn; their food is then abundant and succulent; meat and the good wine circulate on the table which they draw up in the open air, and often the evening ends in the dance. In the days of interval between the reciprocal invitations, the sharecropper turns over with the work of the spade, which is less merry and almost also tiring. It is the only one for which it agrees one hour of rest in the middle of the day.
In September, the peasant Tuscan collects corn of Turkey, and all the seeds which it sowed in spring; it tears off also hemp; for two months it had torn off flax. Preparation of the filamentous plants, and the écossage seeds, call it with sedentary occupations that it reserve for the days of rain. In the same month it cleans all the ditches which surround each field, and it fattens vines with the ground that it withdraws some: at the same time it makes one second review of the forests of chestnuts, to disbud them after the sap of August. October is filled by the vintage and the manufacture of the wine; in this month begin also the harvest of the sweet chestnuts, which is continued during the following, and their desiccation by a slow fire, with means which one then reduces them in flour which is preserved all the year. At the same time the sharecropper starts with to sow its wheat with the hoe, and it continues this work until end of December. We said it, the peasant Tuscan consumes itself with its family half of harvests which it gives birth to: all with more it makes some exchanges with the owner; it him give part of its half of oil and wine, in exchange against the Sunday portion of the grain crops: too it has to sell little and to buy little, and it can achieve almost all its work of the year without touching money; however fruits, some vegetables, silk, its best wine and most of its oil, are intended to be sold; while it generally buys wood which supports its vines, and that animals with horns which it fattens in its cattle shed are also for him an object of trade. It is thus invited to attend the markets; it is rare that it y the week returns at least once: undoubtedly it loses there much time, if one must call lost all the time that the man employs in the trade of the men, all that which it devotes to learn how to know them and to join with their feelings. Other days of slackening are spared by the religion with peasant: any work which is not necessary is suspended
Sunday and feastdays; and one knows that in Italy they are numerous: one does not seek there to confuse them with the Sabbath of the Hebrews, but in the spirit of charity of Christianity, one requires of them to ensure poor relaxations, and some mixture of gaîté in its hard life. Also part of these days only is occupied by divine service, but of much the greatest part remains free, though the religion also influences the distribution of their hours. Each church in its turn has its saint and his vogue, where the inhabitants of the campaigns and the city go in press, less to receive the blessing with the church that for to be gathered. The galantry itself has its share in the long walks which young people go for to visit churches of the distant villages. It is in these feastdays that the luxury of the people is spread; the peasant waits until heat of the been is well advanced, before leaving the coat who covers his good dress with cloth, because it is well ease to show with its neighbors whom it has one and the other. country-women wear waste silk dresses, and sometimes of pure silk, while their head is decorated of a white veil; the artist does not traverse these vogues without being struck beauty that it meets there almost with each step; the true economist aspect of happiness will be still struck more than present all this population. The peasant Tuscan is sober, but its food is healthy and varied: its base is an excellent wheat bread, brown, but pure of sound and any mixture. Most skilful among peasants of the hills recognized that the wheat, though it expensive of all the grains, is that which turns it to them better on account, which, for the same price, contains more of nutritive subsistence; also they sow it preferably for their own use; but when their ground requires some other cereal species, they nourish that that they collect: thus those of the plain make use in turn méteil and rye, corn of Turkey, beans, chick-peas and of the African millet (the kouskoussou of the Arabs): the peasants of the hill make of it also use occasionally,
as well as of the sweet chestnut flour. The latter, thus that the flour of corn of Turkey, is in general reserved for the winter. One prepares some then under the name of 'pollenta', one left cold or thick paste which is eaten hot, without no seasoning. In the bad season, indeed, it agrarian needs especially a hot food. He does not make whereas two meals per day; at ten o'clock in the morning it eat its pollenta, at the entry of the night it eats soup, then bread with some seasoning (companatico). In been it makes three meals, at eight hours, one hour, and the evening, but it lights fire only once per day, for sound to dine, which is composed of soup, then on a dish or meat salted, or of dry fish, or beans, or pastures, that it eat with bread. The salted meat enters only for one quite tiny quantity in this ordinary, because it estimates that forty pig pounds salted by individual are enough amply with its provision of the year: he puts some twice per week a small piece in its soup. Sunday it always has on its table a fresh meat dish, but a piece which do not weigh that a book or a book and half, is enough has all family, some many that it is. One should not forget that the peasant Tuscan collects olive oil in general for its use: it makes use of it, to not only light, but to season all the plants which it prepares for its table, and which becomes thus much tastier and more nutritive (1). To lunch it eats bread, and sometimes cheese or fruits; with supper of the bread and salad. Its drink compose of the lower wine of the country, and low alcoholic wine or nasty wine made water fermented on the marc of the grape. It holds however always somewhat of its best wine for the day where it will beat its grain, and for some festivals which are celebrated in family. It estimates at ten low alcoholic wine barrels per year (approximately five hundred bottles) and with five wheat bags (approximately

(1) The peasants of France, Switzerland and Savoy, collect in the same way the nut oil. If there were country truths in British Isles, they would cultivate the oleaginous plants to make the same use of it.
thousand bread pounds) the portion necessary for a made man. Let us summarize the pleasures which are ensured the peasant Tuscan by the contract of sharecropper; its work is varied, it is free, it is supported by the interest and the hope, it is sufficiently intermingled with rest and relaxations; its dwelling is healthy, dries, ventilated, and sufficiently vast and convenient; it is well and properly lying; its clothing is suitable for work, and some pleasures of vanity get to him, some satisfaction for the taste of elegance feastdays: its food healthy, abundant and is varied, and it preserves with the Tuscan race advantages of strength and beauty, who disappear, at a distance of few miles, in the places where the peasant is maintained in misery (1). Such are them physical conditions of the existence of poor, such are them human rights which works, rights of which it is in any country as unjust as ill-advised to deprive it. But any man has right also to a intellectual life: it is a consequence of faculties with which its creator endowed. The peasant Tuscan does not have any not disinherited. He shows himself highly sensitive to pleasures of art, with the attraction of the beauty for imagination. Above all it can find pleasure in the beauty of its country. In the hills of the valley of Nievole one finds in front each house the surface to beat the corn, which has seldom more from 25 to 30 square measuring apparatuses: it is generally only space of level which one meets in all the smallholding. Into same time it is a terrace which dominates the plains and the valley, and from where the sight extends on a which charms country. Almost never I stopped there to admire it, without the sharecropper being come to enjoy my admiration, and to indicate finger to me of beauties which it believed capacity me to have escaped. On this surface are often planted, leaned against the house, an orange tree, a lemon tree, some jasmines, sometimes even the gaga (mimosa nilotica), whose perfume is if suave. Young people (1) The division granted to the peasant lucquois is much more unfavourable, also the race is much less beautiful.
peasants often decorate flowers their hats; they surround garlands of flowers small oratory of the corner of the way, and if they are in love they present each day one bunch of flowers to their mistress. But in their granting imagination, perhaps refuses to them T one developments of the intelligence? It is true, very little of peasants can read, and the instruction that one does not obtain that by the books their residence in general foreign, let us not be too prompt however to believe that the reading is only manner of communicating and of clarifying the thoughts; let us not forget either slowness, the sluggishness of mind, which seem to increase in those for which the meditation is one rare exercise, with the tiredness which causes the conventional use signs of the word; let us listen to lira without prevention it peasant, the man of the people, and let us judge according to his accent if this reading wakes up in him major thoughts or emotions; let us seek to ensure us if it is in a position to exert its critical on what it reads, if on the contrary the printed paper form does not appear to him not a revelation of beings higher than him, to which its reason must be subjected. Between the good and bad lesson that the faculty of reading met to its range, it is more than doubtful today that the first prevail; its readings perhaps will act on its sensitivity or its imagination, seldom on its intelligence. With the remainder the peasant Tuscan is with sound tower subjected to this action. He is little of families in whom he is not an individual or intended for the priesthood, or endowed by some other chance with an education well-read woman. That one, in the evenings of winter, is the reader of the domestic circle. After the family jointly recited the rosary, it takes its book; it is generally the Gospel, or of the extracts crowned history, or some life of the saints; when it finished starts again it, because the peasants, like the children, like the stories which they know already, and do not include/understand although what is not new for them. The peasant Tuscan is called besides with a exercise more usual of its spirit by its religious practices: they are not perhaps always directed with prudence, with me
sour, but at least they are followed with much regularity; each day one hears the family gathered to recite with devotion its prayers, under the direction of its chief; each Sunday any individual in age of reason attends the mass, and generally with preaches, where it receives an instruction on its duties; each one, about, in the Advent or the Lent, a course of sermons follows, where the bases of the religion are brought back under its eyes; each one, at least two or three times per year, returns to the court confession to make it an examination of its conscience. Let us admit that the priest is not always worthy of its functions, that its reason is not always lit, or that its moral teaching does not rest on right bases, it is less certain than each individual is called regularly with a moral and intellectual exercise of his best faculties, than it is subjected to an action constant which must spiritualize it. One would not have to go to seek to well far find populations whole to which the ideas of the invisible world are never presented, or which does not give any attention to them. It is easy to decide which will be the noblest creature, of that which knows only its material existence and which thinks only of matter, or from that which learned how to feel that it had one heart. The language of the peasant Tuscan is almost the same one as that of the man of good society, so that no patois raises barrier between the various conditions; the communication ideas becomes faster and more usual about it, poetry main road itself is a pleasure put at the range of the man of the people, like that which received an education distinguished. More than one traveller noticed how much them large poets who make the glory of Italy are known, are recited, are sung by men who cannot read; much more, the taste of the improvisation in worms is general among the common peoples: I will not answer of the correction grammatical of the worms which I intend to improvise in the streets, I will even acknowledge as I noticed it much more villein rate/rhythm with which one recites them, which feel to them.
Who can however deny the intellectual culture of people at which the taste of the improvisation in worms is universally spread? Finally the theatre is for the people Tuscan a school of poetry, of language and mythology. Peasants of the valley of Nievole attend the spectacle the days of celebrated, in been, of nine at eleven o'clock in the evening: their admission hardly costs them that five grounds of France. Alfieri is their author of predilection; all the history of Atrides is familiar with these men who cannot read, and which will require of this austere poet a relaxation of their hard work. Perhaps but, one, they will say are-there the pleasures, the luxury spirit; before occupying itself some it would have to be known if the peasants learned what is necessary for them, agricultural science. If we consult the agronomists Tuscan, they will speak to us their prejudices, of their ignorance. The prejudices are often the anchor of safety of society, they slow down innovations whose theorists seldom envisaged all them consequences; the ignorance of the books is perhaps also one favour that they have on their masters. Those admire on word the sophisticated agriculture of the ultramontanes, who is that in some firm models; but agriculture commune, universal agriculture, is higher in Tuscany so that one would find in any other country of world. That which excites especially my admiration is that which is universally practised in the valley of Nievole, country undoubtedly supported by its climate, but not by its ground which is not very fertile; it is there that one sees living in abundance and safety a population more than one does not meet it in any other country of the world. All were needed well these industrial hands to create agriculture chananéenne of this region, these hanging gardens, these terraces in stage one above the other, planted olive-trees, fig trees or vines, and rising plain until the top of the mountains. The men who did this marvellous work do not have for the intelligence and patience, nothing to fear comparison with most skilful. These terraces maintain on fast slopes a ground
mined to four feet of depth, which, in all another farming system, would be carried soon by the torrents of rain to which this country is exposed; in others left Tuscany, indeed, one only sees in their place emaciated and sterile rocks. These terraces thus make very with the time the beauty, the healthiness and wealth of the country. Where one has found the capital necessary for a so extraordinary work, intelligence to conceive it, vigilance day labourer for to repair at the moment the damage that y does bring nature? In the contract of the sharecropper, in the fate which it ensured peasant, in the love which it nourished in him for its smallholding, in the guarantee that it gave him that him and his/her children would collect age in age the fruits of their industry, of their saving and in their solicitude. The work of the peasant of the valley of Nievole was immense, but it glorieusement was glorieusement rewarded. There is country perhaps where the class which achieves all the agricultural work is nourished better, better vêtue, placed better, where it makes joyeusement its work; where this intelligent and assiduous work is however intermingled with a more complete and softer rest. Into same time there is not where the deployment of the physical forces harmed the intelligence less, where the thought was more constantly associated body work to direct it, where it moral feeling was preserved more whole by the suppression almost all clashes of interests which divide and turn sour the men, where imagination itself, faculty of luxury to some extent, mankind, was better spared, and where the feeling or pleasures of artists, in music, in painting, in poetry, were reserved better with the man of the people. What can one want another thing? The goal of the economy policy is not it to get the most possible happiness with the greatest number, with the average materials of which work the man has: when this goal is obtained, one can to still wonder if such a system of agriculture gives for result the largest product Net, if it animates best trade, if it offers the most taxable product to the
government! Yes, perhaps it will be asked, and we are prepared to answer. So that a nation achieves the goal of human associations, so that it rises with civilization, so that it cultivate the development of the thought and all faculties heart, as well as of those of the body, so that it is supplements finally, one needs that it contains rich person, men of average condition, and the poor. It is necessary, for national progress, of the men of leisure and the men of pains; men who ask and who reward them efforts the most raised of the human spirit, like men who encourage the work of the body. But Tuscany present indeed this happy gradation of the human conditions: one finds there almost no point where the man of work handbooks either withdrawn from the example and the influence of the men thought and men of leisure. The same way as it is necessary to make in France to go from a castle to another is enough in Tuscany to go from a small city, a small center of civilization with another. In France the castle is inhabited by only one country squire, who saw revenue of its grounds, at a rather long distance. other lords of castles to limit the effects of society, and to rather lay out it with hunting and the other exercises of the body that with those of the spirit. Downtown Tuscan each small contains twenty to thirty families which enjoy all independence of the French country squire, and on whom the spirit of association exerted an influence more civilizing. In England it is true, one finds, compared to the population or with the space of ground, as many easy families in Tuscany; but the greatest number of them do not draw not their revenue of the ground; enriched by industry and the trade, having their capital in the public funds, or alive rich person treatments whom the State and the Church grant to their civils servant, these families are foreign with agriculture; ground of England east almost in entirety shared between some lords who joined together colossal fortunes, and that them opulence even maintains at an immense distance farmers.
We said it however, the number of those which lived in Tuscany there are three or four centuries in a happy mediocrity was infinitely larger than it is today. We deeply regret it; we believe that it is a misfortune for the State that the extinction of all these families which into each village the practices of ease introduced and of a certain liberality. We allot this change to political causes, with the monarchical spirit which replaced the republican spirit, with the centralization of the government, with the eagerness of all the rich person to go to the capital and at the court, and the luxury which the life of court encourages. Us let us see in the same way with sorrow a new revolution which in the thirty last years course took place in territorial fortunes. Some men nouveau riches by the trade rose quickly with most extraordinary opulence; these bought with all hands the inheritances of former owners, and the beneficial influence of wealth was lost for the province where it had been born; because it new rich person, who only replaced thirty or forty families provincial, the province for the capital left soon. But while it grew, majority of old families, even from the capital, fell into the decline. Here, as in all Europe, cupidity and patriotism made alliance to improve all the means together productive of any thing, to bring on all the markets more agricultural produce and industrialists who it was not possible to sell some. The war which consumes all so quickly thing, the war which buys with the national capital, by loans, a production which should only be exchanged against revenues, during several years, one gave very artificial encouragement with this exubérance of products: agriculture raised fast fortunes; it seemed that one could never bring corn too much, of oil, of wine, on markets; although harvests were abundant, them food products rose at excessive prices: also of all shares one saw to extend the culture, one saw undertaking new clearings; the owners were involved in debt for
to buy beyond their forces, to clear beyond their means. They were involved in debt to pay out of money the dowry their girls or their sisters, because the influence of the French legislation made treat the women more favorably that formerly, at the same time as each owner opposed an invincible loathing with the alienation of any part of its inheritance. Thus, in the middle of a rare prosperity agricultural, all the owners had responsible themselves for debts, when the consumption of war ceased suddenly, and the purchase of the annual fruits with the capital of the nations. Then superabundance of the products on the needs was immense, one showed of it the freedom of the trade for which the government Tuscan had been celebrated a long time, while one should especially have shown same progress of agriculture of them: the food products fell to half, often with the third of their value; the owners who did not have debts could still remain with flood by reducing their expenditure. This resource could not save those which were to pay large interests. Three times had to be returned more food products for to face an engagement which had not changed; they preferred to borrow again, and they were always ruined more. Another cause still hastened their failure. Taste voyages had awaked with all the more fury, which they had been impossible a long time. All England seemed hastened to come to enjoy the delights from the garden Europe. These travellers came to spread out with the eyes of Tuscan their opulence and the elegance of their crews. The nobility most famous of Europe could not support patiently to be crushed in its own country by the luxury from abroad. In these palates whose magnificence is royal, it redbens to be overcome by the elegance and the good taste of its hosts. The luxury of the old Italian nobility was secular; the magnificence was transmitted from generation to generation; and though it struck the eyes more, it cost the family really less that the luxury fugitive, and submitted to the empire fashion, which one only seeks today; that one
however only one moment of pleasure gives, and it evaporates like the perfume of the flowers, or the agreements of the music. To furnish their living rooms with this perfection with elegance day, elegance which tomorrow will be nothing any more but old-fashioned thing, many noble Tuscan, which felt still rich, who appeared themselves that the crisis of agriculture was momentary, completed to shake their fortunes. It is for these various causes that almost all those which carry the large ones historical names are involved in debt, and that part of the palates that one still admires do not belong any more to the families which made famous. It is in all countries the involved in debt rich person, the rich person in failure, which causes the ruin of the peasant. This effect is not so sensitive for the sharecropper; but for this reason even one speaks in Tuscany to change the system of smallholding. The owners who feel constrained in their business see other means of being recovered only the new ones developments of agriculture. However this means is misleading; because their current suffering comes from the superabundance and of the fall of the food products. All their efforts however only tend cause to drop them always more. They complain about what their sharecroppers oppose the introduction sophisticated methods. But what there is to perhaps wish more, it is that this opposition is effective, it is that agriculture remains stationary until consumption reached the level of the production, and made go up the prices. It sharecropper indeed pushes back the eradication of the vines and the olive-trees to subject the fields to the field crop; he pushes back the sophisticated plough and the extirpator; he pushes back all that makes useless human work; it pushes back one increase in product Net to which itself would be sacrificed: but this increase misleads the owner himself; because the economy which he wants to introduce into his agriculture tends to make disappear eaters from his corn, and whereas him will be used for to produce some more? Such is however the fermentation which agitates the owners today. It us fact of trembling; because the admirable system that we have just exposed, is founded only on practices, is guaranteed only by
opinions. So once one believes oneself allowed to ask peasant more than did not give his fathers, to change his condition, to impose other royalties to him, soon one will subject it with the irresponsible bid which has all the grounds in Ireland, and the happiest race of farmers today ground will be able to become most unhappy about it. The condition where the contract of sharecropper places the farmer does not react only on the owner, it influences too on the prosperity of industry and trade. One will be able us to say that, according to our representation even, more most of the population provides itself for its clean needs, without trade and exchanges; that the peasant eat its own bread, drinks its own wine, revêt with its tease and of its hemp, which it spun and wove itself; that one made it finally foreign to the human society, which is supported only by mutual services. It is true, it does not exchange that its superfluity, but it has superfluity; and which happiness for a nation to be assured that the great mass of the population, the so many class of the farmers, enjoys some superfluity! Which advantage at the same time for trade! Because the true trade rests on consumption interior and on the ease of all. The peasant Tuscan admittedly buys only his clothes of festival, and these last six to him or eight years, but which one makes the inventory of his garde-robe, his ustensils, his furnishings; that one deduces some, if one wants, all that it manufactured in family instead of to buy, and it will be still found that the encouragement that it gives to the trade is infinitely higher than that which give, not the Irish day laborer only, but it English day laborer. That one observes then the markets of small towns of Tuscany and their shops, and one will be convinced that the natural trade, that which is born from truths needs country, is considerable there; one will be still convinced that there is really durable prosperity for industry that that which is founded on the ease and the happiness of great mass of the population. The economists, and especially the financial ones, consider them
nations under another point of view still: they think less to get for each citizen abundance around his hearth domestic, that to draw from him by the taxes a considerable revenue, to devote it to the magnificence of the prince, or with the good administration of society, or finally with defense main road. This last object, most expensive of all, request, it is true, with Tuscan less sacrifices than all the others. The small people cannot defend themselves today any more by themselves; their independence is not any more in theirs hands; it is entrusted to the treaties and the public law, which, up to a certain point, are respected by the large society European. Tuscany, which is about large and powerful like Switzerland, maintains only six thousand soldiers, for its police force rather than for its defense; and perhaps still must one regard them as an useless luxury. But if Tuscany does not have an army or of national guard, Switzerland court does not have. That of Tuscany is maintained with splen - dor in palates that the largest kings of Europe could to look with desire; the treatments which it grants are rich and numerous; at the same time all work public are for the government the object of an attention supported. By the advance of very large capital, it drew all a province of under water, that of the 'Chiane'. It spends today more considerable capital still to cleanse, to cultivate and populate the 'Maremme'. Main road are in a so perfect state of construction and repair, that there is no country where one travels so quickly, and with less expenses. The paths which furrow in all directions them hills and the mountains, and which are accessible only to beasts of burden, are maintained by the public with almost as much care, and the majority are paved. Justice is brought closer to the people; there are few inhabitants who have more six miles to make to present itself at the first court of which they are amenable. It has less of way still to make to meet the first communal authority; because each city, each village, almost each castello, is organized in commune. In all these communes, one or two méde-
cins is maintained with the expenses the public, with the obligation of to take care of the poor free; because the authority is looked at like guardian of the public health. One finds large hospitals with considerable equipments in all cities, of the schools everywhere; churches and vaults served by a very considerable number of ecclesiastics, not only in each parish, but with less one thousand of distance of each dwelling, and in the cities of pious foundations which ensure the worship a great splendour. It is not a question of examining in this moment if all these funds are well managed, if all these public civils servant their functions in the manner discharge more advantageous at society. We wanted to affirm only one thing, it is that the organized nation as we come from to represent, is amply in a position to provide for the expenditure public, that it makes it without the taxes being too oppressive, without them discouraging or agriculture or industry, without no service being forgotten, finally without the state having contracted any debt. We believe that in Tuscany also it y has abuses to correct; that the people do not have only right with being happy, but still namely how it is happy, and to hold in its hands of the guarantees of its happiness. Too let us be us far from wanting to freeze the spirit of reform the spirit of improvement. But this country, which we also like one second fatherland, we enjoy to present it like example with the other people. We invite it to look with sound turn other people, in order to convince itself well that the imitation is not always an improvement, and that progress to which others are called could not often be for he that steps behind. Is necessary it to conclude however, happy condition of peasants in Tuscany, of wealth which they spread in country, of the abundance which they enjoy themselves, of benevolence which the contract under which they work seems to maintain from one order to another, that it is a country where there is nothing to make, and which all wishes of the philosopher, in the same way that all work of the administrator, must be limited
to prevent that nothing changes? Not, Tuscany is still likely of considerable progress which will perhaps double and its cultivable surface, and its population, and its production, and its consumption. We can study, in Tuscany, not only the means by which great mass of the population was made happy, but still the improvement gradual that Providence holds in concerning it. wealth increases there as the culture extends, it is spread successively on all the conditions, without breaking null balance leaves, without the good of all being nowhere bought by the sufferings of some. This future progress, who starts already, and who is dependent with a noble example of patriotism and of devotion, deserves to be explained with some detail. Tuscany, surrounded, in north and raising, by the belt from the Apennines; at sleeping and midday, by the sea, present in intermediate space, a corrugated surface which belongs properly neither to the mountains nor with the plains. The slope of Apennin, only, is suitable for this culture chananéenne, of these suspended terraces, which make especially beauty and wealth of the valley of Nievole and the State of Luc-ques. Further, the basin of the rivers is enriched by grounds of alluvium, and only it brings back beautiful harvests; but most of the territory Tuscan is covered by hills made up of alternate beds of tuff and clay. The tuff is a block of lime sand whose adherence is so light that the least pressure, the least effort of water destroys it; clay, on the contrary, is not let penetrate by water which stagnates on its surface. One and the other is absolutely sterile; as nothing is sadder as the aspect of these ranges of hills which, on both sides, border them rivers, the torrents, and do not present, with a height of three hundreds to thousand feet, that emaciated peaks, ones blan-châtres, others of a dark yellow, that no vegetation do not cover. The experience however has for a long time learned that the mixture of the lime sand with clay forms a kind of marl, a very rich ground, which gives indeed,
in the content of the valleys where the torrents involved these substances and have them together frays, of very abundant harvests; but no man power could be enough to operate it mix; the beds are an immense thickness, and the hills of tuff and clay, appear at too long distances so that one can only think of transporting to the other their elements. Tuscan invented a clever operation however who put them capable to benefit from all the mixtures that the power of water operated in the content of the valleys. It is what one named the 'warp', fillings of the marshes. One surrounded by dams the low places that water returned deads by their stay; then, directing in theirs artificial enclosures, torrents at the time of the large ones rains, when they were charged with silt, one left their water to deposit all the fertile substances of which they were saturated before giving them the flow. It is as one formerly raised successively the ground of grounds flooded, inter alia delle province 'Chiane'; soon they rewarded the contractors for this work by their extreme fertility. Later, a man of genius, named essayaferrata, simple peasant of the grounds of the marquis Ridolfi, in the valley of Elsa, sought and found the means of fertilizing the hills by one similar operation. It invented 'the warp di montagna', or art to deposit, by the action of water on the slope of the slopes, fertilizing elements that this same water had to remove under its direction with the highest summits; and it called thus of vast deserts to becoming one day the theatre of the industry of the man. To succeed, it was necessary that it found average to break up by rain water these arid celebrities who crown the majority of the hills, to direct them then water charged with silt towards the slopes which he wanted to fertilize, to combine them so that the mixture of sand limestone with clay always took place itself in happy proportions, finally to spare a continuation to them of rest, so that they deposited all their silt, and that they
did not leave the hill without having recovered all their limpidity. It was necessary, moreover, that the engineer conceived in its thought the form which the hill would take when it would be stripped of all its protuberances, like the sculptor sees in advance the statue which it will create in the block of marble from where it draws it; it was necessary to coordinate the plantations, which with measurement that the ground covers with the fertility, go up plain-towards the top of the slopes; the cultures had to be found successive whose these virgin grounds could be likely before being changed into smallholdings, so that none advance was not lost, and that the great agricultural operation always itself paid. essayaferrata, the first inventor 'warp di montagna', died approximately ten years ago, in a advanced age, but a large citizen, the marquis IH-dolfi, improved and supplemented its discoveries. One cannot without admiration to see, in Meleto, these drains traced on stop tuff or clay, each year in a direction news, but always on the fastest slope, so that, in the large rains, they involve like a thick lava the ground which surrounds them, and that hundreds arms throw there unceasingly; and these same drains circulating with semi-coast of the same hills by a sinuous and cut course many locks, so that the silt which they deposit is also, with arm of men, rejected on their edges, which it fertilizes; then belts of vines bordering of the narrow fields, that one successively sees going up everywhere where the operation is achieved, and indicating the creation of a new ground suitable for to nourish the mankind, of a ground which will call new men with a profitable work. The marquis Ridolfi, to hasten the work of water, to shake the grounds, for to dig tanks from where it lets escape from the artificial torrents, uses powerful instruments, machines that it invented or improved; but in fact machines new arms with work will call, instead of condemning those which exist with idleness; in fact machines create a new campaign to populate by new inhabitants. Indeed, at once that water made disappear all these
edges of tuff or clay which furrowed the surface of the slopes, at once that a first culture of esparcette, fattened by the silt which one withdraws from the drains, loosened a little the ground; that vine stocks were planted in the ditch even which was used as dam, a new house is built, a new family is in charge of the culture, with half fruits, of this ground of new creation, and the marquis Ridolfì goes to continue its operation on new deserts. Thus population increases, but in a right proportion with work requested by a ground returned the vegetation; rural products increase, but in a right proportion with the revenues of the farmers who must consume them; the trade of provisioning follows, and does not precede training of new happy families; a colony melts to some extent in the center of a country civilized since thousands of years, but it is a colony according to the spirit antique, very intended for the happiness of the colonists. The marquis Ridolfì, had a long time sought to make known with the owners of the remainder of Tuscany processes by which they could return to the fertility their hills deserted; but though the invention of the 'warp di montagna' go back to nearly forty years, it had not spread itself. It asks, indeed, of knowledge practise too much varied, too extended, so that writings and engravings are enough to render comprehensible it. Finally this generous man determined, three years ago, to found in Meleto a rural school and experienceal, where it is devoted without slackening with its young woman, resulting from Guicciardini, with the education of the peasants, who will be able to transport hill in hill this beneficial industry. Eighteen young pupils, wire of factors and sharecroppers, come, with its three sons, to sit down with banns of the school, where the marquis Ridolfì their ensign itself all that it is necessary to know of the exact sciences and sciences natural to fertilize their work; then its sons, with young peasants, go, several hours per day, to work with ground with the hoe and the spade. The Ridolfì marchioness them teach with all the drawing; other masters achieve them
education, and all the family gives in turn to all it noble example of fraternity, charity, all them virtues and of the religion which is used to them as safeguard.
SEVENTH ESSAY.
DUTIES OF THE SOVEREIGN TOWARDS IRISH FARMERS AND OF THE MEANS OF TO DRAW FROM THEIR DISTRESS.

In the last but one of our essays, we are attached to make known, according to Mr. Inglis, the deplorable state to which is reduced the great majority of the population in Ireland. We left side all the picturesque part of its voyage, all the observations which are used to paint it Irish character, all research of statistics on trade of the various cities, and their increasing prosperity or decreasing. We stuck only to condition of the unskilled labourer, of the man who carries out all work of the city and the countryside, and we extracted, in the same words of our traveller, the representation of a state of society which inspires almost as much of fear that of pity. We could supplement the table of Ireland, and to show, in this unhappy country, which major hatred separates, in the name of the religion, the Protestants of with the catholics; with which land-mark feeling the last pay the dîme on their necessary, to maintain a clergy and a worship which they look like heretics; which irritation, which distrust feels the small farmer against that which comes to offer to its master an increase in tenant farming, and who, by thus driving out it his ground, condemns it to die of hunger with its family; which hardness bring the masters, or men of law which they employ, to achieve these 'eject-ments', these expulsions of the farmer or the tenant of a chau-
mierre to put another of them at its place. how much often they make cut down the roof of this thatched cottage to force its inhabitants to leave there; and in addition, with which ferocity them peasants defend themselves, often raising themselves to massacre all members of the family to which they were forced to make place. Then all these scenes force of engagements with excess, of night assassinations, fires, removals girls, of perjury in front of the courts, to make to condemn or to make exonerate, without any regard for justice, of the friends or the enemies; and we would have thus put completely under the eyes of the reader a state of society without example at the most wild nations, but who astonishes especially in Ireland; because there is contrast with the castles without a number, the parks, the gardens, where a nobility opulent lives in the middle of these people with despair, surrounded of all the pleasures of the luxury, all the masterpieces arts. How not to not only quiver while seeing the men who suffer, but those which enjoy with-jourd' today ? Do not seem they to walk enthusiast of wine and head crowned of flowers on the edge of a chasm? We can us to make illusion on the fate which awaits them? they can themselves, them which are in the middle of a great nation animated against them of a secret hatred, a nation preparing for the moment of revenge, dissimulating, but letting escape from time to time from the flashes of fury? In England and Ireland one calls 'revenue' by excellence great revenue of the owner, the tenant farming, and 'rack rent', scraped revenue, extorted revenue, revenue torn off by torture, this excessive tenant farming that the Irish owner tears off with the poor farmer. This name which makes quiver is only too much expressive and that too much prophetic; the 'rack rent' is indeed the fruit of torture, and a seed of tortures. Who could say all the cruel torments that it inflicted, which it inflicts each day with the Irish peasants? who could say all tortures he threatens aristocratic Irish, when the day of the revenge, towards which it does precipitate, will have arrived? who
could say how much misfortunes, how much crimes one would save the nation, while returning the system of 'rack rent' impossible, by withdrawing completely all the class of farmers with any possibility of tyranny on behalf of the owners? This double delivery, of the masters and the slaves, us let us not hesitate to say it, can be obtained only by fixing one limit with the right of ownership, that by tackling face it favorite principle of the English owner, that each one must be master to do what he wants “with what is with him. ” It principle is false: the property is a concession of the law, it is under the guarantee of the law, it must be subjected to law. The property was invented for the greatest advantage of all, it cannot be employed to cause the misery of all. It was a beautiful idea of the legislator who to give to owner the feeling of perpetuity and that of independence. These two feelings undoubtedly contributed much to inspire to him the spirit of conservation and improvement, but they are themselves only means and not one drank. The extreme cases call the intervention of the legislator to bring back them to their goal. Thus, for example, the property ground was guaranteed to ensure the greatest development of agriculture, and with it the abundance of food for all. The owner would not have the right to say: “I do not want that the men live product of my ground; I do not want that my ground produces fruits. ” It more does not have the right to say: “I do not want only my ground continuous with inhabiting inhabited by the workers who were born there, I do not want not that it is crossed by the roads commercial, I do not want that its limits are crossed by a human being. ” However the authority does not intervene in general to stop such an abuse the property; it counts that on the number of owners there will be little well of it who devote themselves to such whims, which are plugged so much on their interest, and it likes them better to let exceed their rights to disturb public safety. But if four or five hundred owners between whom ground of a country is divided, plugged by some ambition or some
spirit of revenge, combined their efforts to banish nation of its hearths, to condemn its ground to sterility, for to close all its avenues and to also prohibit the trade there and industry, the legislator would not fail to say to them: “You violate the contract under the faith of which you hold your grounds; you misuse the tolerance with which I left some among you to change into parks the cultivated grounds, congédier labourers to close the communications, to impoverish the nation that you must enrich, you did not have not right to do it, even separately; less still will allow you I to unite you to do it.” Political passions would explain only the attacks against general opulence that we have just supposed, and it hardly has there but small people which had to be held in guard against them. But the system of the 'rack rents', of tortured revenues, is not a less abuse the right of ownership, it is not less disastrous with the nation on which one exerts, it is not less contrary with the interest of the owners themselves; however its nonsense does not jump also with the eyes; on the contrary it starts by flattering direct interest of the owner, and more still his vanity, in he giving the reputation to have a more considerable revenue that it cannot indeed recover it, and it is with reflexion, just like with cupidity, that people who think only of their interest endeavour to draw from the ground all that they can tear off with his farmer. Right of the legislator to regulate the conditions of the contract of culture, and to bring for that of the limits to the right of property, would not know in our eyes being revoked in doubt; us let us believe that it must be exerted in any country where the experience showed that the contract use is prejudicial at the very whole society, and that the private interest of the owners is not a guarantee sufficient for the interest of all. But in the British empire, it is not enough to have established this principle, it still should be convinced the owners that it is their interest to limit themselves their prerogatives, because afterwards all it is with them that in last spring the capacity belongs of
to make laws. Can they thus think that it is time for them to provide for their safety! They are in Ireland only one handle of rich men sown among million poor wretches. Each man of the privileged class can count that it has with respect to him five hundred individuals of the class which is not; and there is between them such an opposition that the rich person known as with poor: “Our life it is your death;” and that poor him answers: “Your death would be our life.” Of the frequent explosions, the destruction of harvests and properties, of the fires, and some assassinations, are the daily symptoms of this deep hostility. However aristocracy Irish is distinguished, in general, by a brilliance courage; it wants to yield neither to the fear nor with the threat; it is armed to defend what it believes its rights; we have it sometimes intended to ask the combat, ‘to conquer again Ireland’, and it often causes it with one inconceivable audacity, until now the poor class does not have it not accepted. The rich person show it cowardice, they claim that some blows of rifle will always dissipate all attrou-pement Irish. They could be mistaken: there is still in all Irish population an extraordinary respect for row, for the social distinctions; but there is also this bravery, this impetuosity, this enivrement of anger, this unconcern for the death, that is to say which it is a question of giving or to receive it, which today shines in the aristocracy, when two or three men defend their castle against hundreds of attackers, but who will cause the extinction of the aristocracy, when his blood starts to run.

So far the Irish peasant is avenged on the collectors said, on the law officers, the servants the large ones, and especially on the peasant who puts himself in competition with him. When the noble one appears with the windows to do it blow of rifle, the peasant does not counteract to him, and it is for that that it is run away. The respect for the row and the illustration decrease however with speed; hatred enters the orders becomes each day keener, the feeling of the injustice has gained all the hearts, obedience with the laws is not found any more, and
the brake of the religion does not stop any more on the way of the crime, or the fanatics themselves put, by false interpretations, their consciences at ease. The peasants are disarmed, it is true, but with their shillalahs they would be made soon main of the weapons of their enemies. If they take once force a castle, if they massacre all the inhabitants of them, all the other castles will not be long in being treated in the same way. Then Ireland is lost; because the popular fury, which can all to destroy, is out of state nothing to rebuild. This respect for the row which makes the only guarantee today Irish aristocracy, and which prevents the peasant to never measure itself with equal weapons with its lord, is the last trace of a very different order of things, of an order of things which ensured the lord the power and the honor, but which guaranteed to the peasant a full subsistence, a safety, a confidence in the future, which he does not know today. It is the lord who destroyed this relation antique of paternity, affection and obedience, between the owner and his tenants; it exchanged the capacity that it exerted on the hearts, against pounds sterling; but it does not have not to flatter itself that the money which it preferred with all remains to him, as soon as it is not any more under the guarantee of the affections and of long practices. Ireland, like England, all Western Europe, undergoes the revolution which abolishes slavery, and replaced it by the serfdom of the glèbe, when after the fall of Roman empire, long invasions of the Barbarians and them devastations, the condition of the owners in the middle of their slaves had become too precarious to be able hand to hold longer. We do not have any detail on this revolution, or on the private transactions which changed relation between the owner and the farmer. In this time of major ignorance where one did not write, where the close States between them relations, one did not have did not think not more to make the legislation uniform of province to province, that to transmit the details of them to the posterity. The legislation, it was the habit, the habit of the manor well
rather than that of the kingdom; but this habit which modified written charters was crowned, and nobody thought to deviate some. It is under the protection of the habit, always beneficial through its thousand varieties, that population almost destroyed an immense development began again suddenly, that forests and the marshes which had invaded all the region again made place with the culture and with dwellings. The lord had inherited or conquered deserts; he said owner of it, but he did not withdraw any fruit from it. When it had the happy thought to gather much men under his standard, to be made respect, for to be made fear, it gave to each peasant whom it could attract with him a plot of land, so that it built its thatched cottage there, that it plowed the clearings of wood, that it led its herds in the heathers, that it lived finally fruits of sound work. The ground which it had given to its peasant was deserted, and nothing paid; it did not ask anything of it either but 'services'. Sometimes, like signs recognition and of homage, it required of him per year a peppercorn, sometimes a sum of money, sometimes a measurement of its corn, a head of its herd, sometimes, and more often perhaps still, one a given number of working days. In all the cases, royalty was completely disproportionate with the value of ground: also the family of the farmer lived in large abundance. However appearance external of the peasant was coarse, almost wild; it made with its family all its clothes, all its pieces of furniture, all its instruments, but it had with wish wood and straw for construction and the heating, the bread nor the meat never missed on its table, either that the beer, hydromel, or any other beverage fermented that it prepared itself. With the eyes of the lord it was the man who was the true revenue of the ground, the man who fought for him, which obeyed to him in any thing, which he was devoted to the life and death. This man did not recognize of another master, another judge, another legislator, of another captain, another defender, that his lord. The capacity of the lord, like all unlimited capacity, was
often exerted with whim, sometimes with cruelty; its judgements were sometimes iniquitous, its passions were not contained: the girls of its vassal, if they were pretty, few chances had to escape its desires; a resistance with its wanting, an offence, was sometimes punished with an appalling cruelty. However the need that it felt before all the others, it was that of the love and of the co-operation of its vassal, they was their devotion, them honesty, which made its force and its pride. It had succeeded to appear in their eyes like a being of a higher nature; a kind of worship joined obedience. In the Middle Ages, veneration, affection and the confidence of small for the large one, come out from all the circumstances which us are known. The peasant devoted himself for his lord, as the citizen should devote himself only for the fatherland: it is that there was between them no clash of interests, no desire to gain one on the other. Passions, whims of lord, could suddenly wound, crush the peasant; but passions are rare and temporary explosions, there is only the interest of the cupidity which is constant. This interest nowadays became the large mobile of society, but it did not enter almost any transaction then. The very feudal organization of society existed in Ireland until a time which is still fresh in the memory of men. The farming population of Ireland sufficed for sound territory, but was not nowhere superabundant. She had subjected ground to a culture not very scientific, little improved, but which however made produce with the ground enough fruits so that the peasant lived in abundance, and so that the lord, whose enclosure was worked in turn by its vassal, found in its fruits what to be enough with hospitality coarse of the Middle Ages. This lord, according to the law, according to the titles which it had under its guard, was single owner ground of all the seigniory, but according to the habit of manor, most of this ground was held in villé-stroke for a nominal revenue. The owner looked at well as with him fruits of the ground, but these fruits it was
peasants, of the men who were devoted to him to the life and with died, which did not know laws higher than its wills, not of a social nature which they were not ready to press with feet as soon as their lord would order it. Ireland was conquered by the English as of the reign of Henri II (1172), but the true conquest of the country was never achieved, because never the peasant was detached from the lord, or did not recognize of another master that him, never it did not cease opposing a violent resistance to the orders which arrived to him from England, all times that the lord ordered to him to do it. These fights day labourers, on all the points of the territory, were cause sanguinary laws of the English against the savages natural of the country, 'the wild Irishmen', and of this hostility between England and Ireland which had been already prolonged several centuries at the time of the reformation. It was the reformation which upset finally violently this social state, the reformation that the Irishmen pushed back, which the English wanted to impose to them by the force, and which brought the great rebellion and the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell. Most of the grounds of the Irish lords was then confiscated, and distributed to English and Protestant masters. But it was not the enclosure alone of the lord who was removed to him, and which passed to new owners; all grounds held in villénage by its vassal were also subjected in new conditions. With the eyes of the law, and according to all the titles of possession, these grounds belonged to the lord; according to the habit of the manor, however, they belonged really with the peasant, under the load of a royalty almost nominal: this habit was counted for nothing; affection of the peasants for an enemy family and stripped was only one title of reprobation, the central authority wished to break the bond between the lord and the peasant, because it established an empire in the empire. English only thought of changing the services. devotion and the obedience of their new vassal, in pecuniary revenues. Instead of love and of bravery which they did not ask not with enemy peasants, whom they could not At
to tend they, they required 'rack rents', revenues tortured. Thus not only the property of the large rebels, but that of all the farming population, was in some left confiscated. the title of the current owners is thus liar, the property is not with them, it is for half with their peasants. Also it is necessary to see with which monk attachment the Irish peasant preserves the memory of old division of the country, the former owners, the nobility catholic déchue; as it knows or believes it which heritages really belong to each one, and as it is loan to conspire to hasten the moment when each one will return in its rights. Mr. Inglis refers to this feeling general (Tom. II, CH. 2, p. 19); but it is exposed with good more promptness in the writings of a protesting minister of Ireland, in who one finds joined together, by a strange combination, fanaticism burning, with the finest spirit of observation, the dramatic talent most pathetic. (Irish mothers and sounds; Irishmen and Irishwomen.) The revolution operated by Cromwell goes back only to one hundred eighty years; moreover, it then was only started. The new owners could not nor make to be born, nor to make arrive suddenly to Ireland a population news. They needed to benefit from their grounds, and they were constrained to give them to the peasants who offered themselves to cultivate them; those were in small number, their practices were taken, they hardly included/understood other contract that that which they had done with their former lords. As they did not pay during a long time as a 'quit rent', a completely disproportionate revenue with the product of ground. They preserved at their new masters, not love, but well the respect and the fear which they had for their preceding masters. Only they admire in theory, what they would have had straight to dispute, which they were not that 'holding At will', of the tenants dependent on the will of the master; that this one could the congédier when it wanted, and to give their small heritage to a new peasant who would offer a higher revenue.
The condition of the peasants having thus lost the support of one unmemorable habit, and having become precarious, does not have ceased dice at the time worsening. Their ruin was accelerated by the fatal introduction of the culture of potato, which has offered for the food of poor substance much more abundant and much less expensive than the corn, and which the bread arranged among the superfluities of the life to which unhappy workman should not claim; it was accelerated still by the spoliation of the catholic clergy, and the need where one put it to live of his accidental. Marriages, them births and deaths form now the principal revenue of the priest; he has interest so that all his young parishioners marry, and it exerts all its influence in this direction, perhaps without realizing well it. It is sure at least that in no country one sees more early marriages than in Ireland. The ruin of the poor was still accelerated by practices half-savages which the peasants had preserved Irish. They did not know nor the luxury of the clothes and the houses, neither elegance, nor cleanliness even. It was enough for them to live, they greedily seized all the means of doing it with more economy, but each saving on their maintenance was at once followed by a saving on their wages, and they are slowly arrived at the last limits to what is necessary to the man to maintain it in life. In the course from these hundreds eighty years, one appears to believe that the population of Ireland at least quadrupled; but it is nowadays, it is completely recently, that it became so higher with the needs for industry that one sees it disputing it work with all the greed of the hunger, and that creatures human offer to give all their time, all their forces, all their skill, to only obtain to live as hardly the pourceaux ones (1) would live. (1) The fast increase in population is almost always a sign of distress, not of prosperity: it does not indicate that the proletarian, incompetent to calculate his resources or those of its family, does not listen to any more but its coarse appetites, without hope or fear of the future. The effect of this degradation gave to the population of Ireland an impulse without example in
It is said that wealth and the prosperity of Ireland increased as well as its population, and one gives some for proof the number always crescent of vessels which employs trade of this island. This trade is almost only that of export of the food products, and while people Irish dies of hunger, each year one sees leaving wearing of Ireland a more considerable quantity of corn and of any species of grains, salted pig and butter. For us to hold some with the first article only: Limerick exported in 1822, 102,593 'barrels' of corn, and in 1833, 218,915. (Inglis, T.I, p. 295.) Galway exported three times more corn into 1834 than fifteen years previously. (Ibid, T. II, p. 32.) Sligo; the corn export has there triplet in the three last years. (Ibid, T. II, p. 123.) Londonderry; the progress of export is also considerable there. (Ibid, T. II, p. 200.) Belfast; the increase extended to all the kinds in trade also. (Ibid, T. II, p. 253.) Waterford; exports doubled in the nine last years. (Ibid, T.I, p. 61.) Cork; the export of salted pig is the only one which increased. (Ibid, T.I, p. 189.) But it is a quite false prosperity which that which is announced only by the increase in the export trade. One can charge each year more vessels of food products of Ireland because, each year, it becomes more impossible for the Irish peasant to taste the wheat bread or even oats bread which its sweats made naî-l’ history mankind. We find in an English newspaper, Examiner from August 7, 1836 the following result of three enumerations made in Ireland: Total population, in 1766, 1,871,725 Protestants 544,865 1822, 6,800,000 980,000 1834, 7,943,940 752,972 The proletarians all belong or almost all to the catholic religion. In the twelve last years, the money given to assist the emigration was almost very distributed among the Protestant poor. From there walk reverses of the two populations.
tre, the butter which it prepared, the pourceau nourished with its family selected pieces which it refuses with his children. Ireland will be really thriving only when its consumption its production will increase as well as, that when sound agriculture will nourish his/her children, that its manufactures will dress them, instead of keeping like today only the rejects for itself. A population which sleeps on the straw, in huts and hangars, which gets dressed at the fripier, with the old clothes from England, which nourishes potatoes, give any encouragement neither to the trades, nor with manufactures, nor with agriculture; its misery stops progress of any industry intended to serve it, at the same time as it is a torment for it, and a continual danger to the rich person that it surrounds, its misery is at the same time the continuation of an injustice, of a spoliation which it belongs to the legislator to repair. We undoubtedly do not ask only for to restore the peasants in their rights, one raises for them small feudal principalities which they served of their sword; but we ask that ease be returned to them, abundance and the safety in which their fathers lived, and for this reason, that one protects them from the competition which they the ones make with the others, and that one preserves them forever to see oneself removing the share of harvests which must remain to them for their expenses of culture. Two things are necessary to make them leave the state deplorable where they are, and to prevent misfortunes appalling that their despair can attract on all the empire. It is necessary to deliver Ireland of its superabundant population, that is to say by the emigration, that is to say by the setting in culture of its districts deserts; it is then necessary to associate the farming population which will remain on the ground with the property of this ground, as it is in all the thriving countries. It is necessary to open in front of it perpetuity, so that all improvements that by its patience, its perseverance, it will bring to the ground which it makes to be worth, benefit to him from now on itself, instead of not being useful as today that to worsen always more its condition.
Not only the current population of Ireland exceeds infinitely quantity of work which Ireland can employ this population still increases with the most alarming speed. In their state of misery, the Irishmen do not know of another pleasure that pleasures of the directions; they do not calculate not and do not think in the future; in one and the other sex, they marry almost all before the twenty years age, and one appears to believe that the population of the island increases itself three hundred and thousand individuals per year. Thus any partial measurement who would provide only for the fate with three hundred and thousand individuals by year, some considerable that is this number nothing would correct, it would do nothing but maintain the state current; it is thus necessary to act simultaneously on the greatest scale. The emigration and the clearing inside must be implemented simultaneously to deliver Ireland of exceeding its population; and temporary use of a mass workers with the clearings can give time to wait slower effects of the emigration. England has immense extended from country to colonize; its possessions only Canada could receive, not only exceeding, but whole population of the three kingdoms, and the arrival of the Irish colonists would do nothing but increase the prosperity of these vast areas, and more attach them to metropolis. The distance from Ireland to the countries located at north from the St. Lawrence is not very considerable, and these countries are sprinkled by a so great number of rivers that a navigation interior can carry the emigrants there, until in the points the most moved back, with less expenses than in any other colony. The more they will advance towards north, the more they will find a healthy air and a virgin ground. There is not the reason so that the vast regions which surround Hudson Bay are not a day as populated and as cultivated as those which, in a similar climate, surround the gulf of Finland. That one keeps oneself to neglect it of so immense resources, the Irish population, accustomed with the most extreme deprivations, can colonize countries where the English population would perish of misery and of trouble. There is not, in all this area, one
site where the Irish peasant, to which one would give ten acres of ground free of any revenue, only raised a better cabin that which it would have left, and did not get initially its apples of ground and its pig which would be very with him, and soon one more abundant food, and of the pleasures to which it could not think today. But it should be remembered, however, that an emigration in mass request of the very considerable advances. It is necessary to transport the emigrant with his family, not in Quebec, but on the ground even where one wind to fix it. It is necessary to make with this Irishman, absolutely naked when one leaves it his cabin, small set, some limited that it is, of clothes, tools, of pieces of furniture, of seeds; it should finally be led on the ground that one delivers to him in property, in time so that it clears it and sows it, and to nourish it until it reaches nearest harvest. One can hardly estimate at less than fifty or sixty liv. sterl. by family these first advances. One times made admittedly one can regard the existence of the family as policy-holder, and the fatherland will have acquired in it truths citizens. It is not EC manner only the emigrations and them recent colonization’s were led; one wanted to introduce first of all in the new countries the organization of societies more advanced, organization which perhaps is not appropriate to them not with themselves, but which especially does not favour first developments. One wanted to start with advance of large capital and establishment of large firm, and it was counted that their products would be collected by the trade, to be transported and consumed in remote countries: almost always one failed. Capitalists are accustomed with pleasures which they cannot to find in the colonies; more the speculation is new and more they ask returns prompt and considerable, which' agriculture does not give. While they encumber soon the markets which they wanted to supply, they do not make nothing for prosperity the colony, which increases by consumption, not by export; soon they are disgusted,
they from go away, and their work is abandoned. It is worse still if the capitalists joined in companies; then, after having created a staff, to have distributed places lucrative, of their principal agents, they do not think any more but of to withdraw their capital, to sell their actions, and to profit not progress of colonization, but of the credulity of easily deceived. It is by a quite various control that the incipient nations thrived: their founders thought of them-mê-my, with their own needs, their own consumption, and not with the trade. It was well enough for them to overcome the resistance of a virgin nature and the inconstancy of the seasons, without still subjecting to the chances markets. They have asked on the ground precisely what they needed to live, and they lived; each development of their industry their A provided, not of the articles of export, but of the pleasures news and of new objects of consumption. In addition, it is necessary that they reduce their pleasures so that their hands can produce, that they do not seek gone of the outside, which they do not think of exchanges, but that they always proportion the corn which it sow, and all food that they give birth to, so that their family increasing can consume. It is necessary that they build them-mê-my their cabins, that they weave their clothes, which they work their tools; and if one asks us then with what will be useful a colony which does not produce only what it consumes, who does not export anything, which does not buy anything, we will answer that it achieved its role when it produced happy men. Thus all the colonies started of Greeks in theMinor one and Italy, thus developed all the small people of antiquity; while modern colonies, designed in a mercantile spirit, in calculating the prompt returns of the capital, almost all have attested cruel attests, and did not start to thrive, like Canada and New England, that when the capitalists ceased speculating in them. Undoubtedly, in a advanced state of civilization, capital
considerable devoted to agriculture increase quickly its products; often they increase them without proportion with the market demand; but in general the intended capital with the ground must be delivered to him to perpetuity; it y forever average to withdraw them without loss: also this employment is not appropriate to the speculator. True improvement of one plots of land is accomplished only by that which devotes source of all the capital, its work, to found for him and for his of the perpetual pleasures; who does not count not on an immediate return, but which contemplates for him and for his a long future; who plants trees of which the life will be secular, which tames animals, which improves species, for the advantages that will withdraw some his/her children; who carries out on water, for drying or for arrosement, of work of which the posterity more moved back will collect the fruits. Agriculture must always be exerted for perpetuity, and it is what distinguishes it of all other industries. Whatever the immense one extended from the countries to colonize, and happiness that y could hope for a poor population, accustomed for work as with the deprivations, one should not to hope that the emigration is only enough, nor with much near, to relieve Ireland. A third perhaps of the population with this island overflows, when one compares it with work requested, one with the wages which can be offered to him. It is necessary to find means of living for more than two million individuals, and one does not calculate without fear how much vessels would be needed to transport them, which stores of provisioning it would be necessary, in a new country, to establish them. Of garlic their it is necessary to think that more one similar society is considerable, more it generates confusion, disorders and of dilapidation; the larger the number of the colonists is, and the more, if an unforeseen obstacle opposes them, their misery becomes excessive. It is necessary to look after without slackening this great emigration, because it is by it that one can ensure the most happiness and of stability in the future with a race which suffered so much, but it never should be hoped that by the emigration one can pro
to clean in Ireland a relief with those which suffer from hunger. Fortunately Ireland contains in its centre vast extended from grounds to emphasize, which require one enough considerable immediate work to occupy usefully, during a few years, all exceeding it of its population. Most important of these grounds are those which one names the 'bogs', mud pits. They are vast spaces, or rather whole provinces, not of marshes, but of muds bottomless. The bogs are covered with thick pastures, of brown dark, intermingled with place in place of pieces of peat dry. Indeed they are usually converted into peat bogs. Men or the horses which would have the imprudence of to engage there would be inserted and disappeared soon like in moving sands. A kind of fermentation seems sometimes excited in these black muds: then they rise, and pour like lava flows on the country surrounding. Largest and most famous of these mud pits is the 'bog Allen', which covers most of the center from Ireland, and which only occupies several million acres. (On the bog Allen, 'see' Inglis, volume I, p. 105. On bogs of Joyce country, volume II, p. 44. On those of Cune-mara, volume II, p. 55 and 64. etc) Whatever the desolation and the current sterility of these mud pits, it is known that one can not only return them with the culture, but to convert them into grounds highest fertility. Details of this agricultural operation, for which one employs especially lime, then marine remains of all species, are foreign with the object of this memory; it is enough for us to know that the means are known yesterday in all Ireland, that the materials are everywhere under the hand, that it is necessary that labour, thing of which it is so desirable to create the request; finally, that the clearing of the bogs, who returns them for always to the culture and healthiness, one for the other costs seven books sterl by acre. While carrying them heritages with ten acres per family, the creation of each one would thus cost sixty ten pounds sterling; the heritage would be con
yielded in property against a perpetual revenue of five books sterling, or ten schellings per acre; at this price there would be what to cover not only the advanced interest on capital, but still administrative expenses, and a benefit. However, in these fertile grounds, the new owners would live in ease, they would improve each year their condition, and the fatherland would have gained the value of a new province, perhaps inhabited by three hundred and thousand families of peasants happy. That is to say projects of emigration and colonization in Canada, either those of drying of the mud pits, require the advance of a very considerable capital, of a capital which would not be lower than that that England already sacrificed to withdraw from an odious oppression another class of its subjects, them negroes of the colonies, and those were hardly more unhappy than the Irishmen. One can admittedly consider the advance who would be done with the last as being partly one money placed and not spent. We supposed that one the whole property of the Irish bogs against a perpetual revenue of ten schellings per acre cèderait, after they would be returned to the fertility, but it would be neither right nor careful of to charge of any revenue the colonists transported to Canada, still that they were not less expensive the motherland; one does not see indeed how their industry, which would be enough for them to live, no money would bear to them. A loan to put the bogs in culture, that England should guarantee, will be always an immense sacrifice that Ireland requires of British generosity. If the sovereign authority grants it, it will have right to say to the Irish lords: “You have, by your cupidity and your improvidence, tiny room of the men dependent on you, and of which you were to be the guards, in a state of suffering which made shame with our laws, and which we could not maintain by the force without crime. You endangered all the empire British, while pushing more of the quarter of its population towards a distress which, if we had not intervened, could not to finish that by a rebellion. You shook the bases
human society itself, while making odious them laws of the property. We agree to draw you from the crisis where you precipitated with us; but us you will certainly not recognize the right, we will not leave you not capacity of us to involve second once there. right first of property is that of the farmer to living fruit of its work, and it is that which you violated; us will intervene from now on without fear, scruple, for to guarantee in its entirety. We will require that on the rich person ground of Ireland, in the middle of all the luxury of its vegetation, the Irish peasant at least as well as lives the peasant of sands of Prussia, or frozen climates of Russia; that it their is not lower for housing, clothing, food or heating; who' it has as many rest and as much of safety for the future. It is only after him to have ensured its share which we will recognize your right to what remains, and that we will have care to guarantee it too. ” Which are thus the guarantees necessary to the farmer for its happiness and national prosperity? It is these even as all the people agreed to get for the art which nourishes them, when they recognized the existence land and buildings. They felt that there was not good agriculture, agriculture always improving that that which was made for a remote posterity, and they wanted that that which had taught with the ground to bear fruits regarded as being with him with perpetuity. It is essential for the good of all that the farmer knows well that it does not have to take into account his ground, that all the improvements which he entrusts on the ground, at some distance in the future that is returned from there the pleasure, will not be lost for him or for its posterity. The true agricultural improvements, those which melt the prosperity of a country, are secular; Egypt enjoys still of work of allowance which was made before Roman conquest; the arroserments to which several districts from Persia, of India and China, owe all their fertility, are due to hydraulic work, of which the date loses in the mists of time; the dams which contain them
larger like the smallest rivers of Italy, those who created the polders of Holland, have centuries of antiquity; the kingdom of Valence owes the perfection still today of its agriculture to the Arabs, and the ground of the bogs of Ireland, whose several pieces were already returned to the fertility by the solitary industry of a poor peasant, will preserve its solidity until the end of the centuries. Those of this agricultural work, dams, irrigation, of drying, which become histories, were often undertaken by the power public, and sometimes by large capitalists; but allowance gradual, insensitive, which contributed the most to give to the ground a new face, which is that was operated separately, by work constant, intelligent, made with love, almost with satisfying, of the ignored farmer. It is him which discovered and led to far a fountain, which the flow gave to a marsh, which planted trees secular, which tamed savage animals, which improved the species of the fruit trees, works which requires several centuries, which found for each ground the plant of greater influence, the culture which was appropriate best, rotation of harvest which preserved on the ground the most fertility. The feeling of the property only bound the farmer to the ground, it made some to him study all the modifications to put them with profit; it returned soft work to him, for his children and of a long future, it was the greatest source of the pleasures of the man, and at the same time the greatest cause prosperity of the human race. The state of the most desirable society is that where the large one mass farmers is owner. It is not that which give the greatest revenue Net, the greatest profit, but well that which gives the greatest mass of gross revenue, that which employs greatest work, and which rewards it largely. It is the state of society which maintains in greater number a happy population, because without increase in happiness, the increase in population is only one calamity; it is in addition the state of society which puts the most unquestionable obstacle at the disordered increase in this population.
Small holder, which knows that his family can live honestly on her small inheritance, is not laid out more than the count or the marquis to reduce it from condition; it is not laid out more than them to marry young person, or to marry all his/her children, if it is not ensured for itself or for them to be able to support in its row the honor of its family. Indeed, the peasants owners acquire the virtues, prudence, love of the order and the stability of one aristocracy, while the mediocrity of their fortune prevents them from acquiring the defects of them, to deliver itself like it to intoxication pleasures or with dissipation. If it were compared numbers peasants owners in each of different States of Europe, one would find not only the measurement of happiness most generally spread, but still that of attachment of the people to the established order, and the elements of duration of the government. There is country where one meets less farmers owners that in the three British kingdoms. The seigniory, which was properly only one political power, transformed itself there into property, while everywhere garlic their the property became with each generation more independent of the seigniory. The feudal maxim, 'not of ground without lord', was contradicted in France per much of facts, in England it had become the law. In France, them tenants in commoner's condition had continued to be subjected to much expensive services, but their perpetual rights to the ground had been recognized; in England, expensive services or humiliating had been abolished early; but the tenant, while agree to make new conditions with sound master, to promise money instead of services to him, had put itself a term at its market. Of villein, it had become farmer; he then believed much to have gained; and perhaps it gained indeed, because during a time large-scale farmer from England formed an opulent class, intelligent and respected. However the farmer had lost perpetuity, and nothing can compensate for this loss. But during the last war, the disproportionate rise in the price of the food products
made attest with the English farmers passions and the chances agiotage; then with peace the fall of the price of these same products A almost all ruined. England itself start to feel that it entered a dummy road in putting in opposition the interests of the three classes of men, owners, farmers and the days laborer, who contribute with the culture. In Ireland, this same system did not produce that sufferings and oppression. The first thing with to make for this unhappy country, it is to assimilate as much as possible the condition of the peasant to that of the owner, and of he to open the way so that each one of its economies puts it in a position to become owner indeed. The Irish peasants are well far undoubtedly today to have the means of buying and of paying the ground on which they die of hunger; and if they could it, still would have one to take care not to urge them to strip itself of their small capital, while they should preserve it to improve their small inheritance. But instead of paying the ground which one buys with a capital, one can also pay it by a perpetual revenue. and the tenant whose annual gun is invariable, and who transmits the funds to his/her children until the last posterity, is as really owner as is its lord. farmer who has a lease of fourteen, or of vingt-un years, has interest so that at the end of this lease the ground is not in meil them state that at the time when it received it, not only all the capital which it would have fixed on the ground for longer term would be lost for him; they would be turned against him by the master, to renew the lease only in conditions more expensive. Mr. Inglis noticed in Ireland that it was practical constant, and that the farmer who, during vingt-un years, had made with the ground important allowances, found ruined at the end of its lease (volume II, CH. 7, p. 113). The tenant with perpetuity works, on the contrary, for its children and its grandchildren, for a future without end. It for its field all the love of an owner feels, it do not think only of the annual fruits that it can about it draw, it wants to decorate it, cleanse it, to make it convenient, and it does not calculate
not, for each hour that it takes on its sleep or on its rest, for each foot of tree which it entrusts to the ground, if it will be him or his/her children who will collect the fruit of it. Its relationship with its lord being fixed forever, there is no more enters them neither dispute nor jealousy, it sees more in him but one guard, and the ground which it holds of him is used them as bond, not of subject of quarrel. It is not to try an amazing experience, it is not to exceed the capacity which was exerted by the legislator in many of other countries, to oblige the Irish lords to concede their grounds with their farmers against a revenue perpetual. Quite to the contrary, it is to return in the practices of all the people which supported agriculture, it is to benefit from the example of all civilizations. The lease amndts-phytèotique, the lease intended to encourage the plantation of the trees, by ensuring the grower the perpetuity of the pleasure, us probably from the Greek' S came, as its name 'aiòûôûuû' indicates it. It was transmitted to us with the Roman legislation, and it is later impresses of feudality. The letters of revenue, the summaries, are only of the various forms of this nature of property, of use in the various provinces of France, of Switzerland and of Savoy. The 'livelli' in Italy, are not different thing that perpetual ground rents. Pierre-Léopold, large-duke of Tuscany, obliged all the ecclesiastical bodies in its States, all the hospitals, all the pious foundations, to alienate all their land and buildings against a revenue perpetual, redeemable in any time at the rate of three percent. This vigorous measurement raised with highest prosperity the many class of the 'contadini livellari' that it created, or of the owners of abergements; while it restores the order in all the public foundations, and that it put at the shelter dilapidations which ruined them. Alienation against a perpetual revenue is not more unknown in Ireland: Mr. Inglis having entered the Idiot-naught, the most wild part of this island, was struck with Balinasloe of an unaccustomed air of ease. “Balinasloe, says it. is a remarkable city by its cleanliness, and the traveller
recognizes with the first glance that it is not randomly abandoned, but that a protective hand is extended on it ..... Lord Clancarty is lord of Balinasloe, and all species of improvement is encouraged by him. Nothing would know, with the remainder, to excite with more effectiveness to improve the country, than practice of Lord Clancarty, to grant concessions to perpetuity counters a revenue fixes at all those which build good houses ..... Lord Clancarty always estimates at one equitable price the grounds which it gives to farm, and it refuses to stipulate a more considerable revenue, although the competition could easily make it raise with the double of the value that it asks. (Inglis, volume II, CH. 2, p. 16 and 17). Further, in the same province, laughing it and thriving town of Clifden was rested by Mr. d' Arcy, without it costing him a ground of it, only by granting the ground to those which wanted to build, counters a perpetual revenue of six schellings by acre; it was all that the ground was worth then, but city and the port then gave a value higher than remain region (Inglis, volume II, CH. 5, p. 74). Finally province of Ulster partly owes the prosperity which distinguishes it remainder of Ireland so that the properties confiscated there were abandoned with companies of London, which yielded them with peasants against perpetual revenues (ibid volume II, CH. 12. p. 220). The county of Antrim, in this province, is the only one where one finds truths country. They enjoy the fruits industry of their fathers, because those acquired the ground against a perpetual royalty. (Ibid volume II, CH. 13, p. 243). A foreigner would be shown, undoubtedly, of a presumption ridiculous if it tried to indicate the means of execution by which the legislature will be able to fix the fate of the agricultural class, by giving him a perpetual right to the ground which it cultivates we will be satisfied to present some considerations here general on this intervention necessary of the capacity supreme between opposed interests, and on the goal which it owes to reach. So that agriculture thrives in a country, so that ground is cultivated with love and for intelligence, it is necessary
that two classes of people exert on it rights perpetual: on the one hand the enlightened rich person who study, which improves and which spreads around them the taste of the discoveries and of the improvements; in addition, men of pains, hard, which more closely sees the nature, and which attached, in general, at the ancient uses, put them in goes them by patience and the economy, and defend them against one too active spirit of innovation. These two classes farmers are also essential with national prosperity. The second was destroyed in Ireland by the usurpations of the nobility; if an imprudent heat of reform involved to destroy the first, and it is the fate of which Ireland is threatened in the case of an insurrection of the poor against the rich person, the consequences would not be less fatal. The legislator must tend to maintain balance between these two classes; it must to encourage the great landowners, who exploit their fields by their own hands. Perhaps Irish aristocracy it is too much numerous, if one judges some by the number beautiful grounds which one meets, almost with each step, and by the multitude of opulent emigrants, 'of absentees', who populate England and the continent. Do not import: that it freely chooses itself among its fields, all those which it will want to put forward by its own care, it is not with their regard which the legislature must intervene. But the law should not recognize contract which deprives ground of the eye, the intelligence and the affection of the master. It must say to this one: “Where you cannot be a master yourself, make you replace only by those which, for the good of society, will look themselves as masters; by those which you will ensure a perpetual right on the ground that you will entrust to them. ” It is the narrow duty of the legislator, to withdraw the part of the human race which to him is subjected state contemptible of misery and degradation where it fell; it is sound to have to preserve the rich person of a terrible insurrection, and entire empire of an appalling civil war. It is sound to finally have to withdraw forever the fate of Ireland from the irresponsible bid which has which it, with the fight between the poor one
who, to obtain work, is forced to be satisfied with less than
the most miserable subsistence, and the rich person, who, by a
blind cupidity, by wanting all to seize, exposes itself to all to
lose. The legislator does not have, cannot leave longer a
whole class of farmers exposed to the double chance defects
of their lords and the their clean ones; he does not have to
allow that a whole region is unhappy, whatever are industry,
the sobriety and the virtues of its inhabitants, only because a
Lord Limerick or a Lord Clifden draws them revenue. There
are seigniories, undoubtedly, of which masters the recognition
and the love deserve; but there even, the law a guarantee must
in the future; it must preserve the peasants effects of
imprudence, ruin, defects or absence descendants of the best
masters. Much of intelligent lords, and of a honourable nature,
refuse to grant beams of any species to their farmers; they
want to hold them in an absolute political dependence.
Perhaps today they think however only of their to make good,
but which can answer their heirs, perhaps creditors who will
seize their goods, or of those who will buy them? The peasant
owner, either whom it spent a capital or that it is held only
with one perpetual revenue, does not depend any more but on
itself; the dissipation of that with which it pays its revenue, its
hardness or its prodigality he import more than slightly. It will
not be ruined by its absence, or oppressed by the partiality of
its agents. Convinced that alienation of the grounds, settings
today with firm against a perpetual revenue, is the only
chance of hello for the rich person as much as for the poor of
Ireland, we also believe that the price to which this alienation
must be done can be fixed only by the public authority;
because it should be established low, much low than the
salesmen do not ask, and that the purchasers do not offer. Us
said: the right of the farmer is to be completely maintained by
its work; like a human creature, and there is only the surplus
of the benefit which can be the legitimate price of the tenant
farming. But in the contemptible state to which the peasant
Irish was reduced, it offers with eagerness his work, under condition of obtaining only food and the treatment granted to more scorned domestic animals. If it more does not promise still, they are some masters generous do not accept the exaggerated tenant farming only one them offer; that others, by prudence only, refuse to stipulate a contract which they can be able to be carried out. It y thus has rather right or rather wise masters for not to reduce their peasants to the begging, but there is none of it who leaves them the ease to which industrial men and of the British subjects would have right. One thus should not to calculate which can be the product Net of the ground after having maintained unhappy in the state shortage where of the Irishmen live, but which it will remain after having maintained it a number of men necessary to work it, under the condition where men who work must live. It is necessary that they are placed, clothed, are nourished, heated, like goods peasants must be it; that bread, not the potato, that is to say their essential food, that from time to time they can y to associate some animal food, and some drink fermented. What will remain, after this deduction, will be only legitimate revenue, the invariable and perpetual revenue with price whose the property will have to be transmitted. The goal which one must propose, as we said to several recoveries, it is to give to the ground farmers owners, and not of the contractors of work which make carry out by a more miserable race of days laborer. It is thus necessary to proportion the extent of the new heritages with the forces of a family; it is necessary that its chief, with his wife and her children, can be enough to make all the works of them; because at the small holders the woman and children work as of their low age, under the eyes and direction of the father. While children of the day laborer could find wages, and that their mother must remain with house to keep them, the work of the small farmer beside his/her father is for him an instruction, an occupation and one pleasure. If the children of the day laborer, on the contrary, are ap-
peeled with some work, their herd is almost always a school of immorality; the idleness to which one reduced them women and children of all the Irishmen, by excluding them of any share to the property, is thus one of the great causes misery of the island. It is necessary still that the extent of the smallholding is such as the family, if she is industrial, there finds a constant occupation. It is indeed one of the advantages of farming system by the owners, that the introduction of a very large variety of products, by means of which, on limited an enough ground, a day ago in the year for which the intelligent farmer does not find an occupation suitable. In the system of the large farms, with opposite, the farmer thinks, not so that it can consume itself, but so that it can carry to the market for in withdrawing the money of which it will pay its farm. Only one nature products is appropriate to him better than several; it sells grain and of the cattle, and not another thing; but it results from it that all its grain is sown, is collected at the same time. In these two months it takes workmen at a very high price; idleness and the begging to which it gives up them during ten other months of the year are not its business, but it is the business of the nation: it is the second great cause of misery from Ireland; necessary population to make the sowing and the harvests remains idle for half, during the three quarters of the year (Inglis, volume II, cli. 16, p. 299). For one intelligent farmer, who does all by itself, until its tools, which beats its corn with cover, a season ago died, even in Switzerland and Germany, where the climate is much harder than in England. Apparent products of large farms, in this last country, are a disappointment; because the farmer did not carry in account the pledges of some workmen that it congédie for nine months of the year; it does not pay them admittedly itself but society must finally to defray them, or by the tax of the poor or by begging. The goal to reach in Ireland, it is that each owner farmer makes his own work; that it borrows, if he wants, of the working days to his neighbor, but
that it returns them in kind; that it sticks, like all them writers of agriculture taught it, like good nature made easy, to find a work useful for each season, for each day of the year. If named police chiefs by the Parliament fix the average revenue for each nature of ground, in each county, they will still have to estimate which is the extent of ground which a family can to cultivate, and to cultivate well, without resorting to any étran-gère help. It will be the measurement which must have from now on them firm conceded with the price of a perpetual revenue. There remains to us nothing any more but one observation to be made. Us let us be persuaded that at people whose manners would have been formed by a distribution of the property such as that that we propose, all the families of farmers owners would have such a feeling of their dignity, such loathing to place their children under a lower condition with their, that one could of proud with their prudence for to avoid the early marriages and the too many families. We see indeed that, in all the countries where peasants are owners, the number of the smallholdings is always with little close the same one; their extent varies very little; the head of household knows extremely well that by dividing them it would destroy balance of culture which makes him find employment for the every day year, and to provide at the same time for all the objects of which its family needs for her consumption. It Marie only one only of its sons, unless the second does not find employment in some industrial trade, and does not receive its portion out of money. The army, the navy and the church, employ them others. It is also out of money, and by its economies, which it discharges the portion of his daughters. It knows that a great family for him a great embarrassment would be, not only at the moment of birth children, but during all their life, and it is for him a salutary warning. Also population of really agricultural countries do not increase appreciably, it do not increase more than their resources. But manners of people are the effect of long practices and long reflexions; they do not change at the time when the legislation
change. We have allotted the cause of the current distress from Ireland to a revolution which has occurred in the property, it has a hundred and eighty years, and we showed that several of its consequences started only today to develop. In the same way, the new revolution in the property, who became inevitable, but that we would like to soften and to regularize, will change manners of Ireland only in a rather long time. Today the Irishman is so miserable that it never thinks in the future, that it never worries about the number of children whom it will be able to have. It Marie before twenty years, without having an inch of ground, having a piece of furniture, without having one eeu in its purse; it offers an exorbitant price, and that it will be never in a position to discharge, with an owner, for a small hut and a square of ground. It lives in let us haillons and mud, with its wife and the children who them occur each year; it believes much to have made when it appeases their hunger with potatoes, and it does not look at not beyond. It will be necessary years before the Irishman understands that such a state of misery and improvidence is degrading, before it contemplates it with a right horror, before it feels that it would be foolish and criminal to marry, if it cannot ensure his wife and her children a better existence. It is thus necessary to support strongly by legislation formation of new manners; it is necessary that during a time, at least, the smallholdings are indivisible, that the tenant is even exposed to lose them if it attested to divide them; it is necessary to multiply the obstacles with the marriages imprudent and early; the paternal authority should be reinforced and that of the board of guardians, to prevent them; deadlines should be interposed, to oblige with a publication of banns followed of long waiting; it is perhaps finally necessary to require of the husbands some guarantee. some money deposit in the case savings or the purse of the parish, intended for the children for to come. The current improvidence of the Irishmen must be fought by all the means which can be reconciled with public freedom, and most effective perhaps are the practices, the local habits, which contain improvidence.
The girl of the Swiss peasant would believe herself dishonoured if, while marrying, it did not bring to her husband his bed, her garde-robe the walnut tree and its complete trousseau, composed of all the linen which it will need for the remainder of its life. On its side, sound husband would not present himself at the church, for the ceremony, if he did not carry the new and complete uniform of the militia. Long work, long saving, necessary to conform with this decorum of village, more prevented or delayed imprudent marriages that all exhortations the wise ones parents. That the notable ones of each locality act in concert to introduce such habits in Ireland, or to strengthen those which already exist; and the peasant knowing ease, and sure of the future, will acquerra also the feeling of its dignity; he will be able to maintain it by his own prudence, and them calamities which afflict this beautiful country will have a term.
EIGHTH ESSAY.

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON THE HUMAN RACE.

We said it, and we will not cease repeating it, prosperity of a nation could not be evaluated according to the mass of wealthes accumulated on its territory; it should not be it that according to the quantity of happiness which this wealth distributes between those which make the nation. The true goal of the economy policy, it is to ensure a distribution of wealthes such that all benefit from their advantages, although some ones are more favoured than others. It is necessary that all have a share with the pleasures, the physical developments and moral that wealth can get; it is necessary, with measurement that the nation grows rich, that all are nourished better, better clothed, placed better; that all have more safety in their existence, more hopes in their future, and in even time more moderation in their desires; it is necessary that all can reserve more leisures for the development of their intelligence, as for the relaxation being granted with their tired members and for the maintenance of their health; it is necessary that all finally find, in their participation in the increasing wealth, a new reason for mutual benevolence, and not an excitation with more enmities. But the increase in the national wealth must also confer, with richest only, of the advantages which are not that for them, or from which the others at least will only profit by consequence. It is necessary that there is in the nation of the rich person who can devote without division to the tracking of the target it
more raised which is presented at the efforts of the human race; one needs that they can cultivate, without being distracted by material intérêts, their intelligence, their imagination, their sensitivity; it is necessary still that they are disseminated on surface country, so as to light it in all its parts, for that their special progress in the reason, science, them fine arts, morality and the universal benevolence, profit with all. Never one must lose sight of the fact the need to look after the happiness of these two classes of men with time, and to maintain between all and sundry the proportion who will contribute more to happiness and advance of all. It is enough to exposes this great social goal of science for to make feel all that the institution of slavery has of absurdity, of unjust and inhuman. The human society was founded for the common advantage, and one gives up the first of his principles when one sacrifices a half of this society to the other, when one puts besides all the goods for the ones, all them evils for the others. However, as soon as one allows oneself to consider wealth abstractedly, and not in reference to the number of those which take part in its advantages, one, is almost immediately involved to look it like one quantity which can increase by the deprivations and the sufferings those which it is intended to make happy; because one cease meaning oneself, and one is mislaid with the continuation of a goal directly opposed to that which one proposes. One cease, indeed, being able to distinguish wealth which is acquired by society, of that which is acquired at the expense society; one arranges in the same category as the man gained on nature and what the man gained on the man; one counts like progress all the economies make on the production, even when these economies from are removed as much with men members of same society. However, when one has suddenly summoned wealth of society before and after the alleged economy made on the expenses of production, one finds it decreased and not increased; because this economy ruined the poor much more than it does not have nouveau riche rich person; it added something to the product Net
in favour of the seconds, but it cut off well more gross product which was distributed between the first: it has thus destroyed this wealth even as all the doctrines of the school chrematistic tended to increase. As of the moment that one confuses the progress of the fortune of rich person with that of the national wealth, as of the moment that one believes allowed the first to grow rich always more while saving on labour or his wages, one already sacrificed the poor in his heart, or at least in its spirit, and one does not have any more but to choose between the means to make than they consume the least possible, that they decrease the least possible the product Net. It presents three of them: the first, it is of to make their co-operation useless, is by replacing them by powers borrowed from mechanics, is while not requiring with nature that the fruits which it produces with less of human work: then the workmen became superfluous, as in some parts of Scotland, and one undertakes to off-set. The second, it is to engage them by the competition to work for the least reward which can be enough to maintain them in life: it is what one did in Ireland. third, it is not to leave them a choice, but, by violence and using the whip, to make them work so much that a remainder of strength is supported in them: it is slavery from the Western Indies. Each one of these expédients does not have been able to be invented, could be continued, only because one the first base of the law society lost sight of the fact, first utility of wealth, the happiness of all. With the place to make that all enjoy, although some, for the advantage of all were treated better than the others, one thought only of these some; one gave them all to be able on the others, one allowed them to have opulence with weak the pitance removed with the others, which are infinitely most; but their cupidity betrayed; because, in the admirable dispensation of Providence, the rich person has need for poor at least as much as poor A need for rich person. That which believed to be able to occur men for sound industry had to learn that it could not do without hom-
my to consume the fruits of its industry. That which has reduced the poor one to die the hunger while working is not any more found rather rich nor to assist by its alms the workman to which it had not let gain its bread, nor to defend oneself against its resentment when the hunger causes it. That who believed to be able to remove with the workman, with freedom, the intelligence and the will, near him a wild animal nourished whose work is not worth any more the subsistence, and of which the thirst for revenge always makes tremble. We sought, in preceding essays, to render comprehensible the fatal consequences systems which, without removing with poor its freedom, it put at the catches however with the rich person, and do not ensure him no guarantee counters a too powerful adversary. It us be also essential to make known the consequences of system of slavery, system coarser, more barbarian, more disastrous still in its effects, but which is not however that the application of the same principle, “that the States grow rich while producing more or while spending less; that they grow rich by all that they can save on labour; that they grow rich while drawing from the workers the most possible work at the very least of possible advances;” i.e.: false doctrines that it is not the man and the happiness of the man whom the government must propose to increase, but wealth; and of the consequence more still distort these doctrines, that wealth is not the advantage of all, but the profit Net carried out by some. In order to render comprehensible the consequences of slavery for masters, for the slaves, the very whole human race, we believe, before indicating the means of delivering J society of this plague has, duty to present an analysis here of the excellent book of Mr. Count on domestic Slavery. We look at it, indeed, like the most complete treaty, most erudite, most philosophical which was ever written on slavery and its disastrous effects (1). Undoubtedly

(1) It is the fifth book of the Treaties of Legislation of Mr. Count, lawyer at the royal court. Paris 1827. It fills out only the fourth volume containing 536 pages.
humanity dictated with more than one philosopher of eloquent pleas against this institution if outrageante for our species; but up to now the masters of slaves had believed to be able to scorn, or even they were allowed to admire them without consequence, because, they said, the writer did not know not facts, because most beautiful theories found, with the application, impracticable. Here, on the contrary, in fact the facts are presented to us, the facts of all them time, facts of all the areas of the sphere; and they are it with a precision, an exactitude, an authenticity, who do not leave the shade of a doubt about their agreement, and on the conclusions which one must draw. Slavery is if far from manners, of the practices, even memories of France, that many people will look at a treaty on the disastrous consequences of the slavery of even eye that a treaty on the errors of paganism. All with more will believe that this book can only have as an aim legislation of some islands distant from America, and fate of a race for which they do not feel sympathy. They so often intended to repeat that Christianity abolished the slavery, which they do not make attention that slavery does not have really abolished in England that in 1660, by the statute 12, CH. 24 of Charles II; in the Western rest of Europe that at the eighth century, and that it forever ceased in Europe Eastern. However, far the cause from the abolition of slavery is gained, it took place, it takes place under our eyes a revolution which, raising suddenly with the row of the States powerful and civilized vast regions where slavery is instituted by the laws, can ensure the most alarming preponderance, in the balance of the universe, with the countries controlled by owners of man, on the countries where this possession is prohibited. In Russia and Poland, great mass of the population is slave; she is of the same slave in about half Austrian States; and never, as much as nowadays, Russia and Austria did not weigh on Europe. France, Holland, maintain slavery in their colonies, say
perséées in Asia, Africa and America; England hardly has just abolished it; Spain and Portugal maintain slavery in what remains to them colonies. Ten, on the twenty-two United States of America, maintains slavery, and they are vastest, like most fortunately located. In all English India, all India tributary England, slavery is legal, without being very common; finally, in almost all the republics colossal of America above Spanish, and in the empire Brazil, slavery is still legal, though these new states took, for the future abolition of slavery, of measurements which are unceasingly attacked, or eluded by the prejudices or passions of the people. Here however which are the States which form today Christendom and the world civilized! Here what a are the States which dictate laws with the others! Admittedly, when the sovereign capacity is between the hands from so much from owners of slaves, the moment did not come still of saying that the cause the abolition of slavery is gained: on the contrary, we must more than ever to collect facts, to study them, give them publicity, to divert the nations which regenerate continuation of one if abominable system. We will endeavour to present, in less pages that it will be possible for us, the sequence of the ideas of Mr. Count, and of will almost always make we with its clean expressions, even when, for more brevity, us we will not compel to indicate it by a reference or quotation marks. The slavery, though preserved at some nations civilized, obviously the abuse originated in victory among barbarians. Conquerors, instead of cutting the throat of overcome, believed to be human, especially believed to be skilful, in their preserving the life, and making them work for them. Mr. Count, as the title of its work the advertisement, undertook to examine which had been the result this calculation, which were the effects of slavery on physical faculties, intellectual and morals of the masters, too although on those of the slaves. It starts by recognizing
that the physical bodies of the masters are not deteriorated by slavery. The causes which appear to maintain the force physics are the use of a good food, a exercise sufficient, and the choice of the individuals who preserve the race. However masters, in the state of cruelty, as that of civilization, appear to join together all these advantages. Their food is always assured; the practice, taste of the pleasure, policy even, make them continue the exercises at least who make them clean to hunting and the war; finally, unless a national prejudice does not stop them, they can to link itself with most beautiful among their wives slaves, and in to have children more beautiful than their fathers. It is what have fact the Turks and the Persan ones, who thus constantly improved their race. But slavery must necessarily vitiate the organization physics of the slaves. Because those do not have a food, clothing, dwellings, that as much as the masters like it of their to leave some. Any exercise which can give them force, address, courage, their is prohibited, like being dangerous for their owners. The small number mechanical operations to which they are obliged to deliver itself, in the interest of their masters, cannot develop that some their bodies. This development can even be that very restricted, because a forced exercise, excessive, accompanied by deprivation of food, is a cause of weakness, much more than one cause of force. That one adds with these considerations which the controlled men cannot have for partners that the least beautiful women, others becoming concubines of the masters, and one will conceive easily how the controlled part of mankind owed all days to degrade itself more. But the development of the physical organization must especially to be considered as for the means which it gives to the man to act on the things, and to make them clean to provide for its needs: however slavery stops this industrial development, in the masters as in the slaves. The first effect that the slavery produced with regard to the masters is of say
to think of work which provides the men immediately means of existence; second is to show to them these work with contempt. In antiquity, only one industry was not degraded with the eyes of the masters: that which consists with to draw up, to rent, buy and sell men. One of ancestors of Octave had, said one, dishonoured his posterity in making the bank; but Marcus Caton bought and sold men; he particularly sold the old men who him reported that little profit, and who could become useless: and Caton was the guard of manners (1)!

This contempt for any manual work, which one named servile, was universal among the Greeks and Romans; it is universal in the colonies, among all the race of the masters. Even the European operation, faded like criminal, if it becomes owner of a man, believes at once that it cannot to devote itself to a production work without derogating from its nobility. The Dutchmen, who can appreciate' on their premises all so well the useful kinds of work, attest in Batavia, as with Cape of Good Hope, for any industrial occupation an insurmountable contempt and an aversion. English with Grey waxbill, in Jamaica and in tou your their colonies; the Anglo-American ones in the ten States of the south, have in the same way given up any species of work. In Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, the masters never work; the serfs work only with the ground; one only finds some industry at the Jews, which, already overpowered by the contempt, cannot in incurring more while making itself useful. Thus, though slavery does not vitiate necessarily the physical bodies men who belong to the class of the masters, it has for effect to make of it the exercise null in all the kinds of occupations which are necessary to the existence of the people. It are instruments which not only are useless with the kind human considered in mass, but which is not used for the individual who is provided that by the evil which they produce for one multitude of others. If, by some great catastrophe,

(1) Plutarque, Life of Mr. Caton, p. 402.
race of the masters disappeared suddenly from a country where slavery is admitted, it is not any kind of work which remained suspended, no wealth which one had to deplore the loss. Nothing would cease, that the torments which they inflict with their slaves. As much the industrial development is stopped in the masters by their contempt for work, as much it is it at slaves by the degradation to which the masters reduce them. The slaves nowadays are unable of any work which would ask intelligence, taste, care. It is probable that the beams work of Roman antiquity were carried out by men trained with industry while they were free, and that the war had made slaves; because, as soon as Romans, having conquered all the people undue money-trieux, could not make slaves any more but among the Barbarians, all arts, any species of industry, declined quickly on their premises, and they fell down themselves in cruelty. Then let us see, with our author, which effect the slavery produced on intellectual faculties, is masters, is slaves. (Chap. 4, p. 54.) As for the masters, it is necessary to distinguish between them those which enjoy political freedom and those which are private; the first extremely well manage to develop those of theirs intellectual faculties which will be used to them to act on their equal, while they will not develop those by which they could act on the matter: the seconds will not develop neither ones nor others. The idleness of the man makes him prefer the force with the reasoning, the authority with persuasion, all times that it has the choice of them; but the citizen of the States free of antiquity, not being able to order from its equal as it ordered from its slaves, was forced to learn to persuade them. He thus studied the man, his equal, on whom he was to act by persuasion; but it did not study nature, on which it was to act only by the arms of its slaves. It seemed useless to him to discover the means of their to save a little tiredness: also all applications of science with industry appeared an exemption to him. When
the citizen lost his political freedom, it did not have more interest to study the man, it did not have any more than to study before nature; it renonça with a work without goal, all knowledge died out, and the return of cruelty was consequence. Between the colonies of Europeans, those of the English are them only where the colonists obtained from the motherland some political power; they are also the only ones where they felt it need for a intellectual development which made them able to persuade their equal, to acquire on them some authority by the only means which admits political freedom. In the colonies of the other people, that the metropolis, controls with an absolute capacity, masters, not having turn with turn that to obey and order, showed the stupidity which is clean despots and slaves, with the reserve of only individuals whom one made raise in the motherland, far spectacle of slavery. Our author proves, by facts, by the detailed attestimony of all the travellers, contempt for any species of instruction of the Dutch colonists of the Cape of Good Hope, French colonists of Louisiana, of the Spanish colonists in those their provinces where the slaves are most numerous. In the United States, like there is political freedom, there is development of the intelligence in the masters. But them citizens, in the States of the south, develop only faculties who will put them capable to act on the men; citizens, in the States of north, want to act and on the men and on the things, and they are divided between these two careers. Also the States of midday gave perhaps more men clean with the government. Washington, intended to fight or to control men, could be born on an exploited ground by slaves; but Franklin, intended to light it world, and to increase the power of the man on nature, could develop only in one country where arts were exerted by free hands. As for the slaves, the immediate effect of slavery is to stop in them any intellectual development. Also, in
colonies of America where all manual work is carried out by slaves, the masters are obliged to make come, countries where the slavery is not admitted, very industrial product which, to be obtained, requires some intelligence. masters can employ their slaves to be killed and transport trees; but, if it is a question of building ships, it is necessary that they send these trees in the countries where one finds free workmen. They can make them cultivate coarsely ground, and to obtain corn by their work; but, when it is necessary to convert this corn into flour, one is obliged to send it in places where one finds workmen able to make mills. The slaves cannot even devote themselves to all the care which agriculture requires, they has enough neither enough intelligence nor of care to cultivate vegetables or trees with fruits. Finally their incapacity is such as agriculture is still in the most barbarian state, and that the masters make to come from England the coal which is used to them as heating, though they have the forests with six miles of distance. Sometimes even, they make some come to the brick of which they build their houses. Causes of the incapacity of the slaves in all the kinds of industry are easy to see. The hand does not carry out well that what the spirit conceived well. Our physical bodies are that the instruments of our intelligence; and, when the intelligence did not receive any development, it cannot to direct that badly the bodies which are at its disposal. However, in countries where slavery is established, not only masters are unable to develop intellectual faculties of their slaves, but they have almost a whole a natural tendency to stop the development of it. The need for safety, more extremely than the passion of avarice, obliges them to hold them men as controlled close to rough as that their is possible. Robin reports (1) that a French colonist of Louisiana repeated unceasingly that it did not fear anything as long as negros with spirit. It says that all its attention went to

(1) Travel in Louisiana, T. III, Chap. 68, p. 197.
to prevent that they did not acquire any, and that it only succeeded there too much. These colonists do not judge differently than they did not judge Romans. The Caton critic did not see anything more dangerous that slaves with intelligence. When them his did not work, it condemned them to sleep: such an amount of it had fear that they were not warned to think (1)! Anglo-Amérique states of the south, which were recently still them the less ignoramuses and least brutal of the masters, push back today with fear and by torments, any attempt to teach with reading with their slaves. Colonists subjected to English government saw a long time with not less terror the efforts which several inhabitants made of Great Britain to give some lights to their slaves, and to raise them with the Christian religion (2). But, if slavery condemns the masters to scorn industry, and the slaves to be unable for it, is there some resource for a nation in the class of those which are not neither masters nor slaves? Not; because, in a country where slavery is established, a man who does not belong nor to the class of the masters nor with that of the slaves, unless it does not carry sound elsewhere industry, is obliged or to remain idle, or to be scorned. If sometimes free men agree to work, it is not that as much as the rise in the wages the contempt compensates attaché with work; and even then, a free workman buys slaves, or disappears at once that it made some economies (3). The state of the proletarians, in the Roman republic, pushed back of any work, or by the contempt or competition slaves of the patricians, is a remarkable example and frightening degradation and misery to which slavery reduces the part of the nation which is not classified nor among masters nor among the slaves. Such are the effects of slavery on the organization physi-

(1) Plutarch, Life of Mr. Caton.
(2) See the debates of the 23, D House of Commons 'England June 1825.
(3) Rochefoucoul, Travels to the United States; second part, T. IV, p. 293, 294; third part, T. VI, p. 75.
that, industry and intelligence. Its effects on manners (1) are much more still degrading. One of the first consequences morals which slavery produced among Romans idleness was the love. Absence of mental and physical activity, and possession of wealthes acquired by plundering, was born an unrestrained passion for all the pleasures sensual. The greediness and the voracity of large arrived at a point of which it is impossible today of to make any idea. The ground was devastated to provide to theirs vices, and wealthes of a province were absorbed in a meal. The house of large containing a multitude slaves of the two sexes, manners the masters attested promptly the effects which were to result from such mix; the Roman history provides bright examples more scandalous depravity. Mr. Count announces some two, in brilliant times of the republic: the judgment of one hundred sixty women of senators, convinced one plot to poison their husbands who neglected them for slaves, and the association of men and of women, to deliver itself jointly to the vice, discovered year 539 of Rome; the number of the culprits, of which women formed the greatest part, rose above seven thousand: more half were condemned to the last torment. We regret being able to follow the author, at the time-qu' it show the Roman constraint always more worsening with progress of wealth and luxury in the masters; rations of food decreasing for the slaves, and the torments becoming more atrocious; servile revolts, wars, private revenges on the slaves, multiplying the dangers and for each master and all the State. All times that men are condemned to work without slackening and fruit, which they are not masters of none their movements, and which they are constantly exposed with the contempt, with the insult and arbitrary punishments, simple death ceases being a sorrow. It is necessary, so that it (1) Chap. VI, p. 80.
comes frightening, that it is accompanied by torments who exceed by their intensity all the widespread pains in the course of the life. It was necessary thus that the Romans who wanted to punish of dead their slaves, imagined torments clean to frighten the men most tired to support life. These torments could be given only by the whims of the masters, since the laws did not see in slaves that properties. The kind of torment more generally adopted was to tear them with blows of rods, and to then nail them with a cross. Torments of the individual that one had thus nailed several front days lasted that death came to put a term at it, unless the executor, by pity, some one of the parts essential had not attacked with life. The writers who gave us the description of it torment do not say that one exempted the women of them, nor even children of the most tender age which one condemned to perish when their master had died by an unknown cause. Mr. Count then reviews the colonies of the modern ones (1), to show that slavery produced in all same effects: intemperance, dissolution, ferocity. We will abstain from recalling here the parts them more appalling of these tables; there is too much suffering with to deal with the torments of so many million human beings who at this hour even groan in the sorrow. Us will satisfy with some features, taken in these various chapters, for which we will continue to borrow the same terms of the author. All times that a woman slave gave the day to one child, one could judge by the color of this child, with which species of man belonged his father. It was all the more difficult to be mistaken on the connections in the masters with theirs controlled women, that it y forever have marriage enters them white and blacks; any child of mixed blood was the product.

of an immoral union, it was almost always the fruit of violence of the master on his slave. While arriving at the course of Good-hope, known as the Valiant one (1), one is surprised multitude slaves as white as Europeans as one sees there. However never no white was tiny room in slavery in this country; the slaves, on the contrary, always were there of origin Ethiopian. Connections of the masters with Ethiopian girls, were born from the girls mulattos; their connections with those, were born from the less dark girls still; finally, traces from Ethiopian blood disappeared, and the slaves finished by to be same species as their owners. But, in it change of race, it is a phenomenon which it is important to observe, because we will find it in almost all other colonies. A colonist does not free the children who are born from him and from his wives slaves. It requires them work and the tender which it requires of all the others; he sells them, the exchange, or transmits them to its heirs, according to whether it judges it suitable. If one of his/her legitimate children receives them with title of succession, it does not make between them and its other slaves none distinction. A brother becomes thus the owner of its sisters and of its brothers; he exerts on them same tyranny, he require them same work, it tears them same whip, it appeases on them the same desires. This multitude of slaves white which astonish the glances by an European are thus almost always fruits of adultery and the inceste. One traveller observes (2) whom it exists if little affection enters them parents in this colony, which one seldom sees two brothers to converse together. How a brother could it have tenderness for another, when perhaps it has ten or twelve brothers and sisters whom it regards as cheappest of properties, and which it employs to satisfy its passions more brutal? In the Cape of Good Hope, the ground is poor; it is employed to raise herds, and to produce the same ones be

(1) T.I, p. 76.
(2) Barrow, T.I, p. 130.
pieces of grains which one collects in Europe. None of these products do not require heavy and continuous work. More necessary to the life which is those require less tiredness, and which is sold with low the price. Also, in general, in the Cape, the work of the slave is not excessive, and its food is abundant. In Guiane Dutchwoman, on the contrary, the ground is of a great fertility; it is specific to produce sugar or other food products, which grow only between the tropics. These productions obtained by the long ones and painful work are generally intended for export. As their sale is easy, the masters are interested to require their slaves one more arduous and more continuous work. Like, in addition, the food are rare and expensive, to be born to them does not leave any them that what is rigorously necessary for them to live. This opposition does not exist only between the Cape and Guiane: slavery, cruel and degrading everywhere, is however softened, in the countries of pasture, by long rest and a sufficient food: in those where cereals are cultivated, work is harder and more assiduous; it is not it however at the point to prevent the servile population from increasing. In the countries where the coffee is cultivated, cotton, tobacco, and especially sugar, work is excessive, food completely insufficient, and mortality is extremely higher than births. The beautiful slaves have to fear, not only them desires of the master or the commander on whom they depend, but the atrocious punishments by which they seek often to overcome their resistance or to punish it, and finally jealousy which the white women conceive against them. A woman who makes punish one of her slaves seeks especially to disfigure it and make it hideous. It is on the centre that it makes apply the blows of whip, sometimes even stabs. Stedman tells that a creole lady, seeing in its plantation a young person and beautiful slave, he made at once apply an extreme iron to the face, to cheeks and on the mouth, and ordered that one crossed to him in even time the tendon of Achilles. She made thus in one
instant, of a beautiful person, a species of monster of deformity (1). After features which show how much slavery corrupts also manners in the English colonies and the United States, the author still quotes on the last a more odious law, since it is reflected, that acts where one can not see that the explosion of ashamed passions. He is expressly defended with any owner of men, to develop faculties intellectual of its slaves. That which would be convinced to have taught to read with the one of them would be punished of a fine seven times stronger than that which it would incur in their cutting hands or the language. In this last case, it would not be condemned Q’ with a fine of fourteen books; in the first, it would incur one of one hundred of them. It is also defended of to let make to the slaves any traffic for their own account. Any meeting is prohibited to the controlled men: a white who finds on main road more than seven slaves together is held to manage blows of whip to them, without exceeding twenty blows for each one; and the slave who defends himself against a white is punished like having made a horrible crime. No negro individual or of mixed blood cannot appear in the streets, after fallen the night, without a permission special. The delinquents, free or slaves, are removed by a military police force which traverses the streets unceasingly, and punishes according to circumstances’ (2). Slavery was legal in all the Spanish colonies; but in all those which made fast progress towards prosperity, the number of the negros was or infinitely small, or almost no one. The conquered race of the natives, though subjected originally on a very hard diet, reduced in slavery. Thus, with the reserve of Cuba, and of a small number other points producing the food products of the tropics, and subjected to the mode of the plantations, work was carried out,


(2) Travels in Canada and the United States, by Francis Hall, p. 424. legislation of the southernmost United States was made crueler still since the publication of the book of Mr. Count.
in the Spanish America, by free hands; it was honoured, and this only circumstance made more for the good of humanity that could not make for its evil the despotism of government, its terror of the lights, the vigilance of the enquiry and all the precautions which seemed taken for to stop civilization. Mr. Count proves by a series of facts that, in the colonies Spanish-Americans, progress intelligence, industry, population and morality, always were, according to the different mode from each one because reverse of the number of the slaves and severity of their treatment. It seems that after having proven that slavery vitiates physical constitution of the slaves, whom it makes unable the masters of any work, and the unable slaves of a work proportioned with the free man power; that it disgusts masters of any exercise of the spirit, and that it prohibits it to the slaves; that it prevents the formation of a middle class, people who will be neither masters nor slaves, and that, when those exist, there forces them to emigrate; that it creates manners infamous and atrocious in the masters; and that while prohibiting with slaves will or direction of their actions, it them do not leave even the claim have manners: or has already proven that no institution more disastrous than slavery could be introduced into society. It is not however: Mr. Count examines the influence which slavery had on the guarantees of the freedom deprived for the masters, on the increase in wealthes, on that of the population, on political freedom and on the independence of the nations; and, in each one of these new reports/ratios, it shows, by the experience universal, that this appalling institution was not less disastrous with the masters than with the slaves, at all the people who tolerated it. In the countries where slavery is allowed, terrible calamity threatens the free men unceasingly, because them state can be questioned. Indeed, if a person is supposed free until it was proven that it is not it, how the masters will manage to keep theirs
slaves? how will they continue them, if they escape? how will they know in which places they took refuge? If, on the contrary, any individual is supposed slave, until it that it was proven that it is free, how the free people will not be they unceasingly not exposed to being treated in slaves (1)? At the old ones, nothing was more frequent than the flight of children. Often the slaves were avenged thus for their masters; they carried in their escape the children entrusted to theirs care or by revenge, or cupidity, or even by tenderness. But, when misery pressed them then, they sold them. The ancient comedies refer unceasingly to these removals. The history of Virginia teaches us that them adult people, and especially the women, were not safe from 'questions of State' who could juridically remove their freedom and their honor to them. In the English colonies, any person of Ethiopian extraction, or carrying more light dyed color which distinguishes the people from this species, is supposed slave until the proof of the opposite. An individual of the species of the masters, provided that it is of race pure, can thus seize any person, man, woman or child, who is coloured a little, and to retain it as property until it proves that it is free, or juice-qu' so that it is claimed by another owner. That who can remove, by trick or violence, the titles which prove that such or such individual is free, fact of him a slave by this only act; and, to adapt it, it is enough for him to take possession of it. One could not appear the degree of misfortune and danger who weighs on all the individuals of the coloured race, because this principle of legislation, in all the colonies of Europeans and the United States; one could not paint the appalling one armed robbery by which free men or women are removed in the States of north, where slavery is abolished, to be resold in the States of midday; the infamous abuse that (1) Chap. XII, p. 223.
one makes, even in the States where slavery is abolished, of claimed apprenticeship contracts, to retain in a real slavery the men who have a statutory duty to freedom. These misfortunes admittedly reached only one race up to now for which the white showed neither charity, nor sympathy, nor pity; a race towards which they were released from all moral duties, of all the religious duties which us bind not to the man only, but to all the beings who can feel and suffer. But defects of Europeans finally the negros avenge: we saw that the children born their disorder approach the white race so much that one cannot any more distinguish them. The moment arrived where completely white children could be catch with their rich person parents, and sold like mulattos, or wire and grandsons of mulattos, without there being no means of to claim. Passing to the influence of slavery on the distribution of wealthes (1), Mr. Count rises with reason against the immorality of this question: “The work made by slaves is it less expensive than that which is carried out by men free? ” It is like asking whether the properties that highwaymen acquire, by holding to ransom them travellers, are to them less expensive than those which are acquired by some species of industry. It is worse still: it is to consider the most considerable part of mankind like a production machine tool, which all the more has value which it absorbs a less considerable share of wealthes that it produces. But, after having made sense how much this question is badly put, it does not manage from there less to show that the work which a man obtains from a great number of others, in their tearing the skin with blows of whip, costs him MORE than the work which it would obtain from them of paying them one right wages. One can make the account of the masters, to show to them that themselves would find their advantage to abolish the escla-

(1) CH. XIII, p. 237.
vage; but the national account, that which makes our author, is more important still. It establishes that the system of slavery creates, distributes and accumulates much less wealthes than no other system by which the work of society could be carried out. Indeed, in a country with slaves, them masters having horror and shame of work, all their forces physics, and at the same time all their intellectual faculties and morals, are lost for the production and the conservation wealthes; in addition, the idleness to which they are condemned gives birth to on their premises passion from the pleasures physics, and of all that can break the monotony of their existence: the table, women, games of chance, finally all the defects which make dissipate wealthes quickly produced by the work of others. In the same country, at side masters, there remain only the slaves; any other class of the population necessarily disappeared. But slaves nothing has, and can nothing accumulate; the slaves are gone down to the last term from misery and degradation to which it is possible with the man to arrive. Three causes have contributed to abrutir them: the first is the care that the masters take to make them stupid, to ensure their characteristic sé-curilé; the second, work of which they overpower them, and who time does not leave them to reflect on nothing; the third, the absence supplements of any interest to light. The slave is an accountant only of the use of his rough physical forces; and when it delivered the product of it to its master, this one does not have any more nothing to ask him. Deprived of intelligence, the slave, with a quantity data of work, makes less possible work; deprived of interest in wealth which it creates, with a consumption data, it makes the largest possible damage; because there is not for he that danger to be saved. In a country exploited by a controlled population, it thus does not remain, for the production wealthes, that physical bodies of the slaves, relieved of any principle of intelligence and activity, and stimulated only by the action of the whip. However of the corporal punishments can require certain movement of the body well; but they
can create this energy which gives a free will; and, nevertheless they would manage to create it, a relieved force of address, of intelligence and morality, could not produce, and less still to preserve many wealthes, some energetic that it was besides. We very know little about the history of industry at old; it appears only that it thrived only at people where the slaves still very few were associated with work, instead of in being charged exclusively. It was in the same way of agriculture: it thrived under consular hands; but, more the number of the slaves increased in Italy, more the country lost its fertility: one was finally tiny room to convert only into pastures. We can better to judge effect which slavery produces, in the colonies, on distribution of wealthes. Agriculture is almost only connect industry which exists there; but it is exerted there without care, intelligence. Harvests which exhaust it ground follow one another it without interruption and rest; slaves, that no interest excites, do not make, in a given time, with the statement of the travellers, that hardly it tenth part of work that free workmen carry out in France (1). From there, the food products, fruit of their work, are necessarily more expensive. The deterioration of the ground, everywhere where slavery is bench, is a notorious fact in the colonies, and the part Southerner of the United States. The art of the carpenter, the carpenter, of the mason, is above the capacity of the slaves; the inhabitants of the States of midday, in America, are obliged to make come to large expenses workmen from the States from north to build their houses; but these workmen disappear at once that work for which one called them is finished. To maintain, to repair, it should be waited until some new construction brings back them at the end of several years. Also it of houses is little which are in good state, and sometimes it sometimes happens to see a table sumptuously been used and covered as silverware, in a room where

(1) Travel in Louisiana, Robin; T.I, CH. VI, p. 92.
half of the panes has missed for ten years (1). In result, in the countries with slaves, it is necessary that the masters draw from the foreigner part of their food and all the products manufactured, that they expensive pay all the services which require intelligence, and however that they do not withdraw from their ground that half of the revenue that they would withdraw some in a country without slaves; because it is there the proportion which establishes it selling price of the grounds, with wide and fertility equal. Too almost all masters, almost all owners of grounds, are obérês and live in a continual distress. According to a influence presented at the House of Commons by the assembly of the colonists of Jamaica, those are almost all overpowered of debts, and there is a quarter of their plantations with sugar which was put on sale, recently of years, by authority of justice (2). By seeking the influence of slavery on the increase various classes of the population, Mr. Count stops especially with this principle, that, as the population cannot increase that with the revenue, and as each master cannot to live that by consuming the revenue created by five or ten slaves, the population of the masters can increase only as much that that of the slaves increases in a proportion five or ten times higher (3). But, like the controlled population, well far from multiplying in slavery, decrease with opposite in a fast way, increase in the population white in the colonies and one required supposed faster increase still in the draft, and all them crimes which it makes commit. The author summarizes in these terms the influence of slavery domestic on the spirit and the nature of the government (4): thus, in a state where part of the population is had by the other as property, we find that one

(1) Rochefoucauld, Travels to the United States; T.V, Share. II, p. 95.
(2) The influence is of February 25, 1825. East and West India Sugar; p. 121, 122, 128.
(3) Chap. XIV, p. 283.
(4) Chap. XV, p. 299.
great portion of the class of the masters is naturally laid out (by its constant financial distress and its aversion for any work) to invade the capacity, and to seize wealthes created by the other; we find that the part of the population which can live only of its work, and of which slavery degrades or prevents industry, is also laid out to league with any individual who proposes to control or to destroy the class of the masters; finally we find that despotism, even more the violent one, who weakens or who destroys the capacity of the masters, is a benefit for the slaves. The tendency of the mass of the population the door thus towards the establishment of the despotism of only one; and, when it despotism is established, it is exerted with rapacity, brutality, cruelty and the stupidity, which put of the masters in the exploitation of their slaves. Facts gathered to make judge the influence of slavery on the independence of the people (1), two truths result important. The first, they is that all the men who reduce others in constraint of them, or who are made owners slaves, put themselves by this only fact between two enemies: they are exposed to being massacred by the men that they have, or with being controlled by foreigners. The second, they is that all the times that it is formed true coalition enters the interior enemies and the external enemies, the masters do not have any means of resistance. But this long extract should be finished; and however seven others chapters would still remain to be analyzed: no perhaps more our attention would deserve that that which treats 'reciprocal influence of slavery on the religion, and of religion on slavery' (2). However, we cannot not, by an extract, to compensate for the book which we analyze; we wanted only to inspire the desire to read it, while making to see how much, before Mr. Count, the effects of slavery had been not very required, how much its history is important in

(2) Chap. XVIII, p. 378.
general history of mankind, how much it spreads light on the fast decline of the large people of antiquity, how much it makes envisage sufferings and misfortunes for the modern people which are obstinately to preserve this devouring leprosy. Nobody will read the book of Mr. Count on slavery without seeing some spouting out a new light. Admittedly, before to have opened it, we did not believe ourselves ourselves indifferent to the suffering of our controlled brothers, or tepid in our feelings on slavery. However reading this book was for us like a revelation of all that this system has of absurdity, atrocious, ruinous, and of its effectiveness to destroy all that gives a value with the nations or a price with the life. Such is the impression that we received some: we wish ardently that others receive in their turn; because, we repeat it, far slavery is a calamity only specific to times spent, this calamity is present, it is threatening, it is spread among nations intended to multiply with one extreme speed, and already mistress of the most beautiful part livable ground. Never, perhaps, it was not important any more for the destinies of humanity to show what is necessarily slavery, to dry up this source of misery, of stupidity and crimes, in the countries which open with a new civilization.
It is a thing as strange as painful as to observe the state of suffering and misery to which the class of the farmers was reduced on almost all the surface of the ground. Wealthes which the ground produces are the first that the man learns how to wish, they are most necessary to its existence, and those which produce them have titles not with its pity only, but with its recognition. At the beginning of all the stories, we see the farmers in one state of freedom, peace and innocence. This table is so soft with our imagination that poets of all the languages us comb happiness in the life of the fields. Fables of the golden age, pastoral poetries of all the nations, them softer daydreams of wise nowadays, represent us also as the goal of our desires this alternative pastoral work and leisures in abundance. Our eyes can meet this happiness in any country where the farmer is free and owner, and the Swiss peasant, even can be the peasant Tuscan, does not have in its real life anything to envy with the peasant endowed by imagination with the poets. And however, with the places where wealth accumulated, people who praised themselves of their civilization seem to be endeavoured with the envi to always return the condition of the farmer more deplorable, to recognize which is the last term of suffering and of destitution to which it is possible to reduce it without depriving it of the life and faculty to work, for
he to grant anything beyond. We saw what the nation more opulent, the most civilized and most human of Europe, made its farmers; in the fate of the peasants Scottish and Irish, we could recognize that which threatens and which already partly reached the English themselves, that towards which will be thorough in their turn those of the remainder of Europe, if lesson of false chrematistic continue to be accommodated by the other nations. But they are also the most civilized people Europe which undertook to strip the farmer not only of all that they considered to be superfluous with the maintenance of its existence, of all that could spread some softness on this existence, but even of its reason and of its freedom. They sacrificed to their cupidity a race of men different from their; they plastered it with the row of the rough ones; they prohibited the exercise of its will and the knowledge of well and of the evil; they renewed for it slavery that they had abolished in their own hearths, and hating the negro because same of the insult that they made him, they refused to see in him a man, while preserving against him resentment, the desire, the desire of revenge that a man alone can excite. They did not calculate even which was the subsistence necessary to maintain its race; it is enough for them to find that with the help of which the slave could die in the sorrow most profitably for its master. They estimated that with an insufficient food and an excessive work, one negro could last ten years under the whip; that after this term, it was better that he died and that the master repurchased one of them other. It is on this infamous calculation that the draft was founded, and per hour that it is, it is not entirely abolished. Dutchmen, English, French, Spaniards the Portuguese, did everything this appalling calculation, and took leaves to this atrocious trade. It is true that a small number adventurers, the reject of each one of these nations, only went, far from its fatherland, to soil itself per so many crimes. Americans from the United States, guiltier than them all, have in their own country, within their families, on a ground of
freedom, continued so far with outrager the laws of God and of nature, by plastering the farmer below rough; they made the draft of State in State; and when they heard the cry of horror of humanity, they did not answer it that by redoubling their measurements of oppression. However the time when this scandalous violation of charity which must bind all the men, and of eternal justice, will not be tolerated any more on the ground, approaches quickly. The negro slave will be relieved before even the Irish farmer, because the negro is victim of a legislation whose iniquity strikes with the first sight; while the suffering of the Irishman holds with a system complicated, difficult to seize, more difficult to judge, and which lets believe that that which suffers is victim only of its own faults. The English nation, indeed, repairing glorieusement the wrongs of its ancestors, itself was already taxed to repurchase, by an enormous pecuniary sacrifice, those which it had let control. Its example is irresistible, with some fury that cupidity or the thirst for domination of the colonists endeavours to push back it. The French government already announced that it was laid out with to follow; that it hesitated only over the manner, and when these two great nations will have rehabilitated the negros with the row of men, it will not remain a long time possible with any other to still treat them like the rough ones. Which is the goal which the legislator must propose, by influence with the colonies and all the countries cultivated today by slaves? We already believe to have prepared the answer with this question in all the preceding essays. The government is charged to promote of all its capacity the happiness public. Its duty, it is to call all its subjects, or the greatest possible number of its subjects, with largest happiness which depends on him. The condition of much more, that which is most likely of happiness, that which contributes more to happiness of all the others, is that of the farmers; it is the condition which only, in the colonies, creates wealth; it is on it alone that, in these countries of exception, put back all society. The goal which owes
to propose the legislator will be thus to make cultivate the colonies by peasants, alive in abundance, free and happy. It is them which make the great number, it is them which constitute in first line the public happiness. The legislator must however still seek, on the surplus of product work of these peasants, the means of ensuring a revenue owners of the grounds, so that men of leisure and with intelligence are intermingled with the population with the colonies. Finally it must wish that the revenue of these two classes, coming agriculture, leaves them enough ease so that their consumption creates a new prosperity in favour of the industrial class, is by receiving its products of the mother fatherland, is while giving birth to and forming in the colony even men who provide for the needs that the products for fields do not satisfy. Under these three reports/ratios, the situation of the colonies is precisely the reverse of that which we see that the legislator should wish to them. All work of their culture is achieved by infinitely unhappy farmers, almost naked, famished, degraded, stunned, but deeply enemy order to which they are subjected. All properties island are between difficult the rich person hands, overpowered debts to which they cannot face, not having for all revenue that food products which they cannot sell; because them price declines every year. Finally the industrial class is in an equal state of suffering; until now it is like null with the colonies, and the merchants of the motherland continual bankruptcies, caused by the impotence attest to pay their colonial debtors. How in it would not be thus, when the great number, the very great number inhabitants of the colonies, slaves, not having anything. nothing consumes, and when the alleged rich person are in the embarrassment! How thus agriculture leaves it, also in embarrassment, with the colonies, and the farmer and the owner? These areas are located however under the most beautiful climate universe; their ground is incomparably more fertile than that of any part of Europe; much more, as it is
only clean with these productions of the tropics whose taste is today widespread everywhere, the grower enjoyed a long time, for its sugar and its coffee, of a right of monopoly which it exerted against the richest countries and the most civilized world. At the same time, the colonies do not pay a tax; expenses of their government, expenses of their own defense, are not with their load. Guarantee that they would be out of state to be given to themselves comes to them from a country less supported by nature, but wiser and controlled better that they. From which this absence from profit, this sterility comes revenues? Of a cause which we already had occasion to announce more once. Cupidity misleads that which misuse its capacity; it is an empty profit of substance, and soon ruinous, that that makes the producer on that who assistance to be produced; and in particular, we could see it with detail in the preceding essay, slavery is more expensive in all the manners of making carry out work of the man; it is that which, with the greatest advances, give less profit; it is with its own damage that it master has stunned and degraded the slave, that it removed the will and the intelligence to him, and only the mischievousness left him. It in vain, then, cuts off, from its food, its clothing and its housing, he to dispute all the needs for the life, it him in cost too much still to maintain in him this rough force with which it reduced it. Even by counting for nothing the price of purchase of the negro, his maintenance is not worth its work, compared with the maintenance and the work of the free man. That one point of view this important fact does not lose, of comparative dearness servile work; because one must conclude from it that the owner no financial claim has at the time of the abolition of slavery. It has, indeed, no property useful in the work of its slave; according to the existing laws, despite everything their iniquity, it is entitled to its work only as much that it makes it live; it is just like if the negro were not its slave; except that, in this last case, for the same ones advances, it would obtain much more work. The growers answer, with this comparison of the price of
returns from the free labour and servile, by embarrassing you the spirit details of a sugar cane plantation, and affirming that a sugar refinery could not be cultivated without slavery. It seems well rather than one should conclude that theirs sugar refineries are ruined only by slavery. Can one doubt that the cane with sugar is not infinitely specific any more to produce it sweeten that the beet, that it does not contain much any more sweetened matter, that the extraction isn't much more easy? However the beet is cultivated by free hands; it is cultivated with intelligence, addresses and affection, by those which are interested in its success. The cane with sugar is cultivated, at the price blood and tears, by men who would like to see to absorb in the abyss the field which they will trench. The beet enriches the French farmer; the cane with sugar ruins it grower of the Antilles. One speaks to put a tax on production of the beet sugar; but before bases in are posed, already all Europe hastens to borrow from France culture of beet, and to build news sugar refineries. With the fact, the industry of sugars is lost for The Antilles, at least as long as slavery will be maintained there. It was a rich person industry, and who could support expenses extraordinary of production, as long as a few square miles of a fertile soil, located in the Tropics, exerted against the whole universe a monopoly for the production of sweeten; but since the introduction to the Antilles of the cane much more productive of the islands of the South Sea; since transport of the sugar refineries in the plains of southernmost America, which could only produce hundred times of them what the world would like some to consume; since the arrival of sugar from the Eastern Indies, since the invention finally of sugars of beet, the growers should not think of the old products their sugar refineries that as at a golden age which cannot to never return. The growers still seek to persuade that an abolition formal of slavery is not necessary, since it take place already imperceptibly. They published with assignment of tables intended to establish that the masters are hastened,
in the French islands, to grant freedom to the negros who
deserve, and that the number of freed there increases the every
day. One could baffle them on the nature of these stampings,
their reasons, the condition of the 'patronés'; but the first
answer to make them, it is that they did not still take only one
step to base the culture of the colonies on work free. What it
is necessary for the ground, which it is necessary for the
agriculture, which it is necessary for the humanity, which it is
necessary for national safety, they is peasants, they is free and
happy peasants. Stampings, which out be indeed frequent with
the colonies, have recruited only the class of the proletarians
of the cities, in one country where the cities do not have any
industry. Freed provide the seaports of day-labourers, of
 carriers of water, commission agents, boatmen, small
merchants drinks or the edible ones. They are the servants of
the public, instead of being those of the private individuals;
but never they do not rise with the one of the professions or
one creates wealth; never they are called, even as days
laborer, with the service of agriculture, from which are born
the only revenues from the country; never they are engaged in
the month or the year in the small number of trades which are
exerted by free men under tropics. Living from day to day in
idleness, misery and the vice one; awaiting the orders of the
first passer by, they are degraded always more, and make fall
down on all them race an unjust prejudice. It is nothing to
make still but break the chains of slavery which retains the
negro in mud, with the feet of the grower; it is necessary to
make a peasant of it. It is necessary it so that the ground of the
colonies continues to be cultivated, so that it the most
important work of all with the existence of the people
achieves itself, so that the territorial wealth is not lost, so that
all the capital fixed on the ground, or circulating for to put
forward, are not lost; it is necessary it so that society exists;
because with white which would be believed dishonoured by
work, such as those which one sees today with the colonies;
freed carry-burdens or commission agents, only condition
where one allowed them to enter: not peasants and
not slaves, in less than two years all population country would be carried by the famine. It is necessary that the negros are high with the rank of peasants for their happiness, their morality, their intelligence. Their interest must be the first with the eyes of the legislator; because they are much the most numerous; they are them more important, as being the only ones which makes live all others; they are victims of an appalling injustice, of one crime that the laws of God and the men also reject; of a crime which does not deprive them only of good hor on this ground, but of any intelligence, all virtue, of crowned character of the human race, perhaps of any future. In the name of all that they suffered, of all what society must repair towards them, their interest must with the eyes of society, to pass before any other interest. But it is necessary still that the negros are high with the row of peasants for the national advantage, so that the class more many of society does not ask any more the upheaval society, so that it is not ready any more to join any interior enemy or outside who will make him hope to break its yoke; so that the legislation is not soiled any more and morals corrupted by an inhuman distrust, judgments iniquitous and of the atrocious torments; so that work cease being dishonoured; so that all members of society contribute to create, accumulate wealth; so that the most class of the nation returns in the category consumers, so that it contributes thus to give activity to all industries of the cities and the trade, as well of the colony as of the metropolis. It is necessary finally that the negros are high with the rank of peasants for the advantage of the growers themselves, owners ground. We will not insist on the moral advantages that they will withdraw some, on the obstacle has development of their intelligence, that they will draw aside, on the seduction with all the defects that they will move away from the centre of their family; nor on the dagger unceasingly raised on them, from which they will be withdrawn; nor on thousand dangers which threaten their children, and to which they
will put a term. The growers need to raise the negros with the
rank of peasants to recover some independence pecuniary.
They need to change their mode of culture, because they is of
all most expensive, most ruinous; the work of the slave is that
of all which costs it expensive and which produces less.
Direction given to their culture, whose products are intended
in entirety for the markets foreigners, is that which exposes
them more to the revolutions trade, and with the obstructions;
today that there is already superabundance of all their
productions on all them markets, it leads them to an
unquestionable ruin, of which they are saved, in France, that
by the unjust monopoly that customs guarantee to them
against the French consumers. It no country in the known
world has there where owners are as constantly obérés as they
are it with the colonies; there is no where the bankruptcies are
so numerous in this rich person class; there is no where the
grounds, them more fertile of the universe, have less value.
Indeed, it price of a plantation is calculated on the number of
negros who he are attached; one does not even flatter oneself
to be refunded completely of their purchase price. The whole
value of ground goes in general over. It is admittedly
necessary to confer this benefit to the growers in spite of
them, because they resist it of all their forces, with all their
passions. Admittedly it is not the first time we see a class of
men being plugged on his true interest, to push back what is
useful for him, to choose what, him harms, and especially to
prefer what exists, with all its disadvantages, with the
unknown which read is offered in exchange. There is garlic
their in all the antecedents of the masters something of clean
to make them illusion. They bought the slaves at the price of a
capital, they sell them against a capital; when they them
perdent ils doivent les remplacer avec un capital. Sans doute il
leur faut un assez grand pouvoir d’abstraction pour com-
prendre que la propriété qu’ils ont dans leurs nègres est égale
à rien, absolument à rien. C’est un fait cependant. Qu’est-ce
qu’ils ont acheté, en achetant un nègre? la plus-value de
its work on its maintenance; but it is exactly the same one market which they would make with any free farmer that they would invite to exploit their ground. Only the maintenance of negro, though much worse, costs them more than if it were free, because it is not spared by its economy; the work of the negro, though forced, is worth less than if it was free, because it is not directed by its intelligence. The only question of money for the owner, it is the comparison between the appreciation which remains to him in each system of culture. It should well be said that the capacity that a master exert on its slave cannot be evaluated only in money. It is a pleasure of ordering as a despot and to be obeyed at the moment; it is a pleasure of making tremble, to be able to reward or punish according to its whim, to be above the rules of justice, to believe itself higher than a whole race of men, to scorn them when one is oneself méprisable, and of being able with their assistance to satisfy all its passions, with all its defects, but these are there pleasures whose society should grant the guarantee to no order citizens. The legislator, to raise the negros in the condition of peasants, must seek initially which is the contract of culture who, by guaranteeing the interest of the owners, ensures farmer the most happiness and the most development moral and intellectual, it must also seek which is the contract that men leaving slavery, stripped of all, even of intelligence and will to work, are in state to achieve. It must seek which kind of assistance finally the government can give to prepare the slaves with a so new condition, to make continue work feeder of society, even at the moment of the change relations between them and their masters, to maintain finally the new order by a suitable system of punishments and rewards. We in the preceding essays already prepared answers to these various questions; we studied several contracts between the owners and the farmers, with
means whose the ground is development, and we have in more than one occasion makes their history, to show by which way various people, our ancestors inter alia, arrived of slavery at freedom. Because the injustice and cruelty are of all the countries, and the crime of which negros ' today victims are anjourd was made in turn in all areas of the ground. We will recapitulate our observations however, preferring to rather expose us to some repetition to leave some darkness here. The conditions under which the free peasant or on not to become it cultivates the ground for another are reduced with four principal. It can give half of its work with the owner, in exchange for grounds that this one him give, and that the peasant puts forward by other half of sound work; it can not receive grounds into clean, but to work that of the owner, by dividing the fruits with he; he can, instead of this half of harvests. to promise a revenue fixes for a determined time, with the end of which it the ground returns to the owner. It can finally obtain the ground with perpetuity, under the obligation to also provide to perpetuity or this same fixed revenue, or of the given services. The first contract constitutes the serf; the second, the sharecropper; the third, the farmer; the fourth, the owner burdened with royalties. It is seen that we do not include/understand the proletarian agriculture, or day laborer. under the name of 'country'. In effect, it does not belong to the 'country', and the country does not belong to him. That one is not astonished that we place the serf in this progressive scale; the serf, such as its contract constitutes it with its owner, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, is not already any more one slave, though the political power of lord to which it is still subjected could and had to be extremely decreased. The serf is regarded as the property of a master, but it has itself in its turn a property, a house, fields, herds, attachments which are with him. It must of services that those of its person during three days week, during the three others he is a master of its
nobody and of his goods. This contract is bad: it abrutit the man, it stops progress of agriculture, it creates and maintains feelings of hatred; but it does not return the peasant with much close so unhappy that is the proletarian of agriculture in countries which are claimed more civilized. The comparison enters the Russian peasant and the peasant Irish, as for food, with housing, clothing, and with safety for the future, would be largely with the disadvantage of the last. This contract is bad, because of all what remains to him of its servile origin, it is bad by resemblances which it lets remain between the serf and the slave. Indeed, during three days the serf works like one free man on his own fields, with intelligence and love, because it is animated by the hope; but during the three other days it works like a slave on field of the lord, with dislike, fear, idleness; to awake its attention and to hasten its work, an inspector, in Russia as in the Antilles, presses it sometimes with the whip, but the whip in Russia as in the Antilles can never replace the will and the intelligence, and the serf in its three days of corvée does not make the work that it has habit to make in one of its free days. Perhaps will examine us, in another occasion, how peasants Russian and Polish could be high under a better condition. We do not have guard to propose the introduction of serfdom in the Antilles to replace slavery, though them negros and the white dussent to also gain there; it would be well annoying to stop thus with half way in the reform, when one surmounted all the obstacles which prevented to undertake. The condition of the countries of Eastern Europe show rather how much this contract puts obstacle at progress rural science and civilization. It would not be badly however to perhaps admit it like exception, 'AD ter-remen', and to punish those of the negros who would not like to fold with any farming system, which would be deaf with their own interest, and incompetents to work, as soon as one would have withdrawn from the whip of the inspector.
The contract of sharecropper such as we represented it like making the happiness of the peasant of Tuscany, is also this him who appears to us cleanest to return the negros to the happiness, to maintain the culture in a prosperous state, and with to ensure the owner a revenue higher than that which it withdraws currently of its plantations. This contract is perhaps, in all places, most equitable, that which preserves at the owner the most considerable revenue, while guaranteeing to peasant the most pleasure and of safety; but it is with the colonies in particular and a population that slavery is withdrawn that it appears particularly suitable. We have represented, in addition, disadvantages of the tenant farming, even in the countries more thriving, and its tendency to establish a competition between the farmers, who can reduce them, as in Ireland, with the most appalling distress. But it is especially in its application to the colonies that the contract of tenant farming seems impracticable. It is thus had regard to the state of country where one wants to abolish slavery that these two contracts must to be compared one with the other. It is between them that one will have to choose: serfdom can be regarded only as one system penal, to which one would have recourse in the event of insubordination; perpetual concessions burdened with royalties, to which the happiest peasants of Europe must today breadths advantages of the property, can hardly be obtained, as we will see it later, that in circumstances who do not meet with the colonies. It is thus necessary to make negros, or farmers or sharecroppers, if one wants to have peasants with the colonies, and it does not have there not a circumstance, those which decide the choice in all another country, between these two systems, which should not make prefer sharecroppers. Culture of the countries located between the tropics be exerted, more still than that of the southernmost countries Europe, on hardy perennials and shrubs. cane with sugar, the cotton plant, the indigo, the tobacco, are long-lived; the caffier, the nopal, are shrubs; the cocoa-tree is one tree; the banana tree, the palm tree, the cassave, all plants food, occupy the ground a long time. In all
Europe one attested that culture of the arborescent plants, vine and olive-tree, could not be entrusted to farmer, who, to obtain at a better price the renewal of its farm, interest would have to give them to the end of its lease in a state of suffering one of exhaustion. plants which occupy the ground a long time push back as a General the plough and the instruments which shorten work; they ask to be cultivated with the hand; they require attention, of the address, the interest to their conservation; it is especially because the slave is secretly the enemy of sound master who his work is ruinous with the colonies. The sharecropper, on the contrary, is the associate of his master; the care which it gives with each plant proportions itself with the fruits that it expects some. farmer admittedly is also interested in prosperity of its farm throughout its lease; but it cannot to be alone its work, the weather is obliged to resort to hands mercenaries, and these, by their negligence, cause in little time the loss of these hardy perennials which cannot to perish without ruining the plantation. If the nature of the culture to the colonies, this culture expressed by the name even of plantation, the condition imposes not to give the considerable capital entrusted by the grower with the ground, that with that which will have an interest equal to his to its conservation, the nature of the men by whom this culture can be carried out requires more imperiously still that one makes them sharecroppers and not farmers. Industry of the farmer is of a nature too recorded to be able to be undertaken by a man who leaves slavery. In sound agriculture, as it takes all the responsibility on itself, it needs also to be withdrawn from any control; of to stick to the products which it can sell best, to give up with the others; to make its work, its harvests, its markets, in the moment that it judges most convenient. But it y a negro in the colonies does not have to which a grower wanted to entrust its ground to such a condition. The sharecropper, with the opposite, usually lets itself direct by its owner; as it is associated him, that their interest is common,
both also wish to benefit from knowledge, of the experience, of the skill one of the other. In fertile Italy, where the peasant has for him his old practice and the experience that it gives him, it does not refuse the councils however of a associate in which it believes more lights; in the plantations where the master was accustomed to order and the negro to obey, where the first was supposed to have all experience, intelligence, precaution, slum that the second did not know that it had even a will, the docility of sharecropper would be whole until it itself had acquired one experience which could light the owner. If the character of the culture and that of the farmer push back also the tenant farming, distribution of the intended capital with agriculture still makes more impossible in the colonies to find farmers, and does not leave for the negros of another condition that that of sharecroppers. It is necessary to remember, indeed, that the man leaves absolutely naked slavery; it even the property of its person did not have; it is given to him, but him nothing is given beyond. However, it is the use which owner advances with the sharecropper all his capital, and it can it to make, because it directs it unceasingly, because this capital does not leave to some extent with its hands. Never it would agree to advance the capital with a farmer who does not have anything, which do not offer any guarantee. It asks, it must ask sound farmer, not only to have the capital necessary for to put forward its farm, but still to answer, until one certain point, for bad harvests; because the tenant farming must to be an average proportional enters the years included/understood in the lease: the owner gives up with the farmer the benefit more favorable, not to be without revenues in worst; but how to make such a market with that which does not have anything, which can nothing lose, which cannot nothing to promise? The freed slave could not be a farmer. It seems however that those which dealt with the emancipation of the negros counted, especially in the colonies English, or that it would introduce farmers, or that the growers would be themselves the farmers of their C
Maines. They did not think of making, with the negroes, of peasants, but only of the proletarians suitable to be called during the urgency of work in countryside, and with being returned then; perhaps they returned by there incomplete a measure which they made adopt with the British nation with so much of generosity. They did not leave the negroes slavery, or at least the distress, though they repurchased them at great price; they did not ensure the revenue of the owners, they did not guarantee to the nation the continuation culture, either that the peace of the country (1). For the happiness of the farming population it is to be wished, as we said elsewhere, that it is very the same condition; that each one works and that each one enjoys; that the unskilled labourers are not divided into two classes, one makes its profit of the depriations of the other. It is not wealth of some contractors of farms, it is the ease of the farmer whom we look like the wish of humanity. Moreover, under the influence of the improvement agriculture, the industrial farmer, the useful farmer, is that which puts itself the hand at work, that which gives the example of vigilance, perseverance, sobriety; that which can carry out all work that it requires of its workmen and with its servants; that which sits down at table with them, which learns how to them to be satisfied with its frugality, and which makes sure by its own experience which food that it them give is sufficient to maintain or renew their strength. It is only in this manner that the farmer, or it owner who agree to be his own farmer, who holds its grounds with its hand, can lead its agriculture with economy and intelligence. There is not one of the skilful agronomists of Europe perhaps which attested in its turn only, in an exploitation that it only directs, if it cannot make its hand it that he knows well in theory, all its knowledge is useless for him; that

if it is not with the fields itself at the dawn of the day, it will lose at least an hour each day of the work of its workmen; that if it cannot handle their tools like them, it will have to be satisfied with a pretence of work for a work reality; that if it does not eat with them, their maintenance will cost him double by the wasting. Perhaps it will attest to make replace by a 'master-servant'; he will pay the pledges of this one, indeed; but it will never obtain him to it eye of master, will of the master. Emancipation tried in the English colonies, transforming negros not as peasants, but as proletarians agriculture, as days laborer, supposes that they will be under the direction of a white, which will be the farmer of all the plantation, or under that of the owner himself, governing its own field, 'farming his own Land'; because this system of exploitation, which is completely exceptional in Europe, is supposed to be normal in the Antilles. But is to seek an untraceable thing to ask a farmer the colonies. If it is impossible to find it among the negros, it is hardly less impossible to find it among the white. Any lack at the same time with the adventurers who will seek fortune in the islands, and capital, and credit, and knowledge in agriculture, especially in that of the country, and generally integrity. Moreover, an invincible prejudice removes the capacity of the agronomist to all the white also, the masters like with the farmers: 'work is a dishonour for the race white'. Also the white which governs a plantation, that it is itself owner, or manager, or curator of a bankruptcy, or farmer, if any of the latter are met, does not have ever put the hand at the hoe, forever tried any of agricultural work, forever shared the meal of a negro. He is satisfied to traverse the plantation at certain hours, to receive the reports/ratios of the commanders and the stitchers negros, to give orders and to punish. He counts, by terror alone, to compensate for vigilance. Its ignorance and sound imperfect inspection cannot make walk on the plantation that by slavery. A farmer of Europe would be ruined soon
if it were not a more farmer that him. Indeed, among the causes of the obérée situation of all the growers, one should not less to count the insufficiency of the co-operation of the white with work of the plantation, that loathing with the work of slaves. It thus seems that there is well little success to wait for white themselves, and by the fault of the white, of a system of exploitation where all direction and the factory inspectorate, all the feeling of property, all the intelligence, would be reserved for the only white, while the negro should not contribute to it that force of their arms, as workmen taken at the day. But if this transformation of the slaves into proletarians is insufficient to ensure the interest of the masters, how much it is incomplete, how much it is disappointing for those which wanted to ensure the fate of the negroes! By occupying us of Ireland, us studied the frightening state of society towards which one would involve the colonies. One would see there, on the one hand, a small number of endeavouring to save on work which their plantations require, that is to say because the capital they would miss owners, maybe because the colonial produces would continue to lower price on the markets; in addition, a class very many of workmen, not having for vibrates absolutely only their arm, being offered to the envi and the reduction to make days that one would not like to grant to them. And between ones and others, no protective law of poor, none institution of charity, much more, no sympathy. With this exploitation by days laborer, in the seasons of slackening between great work, when half of the negroes would be congédiée, that a coming missionary is represented near their former masters to state to them that negroes freed die of hunger. and to request their charity. That one reads again the debates of the assembly of Jamaica, and that one appear their answer: it would make quiver humanity. We have more horror than anybody for slavery, but certainly, we believe it firmly, the Irish proletarian is frequently tiny room in a state of misery that the slave forever known negro. The hut of the Irishman is
poorer still, more stripped of very piece of furniture, all utensil, of any comfort, that the box of the negro; clothing is as ashamed as that of the other, and however a wet and cold climate returned and it clothing and housing more necessary to the first: the food of the Irishman is much varied and well less succulent; the work of the Irishman is more constant and more prolonged. The negro admittedly is exposed to whip of the commander during his work, with the whim and with acts of ferocity of the master, while the Irishman, instead of body sorrows, knows only the moral sorrow of famine which threatens it each day with his/her children. We put still of the difference between the state of the one and that of the other, but certainly if the act of emancipation which makes the glory of the British Parliament had had of another effect to only raise the negro in the condition of the Irish proletarian, it would not be worth not the twenty sterling million which it costs the nation. It is necessary that France, by achieving in its turn repair that it must with humanity, goes more right in work; it is necessary that it achieves its work, and that it raises the negro, subject of France, with the row of the French peasants; it is necessary at the same time as it serf the colonist in spite of him, and that it gives him safety like the revenues of the owner French. It is because the sovereign must think of this one in spite of its wrongs, and to hold measurement right in its favour that we do not propose to raise the negro in the condition of owner, though in most of France the peasant became of slave owner, and that it is cause prosperity of these same provinces. The anarchy of the Middle Ages and its private wars spread on humanity a benefit which one would hardly have provided, when one was pilot their devastations: the ambition took in the lords place cupidity; they wanted to transform their wealthes in force; their slaves they made the vassal ones to which they asked services instead of revenues. They felt it need to find in their defenders the affection, courage, the honor and the virtue, which are incompatible with
slavery, and to give birth to them in their hearts they them gave independence. If they had required the their vassal ones, out of money or food products, the very whole appreciation of produced their work on their maintenance, they would not have not waked up this activity of heart which shone with eleventh and with twelfth century in a race before degraded and controlled, and which made reappear with a so inconceivable speed population and agricultural industry, the value and attachment with the fatherland. The negros would make progress infinitely faster in intelligence, virtue and prosperity, if they became owners of the ground whom they clear, we do not doubt it by no means, and we can see the proof of it with Santo Domingo. The newspaper of the traveller who traversed more recently this island teaches us that the plains where were the large plantations and the large sugar refineries, are almost all still devastated by the consequences of the war atrocious which was continued there during long years, but that hills, where the negro poor families took refuge to enjoy independence and freedom, where they cleared and planted a ground which was entirely with them, where they thought of providing for their own needs, and not with to prepare cargoes for foreign markets, present a succession of tables of industry, abundance, virtues and of happiness, which still relieve the heart in a country memory of so many crimes impresses. But the legislator, far from supporting a revolution which upset all the properties like that of Santo Domingo, must do all that is in its capacity to avoid it; far from to allow that the owners are made soldiers of theirs slaves, by freeing them, as made the lords with the Middle Ages, it must take care that the citizens do not usurp no part of the police force. The ground of the colonies is with present the property legitimates growers, while in Scotland, in Ireland, the ground belonged to the tenants partly, and for this reason we believe that the legislator had their to return rights recently usurped. With the colonies, with opposite, quoqu' it made desirable to see the negros, or of
less one part of them, to rise in the condition of peasants owners, all it with what must tighten the legislator, it is to be made them country under the only contract which is appropriate also with them and their masters, country sharecroppers, because it would have there only danger them to return or farmers, or serfs, or proletarians. To change the fate of the negroes, it is necessary well to include/understand the condition of or one draws them, the condition where they are wanted to put. The law did not confer rights to the slaves, but it less did not impose obligations of them to the masters towards them, of the obligations which they contract by the only fact to have bought slaves. Indeed, slavery includes/understands one useful right and a political right. Useful right, like us said, it is the appreciation of work on maintenance. negro is held to employ for his master all the force physics which it can deploy without perishing. The master is held to nourish, place, dress its slave, as much as, in a not very scrupulous country, requires it the public decency; of to nourish the days of rest which the religion grants, days rest which the bad weather of the seasons imposes, or that completion great work leaves free, like the days of work; to nourish it, of the médicamenter in the disease, in the first childhood, old age. although then it can nothing gain. We are unaware of if there are examples masters who voluntarily let perish of hunger of old men or of the disabled person, but we can affirm that the colonists do not claim to have the right of it, and that authority would believe itself obliged to intervene to prevent this atrocity. Slavery is thus a quasi contract which gives to the slave himself of the rights against the owner, the rights on the products of the plantation which it exploits. But by an exception to the common laws, exception of which the nonsense equalizes at least iniquity, it was interdict with the slave to claim the same rights as the legislation recognizes to him, because an absolute political power, without measurement, was granted on him to that even against which it would have to exert its rights; the master is for the slave more than one judge,
more than one king, it is for him above all the divine laws and human. It is this political power which gives birth to them insults, punishments, crimes, the torments of which them negros are victims; it is this political power which corrupts the white, and which vitiates at the same time their heart and them spirit; it is this political power which is against good organization of society, which creates a State in the State, which breaks the obligations of the social pact, which encourages at ones the insult, and which gives up the others with most appalling calamities. It is the narrow duty of the legislator to abolish this political power that it did not have the right to delegate, this capacity of the man on the man, while both are equal in front of the law, in front of the social capacities, as they are it in front of their creator. It is also the narrow duty of the legislator of to preserve quasi contract of slavery all that can to be most useful for the two parts between which it had intervened. The legislator must preserve at the master the right to work of the negro, it must preserve at the negro the right to work on the plantation, and to withdraw some, with the help of its work, its maintenance, during the disease as during health, during the inevitable rest as during work. That the plantation is divided into as many smallholdings as it contains negro families, that all these smallholdings are subjected to a uniform contract, with that which we exposed while speaking about Tuscany, contract which besides is known in most of Europe, and a sufficient guarantee of all their former rights will be thus granted to two parts, and political power, judicial power of the master could be removed at the moment, without it resulting from it for the master from another disadvantage that that to lose the prerogative of the arrogance and the crime. The plantation will continue to be cultivated by the same arms who cultivated it before, no family will not be moved, no experience will be lost, no exploitation will not be even suspended; but the master will be able to exempt himself from now on to pay or nourish inspectors and
overseers. Each workman will have in itself a stitcher who is better well than all the stitchers mercenaries, knowledge, its own interest. The negro will not only any more put its strength to handle the hoe, it will still put its intelligence at it, its address and its experience; with these qualities, work with the hand, around the hardy perennials, is infinitely higher with that which can carry out of the attachments and instruments agricultural; the plants will redouble strength, and harvests will be more abundant. Half of these harvests, without writing-off, will form the revenue of the owner: it will not have any more need to press itself to sell them to return in its capital circulating, because it will not have any more advances to make, more train of agriculture to repair, more slaves to be bought, more food and clothing to be gotten for them. In addition, other half of harvests will provide the negro this maintenance to which it had right under its preceding condition, this maintenance which must extend even to the seasons and the periods life where it is out of state to gain. This maintenance will be admittedly more abundant than it was not before, because it will be exposed to no wasting, because the man who feels the responsibility for his own existence measure its consumption on its means, especially because its producing work much more, half of fruits of this work will compose a fuller share to him; but in this increase in ease it of will have lost there nothing for the master, and quite to the contrary. Agricultural prosperity who can increase only with the affection of the farmer for its work, and with its intelligence, will get to him with itself a guarantee of its revenues, a facility to be realized its fortune, if he wants to sell his properties, that a master of slaves can never flatter himself to obtain. We believe useful to recall that in the countries where exploitation by sharecroppers is universal, the almost made sharecropper always an exchange with its owner, taking them products which are appropriate best for its consumption, against those whose sale is easiest; thus the negro céderait with current price its half of the colonial produces, while it
master cèderait to him in return the share of the food to which it could have claimed. The share of the farmer, indeed, does not owe, for the greatest part, being related to market; it asks on the ground that which it needs for itself, as far as its needs; and this destination of the products with an unquestionable consumption is a guarantee against obstruction of the markets, against this calamity which reaches today all industries and that of the colonies more still than any other. It is quite probable that with one exploitation by sharecroppers sugar and the coffee will become less exclusive cultures, than the new peasants will think a little more with their own needs, and those of the consumers spread in the colonies, a little less with those consumers of Europe. It is thus possible that the trade by export of the colony decreases, as one would see to decrease the export of corn and the salted pig of Ireland, if the Irishmen started to eat themselves one and the other. We flatter ourselves that we finally made include/understand with our readers that such is not the measurement of prosperity of a country. That growers, indeed, instead of being obé-abstr. as they all are to it today, enjoy their revenues and find with facility to sell with the need their inheritances, that the farmers are in ease, that population increases in proportion of the grounds which remain with to clear, that agriculture improves, that consumption is growing with the increase in revenue, and the colony will be thriving, although it ceased absolutely to produce what we name today the colonial produces. In the execution of such a serious change of organization, it is necessary that the metropolis, with the conscience of the good that she wants to make, is deaf with the local prejudices and with local passions; it is necessary that it deputy its capacity for foreign men with the colonial, and rather firm preventions to be made respect. It is necessary however that it makes great sacrifices to magnificently reward those for colonists who will enter his sights, and who dividing voluntary
lies their plantations in smallholdings, will give the first example of a complete success. It is necessary finally that it is reserved means of containing and of punishing the disobedient negros or too morons who would refuse with work, and who would push back thus it although it seeks to make them. But these means of execution are not any more of the immediate consequences of principles of the political economy, or those of justice and of humanity; they return in attributions of the administration, and the foreign man of letters to the businesses would have bad thanks to coming to prescribe them with the statesman. It is not any more by councils, it is by wishes that we will finish this essay and this volume, by wishes so that the greatest crime what still sanctions the laws of the Christian nations and more great error where still their cupidity involves are pushed back by mutual agreement by them; so that the race of men that they the most made suffer obtains they them compensations to which it has right, and is brought back by them to the intelligence, with morality and freedom; so that society human very whole, finally, occupies itself everywhere effectively happiness of the class of men on whom all rests human society, and so that the farmer, whatever the color of its skin, finds in manners, the laws, in the sympathy of all, a guarantee of its ease, of its independence, of its future, of which it was too a long time deprived.
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Starts from pleasures which the social wealth must guarantee to the poor. 6 Starts from pleasures of the rich person, for which it is necessary to add the leisure. 6 Use of the leisure to the development of oneself, superfluity to the relief others. 7 Another use of wealthes useful to all: the research of beautiful in all kind. 8 In which proportion it is desirable that the rich person are mixed with nation. 9 current Triumph of chrematistic, accumulation of the things that the man wishes. 10 In Italy, all the houses indicate a quite higher prosperity passed with the current one. 11 Palates commercial in Italy, palate of the nobility, in the capital and provinces. 11 'Castelli', villages formerly strengthened; ancient independence of their inhabitants. 12 the Italians had created these wealthes without to have made progress of which we praise ourselves. 13 Research on behalf of assured wealth with poor in last times. 14 State of villein in Ancien Régime; their right, exactions that they suffered. 14 the contract of villein would have been advantageous if it were not remained subjected to the arbitrary one. 15 Corporations of the cities, guarantees that they gave the middle-class men. 16 Monopoly of the bourgeoisies; it prevented abundance, the improvement and the good market. 17 But it ensured much happiness all the industrial part of community. 18 Is it sure that by supporting the material creation of wealth one has spread more happiness?
Separately political oppression, formerly work was well remunerated at the city and the fields. .................................................................

The current order founded on universal competition; its theory. ............... 20 The Councils of selfishness given to all, they were too well followed. .................... 21 Work of all to produce always more, instability of fortunes of trade. .................................................................

............ 22 Work of all to produce with cheaper. Any progress is an economy of work or wages. ................................................................. 22 Before universal competition progress did not impoverish the workman. .................................................................

.......................... 23 universal competition made poor 'proletarian'. ................. 24 The days laborer of the cities, first proletarians create by abolition corporations. .................................................................

............ 25 3 Page Days laborer of the campaigns, proletarians of the culture with large farms. .................................................................

............... 25 the concentration of the capital pushes back the independent industrialist with the row proletarians. .................................................................

............ 26 Economy obtained in England on the number of the farmers. ............ 27 The large capital removes in the same way workmen in manufactures. .................................................................

.......................... 28 One endeavours to do in factory by proletarians all that did formerly masters. ................................................................. 29 One wants to replace by manufactures the house works of women. .................................................................

............... 29 alarming Appearance of the pauperism, born from the pressure exerted on proletarians. .................................................................

............... 31 One recognizes the need for the 'legal charity' and the impossibility of y to be enough. .................................................................

............... 31 real Misery of the enriched society. Let us study the facts and the man of any condition. .................................

............ 32 FIRST ESSAY. - Balance of consumption with the productions. 33 Revolution in the industrial world since sixty years. Prejudice which work faded. .................................................................

33 a gentleman allowed himself to gain only by violence. Glass gentlemen. .................................
34 All the anoblis, all them nouveau riches, also renonçaient with work. 35 The capital of the rich person, pushed back by the laws on wear, did not animate not work. 35 Nowadays work was anoblé, and proclaimed benefactor of the kind human. 36 The capital activated by the credit is put at the service of industry. 37 Scientists work to make that science fertilizes the production. 38 Melting work of the rich person of the workshops by patriotic zeal. 39 Speed with which the industrial discoveries are imitated everywhere. 39 As much labour and capital missed sixty years ago, as much they overflow today. 40 Gandalin and the handle with brush, or the man machine. 41 The chrematistic one encourages to produce always more, without thinking of 'too full'. 42 But Malthus foresaw the balance of consumption with the productions. 43 For twenty years we have asked that work be commensuré with its goal. 43 Two fundamental questions: balance productions, and nature of revenue. 45 Proportion enters the production and the consumption of the isolated man. 45 It distinguishes its subsistence, its funds of consumption and its funds of reserve. 46 Society distributes in the same way its products between these three funds. 47 The trade manages the reserve funds, and pushes back any production superfluous. 48 There is less of accumulation after the introduction of the trade than front. 49 The separation of the conditions prevents each one from measuring its work on the request. 50 Interest of the three classes of producers the growth very to produce always more. 50 Some want to stop consumption and to produce to export. 51 Obstruction general if all the nations followed this system. 52 But according to the English school any
production causes a consumption. 53 Vice of a reasoning based on an assumption absurdity. .......................... 54 Consumption increases really only with the population linked with wealth. .................................................................

54 Long note in refutation of the system of exchanges of Mr. Ricardo. ............. 55 Any production does not give a revenue, nor very returned a consommation. 56 Ease calls a consumption of luxury instead of that of need. 58 The manufacture and the agriculture of luxury employ less hands than those necessary. .......................................................... 62

The first organization was the slavery of the workers; its disastrous effects. ................................................................. 62

63 Ensuite came serfdom, then the trade-guild and association. .......... 64 Finally the fight between all those came which have and all those which work. .................................................................

64 the obstruction of the markets started only with this fight. .......... 65 The old ones had been however occupied to prevent the excess of the production on consumption. ............................................................ 66

Egyptian system: to employ the workman to create monuments, not goods. .................................................................

67 System sybarite: to consume by the luxury the excess of the production. ........ 68 Athenian system: to occupy the citizen of the fatherland, to distract it from production work. .................................................................

.. 69 the luxury of Athens, it was to produce higher men, not wealthes. .................................................................

71 It is necessary to aspire to guarantee to those who do the work a sufficient share in its fruits. .................................................................

72 indirect Remedies; greater division of the heritages. ....................... 72 There is not true prosperity that as far as the request precedes the production. .................................................................

73 One can count on the vital force of society to repair the disturbances partial. .................................................................

75 Often also the prejudices fight cupidities, for the advantage of all. .................................................................
It is to bring the suffering, not wealth, to introduce one industry not requested.

SECOND ESSAY. - Social revenue.

Apparent contradiction in the suffering which abundance causes, or obstruction. Contradiction is only in the words, science was mislaid while following words. All the false systems were born from the abstract definitions given from wealth.

.... 79 Adam Smith, instead of rising with the abstractions, always went down from society with the man.

incipient Companies; each one provides for its needs and delivers to the trade its only superfluity.

enriched Companies: each one, instead of living of its products, waits its subsistence of their sale.

Limits within which each family buys what it is necessary for its consumption.

Each one is regulated on its revenue, on what it 'can eat per day'. The consumption of a nation is that which all can do without exceeding their revenue.

a nation court with its ruin if it eats its capital with its revenue. For each one as for all the revenue always does not increase with production.

the contingent profit, or of the play, does not enter the common revenue.

Each one regulates on its revenue the training and the increase of its family.

the revenue regulates the increase in population, for society like for the family.

So that the lack of subsistence stopped the population, it would be necessary circumstances which we will never see.

While the every day the population is measured on its means of existence.

The 90 economists, not knowing how to define the revenue, avoided of in to speak.

Cependant all the most important questions
depends on the revenue. 92 The social revenue, it is the sum of the revenues of each one: we cannot about it to know more.

92 But the social wealth, itself, arise at us in a manner quite as vague. .................................................................

... 93 Its enumeration however was enough to dissipate much errors. ....... 94 In a isolated family which works for itself one follows the birth of its revenue. .................................................................

........ 94 Same then it circulates like blood, and its nature remains mysterious. 95

6 page Early work must give up increasing the quantity, and to relate to quality. .................................................................

96 the quantity of very produced is regulated on the number of the consumers, quality on their leisures. ................................. 96 The trade put all the interests at the catches; they act all the ones against the others.

................................................................. 97 the producers seek to supplant themselves instead of proportioning themselves with the request. .................................................................

............ 97 the population of Europe do not increase of more than one hundredth by year. .................................................................

............ 99 the production should not thus increase in quantity of more than one hundredth. ................................. 99 But the farmer who does not think that to sell does not stop with this proportion. .................................................................

........................... Perhaps 99 It increases its own revenue, but it decreases that of agriculture in mass. .................................................................

100 When the agricultural revenues decrease, the consumption of the farmers decrease too. .................................................................

100 the consumption of clothing also limited in quantity and qualité.101 Also all the skill of the manufacturer consists in reselling his fellow-members. .................................................................

........................... 103 But if it decreases their revenues, it cuts off from the number and the force consumers. .................................................................

.... 103 Thus there can be too products and at the same time not enough revenues. .................................................................

........................... 104 Since the particular interests tend to be
105 We will deal initially with the monitoring on the fight of the interests agricultural. ................................................................. 106 FIRST SECTION. Territorial Wealth and condition of the farmers. Third essay. - Which is the distribution of the territorial wealth who gets the most happiness at society. .................................................. 107 Importance of work, guarantees to be given the workers. .......... 107 Study of the human conditions: the first in importance is that which fact of being born fruits from the ground. ................................................................. 108 Exchange work with the ground, territorial wealth; with others men, commercial wealth. .......................................................... 108 Reasons for the preference of the government for the commercial wealth, it multiplies the currency and the credit. ................................................................. 109 J. - B. Say sees in agriculture only the profit Net of the farmer. .............. 110 7 page The territorial wealth is largest of the national interests: doubt on the appropriation of the ground. ................................................................. 111 The Community of the ground at the people hunters and pastors, its annoying consequences. ................................................................. 112 Beginning of the culture among these people: changed batches of ground each year. ................................................................. 113 the experience proved that the appropriation of the grounds is advantageous with all. ................................................................. 114 As soon as society guarantees the perpetual property of the ground, ground changed face. ................................................................. 114 The property guaranteed for the advantage of all; this origin must about it to regulate the use. ................................................................. 115 Happiness of a population which enters in pleasure of the territorial wealth. ................................................................. 116 People of the Italy antique; their happiness, before slavery had dishonoured work. ................................................................. 116 Happiness of the peasants today owners. Why the peasant buy grounds at all costs. ................................................................. 118 Happiness of the Swiss peasants; owners farmers of the
canton of Bern. ..........................................................................................

The 119 All owners should not be labourers; why it is necessary rich person. .................................................................................

120 One needs rich person disseminated in the campaigns, for their advantage and for that of all. ..................................................................................................................

It is necessary that the rich person join together the heritages neither of the poor nor other rich person. .............................................................................................................

... 121 We seek here only guiding principles, not of the laws on heritages. .............................................................................................................

122 What had been made in the feudal system to preserve independence heritages. .................................................................................................................

123 The attention of the legislator must on all be fixed on the poor farmer. .............................................................................................................

124 Crueler Oppression of the peasants under several masters than under one only. .............................................................................................................

125 The Turkish, happy fellah if it had paid only the 'miri'; the ryot of the Indies, left sharecropper. .............................................................................................................

125 Oppressed because it does not have as a neighbor any rich person owner. 126 Constraint of the Slavic farmer; condition of the culture by corvée. 127 Oppression of the farmer under the Germanic conquerors, his slavery under Charlemagne. .............................................................................................................

... 127 Feudality; stamping from the peasants, services and perpetual royalties. .............................................................................................................

128 Origin of the sharecroppers and the farmers; their contract made temporary. 129 Increasing cupidity; the slavery introduced with the colonies; proletarians in Europe. .............................................................................................................

... 130 Agronomists recommend the large farms, they drive out ten iron miers for only one. .............................................................................................................

130 Page The chrematistic one sacrifices to the profit of the farmers happiness, even the life the poor one. .............................................................................................................
131 Misfortune of the returned peasants of the fields in the cities. 132 The farmer associated with the property stops the disproportionate increase in population. 133 Large farms make neglect the balance between consumption and production. 133 In the other systems the consumption of the farmers does not run chances of the market. 134 The farm rich person carries on the market the corn which must nourish all the nation. 135 Contradictory interests on the trade of the grains born of large farm. 136 The farm rich person condemns in the dead seasons the day laborer to idleness. 136 It gives up the intelligence and the zeal, which could not be in the day laborer. 137 Summary of what the legislator must do in favour of the farmer. 139 FOURTH ESSAY. Condition of the farmers of race Gaelic in Scotland and of their expulsion. 140 The chrematistic sign which wealth increases while gaining more or while spending less. 140 It thus recommends the labour-saving, or the sacrifice of the man with wealth. 141 It is according to this principle that the colonist asked for the slavery of the negro. 142 And that the manufacturer replaced the man by water or the steam. 142 The increasing extent of the market hid the effects of this saving on men. 143 But in agricultural industry each saving of labour decreases the number of the peasants. 143 It is necessary for the need to sacrifice wealth to have men. 144 To save labour, it is to cut off not only from the workmen, but of the consumers. 144 Example of a saving of labour on the greatest scale; reference peasants. 145 State of the nation Gaelic at the time when it was
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161 By a deaf person usurpation it changed an invariable revenue into property unlimited. ................................................................. 

162 the legislator must intervene to protect the people counters the lord. 163 If the noble ones believe not to need more the people, this one will believe not to have more need for them. ................................................................. 

164 FIFTH ESSAY. - Condition of the Irish farmers and causes of their distress. ................................................................. 

165 Increase frightening in proletarians: it is the greatest danger which threaten society. ................................................................. 

... 165 This increase initially drew our attention to sovereignty majority. ................................................................. 

......... 165 Tendency of chrematistic to preserve in the nation only capitalists and of the proletarians. ................................................................. 

166 The days laborer of the fields or proletarians of agriculture are as a General in small number. ................................................................. 

... 167 But in a system large farms all the agricultural work is fact by days laborer. ................................................................. 

168 the same cause produced the expulsion of the Scot, the famine of the Irishmen, the slavery of the negros. ................................................................. 

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........... 201 Combien perpetual association with the property makes him study its ground. ..........................................................................

......... 202 the sharecropper is without interest in the lawsuits, it does not have anything to disentangle with nobody. ..........................................................

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... 232 Right of the legislator to regulate the conditions of the contract of culture. ......... 233 It is the interest of the rich person as much as his duty to put terminals at its exactions. .................................................................

........... 234 Bravery of the Irishmen; The nobility protected by the respect alone from the people. 235 Old relationship between the noble one and the peasant; assured abundance in return obedience. .................................................................

........... 236 the revenue of the ground paid in services according to the habit of the manor. ........ 236 The lord always absolute, sometimes cruel, never covetous. ............ 237 Ireland conquered in 1172, did not remain about it less not subjected
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......... 238 Conquest of Cromwell and confiscations which abolérent the habits of manors. ..........................................................................................

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......... 239 It took a hundred and eighty years to reduce the peasants to be disputed cheapest food. ................................................................. 240

export is growing because the nation does not consume almost anything. 241 It is necessary to deliver Ireland of its superabundant population, and to associate it remain with the property. .................................................................

... 242 II is necessary on a great scale the emigration, and the clearing inside. 242 Immense extended from ground open in Canada for the emigrations. ..... 243 Colonization must be carried out in small batches, by farmers, not capitalists. .................................................................

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.. 247 13 page By advancing capital, England must impose conditions on Irish lords. .................................................................

248 the right of the farmer to live fruits of its work precedes all other right. .................................................................

...... 249 the interest of the country requires that the farmer have a perpetual right to the ground. 249 The peace of society never is guaranteed better than by peasants owners. .................................................................

...... 250 Ailleurs the serfs became vassal, in England the villeins are become farmers. .................................................................

. 251 At the end of their lease the farmers is ruined by the improvements that they made. . 252 to guarantee the Irishman, it should be returned tenant to perpetuity. ..........

253 Examples of the success of the long leases everywhere, even in Ireland. ............... 254 It is necessary that the rich person and the poor also have on the ground of perpetual rights. .................................................................
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273 Effects of slavery on manners of the masters and the
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...... 274 Whole bond of family broken; the white father leaves his son mulatto in slavery. .................................................................
...... 276 slaves all the more maltreated since the ground is richer. ........... 277 All the more atrocious slavery as the masters enjoy of more than freedom. .................................................................
........ 277 Progress of all the colonies because reverse of the number of their slaves. .................................................................
........ 279 free men and their children exposed to stolen and being sold for slaves. .................................................................
........ 279 Since the multiplication of the mulattos, the danger reaches even the white. 279 The work of the slave costs the master more than paid work. ........... 281 There are much less rich person accumulated everywhere where exists slavery. 282 The separate force of the address, the intelligence and morality, creates few wealthes. .................................................................
..... 282 In the States with slaves, deplorable agriculture, the null trades, involved in debt growers. ................................................................. 283 slavery involves a free country towards the political despotism. ........... 284 It puts in a perpetual danger the independence of the nations. ................. 285 Summary of the disastrous effects of slavery. ................................. 285 NINTH ESSAY. - Procedure to withdraw the farmers negros of slavery. ................................................................. 287 Happiness whose pastoral life is likely, misfortune of almost all farmers. .................................................................
...... 287 Misery of the proletarians of agriculture, greater misery of the slaves. 288 The time approaches where slavery will be necessarily abolished. ............... 289 The legislator must wish the ease of the farmers and that of the owners. .................................................................
........ 289 With the colonies, owners, farmers and industrialists, are in suffering. .................................................................
... 290 This suffering comes from what servile work is most expensive of all. .................................................................
... 291 It is said that the sugar refineries claim slavery, but the sugar refineries are
lost. ................................. 292 individual stampings did not give a workman to agriculture. .................................................................

........ 292 It is nothing to make but break the chains of the negro, if one does not make any not a peasant. .................................................................

...... 293 15 page One needs it for the happiness of the negro, for the peace of society, for profit of the growers. .................................................................

294 It is necessary to confer this benefit to the growers in spite of them; cause of their illusion. .................................................................

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296 various Conditions of the peasants; the serf with division of work. ................. 297 It can be a penal condition for the disobedient negro. ......................... 298 Which is appropriate for the colonies, of a farm peasant or a sharecropper. ...... 299

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................................. 299 the negro, being without capital, could not be a farmer. ......................... 300 The English counted for their emancipation on farmers that they could not find. .................................................................

the 301 white of the colonies do not have either necessary qualities in a farmer. .................................................................

........ 303 the owner ruins himself if it manages his plantation like a farm. 304 Deplorable condition where would be reduced daily simple negros. 304 France must achieve started work, and make of the negro a peasant. 305 But it must now give up returning this peasant owner. 306 There is in slavery a quasi contract which melts of the rights like obligations. .................................................................

........ 307 the master exerted at the same time the contract law and a political power. .................................................................

........ 308 It is necessary to abolish the political power and to convert the right useful for the profit from both. .................................................................

... 308 the plantation must be divided into smallholdings between the slaves who cultivate. .................................................................

........ 308 the culture will be intended from now on for consumption rather than with
The administration alone can judge precautions of detail in the execution. Our wishes for the negroes and the farmers of all the races. END OF THE TABLE
We had initially proposed not to push more far our studies on the territorial wealth. In the precedent volume, we had gathered some attests on the condition any other business where the most famous people had placed their farmers, and on the effects which this condition had had to restrict or increase general prosperity. It did not seem to us that some facts worthy of observation would strike more than one new exposure of principles, and we like to think that we could give up with our successors continuation of this research; that it would be them which would draw some a whole body of doctrines on the territorial wealth, or rather still on the means of ensuring by it happiness human societies. It is not without some discouragement that we recognize that we did not do enough progress yet to have to nourish this hope. A spiritual writer,
in an article on the fundamental principles of the economy policy (universal Library of Geneva, December 1836), known as of us: “Its voice did not remain without echo; its teaching profited more, perhaps, that it does not believe it itself; and today the annoying influence of an increasing production on the distribution of the products, and by there on the social wellbeing, is a truth acquired with science (1).” It seems to us, on the contrary, which all that we read on the political economy, and the article even as we quote, inform us that our voice remained without echo: that nobody repeats, does not develop and does not apply them truths which we believe to have the first stated. Us let us see well that we conquered more than one question but by there we only made succeed silence preceding clamours. We see well that our adversaries recognized many phenomena on which us had drawn their attention and which it denied initially; but they recognized them tacitly, and they only changed ground to fight us. They move back unceasingly, but they are not believed about it less not obliged to push back our principle, to push back them as if it were the whole of our doctrines, although they are already suitable large part. The moment thus did not come where we will be able us into proud with our successors of the care to make bear fruit true political economy, 'the régle of the house and of city'. We see that the distinction that we established between the chrematistic one, which deals with wealthes like drank, or if one wants abstractedly, and political economy who occupies himself any only like means of arriving at happiness social, starts to be allowed; we see that one of the writers most distinguished from the chrematistic school, Mr. Nassau Senior, recognizes itself that it disregards happiness human in the science of which it traces the draft. “The subject of the legislation, says it, it is not wealth, it is the good

(1) T. VI, p. 266.
human hor; --the subject of the political economy (read 'chrematistic') is not happiness, but wealth. The conclusions at which the economist arrives, some true and general that they are, do not authorize it to give only one useful recommendation. This is the task of the men of State, and writers who studied the legislation (1). ” Certainly, if such a silence is the duty of the economists, they are hardly formed there up to now; never they are arrived at a conclusion that they did not ask the immediate application of it, never they did not establish or believed to establish that a succession of operations increased wealth without fading of the name of spirits false, retrograde, or defenders of the prejudices, all those which announced the disadvantages of them. With the remainder, us it let us ask Mr. Senior himself, his silence to come it will not be as disappointing as the dogmatic lessons of its predecessors? That believes when it recognizes that an unspecified economic operation increases wealth and destroyed happiness, it will have filled its duty towards humanity by stating only the first of these two proposals? Believes that when he says: There is to gain more to act thus, each one will not hear it like having said: It is as it is necessary to make? We thus persist in looking at the chrematistic one or the study of the means of increasing wealth, by disregarding goal of this wealth, like a disappointing science: we persist in looking at the political economy like having to be the research and the application of the great law of benevolence and of charity that the Divinity gave to human societies; we persist in proposing with our efforts not progress of the things, but those of the men, not the acquisition of wealth, but that of the happiness of all; and without us proud with the echo that it is announced to us and that we do not hear, we believe duty to still raise our old voice to repeat with the nations: Think of your peasants. Because they are at the same time the class more name

breuse and most important of the State; they are the class on which a wise political economy can spread more of happiness; they are also that to which cupidity, sometimes assisted by dangerous chrematistic, inflicted the most sufferings. Moreover, of the accidental circumstances brought us to apply the principles which we exposed in preceding volume, with new countries that we are found with range to study, and each new application us their truth confirmed; the facts came to line up around the doctrines, and these facts, which formerly struck us ourself of astonishment, and that we could with pains to include/understand, considered new point of view under which we endeavoured to bring back social science, are connected and explained themselves; the bond between the moral effects and the chrematistic causes show with obviousness, and the principles which we stated us seem to have acquired by this experience new degree of certainty. We had to make in Rome a stay enough prolonged, at the moment when we had just made appear our second volume on social sciences. Thirty years had run out since our first visit with this old capital of the world, twenty years since the last; the impression that we received from all three was however about the same one, under the reserve of the changes occurred in the object even of our observations. Majority of the travellers who, each year, arrive in press in Rome, consider this large city, not like a capital, as the residence of a many portion human race, which is entitled to the pleasures and with the developments of the man, but like a museum, where tables, statues, monuments of antiquity, and all the various products of the fine arts, are exposed to their curiosity. A hundred and sixty or a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants who live in the enclosure of the walls of Rome, their appear that an accessory. Majority besides
believe invited to excite their imagination, anything to see that under its poetic aspect; also they would be afflicted if city of the tombs, the city where one announces in turn to their glances monuments and ruins of so much of successive civilizations, the Egyptians and the Etruscans, the Greeks and of the Romans, of the cruel races which overcame turn with turn all and sundry and which oppressed them, of large men of the Middle Ages, and the large priests who printed a long time their character in all Europe, did not carry not to some extent the mourning of mankind. With the eyes poetic travellers, the men covered with let us haillons who wander slowly in the streets of Rome, which are heated with the sun on its public places, which, with so much of promptness in the glance and the gesticulation, does not have a presentiment of itself however never, because they have never anything to make, appear much more picturesque than the craftsmen of the cities modern. In their zeal of amateur, they would regret them let us haillons beggars, their idleness, their misery; and perhaps it enters this feeling a secret aversion, unknown factor with that even which feels it, for this constraint, and this constant state of effort and embarrassment, to which industrialisme the poor man in the cities condemned modern. Processions of priests whom one meets of all shares in the streets, are the suitable accompaniment of the three hundred and sixty churches which rise in this city a long time considered holy, and they preserve its character to him. The degradation even of all the public and deprived buildings, the mud accumulated in the broken streets, paving stones, the universal negligence, the ox herds gathered in the walks, with their disproportionate horns, them glance hagard and their thinness, the poultry which wanders in freedom and without fear in the city of Césars, like it would make in the most solitary hamlet, increase the charm that these children of imagination find in Rome, because each one of these circumstances attests the suspension of the empire of the man; because each one contributes to persuade, without reason admittedly with the passenger who comes to dream enters
these ruins, which it is not any more as in the other capitals, under the eyes of a suspicious and anxious police force. Sentimental painters, amateurs, and travellers more admire still the Countryside of Rome, these immense deserts which extend as far as the eye can see, which is not more traversed than by the shepherd of Pouille, the agrarian of Abruzze or the harvester of Walk, but where one do not find a house, not an inhabitant born on the ground, not a trace of the affection of the man for the ground, not a human work, which does not have at least three centuries of antiquity, and which more do not fall in ruins. These travellers readily their enthusiasm and their recognition would express for this ground which, in spite of its wealth, remains sterile, as if he did not want to cover harvests any more, trees and vines, since it is not cultivated any more by consular hands. The painters at the same time extasiest themselves on the hot colours and rich person whom these fields reflect deserts, and on the beauties which they lend to the landscape. We must acknowledge it, all these feelings, all these emotions are foreign for us; the defect of our bodies us almost prohibited all the pleasures which one finds in arts. We carry desire to the enthusiasm which excite them wonders of the sculpture and painting, but it is to us refused to feel it. Dyed rich person of the Countryside of Rome, about which we intend to speak, even entirely escape in our eyes, for which there is not ray red: we are more struck masterpieces of architecture; but among the ancient monuments, if some us glorious times of wisdom and virtue recall, the greatest number and most imposing by their mass, or even by their beauty, repeat only this opulence masters of the ground, who had controlled nature, parce that they had controlled the man, and who did not believe the work of one hundred thousand arms badly employed, if it got the one moment to them pleasures. Thus, our evil eyes, and the thoughts to which us let us be more usually delivered agree to destroy for
us all the charm which allures in Rome all the other travellers. We cannot enjoy its true beauties, and we feel, more highly perhaps than others, which he miss. It results from it that Rome appears one of the stays to us saddest that we know; Rome is sad for us, not only of this soft melancholy which one likes to deliver oneself, because it mislays well the thought far from us, because it raises us above our race, whose it shows to us any whole the size and misery; it is not that we do not feel this melancholy in Rome; on the contrary, it is there more than in no place of the world; but hardly it is given to us to see it through the spectacle of a poverty, a dismissal, of a degradation present, immediate, which affects all at the same time a many portion of humanity. Between so much of tombs, we see before them the beds of failing, we believe to hear their moanings, and reality is brought closer too much, too urgent, so that us let us can deliver itself, in its presence, with the daydreams of the memories. The farming population, the population of the campaigns disappeared in the four provinces which surround the capital, 'Agro Romano, Sabina, Campagna maritima, and it Patrimonio di San Pietro'. These quatre provinces, which cover between them a space of three thousand eight hundred and eighty perhaps square miles, do not contain only one true peasant. In some direction which one moves, while leaving capital, one makes at least twenty or thirty miles, often fifty and sixty, without finding a field cultivated by that which lives it. Sea to the hills which rise with the foot of the mountains of Abruzzze, extends the sad one desert which one names flat, though the ground presents to it almost everywhere of gracious undulations, that, in others country, one would name hills or mountains; the air in been is there pestilential, without the eye being able about it to assign the cause, because one sees neither marsh nowhere there, nor stagnant water: ground shows itself there: of an admirable fertility, almost everywhere one sees
traces of the plough, which however does not turn over it to pains that once in ten years, and work which require them sowing and the harvests is made by foreigners who arrive by far, and who are turned over from there after few weeks. Campania east of a grass plane surface, and covered only; in the Inheritance, high brooms and heathers ombragent the ground partly; along the sea extend from vast forests; and as one approaches Ombrerie, of large oaks seem planted like trees of an orchard in the middle of the pasture; but everywhere, also, the dwelling of the man in vain would be sought. The eloquent preacher with which Italy honours itself, Giuseppe Barbieri, described this desert, in his harmonious language, and with its tender heart, philosophical and poetic into same time. “Imaginate qual io semi fossi Al vedermi dinanzi per molte E per molte miglia a vasto paese squallido Al tutto E nudo, E diserto of uomini, animali, di piante; una solitudine desolata, nessun riparo alle improvisti turbazioni dell’ aria, nessun socorso has tanti bisogni, che possono incontrare frequenti Al viaggiatore, E nè scampo veruno alle feroci incursioni of’ masnadieri; one cupo silenzio interrotto soltanto dai fischi of a vento wandered-tico E sconsolato, E dai queruli mormorii di qualche cast iron romita; not una striscia di fumo che alzi di qualche laughed-posto casolare, nè sulla via tampoco una rustica cappel-letta, una croce, has mesto conforto dell’ animated quasi dere-litta: Al vedermi dinanzi una tanta devastazione in luoghi, dove stesi in late pianure, dove sorgenti in soft hill of declivio, dove sinuosi E giacenti per convenient valli; E tutto “ ciò fine presso ED intorno alle walled della magua città

“Imaginate which I seeds pits To seeing to me dinanzi for many and many miles to immense country squallido To the all and knot, and diserto of men, animals, of plants; a desolated solitudine, nessun shelter to improvist the turbazioni of the air, no socorso has many needs, that they can meet you attend the traveller, and neither escape veruno to the ferocious masnadieri incursions of’; one dark Hush only interrupted from it hisses of to wandered-tico and disconsolate wind, and from the querulous ones mormorii of some cast iron romita; not a smoke strip that raises of some laughed-place to casolare, neither on the way tampoco one peasant cappel-read, one cross, has mesto comfort of the animated nearly dere-litta: To seeing to me dinanzi one much devastation in places, where spread in late plains, where sources in soft hill of declivity, where sinuosì and lying for convenient it goes them; And all” that fine near AND around to the walled of magua the city

(1). ” With raising from Rome, at a distance which
varies from ten juice-qu' with thirty miles, rise the hills formerly inhabited by Sabins, Eques, Herniques and Albains; it admittedly are partly covered with olive-trees, of vine and of fruit trees intermingled with the fields, and them élé-

(1) Letter of Barbieri to the author, in the collection of its Works.
gante culture, which defers the heart to ideas of happiness domestic, still adds to their charming beauty; one more attentive study will however make us recognize than there also one does not find peasants, and that work which fertilize the ground would not be accomplished without the assistance workmen who each year arrive from abroad. Thus destruction or the expulsion of the whole order of peasants, of all the territory where Rome founded its first size, in the center of Europe, in the most beautiful climate, on the most fertile ground, is the first surprising fact, amazing, which strikes the traveller on his arrival in the capital old civilization, in that of the Christian world, in the city which during more than two thousand years raised tributes on most of the known world. Through the deserts, the traveller arrives however at superb city which takes shape with far in the horizon, and in certain directions, the dome of Saint-Pierre strikes his sight with a distance to which all the other human works disappear. The city of the popes, since several centuries, continuous to increase in population, in the middle of the ruin of its territory: but this parasitic population did not count formerly to live that on the tributes that Christendom paid with its pontiffs, on the pledges that the large lords secular or ecclesiastical distributed to many servants, and with the procession of which they made pump, on alms finally, that charity granted, or that the duty imposed on many pious foundations. However these three sources of the revenues of poor were dried up almost into same time; all the sovereigns worked to restrict the tributes which their subjects paid in Rome; and when Spain and Portugal, America and the Indies cut off theirs subsidies, the distress was large. The noble families have at the same time congédié the majority of their servants, who were not necessary any more for them, like formerly, to support their quarrels; the impoverished convents removed part of their distributions day labourers. Population, deprived of all its old resources, not finding with its
range neither the industry of the cities, nor that of the campaigns, east pushed back towards an always increasing misery; it begs, but alms decrease; it suffers, but it is threatened to suffer much more still; it is intended to perish, and already its dwellings, the gantries under which it shelters, the paving stones on which it is trailed, merge in their recent ruin with the ancient ruins on which Rome today had risen.

The urban population increases simultaneously with its idleness and its misery. It is it second economic fact that Rome presents at the traveller. Fifteen or twenty thousand foreign rich person come each year to visit the capital of the Christian world; they do all there a rather great expenditure, and it is this expenditure which forms from now on almost only revenue of the Roman population. There are perhaps none from these abroad who did not foresee at least two facts that we have just announced, but the majority are satisfied to say that one could not to await another thing of an unable government, one government of priests, where nobody prepared for the functions with which it remains charged. A slightly thrown blame often hide a great hardness; one exempts oneself to feel sorry for those which one hastened to condemn, and one does not make more attention with the difficulties of a task which one declared incompetents those which must fill it. The sentences are already all written in advance to announce like a misconception a sacerdotal government. However when it is compared with the other irresponsible governments, the other governments without balance and guarantee, it is not easy to assign rational causes with its supposed inferiority. Admittedly, if one wondered in advance which class of men or would like preferably to give the authority, it seems that each one would agree to answer: With the men who are announced by their virtue or their intelligence. The experience us learns which' it is impossible to find in society one classify which joins together without exception these two qualities; it is not given to the human nature to present an association pure men of very vice. But it seems that between the
professions, that of the priests should approach more this purity. Intended as of the beginning of their education for to teach morals with the people constantly, occupied of the study of the divine laws, their relationship with the human laws and the lesson of philosophy, they is between all them men those which should know best what is right and what is honest; the discipline to which they are subjected is intended to preserve them pure, and those which harm consideration of the sacerdotal body by the scandals of their life, for the majority are forced to give up in their state. If these guarantees introduce and maintain in the body church a greater number of virtuous men than in any other corporation, they are more effective still to call the men of the intelligence there. The Church adopted one of the two principles of the democracy, admission of all employment, at the same time as it gave up the other, guarantee of the rights of the masses, or protection had with all. Any man, under some condition that it is born, preserves the whole chance to arrive at the honors them more eminent of the Church, and with all the capacity of its government, by the superiority alone of its intelligence; it is the political organization which most constantly maintained this brilliant lottery of the equality, that such an amount of ambitious in France prefer with freedom, and look like the large one conquest of the century. The Roman Church did not leave any prerogative to the birth, but it chose its princes, and to the sovereign himself, in the most contemptible rows society, when the superiority of the intelligence made an individual worthy or purple, or tiara: aujour-d'hui even as so much of complaints protest against the government pontifical, one must recognize that it counts among its servants more men distinguished for the talent, less men noted for their improbity or their defects, that none another government of Europe. However we are far from thinking that the government pontifical is such as the nation which is subjected to him has right of to require, such as it should be to have energy to leave
fatal rut where it is committed, such as it would have to be to support progress or materials or intellectuals of its subjects, such same as one would need it to prevent them to go down always low in the social scale; the dissatisfaction which seems universal in the population, and who finds a body in the mouth of all those with which one speaks, even states that the capacity lost the old one prestige of the opinion, and which it is not supported any more nor on prejudices nor on the feelings. We said it elsewhere: all unlimited capacity, all irresponsible capacity becomes necessarily abusive. Some advisable that is the class men to which one entrusts sovereignty, this sovereignty will corrupt it, if the class owes account of it with nobody. The pontifical government became much worse, since with the restoration it abolished all provincial freedoms, all the municipal charters, all the capacities popular which limited to it his. This government is for life, and life annuity for old men: as it is felt as it lost itself the hope of his duration, and that it sacrifices the following day unceasingly at the day which is passed; it is exerted by men in whom the address developed more than energy: also it is weak and apprehensive, and the fear explains more half of its faults; finally the priests took the practice to regard themselves as masters of morals rather than like its servants: also they for the principles, the rule do not have, for the law, this respect which gives to the human societies the best guarantees. Administration in Rome east very of exceptions, personal favours, of privileges; with each not the sovereign authority meets resistances of row, functions, wealthes, in front of which it bends. It asks less what is right that what will not dissatisfy not such or such powerful. But these serious defects, which make feel in all the ecclesiastical State, could not cause the desolation of the provinces suburbicares, because they do not have anything product of similar in the Steps, Pérousain, Romagna and Bolonais, where a population is met rural many, and passably thriving.
As it is not with the government as we allot the alarming desolation of the four more brought closer provinces from Rome; it goes up higher. In our eyes, it is an economic phenomenon and not policy; phenomenon who must all the more fix our glances and fill us with one salutary terror, which it is presented in the form of a term of career that we traverse, like the consequence of our daily efforts, like the almost inevitable tomb of modern civilization. The tendency of society such as time did it to us, it is to join together the small ones unceasingly States in large, small fortunes in large, to accumulate the capital, to increase the farms, to add one field with another field, and however observation of facts confirms to us what Plinie the old one had already pronounced at one former time, when the same luxury, same accumulation of wealthes, the same concentration enters one very-small number of hands of the goods which Providence had intended for the happiness of all, had also produced dependence and the servility of the great number, then expulsion farmers. To the eyes of whoever wants to confess truth, said it, it is the disproportionate extent of the inheritances who lost Italy, then the provinces. “Verumque confi-tentibus, latifundia perdidere Italian, imo and provincias’ (1).” Perhaps it is impossible to include/understand the state well of rural population in any country, without studying its history, and without seeking by which degrees it arrived at not where it is presented at the observation. History of the rural population of the Roman State, this population formerly if many, if industrial and so powerful, and who with-jourd' today is completely destroyed, would be especially with a high degree curious and instructive; but it is infinitely difficult to find the trace of the facts of which it is composed. Transmission of the heritages of a family with another, them parcelling out or their agglomeration takes place almost tou-

(1) PLINII, Hist. nat., lib. XVIII, C. 6.
days in silence. The chroniclers never make mention of it in their accounts, although they return account of events much less important. It is true that one finds, in charters and of the notarial acts, several of the transactions of which the territorial property is the object, but it is only those which refer to the more considerable fields, those which took place between lords and the large ones characters. The titles of the others or perished, or never do not have receipt an authentic form; often they would have cost expensive than the property itself was not worth. As a private individual, contracts between the owner and the farmer were almost never entrusted to the writing. In the means age, the peasant could not read, and often its lord could not read either; also it was better, for convenience and even for the safety of the parts, that them ones and the others stuck to verbal agreements explained and guaranteed by the habit of the place. We will attest however to trace a shortened table of the transmission property in the Roman State; but that one is not astonished not if we are often obliged to resort to the conjecture, for these details, and to then put it at the place facts. It is at the time of ancient Rome, and with oldest stories of Italy, which we are obliged to go up, to explain the state of modern Rome. In the time of the true freedom, the true prosperity, and of high population of Italy, each city was independent, each one could expect the war on behalf of its closer neighbors, each one also generally put its harvests with cover in the enclosure even of its walls. It cultivated its fields without entirely giving up the stay cities. One can conclude from the account of Tite-Live that until year 244 of Rome, or during all the reign of the kings, them properties suburbicares were not built, that the agrarian left each morning the city with his attachments and y each evening returned. When Albalonga was shaven, it was with Rome even, and on the Coelius mount, that its inhabitants were
domiciled; it was the same for Sabins which was placed with Capitole, of Latin on the mount Aventin and Janicule (1), while with the opposite the cities which passed under the domination Roman preserved their farmers, and the revolution who reversed the last of Tarquins having burst with Collatia, guards were put at the doors of this municipe, so that the labourers who lived it did not carry the news from there in Rome (2). This form of exploitation which one could name urban, who does not suffer from detached houses in fields, but which all joins together them in a common enclosure, for their mutual defense and their safety, is still practised in much country, in Provence, in Spain, and in some parts of Italy, and all the places where the social order offers only insufficient guarantees. It undoubtedly causes a great waste of time, a great expenditure for transport of manure and harvests which we judge useless; but it has in addition an very-effective influence on manners of the country, and the advance of its civilization. And initially the expenses of such a culture do not allow hardly that one shares the profits of them. In general, where it is established, the ground itself belongs without division to the farmer. It was thus in the Italy antique. The agrarian was an absolute master of his field, he did not divide any harvests, it did not pay a tenant farming with anybody. The Roman agrarian, ensured of a complete guarantee for its property, and knowing that it would remain with her children after him, all its affection, any sound had brought intelligence to put forward it; work of the ancestors benefitted their descendants, and the countryside of Rome had been fertilized so well, it was covered with such a variety of harvests, that a seven possession 'will judge', or Roman arpents, was enough amply for maintenance to a whole family. The rural tribes lived at the city like the tribes ur-

(2) Ibid, C. 23.
baines, but they had a double bond with the country, and it is
the reason of their political preeminence. Citizens found in the
cities pure water, the shade and freshness, distance of the
rubbish, and they were exposed little with this 'malaria', if
today dreaded around Rome, but who however hardly affects
but those which, after violent perspirations of the day, face the
cold dew of the evening and of the morning. However, before
the end of the third century, it mention by Tite-Live of 'villae
rusticae is made' (1); of houses built in the fields, where
undoubtedly the citizens transported their residence
throughout work great. Small people of Latium, the Sabine, of
Campania and of Étrurie, had done everything choice, for y to
build their city, of a healthy site, raised, where water were
pure and abundant: their weakness engaged them with to
remain joined together in its enclosure; it is probable too that
they were spread of as much less in the campaigns that these
campaigns were less salubrious. Normal distribution cultures
was about always the same one; they chose for the olive-trees,
the vines and the orchards, them bases of the monticule which
the city crowned, they plowed them fields in a radius of four
or five miles around, and they devoted the more distant
grounds to the pasture. When the population of Rome
increased, when the Agro one Romano became insufficient
for the labourers of Rome, them close cities were subjugées in
turn; they were obliged to give up with the winner a portion of
their territory; sometimes a confederation yielded a city all
whole, with the grounds which belonged to him. ‘‘Volscis
devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe
missi, and colonia deducta (2).’’ A Roman colony was sent in
the conquered city. It was composed citizens who granted
expatrier, and which obtained in division, free, of the fields
not less limited in extent

(2) Ibid, C. 16.
that had been the first heritages in the motherland. Manual
work was always necessary to make them live, and the small
culture was to some extent the guarantee of military strength
of these Romans expatriates; who, like garrisons without
balance, maintained in obedience the conquests of Rome. The
foundation of the colonies had appeared at the same time with
patricians one dispatch happy to tranquillize those of citizens
who had demolished themselves of their old heritage. Several
of them indeed, ruined by some enemy invasion, when their
fields were devastated, or their removed herds, rich person
borrowed some nap that it was to them then quite difficult to
return; they were then crushed by hugeness of wears, and
exasperated by the seizure of their people (1). One calmed
their resentment by engaging them for the colonies, where one
promised a distribution to them of grounds free; at the same
time they did not miss to demolish of all that could remain to
them territorial properties around Rome. Patricians; on the
contrary, were always hastened to buy all that was to sell
close to the capital. However they had already given up
working their grounds of their hands, and they made cultivate
these fields by slaves. But in all the manners of employing
human work, slavery is most expensive, also the patricians
had not earlier started to extend their inheritances, which they
were studied to also find the manner of putting forward them
with less possible human work. Soon it was recognized that
around a large city the employment of the most advantageous
ground was the production of the cattle, parce that it is that
which requires less labour; that the corn, on the contrary,
cultivated by arms mercenaries or by slaves, costs more than
it is not worth. Later them free distributions of corn made to
the Roman people, returned more unprofitable still culture of
the grain; then it became absolutely impossible with the small
holders of

to maintain around Rome, and all the remainder of the small heritages was sold to the rich person. But at the same time the abandonment of agriculture extended gradually. The true fatherland Romans, central Italy, as it hardly had completed the conquest of the world, any more population did not have agricultural. In the campaigns one did not find peasants to recruit the legions, not guèrets to nourish them. Vast pastures, where some shepherds slaves led thousands of animals with horns, replaced the nations who had glossy many triumphs with the republic Roman. One of the first effects of the loss of Roman freedom was to disgust the patricians and the senators of any public career. The road of the throne remained open to one happy soldier, it was not it any more with those which were enorgueilllis-saient of their wealth and their birth; also ambition it made places at the love of the luxury and the pleasures. The world does not have never considering a magnificence equalizes with that of the senators Romans, so much of wealthes lavished for the pleasure of one only, so much of lives devoted to satisfy, prevent all them whims of a man. The vastest empire which raised the human ambition was dependent on a small number of rich person: the inheritances of the Romans extended from the borders the German ones until those of Gétules and to those of the Byteas; but cupidity increased with the luxury, and strength died out in mollesse. These men, if proud of their birth, little however worried to perpetuate their families; the majority did not marry, to enjoy without division of their wealthes; then, as they died without children, some collateral collected their immense heritage to join together it with his. Thus, though them wealthes really decreased, the rich person became increasingly richer, because their number fell more quickly still, and that the inheritances became provinces. As of the beginning of the second century of our era, Pliny had said that the 'latifundia' (broad fields) Italy had lost, but with the third and the fourth
the possessions had become much vaster still; ruin empire was also more imminent. The almost absolute disappearance of the inhabitants of the campaigns, badly replaced by a small number of slaves, the empire opened Roman with the barbarians. In Italy, it did not remain of population native that in the most inaccessible retirements of mountains, about which the noble Romans had not worried to buy the ground. Each invasion of barbarians dispersed, freed or charmed the slaves; cities, with their désœuvrée population and pusillanime, underwent the yoke. In some parts of Italy, the invasion of the barbarians was also the occasion of a new distribution of the grounds. Théo-doric obliged the Roman citizen to receive a host ostrogoth in its inheritance, and to give up the third of sound to him well; but the barbarian was too foreign with agriculture to be able to make it refleurir; the number of the conquerors was too small to change manners and the opinions of population; moreover, a little later wars of Bélisaire exterminated almost the race of Ostrogoths in Italy. It is probable that the rural population started again with to renew by some parts of Italy, after the invasion of Lombards. These warriors, impassioned for independence, their conquest than they had not earlier achieved rejected the social bond almost absolutely, and started to confine itself in their grounds. The thirty dukes between whom monarchy was shared, were looked at once like small sovereigns. They thought of being made strong rather than rich, and, in return of the ground which they distributed, they asked of the services and not of the money: condition of the farmer became better as of the moment when the owners of the ground dealt with the men and not things, where they proposed to draw from the ground it not greater possible revenue, but the greatest number of vassal valiant and faithful. But this progress is foreign with the object which occupies us, because the domination lombarde never extended on the duchy from Rome. The 'latifundia' of it duchy thus were not still parcelled out. Several
had passed to the Church, or various pious foundations; others were had by patricians or Romans or barbarians, emperors having sometimes distributed grounds with the latter in reward of their military services. A powerful family among the noble Romans, them Albéric, had Tusculum and these delicious campaigns which extend until Frascati, in Marino, and Grotta - Ferrata. These chiefs were made appoint in turn counts, consuls and senators, in remembering the honors of which they claimed that their ancestors had been covered when Rome was powerful. They also started to make their peasants soldiers, and it was by the sword that they invested tiara Roman several members of their family. At that time where the history like is suspended, where all the genealogies are stopped, one cannot claim to know the state of the Roman countryside; however, it is necessary to believe that it was not joined together in immense properties, and not less deserted, at the time of Charlemagne and of Othon I, that it is not it today. But with the reign of Othons, in second half of tenth century, started, in all Italy, all Western Empire, this movement which repopulated Europe. 'Incaluere animi', it is the happy currency of Muratori, at the time-qu' it shows the world with the Middle Ages leaving again chaos. The kings had finally recognized their incapacity for to defend society by their armies, they had been constrained to invite the people themselves to take the weapons; they had allowed the cities, the castles, the convents to defend themselves. Then, the cities raised theirs old walls; then, the hills crowned castles; then, until the ruins, the antiques tombs Romans, with the aqueducts, with the theatres, were surrounded crenels, and offered a retirement to those which could not to find safety that in the valiancy of their arms, and in that the their vassal ones. Agro Romano, almost deserted, had been exposed: with the invasions of Buckwheats which, year 846, plundered the Vatican, which engaged Leon IV with
to surround by walls the following year, and to build the city Leonine. Hundred years later, almost all the hills which border the horizon were crowned strong places; the old walls, or were restored, or were rebuilt with nine, and cities where Sabins, Eques, Herniques and Volsques had formerly defended their independence, started again to offer a refuge to the inhabitants to save their people and their goods, and to inspire courage to them to defend them. However these cities, with a population bolder, had not recovered their independence. Undoubtedly wedged in the inheritance of some heiress family of old the latifundia, they had become only fortresses baroniales. With the first lights of the history to the Middle Ages, we see the large one house of Colonna, mistress of the cities of Eques, Blades-trina, Genazzano, Zagarolo, etc; it of Orsini, to replace republics of Veies and Cères, and to have them fortresses of Bracciano, Anguillara, Céri; assembles-Savelli, at Albano, still indicates the possessions of Savelli, which included/understood the old kingdom of Turnus; Frangipani were masters of Antium, Astura and the edges sea; Gaetani, Annibaldeschi, of the castles which the Marshes-Pontins dominate, and Latium counted less feudal families which it had not formerly counted of warlike republics. However the military spirit of people is always favorable, if it is not with agriculture, at least to independence farmers. Each rich or noble family making an effort, after the tenth century, to take cover from depredations of which it had suffered a long time, each one included/understood that safety could be for it only in its force and that it mattered to him to ask on the ground, not revenues, but of the men; however, to have men, for that the ground covers inhabitants, so that they are into same faithful times and brave men, it is necessary to show them in the future safety and ease. is needed that their work can improve their condition, it is necessary to concede the ground to them to be put in
value, with the help of a division which leaves the agrarian enough pleasures so that it prefers industry with vice, so that it hopes to accumulate, so that it is encouraged to raise a family. It is still necessary to guarantee the future to him, so that it makes sure that the improvements by which its sweats will enrich the ground will be acquired with itself and its family, and not with her master. It thus should be associated the property. In Agro Romano, the most generous masters (and consequently they were shown most skilful); gave up with their peasants of the pieces of their ground, under one tiny and perpetual royalty, either out of money, or in food products; they instituted long leases or 'livelli', and they attached to it only the condition of the military service. Most miserly, on the contrary, wanted to reserve itself more in the present, and not to deprive itself of the future. They colonists called, to which they only gave up a share of harvests, and they reserved the right of to return each year. But ground that they conceded to them was naked and deserted, and the instability of tenure prevented that it was not improved. The agrarian, to obtain one from them only harvest, was obliged to devote a considerable and expensive work to him. Its profits were too petty so that it could grant a large share of it to the owner. This one had to be satisfied with the fifth of the product, and to leave with the peasant four fifths. This division even does not leave not with the agrarian a sufficient reward. When it has neither olive-trees, neither vines, neither fruit trees, neither fence, nor rural house for the men and the cattle, nor channels of arrosoement and flow, nor finally no improvement secular, agriculture, without future and past, is one not very advantageous industry. One sees still today some fields held with quinta (for the fifth); but at the time same that they are fertile, the agrarian hardly with living on the four fifths of the product. The gun of the long lease had been fixed low still: often, with the reserve of the military service, the royalty was only nominal. The scientist cuts down Coppi, in its developed
tions 'known I luoghi una Volta abitati ED will ora deserti Agro nell' Romano, preserved us one of these contracts year-
tigues, it is of May 11, 1202. It is seen there that the abbess of S. Ciriaco conceded with its tenants a farm which covered part of the territory of the two old Latin cities of Amériola and Médullia, against a royalty of a barrel and half of oil, three books of wax, a pound of incense and twenty silver grounds. But it was also reserved, according to the habit of the place, the seventh and thirtieth of the heritage of any peasant who died on his field (1). Of other leaves, the farmer hereditary lessee had perpetuity in front he; also it without slackening worked to found wealth of its family. It distributed its hills in terraces, it covered them trees, shrubs, and of all the products that the love and the intelligence can accumulate on a narrow space of ground; it benefitted from all its moments, of all those of its woman and of her children; for each one it found an occupation proportioned with its forces. It lived in abundance, and it raised around him wire ready to handle the vineyard plough under its orders, or the sword under the orders of their lord. All times that one climbs the volcanic hills of La-tium, all times that one visits these sites which charm that such an amount of painters illustrated, around the lakes of Manor house-Gandolfo and of Némi, in Genzano, Larriccia, Rocca di Papa, Marino, Frascati; all times that a laughing culture is met, intelligent care, the abundance of the products of the ground, one can be assured that the farmer has some or in A had the long lease. The naked property belongs to some lord who withdraws an invariable royalty from it; but the useful field, or, as one calls it in Rome, it 'semi-
glioramento', the improvement, is the perpetual property of the farmer. Using this association of the peasant to the property, the extent of the fields ceased having in the hills the effects ruinous that it had in the plain; the 'latifundia' were

really divided; the royalties which the peasants owed with the lord did not prevent them more than those which they had to the sovereign, to look at the ground as with them, and to enrich it by all their economies. Also agriculture gave birth to in these districts a many population, which multiplied with a singular speed, and which does not provide only farmers and defenders with the mountains where it had been born, but still of the adventurous, ready soldiers to pour their blood in all the wars of Italy. Because, since the medium of the fourteenth century, noble Romans, and more particularly Colonna and Orsini, were announced by their courage and their military talent, and by progress that they made make with the art of the war. Each of the fifteen or twenty famous captains that produced the Colonna house, when it left its mountains, was always accompanied by a band of adventurous warriors who devoted themselves to its fortune. Strongholds of the noble Romans, in the mountains, were then, like Switzerland, a seedbed of soldiers that one was sure to meet on all the battle fields from Italy. Orsini, not less valorous than Colonna, transfer certainly, in the Middle Ages, their strongholds covered with one population not less flourishing, because they raised a number there not less large adventurous soldiers, who followed them in the kingdom of Naples, where they announced preference, in Tuscany, Lombardy, and until France. Renzo da Ceri, which defended Marseilles in turn against Charles-Quint, and Geneva against the duke of Savoy, returned celebrates beyond the Alps the name of this town of Cères, with-jourd' today stay of saddest desolation. But one would seek in vain in all the strongholds of Orsini remainders of this population which, there are three and four centuries, illustrated itself in the weapons. Their castles are ruined, their fields are returned in the desert; maybe that their site being less strong, they suffered more from the war, or that population in tière of several villages having been massacred when the duke Valentino (César Borgia) wanted to destroy Orsini, it
ever reformed itself, or finally that the lords, not having more need for men for the war, were shown more avid, and that they stripped their peasants of their privi-léges. Because they realized that the concessions, even perpetual, could be solved, in a political state where justice belonged to the concessionary lord, and where that one even which wanted to drive out the colonists, because it did not want any more soldiers, was a made competent Court with them. Several other parts of the Roman State present it even contrast enters the memories of a quarrelsome prosperity to the Middle Ages and their current desolation. One would seek in vain today around Astura men that frangipani gathered without sorrow under its flag, to stop unhappy Conradin; in the forests which surround the pretty Lake Vico, the human race almost disappeared, and them soldiers with whom the frightening prefect of Vico so often made to tremble Rome with the fourteenth century, did not let descendants. The desolation of Castro and Ronciglione contrast with opulence and military glory good more recent of the Farnèse house which left there. Everywhere represents itself the same fact: when the lords asked ground of the men and not of the money, their liberality was rewarded, and they obtained some, and of the money and the men; when then they asked the ground more only money, without worrying about the men, their cupidity A misled, and they obtained neither the men more from them nor money. It is because agriculture was not wisely encouraged by the feudal nobility that when it offered resources with the art of the war, that the population did not start with to renew, with the Middle Ages, that in the mountains and them hills. The lords wanted many soldiers, but it was under the condition that these soldiers were with them; it them appeared rather useless to give birth to from corns that they could not keep and of the men who would not like their to obey. The free cities proceeded in another manner;
when they were populous and powerful, everywhere where road was opened with their 'carroccio', with their standard trailed on a tank, they felt in a position to protect to them 'contado', or suburbs, and then agriculture flowered in plains which surrounded them. Weaker cities, with opposite, and the free communities, that one named 'castelli', cultivated with less confidence and of assiduity the plains adjacent; they avoided building there or of the villages or of houses. These rich person grounds were not sown that at the time-qu' one believed enough stable peace to be promised of in to return harvests, otherwise one preferred, with reason, their to ask that the pasture. Open fields did not offer not enough of safety so that work there was undertaken considerable, without which one could not nor cleanse them, nor to control water of them. For this reason in Tuscany the unhealthy marshes and plains, whose industry made the conquest under the reign of Pierre-Léopold, remained deserted during the highest prosperity of republic florentine. The same causes condemned to desolation the Agro one Romano, or all this extent of undulating plains which extends from the foot of the mountains of Ombrie and the Sabine to the sea. Though the fever attacks, almost all them beens, the unhappy ones which are able by far to sow or to collect the fields which are scattered there, the country is not by no means marshy; its ground is prodigiously fertile, and it would be likely more beautiful culture; but, with the Middle Ages, it were not likely of defense. One would have been able to sow these plains, but which guarantee to give the agrarian what the harvest would be for him? They could to plant olive-trees, fig trees, mulberry trees, vines, to cut them by ditches, to surround them by hedges, to cover them houses rural (because there is in the nature of the ground nothing which pushes back the small culture, and which condemns to large); but it was to count on the future, and Rome, which claimed to have eternity, took little care of the future in it world. Popes, with the Middle Ages, ambitious and shy persons in
even times, began unceasingly in quarrels that they could not support. They caused in turn or large feudatories, or companies of adventure, or kings of Naples and dukes of Milan; and after their having declared the war, they let to them devastate the country, without their to oppose resistance. The urban militia inspired with the sovereign pontiffs more for fear of confidence; too endeavoured they to hold them disarmed; and though the population of Rome was numerous, its 'carroccio' never did not leave in the fields to protect them. Also lords and black and white places to which this opened territory belonged, they did not show any eagerness to fix at it some population; they did not grant a 'livelli' or of long lease; they made it possible some foreign colonists to come to sow, by paying the 'quinta', but they did not make them no advance, they granted any protection to them, and they let them leave without regrets, preferring the product naturalness of the grasses, of which they leased the pasture, and for which they did not run any chance, with a doubtful prosperity, which could be a soft food for their enemies. It is probable however that, of the twelfth with fifteenth century, several inhabitants of Rome started again to cultivate agro Romano, as it had been cultivated in the first times of the Republic; that without going to be established in the fields, they had taken or of the rich person lords, or of the pious foundations, some pieces of their vast properties, which they exploited under conditions which are not known for us. One must conclude it, that is to say of the state of the markets, either of that of the poor, or of posterior attestimonys. The trade of corns was done with too limited capital, it excited too much distrust, it was too much often stopped by the war, so that large city could expect all its subsistence from it; it was necessary well then that the Roman population was nourished mainly corns collected on its territory. Moreover, during the stay of popes in Avignon, then during, the great schism of Occident, the tributes of Christendom ceased arriving to Rome; die
braid pontifical court was then extreme, and that of people were taller still. The population decreased much, it is true, but finally that which remained was to live; and as it was foreign with the industry of the cities, like it did not find employment in any workshop, misery had to bring back to the agricultural work. But the schism finishes with middle of the fifteenth century, and as soon as Roman lords started again to enjoy some opulence, they worked to take again to the colonists the fields that those had put in culture. A constitution of Sixth IV (1471-1484), handing-over in force by Clement VII, in 1523, informs us of this reaction: “Considering, known as Sixte IV, that the frequent famines to which the city was exposed in these last times, come mainly from small a number of fields which are sown; and that lords like to better preserve them uncultivated, and to intend them only with the pasture of the cattle, to cultivate them or to allow that one cultivates them for the food of men, because they ensure that they withdraw this manner of it a greater benefit....., etc (1)” Thus, as of the medium of the fifteenth century, the great landowners between whom all the Roman Countryside east always remained divided, refused with the culture of theirs grounds, and they returned successively the colonists who had tried to plow them. Sixth IV, to preserve public fortune of the effects of their cupidity, ordered that the third of their grounds was each year put in culture. In order to guarantee the execution of this ordinance, the pope authorized all those which wished to cultivate the close grounds from Rome, and which could not obtain the permission from it of owner, with asresser with the courts. Those had to rule on the choice of the third of the inheritance which was to be subjected to the culture, over the time of the clearing and on royalty which the farmer would pay to the owner for the use of its ground, like on all the difficulties which (1) Nicolai, dell' Agro Romano, T. II, p. 30, 31
could occur on this occasion. Sixth IV and its nephew, Jules II, were too dreaded pontiffs so that the barons Romans dared to make any complaint against this ordinance; but when Clément VII tried to give it into force, it met a sharp opposition. One has us preserved a speech of Casali Baptist, addressed to this Pontiff, in which it exposes all that the owners had with to suffer from these arbitrary measurements. It is not either with these accustomed old men with one obedience plugs that we would like to borrow examples of legislation; but when they believed the right of to subject the property to expensive rules with the owner, for the largest good of all society, they started from one principle common until our days to all the people, and whose one would find the application in all the codes. It is of our time only that the English publicity agents started with saying that the property preceded the institution by companies, and that those were constituted only for defense of this same property. We could not conceive, on the contrary, which it is that a property former to there law and the police force, a property that the law did not guarantee and that the police force does not protect. But this question of theory has less of importance than that in fact; in all time as in any country the sovereign capacity traced limits with the property, according to what it believed the advantage of all; when to do it listened to only the owners, society was in suffering, and the owners at least with the equal one of the others. Roman history. as of its origin until our days, in each century this truth confirms. As for the edict of Sixth IV, its greater defect was of being able too much easily to be eluded. Roman, powerful barons in their grounds, powerful in front of the courts, found soon means of ruining all those which tried to cultivate their fields in spite of them. Under pretext of need corns for themselves, they prohibited to them to bring them at the city, they then baffled them on the payment, they them exhausted by court expenses, and they ended up forcing
all farmers to leave all their fields in waste land (1). Having failed in their efforts to make cultivate again the Countryside of Rome, the popes with the seventeenth and year dix-huitième century at least endeavoured to maintain abundance in the markets, and to prevent the complaints of the people if it came to miss breads. Again the goal appears honourable to us and legitimates, and it is not because the legislation imposed the embarrassments or of the deprivations to the owners that we will allow to blame it, but only because it the end reached badly which it proposed, that it sacrificed future at the time present, and that while wanting to ensure food of the people, it compromised those which nourished it. The pope Paul V, who reigned of 1605 to 1621, instituted the 'Cassa annonaria' apostolic room, that it charged exclusively of the direction of the provisioning from Rome; and this one, especially proposing to avoid the dissatisfaction and seditions of the people, ordered that which that was harvest, or the abundance or the scarcity of corns, it bread would be always sold with certain public furnaces with same price, knowledge a baioc or Roman ground, of a tenth stronger than ground of France for a bread of 8 ounces. This uniformity price was maintained very nearly two hundred years, and still today one always pays a baioc by roll; but only the weight of this roll varies. In consequence of this rule given to bakery, the room apostolic saw itself soon obliged to seize without division trade of corns; not only it bought all that of the campaigns, but it granted or refused the permissions or of import or export. It exerted, with it that one ensures, this capacity, not according to suitabilities' of the market, but more often according to the credit or the liberality of those who requested the exemptions. Even by leaving side these abuse, the rule which it was prescribed, not to consult of other interest that that of the poor consumer, is also bad, because it is as partial as the contrary rule

(1) Nicolaï, dell' Agro Romano, T. III, C. XII, p. 64.
recommended today, to consult the interest of the producer or the owner. The government, we believe it, must take care on the distribution of the subsistence, but it owes it to make in the interest of all, and not in that of a class unspecified of society. Lack of principles of the room apostolic, the arbitrary one of its decisions and impossibility to envisage them in advance, made much more annoying that before the condition of the owners who made sow their fields, in Agro Romano. Whatever was the abundance or the scarcity of corns, the room apostolic passed them to the bakers at a rate of 7 ecus Romans (37 FR. 10 C.) the rubbio, measurement which weighs 640 kilog. ; this price did not move away much from the average, and it left to the bakers a sufficient profit, when they sold their rolls at the price of a baioc; until the year 1763, the benefit of the room compenseren its losses. But about this time a rise in the prices started of corns, which always went growing until the end of the eighteenth century. In spite of its losses, the apostolic room fearing to always more give place to the popular discontent, continued to make sell the bread with the same price. Also, at the time-qui in the 1797 pontifical government was reversed, the 'Cassa annonaria' of the room presented a deficit of 3,293,865 ecus, or 17,457,485 FR. (1). A long time before the glare which the revolution caused, the room apostolic had sensed however that it was committed in a bad system, and it had multiplied the investigations to put itself in a state of him to substitute the best. As of the pontificate of Benoit XIII, of the police chiefs had been charged, in 1729, to ensure itself of the price to which the bread returned with the bakers: public furnaces had been delivered to them, all handling had been done in their presence, and all their calculations are reproduced in the work of Nicolaï. Other tables were made carefully of the quantity of corn which should have been sown annually and of that

who was sown indeed; shift in population of Rome, and of its consumption out of corn, year per year; transport charges finally which increased corns coming from walk. It was according to all these data that Pie VI, in 1783, made make a new land register of Agro Romano, and on its owners the condition imposed of sowing 17,000 rubbi of ground per year: the rubbio is the measurement of ground who is supposed to ask for a rubbio wheat for to be sown, though in general one sows a rubbio there and half of grain; it contains 3,703 square canes; the cane is equivalent to 2 meters and 22 centimetres, the rubbio thus makes 18,250 square meters, or less than two hectares or five acres, and it enters 120 rubbi year square miles. The ordinance of Magpie VI was however not carried out; hardly five or six thousand rubbi of ground were sown; owners and the farmers also refused there; the first required that in addition to the tenant farming, the farmers delivered two to them rubbi of corn for each ground rubbio which they would cultivate

(1). The owners explained the reasons finally clearly of their resistance to progress of the culture; in 1790, they presented two illustrated accounts, which they confirmed in 1800, and which is true still today: one made known expenses of culture and products of 100 rubbi of ground sown out of corns in Agro Romano; the other those of a herd of 2,500 sheep in the same circumstances. Their result shows to us that, while the culture of corn would hardly pay, on an advance of 8,000 ecus, a benefit of 30 ecus for the farmer or rather the farmer, while still supposing that the season was favorable, the same advance of 8,000 ecus, devoted to a herd of sheep, would bring back approximately 1,970 ecus

(2) to him. These two illustrated accounts are of quite high importance they explain the resistance constant, invincible, which the owners and the farmers, named in Rome brought (1) Nicolaï, T. III, p. 133. (2) Nicolaï, dell' Agro Romano, T. III p. 167 and suiv.
'mercanti di tenute', with the progress of the culture; they put all its day the opposition enters the interest of the great landowners, and the social interest, the interest of the State; they show that true economy that the first made, that which them enriches, it is the economy of the human lives, it is the removal of the inhabitants on all the territory which they have; they give finally authentic details, and which we have care to make us confirm, as being true still with-jourd' today, on this minimum of workers to which owners and the farmers succeeded in reducing the Roman Countryside, and on the minimum of the pleasures of which they forced them to be satisfied. However these accounts, filled of technical words, in use only in Rome, would be inintelligibles for the majority of the readers, we will comment on them with the place to bring them back textually. The first base of the one and the other account, it is the evaluation, with 5 ecus by ground rubbio, of the value of grass that the ground devoted to the pasture produces naturally. This summon, equivalent to the tenant farming paid to the owner, is passed among the expenses in one and the other account. He appears that it is looked at today like rather higher than the average; because, if close one mowing are estimated until 10 ecus, the pastures which one plows every four years in hardly four are worth; those that one ceases plowing, and which, consequently, soon undergrowth is covered, is not worth any not three. Indeed, the farmers whom we consulted affirm that they always lose on the culture of corn; but this culture their is necessary to prevent that the ground that is to say invaded by the forests, and made unsuitable with the pasture. The comparison is not made between two grounds of equal wide, but between two devoted equal capital, one with tilling, the other with the pasture. The second met in value ten to twelve times extent of ground of the first. herd of two thousand five hundred animals with wool, to which is attache another herd of twenty-six horses or mares, spend thirty weeks, of autumn, winter and spring, in the plains of Rome, and twenty-two weeks of been in
mountains of the Sabine and Ombric. For its food from winter, it requires approximately seven hundred rubbi ground, and approximately five hundreds for its food of been. Twelve hundreds rubbi equivalent with ten square miles. The herd makes live twenty-nine people in winter, eighteen in been, which, with twenty dogs, are only necessary to keep it. It is one average of twenty-four people for the population of ten square miles, abandoned with the pastoral life. Indeed, it is the only inhabitants whom one finds in these deserts; however, like the other parts of the pontifical State have at least two hundreds inhabitants by square miles, and some well more, the conversion of the arable lands into pasture is equivalent to removal of ninety inhabitants out of hundred and profit of the farmer, or rather of the speculator, whom one calls in Rome 'mercante di countryside', part represents of the maintenance with these ninety inhabitants out of hundred, that it prevents from living. But this operating system does not make only economy human lives, it does not reduce only to the minimum the number of those which the work of the ground makes live, it still reduces those which it employs with deprivations which them bring closer completely the wildlife, and which cut off them almost absolutely of the number of the consumers of the industry of the cities. The table that we study learns that the pledges of the shepherds are, on average, of 10 ecus or 53 frank for the season of winter, and as much for season of been, though this one is much shorter; but the owner of the herd, moreover, is held of their to provide twenty ounces of bread per day, half-delivers meat salted per week, a foliette of oil being equivalent to two glasses, also by week, and a little salt: it allows them to make use of part of reheated extracted milk from their ewes; but it does not pass to them from wine, vinegar, of nasty wine or fermented drink of any kind. Such is the food of the shepherds during all the current of the year. It is brought to them very whole from Rome; because there is not, in all the extent of the desert, neither a furnace, nor a housewife
who prepares a meal, nor a vegetable garden which provides one only plant for the kitchen. The clothing of the shepherds is as miserable as their food; they by far are recognized with the sheepskins, with the hair outwards, which cover to them shoulders and thighs; below, they do not carry that haillons. Of housing, it is not even question: indeed, they sleep generally in the open air, or at most in some one of the old ruins of which ground is sown, in some natural cave of which abound these volcanic grounds, or some opening of the catacombs; they is as there as they put in reserve the cauldrons, them spoons, ladles, and all the poor wretches utensils who are only necessary for this exploitation, and of which the account us is given carefully: the total value of those which are necessary for these twenty-nine people goes up only to 30 ecus, or 159 frank. The whole of the expenditure of the twenty-nine one people attached to this sheep-fold, including/understanding the wages, supplies and the small number of tools to their use, go up that to 1,038 ecus. The products are composed of the lambs, old ewes that one reforms, of wool, cheese, reheated, and of twelve three year old foals that one estimates to be able to sell each year. These products are evaluated with 7,122 ecus, in the account which makes assemble the annual profit with 1,972 ecus. The other table, which refers to an exploitation even value, but with an extent of ground ten or twelve smaller time, does not make us include/understand the state so well men whom it temporarily makes live ground. Tilling, we said it, is in the Countryside of Rome a speculation where there is to lose more that to gain; the collected corn seldom covers the expenses with them, and one would have there given up as of a long time, if it were not necessary to resort to it at the end of a few years to purge the ground of brambles, brooms, heathers, and of all the shrubs which would return it unsuitable with the pasture. Like this one in did one desert, where only one any more inhabitant is not found, when it farmer, the 'mercante di campagna', wants to plow it, it is
obliged to call its workmen of fort far, and it is appropriate to
him better, for the encouragement which they give each other
the ones to others, and for the facility of the inspection, to put
them all with work at the same time. It is not rare to see
thousand harvesters at the same time, the sickle with the hand,
with the chiefs of wire with horse, which inspect them and
which has a presentiment of them. In reason of this great
number of workmen, the division of the labour is introduced
among them at an unknown point into other countries. In a
report which was given to us on work what requires the
culture of corn, we find at least ten classes of workmen, of
which we could not return the names in any language, almost
in any other country their works various are done everything
by the same men. Some of these works are made by days
laborer who go down mountains of the Sabine; others, by
workmen coming walk or of Tuscany; the greatest number by
Neapolitan subjects which come especially from the Abruzzi;
finally, for the arrangement of the straws and the construction
of paillers, one employs also lazy public places from Rome
('piazzaiuoli di Roma'), which is hardly clean with another
thing. This division of the labour made it possible to adopt the
carefullest processes of agriculture; the corns are weeded at
least twice ('will terra will nera', and 'mondarella') and
sometimes more: each one being exerted with an operation
particular does it with more promptitude and of precision
Almost all work is done with fixed price, under the inspection
of a great number of factors and under-factors; but it farmer
always provides food, because it would be impossible with
the workman to get it in the desert. It gives to each one a
measurement of wine, the value of 40 bread baiocs per week,
and three books of some other nutritive substance, like salted
meat, or cheese. These workmen, losing them work of winter,
returns to sleep with the 'casale', vast building, entirely
deprived of pieces of furniture, which is with center of an
immense exploitation. They often have, two, three or four
miles to make to go there, but they in take time over the
length of the nights. In been, with
opposite, they sleep on the place where they worked; more often in the open air, though an abundant and frozen dew either the principal cause their diseases; carefulest or tents bring, or raise huts of foliage. The countryside of the harvesters is usually only from ten days, and these generally save and gain on their premises their entire wages, or approximately 5 ecus. Workmen of various classes which beat the grain, transport it and store it, are retained longer in agro Romano, and though paid at higher price, it is rare that they can put money on side as much, because they are exposed to the disease. In the best years, the third or the quarter of these workmen is reached fever; in worst, almost all. Even in winter, and in the healthiest seasons, the price of the days of agriculture is high; it varies from 20 to 25 baiocs; in been, one has it considering rising up to 9 paules, or very nearly 5 frank. Top price of labour explains sufficiently why it tilling in these rich person campaigns is unprofitable. However, some high that are these wages, they compensates hardly dangers and the deprivations to which the poor workmen expose themselves. The majority have a voyage from two or three days to be made, to arrive of their country and to go back there; their work, which starts with the rising of the sun, and which prolong until its sleeping, with two interruptions of one hour, to take their meal, continues under the heat choking of an extreme climate, which exposes them to being devoured by the insects: their rest, when bathed sweat they sleep on the naked ground, even under the shelter of huts of foliage, is almost always pernicious. If they fall patients, they are far from their family, their house, of all those which some affection, some old practice would engage to give them care. Some then are transported in the hospitals of Rome, others attest to trail itself to their country; several die in travel, goatskin bottles are condemned until the end of their life to a miserable existence. A few ecus that most fortunate
pay to their country operate like the batches of the lottery to engage some of others to run the same chances, and them profits offered to the workmen travellers are, to all to take, a calamity for the country from where they leave. But the country which they come to cultivate, which benefit withdraws-T it of their presence? no other that profit of the farmer, and this profit, as we saw, is almost null, or even generally it makes place with the loss. It is true that, for a culture of one hundred ground rubbi, the farmer distributes in wages, according to the account which we have under the eyes, 4,320 ecus; it is more than four times what cost him them wages of a sheep-fold of two thousand five hundred sheep which ten times more ground would occupy. However though it agriculture drank must be of £aire to live men, this goal is not fulfilled if one makes them live misérablement. It is still filled less if this agriculture does not give not inhabitants with the country. Roman tilling does not change that for one moment the face of the desert, it does not fix inhabitants in the campaigns, it does not prepare consequently not market for the industry of the cities. The workmen who will have come to face the fever, will set out again at the end of ten or twenty days, often without to have seen the capital, always of less without y to have made, a shopping. Rome does not have campaigns and not of countrymen; fundamental trade, on which all the others rest, that between city and the fields, could not exist there. The answer which the 'mercanti di tenuti presented' to Roman pontiffs, by drawing their two pictures, is thus peremptory: tilling, such as it is practised around, of Rome, is always less advantageous than the pasture, and it more often it is exerted at a loss. There is thus no reason to extend it, except as much as this pasture itself it ask. But between this tilling of large lords, and true agriculture, that which gives to the ground men and of happiness, more still than of wealth, there is outdistance an entire world. Contractors of rural work in the Roman State,
those which one names tenute there 'mercanti', but 'di campagna', who is men have a very-large fortune, who received a distinguished education, and who probably will not be long a long time in acquiring in proper all it ground which they exploit; they are hardly eighty. These men know all the processes them more sophisticated of agriculture, they have at their disposal sciences, arts, and of immense capital; they profited of all the advantages of centralization, an accountancy scrupulous, of an inspection that they extend to all, with the assistance of their staff of 'fattori' and 'fattorini', but they live in Rome, and one cannot ask them to know with detail five or six immense fields which they make to be worth at the same time, and that from time to time they traverse quickly with horse. However, them excluded, all those which contribute to Roman agriculture, are men with pledges, none them has a direct interest with success society. But the owner or, the farmer who wants to put forward its ground by economy, as it is expressed, i.e. with servants or workmen who it claims to direct without working itself, is deprived of their intelligence and of their affection to work, and only their force employs physics: however it is the moral and intelligent part of the man who makes his value, and not the strength of his muscles; also the true one, only advantageous economy in agriculture, it is to make carry out work by those which benefit from it, of readre the agrarian, if it is possible, owner, or with defect, tenant under perpetual revenue, or finally, failing this one or other, sharecropper; because directors of work who look themselves as above tirednesses and the details agriculture, will be ruined if they employ days laborer and will ruin the country if they do not employ any. Workmen that the 'mercanti di tenute' employ for culture of corn cost them more than they are not worth, not only because it is right to pay them, in addition to their travel, a compensation for the hateful lodgings of which they will have to be satisfied, and for the chances of disease with
which they are subjected, but still because more bad subjects
of the close countries are the only ones which are resigned to
carry out this wandering life. Unknown with their masters and
their fellow workers, they do not have any reputation to
acquire or to preserve, they have interest only theirs clean, in
opposition of that of the master who employs them; it would
be to them indifferent to sow salt or corn in the ground, and
they would not attest a regret if the factorie were devastated
by fire of heaven, at the moment when they would have left
there. Work of these same days laborer costs even more that
they are not worth, because in the Countryside of Rome,
generation present does not inherit any the work made by
former generations, because it does not benefit from the
power which nature deploys slowly to make to bear fruit the
work of the man. This power made develop a large tree
where, by five minutes of work, a man, it there has hundred
years, placed the orderly of a fig tree or of an olive-tree.
Indeed, the ground which fills the man of its fruits, the
ground, which under this same pontifical government fact
food in the Steps more than two hundred inhabitants by
square miles with all the pleasures of the life, was enriched by
an immense accumulated capital (1), but this capital just as
easily represent the long work of nature, that that of the man.
The ground was battered up to two or three feet of depth, but
then its elements were mixed and loosened by the beneficial
action of time. vine, the fig tree, the olive-tree, the mulberry
tree, all fruit trees

(1) The population of the Steps is of 426,222 inhabitants, on a
surface of 2,111 square miles, distributed as follows: Go of
Ascoli. 397 miles. of Fermo. ........ 279 of Macerata....... 5
from Ancona. ........ 475 of Camerino...... 362 ------Miles
squares.... 2,111 That made, for all the Steps, 201 inhabitants
95/100 by thousand; but by deducing the chains from rocks,
the sterile and uninhabited parts, it remains probably more
than 300 inhabitants by thousand.
who cover it, if they owe their plantation with the man, owe their growth with nature; terraces, aqueducts, the channels, the fences, preserve the ground and its fruits of annoying influences, and save the work of the new generations; houses, distributed on all surface ground, non-seulement ensure the pleasures, the rest, health of the farmers, but they save steps to them tiring and of useless transport. Variety of harvests who follow one another is used to them as guarantee that all will not perish not by the same bad weather; work which they require are distributed between every season, and the farmer who wants to do everything by itself can hold an advantageous work for each day of the year, instead of asking the wages days of smatter and harvest, to nourish it during dead seasons. The food are born on the ground, they are born proportioned with the needs for the farmer, and it is not called, like the agrarian of Rome, to buy the bread, drink, and to the least lettuce plant than it would like to put in its soup. Perhaps but it will be said that the bad air, 'the malaria', choice with the Roman farmer did not leave, and whom it has shown skill to benefit from its ground under such disastrous circumstances. The traveller who questions the Romans can only prevent oneself from being struck of, for the majority, they deny the existence of 'the malaria'; it is not certainly that they claim that the disease does not plane unceasingly on these afflicted campaigns, but it is the effect, say, and not the cause of this desolation. The air is always unhealthy, they say, in the vast pastures, because of the abundant ones dew that those cause; it is unhealthy in grounds stirred up after a long rest; it is unhealthy in campaigns where no attention is given during water, and where each source forms a pestilential pond; it is unhealthy where a pure fountain is not reserved for drink of the man, where its residence was selected without any attention with hygiene, where its mode, reduced with the bread and the salted meats, is never varied by
fresh plants, where insects multiplying without obstacle, them flies and the mosquitoes of the been are enough to ignite blood and to make the life unbearable, where the man is private finally of all comforts of the house and the household, of all attentions that its wife and members of his family would lavish to him. It is certain, indeed, that them savannas of America, and all the clearings which one will try in this virgin land, the same chances present of fever that the Roman Countryside, that progress of the culture always displace air in front of them bad, just like it is certain that while looking at behind, one saw the bad air starting only when the population disappeared. It is certain that several of the districts most badly located Rome, are healthiest because they are populated; that Grossete was nowadays conquered in Maremme Tuscany, on the most pestilential air, by industry and the population; that ruins of the 'villa' Romans on the edges of the Tiber, on the shore of Lavinium, of Laurentium and Asture, attest that the Romans were going to seek the fresh pleasures and air sea, where only death today would be found. But without solving the question, without deciding if there is a cause of disease inherent in the volcanic ground of Maremmes, and independent of the abandonment of the cultures, observation of the race human in all places, sufficient shows us that the spirit of industry initially insalubrity of the air faces, and in triumph then, and that if workmen travellers arrive each been to achieve the agricultural work, in the season and the most frightening circumstances, one would find more easily of the men who would come to live these same places with all the advantages of healthiness of an establishment with dies, if they were sure that their courage would be rewarded If there is nothing in the bad air which could prevent fixing of a rural population in the Countryside of Rome, and its multiplication, there is less still in the form of ground and its exposure of the obstacles to this varied culture who, in the other parts of Italy, multiplies the resource peasants with the products of the soil. Of much more
most of Agro Romano appears to be raised by underground fires. All layers of rock which one sees with overdraft seem tormented; they are circumvented in all the forms, and let foresee everywhere caves. The hills succeed the hills, and their slope, in what is called however the plain, is often enough rapid so that the traveller must harness oxen with its convey: the vine and the olive-tree would succeed admirably on these slopes, and their varied aspects promise even wines distinguished. A vast plain admittedly extends below group of mountains of Albano to the Marshes-Pontins: that one perhaps never would be entirely returned to healthiness. But the plain of Pisa is not watered by water which dominates it: that one also is plowed by buffaloes which like themselves in the marshes, and however the vine supported on poplars, the mulberry trees, the fruit trees, the corn, the corn, the fodder grasses, offers in the plain from Pisa, and under the mode of the field crop, a succession harvests not stopped. But some Roman owners and princes, some 'mercanti di campagna' will answer perhaps impatiently, first: “Our grounds are well leased, with contractors non-seulement solvent, but richer than us; they regularly pay us a high revenue; we are content: what is another thing wanted? ” Seconds: “Us brought to our industry immense capital and wide knowledge; we make considerable profits there; we are content: why the government would it interfere our business? Why would like he to teach us what do we have to make our property? It does not have to believe what we do our interests intend better that him? ” Extremely well; but they are not your interests only the government must occupy itself, they are national interests; and if it is a duty crowned for him, it is not to allow that the nation is destroyed to increase the revenues of anyone: the nation, we say, and, indeed, it is attack in all its parts by this system of agriculture.
The comparison of tilling to the pasture indeed showed that the first generally causes a loss with the ‘mercante di campagna’, and that the second brings a considerable profit to him: but it also showed that all the gross product of thousand two hundred rubbi of grounds subjected to the pasture does not go up that with approximately 8,000 ecus, and that it twelfth of these ground subjected to tilling the same product would give precisely It still showed that a thousand of ecus pays the wages in these thousand two hundred rubbi, while 48,000 would be needed ecus to pay them in the same extent of subjected ground with tilling, and instead of twenty-four paid Agriculture, one would need thousand hundred fifty-two. In of thus holding with these vulgar signs of prosperity, the value products or the number of the inhabitants, the system of the pasture is infinitely lower than that of tilling. It is in another manner however that we appreciate the desolation caused by this Roman operating system, with which the owners and the farmers are also content. It is with him that we allot misery without hope under which the town of Rome succumbs itself, as well as majority of provincial towns. In Rome, indeed, with the reserve workshops of the artists, contents of hotels, hirers out of cars, of the merchants of shops intended for only foreigners, all languishes, all decays, any work ceases, any industry, other that that of the begging, is prohibited with poor. Nothing is so common to intend to show them Romans of laziness, to intend to ask with indignation why all these valid men, who stagnate with corner of all the streets, do not work. One does not want to see that, in the current organization of society, work is interdict with the man that nobody calls. Under the eyes Romans extend from the interminable campaigns which remain in waste land; their ground is of an admirable fertility; but it is allowed poor, which dies of hunger at side, to plant there only one lettuce? This same poor will it be made mason, carpenter, metal worker? But these professions are intended to be useful the farmers who nourish them in their turn; and of agricul-
teurs, there is not with twenty-five miles of ray around Rome. The professions which contribute to raise the houses, must all be abandoned where there are dwellings, and the unhappy pastors who wander in these campaigns sleep in the open air or in natural caves. Elsewhere, the peasants undoubtedly endeavour to do little expenditure for their furnishing and their clothing; however they have in their residences, of the beds, the chairs, of tables, of the cupboards, the common ground and copper vases, all utensils of their table and their kitchen, their linen and their clothes, either of festival or of work, them shoe, all their tools and all instruments of their firm. With each one these needs of the man for the fields, one man corresponds in the cities, each piece of furniture represents a trade, an industry; but when you cut off all the population of the campaigns, you condemn into same time all the population of the cities, which was to serve it, with to live in laziness; you prohibit all the trades to him who feed the first the commercial, the trade enters the city and fields. All instruments necessary to one sheep-fold of two thousand five hundred sheep, with an exploitation who occupies twelve square mile of country, do not cost, we saw it, who 30 ecus: how such an agriculture would nourish it of the industrialists in the cities? But if the professions do not find to work, why, perhaps one will say still, the poor do not enter not in manufactures? This question indicates that one does not have a clear idea of what it is that a manufacture. One should see another thing there only society of a capitalist rich person who, by the machine and considerable money paid in advance expensive, puts itself in a position to replace with low price products of the professions. Where these products are not asked, where, for lack of consumers, they would be useless, manufacture would be useless too. Campaigns Romans consume neither fabrics, neither furriery, nor hardware, nor pottery: for what would be used to establish in Rome of manufactures who would work cotton, hemp, the wool,
leathers, metals, clays? Roman capitalists recognized that manufactures would be badly placed at Rome, which they would work at a loss. At the time same as they would have been mistaken, it is enough that they of did not establish so that the poor one cannot suit them to require work. How much people believe to have answered the complaints of low in saying: That it does something, that it makes another thing; and, in the fact, any thing is impossible for him. However the population of the town of Rome goes unceasingly while increasing; it is ensured that it amounts to a hundred and eighty thousand hearts. The number from opulent abroad who flow there was while growing in the twenty last years course, and there were consequently more means of nourishing the population poor with the crumbs which fall from their table; but, in addition, old Roman houses, houses princely are for the majority in a state more constrained than el was not them formerly, and while there are two or three of them which increase each year their colossal fortune, one sees the others successively selling with these their palates, their gardens and their inheritances. At the same time all the remainder of the people is more dependent and more poor wretch that it forever be. But, we had occasion to observe it several times, it is necessary that the destitution arrived at an excess which well seldom meets so that it stops the population; usually, with the opposite, misery increases it: they are the fathers who have it less future and less precaution which marry them young people and which has the most children. When population increase in Rome, one only sees increasing the number those which require work and which do not find any, who ask for bread and who must live charity of private individuals, of that of the Church or that of the State. Misery was not enough either to destroy the population campaigns, it should have been expelled to make it disappear. Families of the colonists, returned grounds that they cultivated, and forced to yield the place to the shepherds, continued to remain in the villages or the small cities where they had their poor wretch residence; though private of their
usual livelihood, they did not leave the roof of theirs fathers under whom they were still with cover, and they flattered themselves to be maintained, while working at the day, in doing something, as one did not cease recommending it to them. In addition, the owners who had begun again to them the ground on which they were to live, did not see them without concern in their vicinity; they felt well that them lambs had few chances to grow near people famished and without profession. Also they put eagerness to buy at a price higher than their value the chau - mières who were to sell, to demolish them. Of this manner, much of old communities entirely have disappeared, and their site belongs to the great fields which surrounded formerly. Caves small cities, such as Népi or Città-Castellana, received these emigrants, and their population as their misery is increased; because, encircled as they are by the great landowners, they cannot to benefit from their arms. A constitution of the Black and white VII, dated September 18 pope 1802, expose clearly and with force the control of the Roman owners. It is to the pontiff himself to attach it blame where it can be deserved. Magpie VII, which had just lost legations, felt the need for fixing a population more in the provinces which were remained with the Church, and the constitution of which we insert the preamble here was intended to recall it to it. “We are, says it, all the more given to resort with measurements stated below, which we are closely persuaded that if we do not produce remedy there, depopulation and the abandonment of the campaigns close to Rome would go always while growing. A disastrous experience does not confirm that too much this persuasion. We see, especially in Campagna, a number of heritages reduced to the condition of 'tenute', i.e. completely depopulated, and given up with the natural production of the grass, which, in one time still little moved away, was rich products and inhabitants, which is rather clearly established by the rights
of justice which is still attached there. The population was introduced and was maintained in these fields, because their owners had wisely divided them between one great number of farmers, who gave them in return a portion of the fruits of the ground. But disastrous progress luxury little by little made give up this method. owners, allured by mollesse and the pleasures of city, gave up giving to the culture the assistance that they he had; the obstacles which the laws put at the sale and with the inland transport of the food products, and the forced prices, could also contribute to make decay the culture. These causes, and well of others still, engaged the large ones owners to give up the creditable habit to divide their grounds between a great number of small colonists; they them joined together, on the contrary, to give them in farm to one only, because they see that there are only farm very-rich person who can ensure these regular payments to them the expiry, with the help of which they gave up any care their businesses, and they pass their life conveniently in luxury and mollesse. These farmers in their turn, like one was to expect it, having only beams of short duration, sought to get rid of all the details of the perception of small ground rents and division the small ones harvests. Far from supporting the small farmers and of in to accommodate the new ones, they preferred the industry of the pasture: often they maltreated the colonists whom they found on their farm, or, at least, they hastened their ruin by not helping them, by not supporting them in the bad ones years or in their diseases, like one practises it everywhere where the true culture of the ground is known and estimated. While thus acting, the farmers decreased theirs expenditure, and they were confirmed in their method, parce that labour became increasingly more expensive. As they moved away the colonists, and that they do not have them any more employees with any work, the number of the men fell of all shares around them, and their work increased price. But if this method their were advantageous for
to decrease their expenditure, it was quite fatal in the State, that it deprived of its true wealth, of the products of sound agriculture and of its population (1). ” The project of Magpie VII was as wise as the principles on which it rested were honourable. It did not think to make manage of the colonists of the outside to build villages, with to expose a whole population to the chances of a news society, but to benefit from all the centers of population who already exist, to extend around them the small culture, to make plant vines and olive-trees beside those who are already in influence, to count on the benefit of the example, and to entrust the culture of these smallholdings suburbicaires to peasants who would still not give up the stay of cities. It judged that the townsman could extremely well extend the care of the culture until one thousand of distance from the places inhabited, and it consequently ordered to draw up a land register new of the uncultivated possessions which extended around Rome and of each other city of the State, in a ray of one thousand starting from the last cultures. If this first zone had been, according to its intentions, encloses, planted and cultivated, it counted that the farmers would not delay to cleanse it, that then they would transport their residence there; that of these new residences they would leave to clear one second zone also of one thousand of width; that at the same time, one could choose beyond that, in the raised places, near the purest water, of new centers of culture, to which the government would hasten to attach and a priest and a doctor, and that the improvements would extend thus, of near as a close relation, until circles formed around each city met. But means chosen by the pontiff to put his projects with execution were not rather energetic. He subjected to a surtax of 5 paules by rubbio, grounds that theirs owners would leave uncultivated in the zone more rappro- ( 1) 'Motu landlord of Magpie VII', a. Nicolaï, T. II, p. 163 -185. The drafting is of the cardinal Joseph Doria Pamfili, Procamerlengo.
chée of the cities; it granted, on the contrary, a reduction in 5 paules on the tax, with those which would be cultivated in execution of its edict. The benefit was not rather considerable to engage the owners or the farmers to be changed system. Instead of following the intentions of the pope, they thought that to raise complaints, or to obtain exemptions personal. On these entrefaites, new revolutions occurred, the State of Rome was joined together with the Empire, it 'motu landlord' was forgotten; the rural population continued to be expelled of the fields, and now it does not remain about it absolutely none; finally, of the vain attempt at Magpie VII, it is not resulted that a prejudice violate among the Romans against philanthropic measurements, and a deaf person, but obstinate opposition of the owners to any project of improvement. We do not believe to be descended to too much from details in this outline of the history of the rural properties around Rome, because we are persuaded that a tendency universal in Europe threatens us of the same calamities, even with the places which seem today to follow a system any opposite; only the Romans traversed all career, while we hardly enter there. This tendency is that of centralization. The men are today, more than ever, admirers of the force, the power, order; they believe to see them attached to a single will and intelligent which directs all. The independence of small nations was sacrificed the first to this desire of size; it succumbs under political centralization; all rights provincial were sacrificed in the same way to centralization legislative; all municipal rights to centralization administrative; all independent armed bodies, all them local militia, with military centralization. The same principle dominate today in the political economy: there too, one wants to subject any industry to a single will, lit, and made powerful by immense capital; and one wants that all the arms which serve it act by only one impulse, without the heads of the multitude being interfered. The erection of great manufactures is other thing only
centralization of industry, or the suppression of the trades with the profit of the factories. The centralization of the trade takes place by means of the accumulation of immense capital, returned more available still by the credit; it tends to remove tone merchants of province, all tradesmen, and it is assisted by all the improvements brought to means of transport, by the channels, the steam engines and railroads; each one of them facilitates the attack goal, and this goal, it is to put the large one outputting, outputting hundred-millionaire, in immediate connection with consumers the most moved away, it is to destroy all them intermediaries. The system of the large farms, finally, is the application of centralization to agriculture; it removes all small farmers, to make place with a large director ruinous work. As the inspection of this one extends on a vaster territory, this system puts at its disposal of more enormous capital; it promises to him too all assistance of science; and counting then on sound higher intelligence, it subjects thousands of arm to him, which one does not ask any more to be directed by their characteristic reason, or to be animated by a moral feeling. But the goal of the human society must be the progress of men, not that of the things. Centralization improves all in the things, it is true; on the other hand, it destroys all in the men. On the ruins of Rome, how not to think of the centralization of the Roman empire? Which country at the world could present under one day brighter and its disastrous wonders and its effects? There only one will, one human will, had of the forces and industry of thousands, of million men; there a wealth collected of Euphrate with the wall of Calédoniens, or the mount Atlas with the Baltic, was put at the service of this will and dominated nature; with the orders of this capacity they rose monuments which cover with all shares the ground. We admire size, the power which created Colysée or the thermal baths of Caracalla; the vastness of these ruins seems to us to attest the triumph of the man on nature; but it was
more still triumph of the man on the man. The whim or the ostentation which imposed such work degraded humanity, Italy depopulated, and hastened much more than the invasions barbarians, ruin of the Roman world. The modern centralization, which incorporated all the small ones States of the Middle Ages in large kingdoms, made shine undoubtedly power of the human spirit in their capitals; but it made disappear from the provinces all that the character of the intelligence, strength carried, size and of patriotism. An instinct informs us of it sacrifice of individuality to the abstracted size, and this instinct us makes defer with love our glances towards the memories the Middle Ages, which represent with senates of free cities with their patriotism; with the other, castles of barons with their proud independence. Legislative centralization made the codes of laws more uniform, and perhaps more perfect; but it removed with the provinces their character, their nationality, and the career which formerly opened with distinction and with the talent provincial Parliaments and states. French administrative centralization established an order admirable and uniform in finances of forty thousand municipalities; but it closed the schools where men could inform itself in the application of social sciences, and to be accustomed to amount for little thing beside the interest public. Military centralization put an end to all competition enters the bodies, destroyed any idea of independence in their commanders, the discipline simplified, allowed with only one will to make act like only one man all the army and all the militia of a great empire; bravery main road in France was not weakened by this centralization; but that one does not request from the militia this burning any more patriotism which would have made them make wonders around walls of their cities, when these cities were with them. Industrial centralization in the cities, the campaigns, do not sacrifice less the men to the things, the individuals who can suffer, with the abstractions. It advanced science applied to all arts, but it returned it étran-
manage with the greatest number of those which practise
them; it accumulated the capital, but it decreased the number
of rich person; it multiplied the products of which wealth is
composed and gave birth to with cheaper, but it cut off on the
revenue of those which can buy them; it created the wonders
of art finally, but, beside them, it also created the proletarians
and pauperism. Indeed, the centralization of industry, either at
the city, or with the fields has for first effect, one could even
say, has for goal, economy on the expenses of production: it
made more things with less advances, it offers more has to
sell at the same time as it offers less wages and less profits
with those which make all the purchasable things, but these
are at the same time the great mass of the consumers. It causes
thus mediate to encumber the market, to encumber, if it is not
that of the industry which works with more low price that
others, at least that of the universe. Thus it capitalist, by a
consequence necessary of centralization, initially proposes to
save on the expenses of production, then to decrease the
number of the men who contributed previously with its work,
and finally to decrease mass things which it carried before on
the market. noble Roman, the owner of these immense
inheritances each one answers a powerful republic in
antiquity, traversed this progression. He sought initially with
to save on the expenses of culture, to retain itself larger leaves
in the products the ground, to leave the least with the
colonists; then it expelled little by little these colonists who
him seemed an expenditure; then finally it stuck to the
exploitation which, on a given extent of ground, returned it
less gross product, the pasture, and it found that it was that
which left him the most product Net. We saw it that one
called in Ireland, which one called in Scotland 'the clearing of
year estate': there, consequently road, one advances towards
the same goal. One also walks there to England, without to
still recognize. In other countries, where field crop prevails,
much of owners, excited by companies
erudite, dedicated themselves to the pastoral work management; they took again the farms with their hands, they introduced plough, of the sophisticated tools which save work; joining together several exploitations in only one, they saved on incidental expense, they made more with less labour; but, at the same time, they made their account, and they saw there with surprise that they lost, while they took to agriculture care heard so well; that dearness of labour ruined them, although science rural had made between their hands so much progress. In France, the result of these calculations was to determine much great landowners to sell their grounds by pieces, with peasants whom the political circumstances put in condition to buy them. In the other countries, the nobility is demolished badly readily of its genetic inheritance; it has little of faith at the public bottoms, and does not entrust its fortune to them; of their side, the peasants are hastened to buy; the large ones owners thus seek to find their revenue by one greater economy still of human work, by methods more clever to increase their products and to decrease their consumption; they go in the road where the Roman princes walked, they are trained of conséquence consequently, they run, and the term is in front them: this term, it is Rome and the Roman Countryside. In France, we believe it, the tendency now general with the compartmental sales, compartmental leasings, save society of a great danger, but one subjects oneself to it, like with a calamity of time present rather than as at large remedy. The gibes, sometimes the curses continue the speculators of the black band who facilitate this division properties; and the salesmen themselves exhale themselves in poetic regrets on the division of these beautiful inheritances who appeared to them one of glories of the country. Companies rural, the academies seem to have in heart of other progress only those of the field crop; companies of capitalists are formed to establish this same system in the colonies, in Algiers, in the Cape of Good Hope, in Swanriver.
In the north of Europe, in the countries of serfdom, stamping, instead of associating the serfs the property, detached ground; in all Italy one can recognize tendency of the owners to substitute the field crop for small. In Tuscany, they are the large farms of the 'Chianes', of Maremmes, which draws the public attention; we have considering which was the movement of agriculture in England, how any other contract of exploitation had disappeared in front that of tenant farming, and how with each renewal of lease the farms became larger, because it became the every day more impossible with the small farmers of to support the competition of large. We thus sense that we have against us the torrent of the opinions and the doctrines news; we will not discourage ourselves however: the sight of the Countryside of Rome makes us better know the abyss towards which we are involved. There at least, each one recognizes that the system of the large farms was pushed too far; there, the authority, lit people, the people, are appropriate also that the economy of human work has product an appalling calamity. Thus let us seek what it y would have to make for the Countryside of Rome, and if we succeed to show how the rural population is renewed where it disappeared, we will make better sense still perhaps the danger and the crime to destroy it where it exists.
ELEVENTH ESSAY.
HOW TO POINT OUT THE POPULATION AND THE CULTURE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF ROME.

We regarded as a great part of political Economy, and perhaps like most important of all, which relates to the fate of the inhabitants of the campaigns, Indeed, it appeared to us that, in a society well regulated, they formed of much the most part nation, and we know that in all, even in that which overrides all the others by the activity of its manufactures and its trade, these same inhabitants of campaigns produce the mass of values of much more considerable. We still know that, in division human work, no profession is likely of as much of happiness, than no in addition can be reduced to such a degree of misery without ceasing existing. Each one of these considerations should have called on them, of the share economists, more attention than they did not obtain any so far. It is not abstracted manner, it is not according to the principles of the formation of wealthes that we have wanted to account to us for the condition of the farmers; but, on the contrary, we sought to include/understand them existence in various countries, and under the varied relations that they maintain with the other classes society. This study had, on several occasions, to tighten us the heart. Us
let us can announce parts of Europe, regions richly endowed by nature, enjoying a fertile ground and one delicious climate, where however a many population and famished works beyond its forces to gain weak food and insufficient wages; we saw others of them where the moral character of the peasant was degraded by misery, where it is accustomed to prefer the offerings of charity to the wages of work, and where its haillons announce its laziness more than its poverty. Out of Europe, but under the domination Europeans, the whip and the chains were represented like necessary to force the peasant with work, any reward is not promised to him, no hope does not animate it, no labour for him is voluntary; finally we come from to see, around Rome, how defects of the organization social triumphed over the benevolence of nature, and of the vital force of the human race, and how the class whole of the peasants was destroyed. But in the same places who present of so sad examples, it is enough to go up at other times, to find the table of another social organization to acquire the proof that between all them professions offered to the men, none was blessed by providence with richer promises than that of farmers. The agricultural work is that of all which fact of being born the fullest reward; it promises with abundance, health, the peace of the heart and the benevolence; it nourishes the heart and the intelligence as well as the body; it ensure finally the happiness of societies, provided that another man does not interpose between the farmer and the ground, that it does not claim to collect where it did not sow, and to make pay, and pay with wear, where it did not work, or for services which it did not render. Fertility of ground directed by agriculture is one of greatest benefits the that the Divinity granted to the human race, although some men often misused it to subject other men with most appalling tyranny. The comparison between so much of sufferings and the memory of such an amount of happiness wakes up at the same time and the heart and the
intelligence; it is impossible not to wonder: What is necessary it to make to remedy the evils present, to find last prosperity? It is impossible not to assume temporarily all rights of the legislator, of not to deliver to projects of reform, not to formulate them, like if one thought oneself of putting them at execution. Us it let us sense however highly, there is an appearance of presumption and of extreme sufficiency to give councils which us are not asked, to blame the control of the chiefs nations, to state to them that they should have done in situations where more skilful than failed us. If this office has bad grace and can easily become ridiculous, we also sense that it puts the critic in a situation unfavorable; it makes it give up the role of spectator and of judge, to become actor and to be made judge in its turn. Any project of reform lends the side to many objections of detail; it prepares an easy triumph with whoever knows a local circumstance that the author had been unaware of, with whoever emphasized a difficulty which it had not provided. The defender of the order or rather of the current abuses arrives, he says us, armed with facts and practical knowledge, and it almost always find the public laid out to believe that that who sighs after better times is a dreamer who does not know the world. That which will paint with truth, with talent, the horrors slavery in the Antilles, the despair of Highlander driven out its hearths, misery without resources of the Irishman. or the desert and the desolation of the Countryside of Rome, will make on its readers a major impression; he will stir up theirs hearts, it will obtain all the literary success to which it can claim; but it will not essuiera a tear, it will not shake an abuse, it will not introduce only one change into one dangerous system. We are convinced by it, the hope of to serve humanity, to make succeed happiness the suffering. can be maintained only by that which, beside what is, show what must be. General sights of benevolence will be always applauded, but they will not go down from
speculative areas, they will not be considered like being able to be applied, that when they take the form of projects, that when they refer to defined places, with especially designated men, with circumstances that one will have made known with precision. We believe that the true one political economy is that which is always ready to pass rules with the applications, which is not satisfied to show absolute evil or the absolute good, and abstract rules and systematic of the progress of the population or wealth, but which, on the contrary, takes account of all the difficulties what presents a given circumstance, of all the interests existing, of all the dominant prejudices, and which however subjects all to the great fundamental law of society, with the research of the largest good of the human race. In the preceding essay, we sought to make known the current state of desolation of the Countryside of Rome, and to show by which causes, by which successive revolutions this same country, who had been covered once with one population as thriving as many, had entirely seen it disappearing. It is also, in a special way, with the means which could be employed to restore culture and to bring back the population in the Countryside of Rome, that we will stick in this one. However, we must say it, some attention that we make an effort to give to all the circumstance local, some care that we bring to specify the successive steps that it us seem that one could make, we do not have by no means the presumption to give councils to a government which certainly does not ask them; we only believe to be able him to present at itself some elements moreover for its reflexions; we believe to at the same time to address us in all country with the friends of science, and to invite them to the only lesson experienceal what can admit social sciences, the study of the accomplished facts, and the deduction of the results to hope for in given circumstances all and which do not depend not observer; we keep finally in mind other parts of the sphere where the need to renew the popu-
agricultural lation is not less felt, and for progress whose a detailed example is more important than theories. Indeed, the Countryside of Rome is not only region where deserts replaced an old civilization. Only useless luxury of vegetation of these abandoned fields makes a major impression, parce that they extend to the walls from the old capital from world, and that twenty thousand foreigners who travel with claim to observe, cross them each year. But province which the Greek emperors continued to have in Italy, after the fall of the Latin empire, the 'Tavoliere di Pu-glia, presents, over a length of one hundred fifty miles, and a width from sixty to seventy, a desolation with less equal to that of the Countryside of Rome, and it should be allotted to the same causes. Most of Greece and of Romanie, to the doors of Constantinople, of minor Asia, of Syria, of the province of Africa, and more half of Spain and Portugal, are the same given up with the common grazing land. Hardly attention there was paid, because despotism, the uncertainty of any property, fanaticism, cruelty, generally seem to explain sufficiently the destruction of the mankind, in campaigns formerly so fertile. However, very with side of them, others preserved their old culture, under a government which was not better, and of which protection was also dubious or also capricious. While looking at there more closely one recognizes in these various countries, as in Rome, accuracy of the expression of Pline: 'Lati-fundia perdidere Italiam, imo and provincias'. Also the research of the means of returning to the ground its fruitfulness and its inhabitants, and with the human race its prosperity and its hopes, will be able it to become advantageous, not-only-lies in the Countryside of Rome, but with all the countries of which them 'latifundia', the disproportionate inheritances, caused desolation. Among these countries, one can announce some several, it is truth, where one could not hope for the beneficial and intelligent action government; there is where one is tried
to delight by what one does not meet of inhabitants, because mass human misery by is decreased there, the men there being able to live only under the condition of being oppressed and to suffer. But it is other country where a firm will to make the good, or, if one wants, to enrich those who in their turn will enrich their masters, does not miss, and where perhaps the absence even of the legal guarantees for the ancient properties, would facilitate the work of the legislator, if it arrived at good to know the goal to which it must tend. It is thus a general question which we treat while speaking about the Countryside from Rome; we announce to it the cause which, in various places, its disastrous influence extended; we seek the principle there of reaction which, applied everywhere where this cause was done to feel, would spread the same benefits everywhere. But we believe in addition that that which wind to occupy itself effectively good to be made with its similar, must limit its philanthropy; it should not calculate in an abstract way how much men can live happy on a space given ground, and to call there of all the parts of the universe, it must think of the Romans in Rome, the Greeks in Greece, with the Africans in Africa, everywhere with those which nature or the Providence already placed on the ground, and which have receipt of God the mission of multiplying there and of improving there, and not with those which, attracted by the encouragements of the capacity, could import a new industry there and of new elements for the trade of the world. Principles themselves of social art are still wrapped of too of darkness, it although the man can and wants make is too often mixed with an unknown evil, so that it is wise with him, so that it is human to voluntarily take care of a so great responsibility, to take on him the office of Providence, and to model with its liking all the destiny of a race which does not exist yet. Each one of us, like member society, has to contribute of all its efforts, of all its lights, with the improvement of what exists; it must work to make disappear the causes from misery, of suffering, of oppression, to make more plain, easier,
road that each one, with its intelligence and its individual activity, is traced towards happiness. But we never must to forget the people for the abstractions; we do not have to never allow us to pronounce our judgement on one race like imperfectible, and to look like a progress suppression of this race, and its replacement by another to which we suppose more activity, of intelligence and susceptibility of education. This code of conduct is founded on humanity and on a right distrust of ourselves: unfortunately it has been absolutely lost sight of the fact by the founders of colonies modern. While the old ones civilized the natives, the modern ones exterminate them to replace them by white. This question is too serious not to treat it separately; it lines up, up to a certain point, in division of our studies on the territorial wealth, since colonization is one of the most effective means to return to ground the inhabitants whom it lost. or that it can nourish. We will devote the following essay to him. Here we will make the application of the same rule on a less scale. Those which think of returning at the Roman State sound old population, or which proposes to restore the culture in the provinces from Spain, do not take for base of their calculation spoliation of the natives, as one did without scruple in the colonies of America, of Australasia, course of Good-hope, and today still of Algeria; but they do not think about it less for that of importing in the countries deserts a new population. They affirm, inter alia that it is impossible to await any work of the Romans; that this race indolente and degraded does not want to lend itself to no tiredness; that it can live only in the idleness of the anterooms or that of the street; that there are not other vocations for it not only delivered or the begging, and that it first step to make to return to the culture the Countryside Roman, it is to repopulate it inhabitants called of the countries where the man likes the work, and where it includes/understands science rural.
Undoubtedly, we do not only push back the advantages can bring this infusion of manners and foreign practices; the increasing activity of the trade returns it much more easy in our century that in any of those which preceded it. We agree that the example is most powerful of lesson, that it is the only one which acts with effective on coarse spirits, the only one also with the means of which one can to introduce new manual operations; because men who do not have that the intelligence will never teach them well with the men who have only the muscular force. It will be thus often with joy that we will see arriving in a country delayed these useful agricultural teachers, days laborer, farmhands, sharecroppers, who bring to him practical of a more advanced country. But we believe to have not a moment to lose sight of the fact progress of the natives and them favour. In right, we believe that it is with them that Providence gave the country which they live, which the law in the possession with the owners that for the advantage guarantees commun run of society, and that these owners cannot to never turn to them privilege against society of which they it hold. In fact, we believe that all the human races are perfectible, that all are able to achieve try that Providence their prepared, and that if some could not enter the career of civilization, it is only the fault of their teachers, or the institutions that they gave them. By stopping us with the country which is the subject of this essay, us we ask what it is advisable to do to repopulate the State of Rome by Romans, to give in value its campaigns by Roman capital. The example of some foreigners, use of some foreign securities, to achieve this goal, an advantage will appear to us; but us let us consider, on the contrary, like a calamity and one injustice very undertaken on a great scale, which would make to pass the advantages of this restoration to speculators or of the foreign capitalists, with farmers other than Romans.
On the basis of this principle, it is not necessary to seek the bases of a new method to follow; there is not that only one of possible, that which had adopted the pope Magpie VII: it is necessary to benefit from all the already existing centers of population, it is necessary that each one of them acts all around him, and successively its activity extends on concentric circles, which it will always further push with the increase of its forces, until all these circles meet, and that they include/understand all the desert. Thus when one launches stones in a calm water, one sees a first circle to form around the point where each stone fell; it extends, and a second and a third succeed to him, and the movement is propagated until circles of the various centers meet, and that the undulation extended on all the surface of water. But, to apply this principle, it is important to know with some detail various centers of activity which already exist in the Roman State, the resources which they can present for the culture, and the influence that they exerted formerly. It is necessary of it that our observations can form a satisfactory whole; we will gather them however here like example, and as indication of what remains to be made. We on several occasions indicated by the names of 'Agro Romano', and Countryside of Rome, all this extent of deserted grounds, in the four provinces in the center of which Rome is, which presents the same aspect of desolation. We must inform however that this designation is unsuitable: the name of Countryside should be given only to the plain which extends from the left of the Tiber to the Marshes-Pontins; the name of 'Agro Romano' is given to the clean territory from Rome which extends all around the city, in a ray from ten up to twenty miles, or until the places where it meets the territory of the other cities of the State. The project of the pope Magpie VII was to leave at each city the improvement of its own territory, with the Romans that of Rome, with the inhabitants of Velletri, Tivoli, Viterbe and Civita Vecchia, with each one the territory which depended on their community.
The clean territory of Rome or Agro Romano contains 111,106 ground rubbi. On this extent 910 rubbi only are enclosed and cultivated in vines, olive-trees and 'canneti', or plantations of reeds intended to support the vines; these enclosures are located around Rome and of the castles and towns of Ostia, Albano, Genzano, etc. All the remainder deserted, and is divided between 362 owners; but among those, it y in A 42 which has less than 200 rubbi, 289 which have some from 200 to 1000, 31 which has some beyond 1000. The number of the farmers or 'mercanti di tenute' is less although that of the owners. In the list formed in 1803 one had registered 145 of them, but as one had included/understood there many barons whom put forward part of their clean grounds (princes Barberini, Borghesi, Cesarini, by example), the number of farm truths did not arrive at eighty, and it is less still today (1). They are new the a hundred and ten rubbu of enclosed and cultivated grounds who contain the only rural population of the Agro one Romano, and which present only an example of what all the remainder can become. Around Rome the 'city', or country houses of the princes, with their gardens, only occupy a so great space, that it remains about it very little for the culture. These 'city', which them ones after the others is bought by prince Borghese, the duke and banking Torlonia, one some other of the Roman millionaires, consequently cease being inhabited by others that the caretaker who shows them with foreigners; one does not give any more to the gardens but just culture necessary so that they do not cover an undergrowth; this work, made with saving by gardeners with pledges or of the manouvriers, costs much more than it returns; the water brought to large expenses by those which built these princely residences, stagnate sometimes by the negligence of the owners absent; a thick grass extends under the maritime pines, or on vast esplanades, and it cover dew; the ground is not plowed, and the air around

(1) Nicolaï, T. II, p. 207, 223, 231, 237, etc
of all these 'city' famous is almost always as unhealthy as in the deserts of the Countryside. A very-small part or closed zone of fences who surrounds Rome, or of the gardens formed in the districts deserts, in the middle of the ruins, is thus put really in influence, by farmers who took these grounds with farm or with emphyteutic lease: they are in general devoted to the horticulture, and the vicinity of an opulent market makes this industry advantageous; the fruits and the vegetables are abundant in Rome and are not expensive; the vegetable gardens appear fertile, but they do not present this image of order and of cleanliness which one notices in the more industrial countries. This abandonment of the country houses, this negligence in the culture of the kitchen gardens, contribute to give the traveller impression of the universal nonchalence, the incapacity of the Romans for the agricultural work. This impression will be still strengthened if the traveller stops near somebody of these many groups of workmen that the pontifical government makes work by charity with 'Campo Vaccino', for example. Each day one sees there hundreds of men, with a small hoe with the hand, or a small wheelbarrow with the arms, occupied stirring up a little mud. Some six year old children would not move back in front of charge to which they are limited; the slowness of their movements is almost laughable, each blow of hoe does not remove that a ground pinch; after the fourth or the fifth they stop, they cause, they rest. One would say that one charged with making the caricature of work mercenary, of to show in all the eyes that the man whom one deprived of its freedom, or which itself alienated it for a time, does not have more than one interest in the world, that to avoid tiredness; that it will do just only the work required not to be not punished. They are indeed the disastrous consequences of work mercenary, of the work made without desire succeed, which ruins the Roman State, the indifference of the henchmen who take care on the workers of Campo Vaccino, allows them to show theirs defects more with overdraft, but the spirit is the same one everywhere.
The workmen mercenaries who work for the 'mercante di tenute' must a little better dissimulate their idleness, to avoid a little more carefully the eye of the inspector, who however, like them, is with pledges. From there was born the use to make to achieve with fixed price the principal work of the Roman Campaigns: the workman then brings all his diligence well to finish its task, but it does not employ its intelligence to be been successful: little matters to him that all work that it makes is of null value, provided that it is quickly completed. The first glance which stops on the enclosed ground and cultivated which surrounds the small cities of Agro Romano awakes the hopes. There one sees at the same time which fruits abundant can cover the ground, and of which diligent industry are able its inhabitants. There is transition from the desert to the neatest culture. You arrive almost to the door of the small cities, through these pastures as far as the eye can see, of these fallow, or these forests, where nature spreads out all the luxury of an admirable fertility, and where the man seems decided anything to receive from it. Suddenly a wall or a simple hedge is presented, and with beyond you find the culture most industrial made with the spade, orchards looked after like would be the gardens, of the vines low, tightened, and supported on reeds assembled with as well art as each vine branch enjoys all the influences air; olive-trees whose vigorous vegetation and the dark green announce the produced rich person, and everywhere one feels the vigilant eye of the master who at the same time is the farmer; everywhere one recognizes how much is invaluable in its estimate each foot of this same ground, so contemptuously abandoned with two steps of him. It has been twenty years that I did not see Ostie, and I will not say anything of enclosed vines that the Roman land register announces to it. They prove however that the worst air does not stop the agricultural companies, if the abuse the property does not prohibit them. Perhaps in all the Roman State there is not unhealthier than Ostie. The vast salt-water marshes, which one almost maintain on all sides around this city without inhabitants,
would be enough to poison the atmosphere of it, if it did not share already all the so dreaded influences of the air of Maremnes. But most industrial of the Roman cultures is that that one finds of place in place on the slopes of the hills who group around the 'Monte Cavo', the 'Mons Albanus' of the Romans. There, of laughing small cities rise brought closer from/to each other, in the most picturesque situations, and each one has its small enclosure of vines, orchards, gardens looked after, which belongs to its citizens; each one also is decorated vast palates of the Roman princes who come to spend a few months of holiday there, and these palates are surrounded splendid gardens, but with half abandoned; forests always green trees cover them with their thick shade; the brooks that one brought there to large expenses, to make them spout out in fountains or fall in cascades, cover in part their independence by the incurie of the caretakers, and them gardens which are not high enough so that the wind purifies them unceasingly, are haunted in been by the fever; finally more of much of this group of mountains is indivisible, inalienable property of some noble Roman or of some pious foundation; it is consequently dedicated with the desert, although the air is perfectly salubrious, that one cannot practise there the tilling and the pasture of the plains, but that on the contrary these rich person slopes seem to call vine and plantations of olive-trees. Thus the site which Alba-longa occupied formerly, the cradle of Rome, is a thick forest, which a sunken lane crosses, and where one is inserted in mud. The site of old Tusculum, also famous in traditional times and the Middle Ages, is covered undergrowth with through which one will seek the fragments of columns of the ancient city and the remainders of his amphitheatres; and on the interior slope of the two craters whose bottom is occupied by the two charming lakes of Manor house-Gandolfo and Némi, hardly the eighth part is planted in olive-trees and vines, while all the remainder is covered wild trees, bushes and plants which attest fertility of the ground.
The grounds enclose of Frascati, disseminated between the vast ones gardens of which the foot of the hill is covered, are among those which announce the most care and of intelligence. Those of Marino, tightened side of the mounts by the splendid ones forests towards which it is not allowed to the farmers of to go up, and on the side of the plain by the pastures, attest also in their small extent a large-scale industry. Inhabitants of Manor house-Gandolfo, encircled by the palate of the pope and the vast gardens or rather the wood of the Barberini villa, had the permission to turn their industry only on the side of lake, and they cultivated the fast slope which separates them from its edges. The charming town of Albano, containing six thousand inhabitants, who, with the reserve perhaps of two hundred families, have all some small territorial property, does not have however tiny room in culture that part of the slope of the slope with through which the Romans dug the marvellous 'emissario', and which measures hardly two miles in square. Inhabitants more unhappy from the antique and picturesque Laricccra, cannot obtain from prince Chigi, of which the inheritance surrounds them of all shares, the permission to clear neither wood splendid which crown their slopes, nor almost no part narrow small valley where Nimicus takes its source; also them misery is extreme and always goes growing. They are destined for some work in the open air, only when one loss with play forces the princes owners to make cut down the oaks antiques which made the ornament of the country and the admiration of painters. The inhabitants of Némi turned all their industry towards the plantation in vines and olive-trees of the portion crater of their lake which was abandoned to them. Those of Genzano and Lanuvium or Città-Lavigna, found more liberality at the owners. It is the duke Cesa-rini, prince Chigi, and prince Borghese; this last has in this district the inheritance of Cenci; it was given to its ancestors when all the Cenci family, and to the infants, was delivered to the torment, as a sign of execration fixed price of the father of beautiful and unhappy Béatrix, and of the revenge on this one. All these grounds were conceded
for a long time in perpetual long beams, and they produce the best wines and most famous of the Roman State. Though waste lands in all this group of mountains have much less value than those of the plain, and that the 'mercanti di campagna' hardly agree to insert them in their beams, at a rate of 3 ecus the rubbio, for y to make coal, when the princes agree to yield them in emphyteutic lease with the inhabitants of the small cities, they y put a price much more raised, 4, 5 and 6 ecus the rubbio, and around Genzano the annual gun assembles to 10 ecus it rubbio, and the value of the naked property is in general of 200 ecus. Near Albano however, several of these beams had been conceded by religious corporations, under royalty of certain services of church. The pope, in a hurry of money, allowed in both or three last years of to repurchase all almost, and the tenants thus became owners under conditions almost always advantageous. The others are also hereditary owners, not melt, but of the 'miglioramento', or improvements that they made there, of the capital that they successively fixed at it. At Genzano, the 'miglioramento' is worth at least 600 ecus by rubbio. They is three times the value for which it is sold plots of land; but one should not forget only this funds itself at least four times the price is sold which would report waste land and glaze of undergrowth which is all at side. The culture thus gave to the deserted ground twelve times the value which it had before; a capital, twelve times superior with the whole value of the funds, was accumulated of one manner that we will examine elsewhere, to change it into vineyards. Annual expenses of the culture, in the territory of Gen-zano, are estimated at 100 ecus by rubbio; a family which have the 'miglioramento' of as much of ground rubbi which it counts individuals, duty food in ease is famous; indeed, the rubbio is equivalent about to the seven 'will judge' who formed the division of a Roman family; however them
vine growers affirm that their profits are extremely limited, and hardly the chances of the bad years compensate. Under a influence, this culture became for them more expensive that it was not to be it. These vine growers are today all townsmen; they désaccoutumés hard work camps, or they look as below them y to subject. It is well them which hold the billhook, and which make all the small labours of the vine, but they call in general of the workmen of Abruzze for trenching, or they make it carry out by the mountain dwellers of the areas more cold of Cavo, the inhabitants of Rocca di Papa Goes up, which want each evening to turn over to sleep on their premises, though distance is at least five or six miles. They do not engage consequently that for the morning, and the waste of time and of forces which results from it, must make their co-operation expensive. It is however seen, for these examples, that in the Agro one Romano itself, when the clearing was allowed by the owner, when it guaranteed to the hard man that it would benefit itself as its descendants from the improvements which it would have made with the ground, that those would inherit fruit of its sweats, neither the force of body, nor constancy, neither industry, nor the intelligence missed with Roman population to carry the ground to the most degree of culture. It is also seen that nevertheless the rich person, for to do these work, addressed themselves to the poor, they are them the poor which found or which knew to give birth to a capital ten or twelve times superior with the value of the funds which they cleared. That points out the observation of Adam Smith, that them taxes on the consumption of the rich person are always sterile, and that those only on the consumption of poor fill the treasure, because poor it is the great number. One can generalize this observation: it is with poor only that any vigorous co-operation should be asked; and the savings of poor, though they accumulate penny by penny, are the only ones which can found national opulence. Before leaving the subject of the small cities, we believe
to have to say a word of Tivoli, which is apart from the Agro one Romano, and which presents differences in the system of exploitation. The mountain of Tivoli is relatively low, because the fall of Anio which enriches this charming landscape by large cascade, and which puts moving buildings so much industrialists, from where one sees leaving the cascatelles ones, does not have three hundred feet of rise; very-little above Tivoli, the rock start to show itself with naked, and art could not anything make him to produce; but this height to the plain, and the tomb of Plautius Lucanus, where the desert is found, slopes with all the mountains are covered, in an extent of fifteen to eighteen miles, of the most beautiful olive-trees, more vigorous and most ancient that one meets in Italy. peasants ensure that several of them existed already time of Our-Lord, which agrees with what one knows slow growth of this tree. It is impossible to determine by which farming system these plantations have been able to be carried out in an antiquity if moved back; it is probable however that the greatest number is due to the long beams, which were well-known Romans; but today, they are almost all the property of large lords of Rome, Massimi, Braschi, Torlonia and Borghese, which one finds the possessions everywhere, and of some others less rich. Few grounds rise with one more high value; one is in the use to estimate them per feet of olive-tree. Each foot of olive-tree centenary is worth from 6 to 10 ecus, and like one counts at least three hundred and fifty of them in a rubbio of ground, this rubbio is worth from 2 to 3,000, and even 4,000 ecus. In the prolongation of these same mountains, in those of Ombrìe, in those which one meets on the road of Viterbe, one sees on all sides of the slopes covered with an abundant wild vegetation of always green trees, which would be also specific to the olive-trees. Several belong to the same owners, and 50 ecus are not worth, often not 10 ecus the rubbio. They do not have to ask for the assent of anybody to also plant them in olive-trees; but the richest owners are too poor
to do it; the plantation of a rubbio of ground in olive-trees their cost approximately with 1,000 ecus; during the six or eight first years, it is necessary to continue the expenditure with this plantation, though the tree does not return yet absolutely anything. It is not before hundred years that one can regard it as being in full influence. Which is the ground owner which can to thus devote ten times, twenty times the capital value of its grounds to improve them? It can be the speculation only the poor one industrial, it is there its true savings bank. II is less impatient to collect the fruits of its work, than the rich person is not it to recover the interest of its money; in the form of work, it entrusts to the ground its least economies, and it never makes him bankruptcy: after centuries, it returns still with his/her children, with the centuple, which it has him advanced. savings banks, like good of other modern inventions, are not a new benefit, but only one palliative for new calamities. Where the poor one is owner, or at least associated the land ownership, or with that of industry, the savings bank does not present to him that false and dangerous seduction, it diverts it to employ its small savings on the ground which it can fertilize, on its trade which it can make more advantageous, and it he give in return that one, insufficient safety. But since that one uprooted poor ground, that the large farm nor great manufacture do not receive any more its small economies, it was right as much as necessary to open one to them another placement. But the Roman barons, who hardly plant olive-trees, and which had to wait until the peasants made for them this speculation, did not want any more to leave to the peasants a share in their culture, once they saw them establish. large lords attest a kind of jealousy of small owners; they seek, say, to swell, and they successively all the small heritages of the poor buy. They start by lending money to those which have freeholds or of the long beams; having thus acquired one right on their grounds, they propose to them to yield the pro of it
priété by reserving some the culture, because they give them to understand that they will preserve them as sharecroppers. Time comes always however where they return them. Thus all the small farmers were excluded successively from hills of Tivoli, and the same system prevailed in places to which desolation does not extend from the Countryside Roman. in the beautiful valley of Tarnished, for example. lords estimate that the olive-tree asks only few work, that there is deception to yield half of its fruits to sharecropper; they thus return the farmer, and they make for their own account, by workmen who arrive to them walk of Ancône or Abruzze, tilling who returns only once all both or three years. But they can hardly entrust in the same way harvest to hands mercenaries; women, children must go to collect olives, in spite of the rains of winter, far from any inspection; the half of the fruits would be stolen if the clean interest place of supervisors did not hold. Also Roman lords they give to the same inhabitants of Tivoli. At the moment where the olives start to mature, in October, they are able to put at the bidding batches of ground, which have been estimated before by land-surveyors. Such piece of ground was estimated to have to return thirty oil barrels if all is well; a poor family takes the risks and work with its load, and begins to give twenty, twenty-two of them, or twenty-four barrels. Consequently all the poor part of the population works with all the heat and all the intelligence clean interest; in spite of the rains and snows, well few olives are lost; but this market lasts only for one short season, its conditions vary each year, and like the poor have competition the ones with the others, less there is of work, because of a bad harvest, and more they it make at low prices. Moreover those which collect olives take any interest at the bottoms which carries them; they degrade it instead of maintaining it, the trees are badly looked after, them workmen are badly paid, and the population of Tivoli, like that of Tarnished, is in misery.
The same principle of economy, or rather same cupidity, the contract of the sharecropper denatured where it is still practised. The master going down to the details from the culture, wanted to reserve more profit on those which require less advances; but its greed misled; its share remained more bad that if it also divided all, and however the farmer lost his independence and his attachment on the ground: thus, for example, with the foot of the hill of Tivoli, in the Adriani villa, which belongs to the duke Braschi, on four oil barrels, the master keeps three of them and gives some one only with the sharecropper; on two barrels of wine, each one in takes one; on three corn bags of Turkey, beans or other spring seeds, the peasant keeps two of them, and only one gives some the master; on four wheat bags finally, the peasant keeps three of them. But the result of these modifications of the primitive contract, it is that the peasant, without cease supervised by the factor, unceasingly opposed, works without heat, without persistence, without intelligence, and which it is rare, in the Roman State, which it preserves more than two or three years the same smallholding. According to the enumeration of 1769, the four provinces of Lazio, Sabina, Marittima and Campagna, which are located beyond that from the Tiber, (in addition to the inhabitants of Rome) hundreds counted twenty thousand inhabitants, all domiciled in the cities or them 'castelli' (closed villages of walls), and almost all however called to live agriculture. But beside those who have some small possession in the fields, or some livelihood assured in the rural economy, is one an infinite number individuals or families which were pushed back of their profession, which lost their small melt of ground, which was évincés by it by their creditors, or driven out by the owners, and who form this many class, alarming proletarians, the plague of the modern societies. Sometimes they are tried to undertake somebody trades of the cities, to be made marshals, masons, carpenters, shoe-makers, tailors, tradesmen, but they do not find enough barges to occupy them and do them
to live; sometimes they offer their arms to the owners of ground, is for more tiring work of the small heritages hill, is for sowing and harvest large fields of the plain, but this occasional work occupy them only one small number of weeks in the year: all the remainder of time they are condemned to idleness, and they must live product of what they can to conceal in the campaigns, or of the begging. One could repeat enough with the rich person, only it makes, according to language of the Writing, a work which misleads it, when it wants to gain on the poor one, when it saves on its subsistence. The noble Romans had only one thought: to obtain their grounds the greatest possible revenue Net, with less concern and of uncertainty, and without examining whether the kind of exploitation which got this advantage to them, would ensure or not a livelihood with poor. This calculation is so common, if universal today, that nobody revokes in doubt that an owner has right to do it. However it is its consequences which plunged in misery the State all entirety, which made lose at society its safety, which has range national character, and which forms today the obstacle most difficult to overcome for the re-establishment of the culture. Non-seulement in the State of the Church, but in the kingdom from Naples, in most of Italy, so much of families were placed under a condition where work them is impossible, that their laziness destroyed their dignity morals, and which it shakes that of the very whole nation; it completely erased any shame attached to dirtiness, with misery and the begging. Men who do not have any fixed vocation, which lives from day to day, which solicits in vain the work that one grants to them only seldom, are accustomed to look at alms like their natural resource, and idleness like the only wellbeing, which they know. One never drops his glances, in the Southern Italy on a man of the people, which it does not tighten the hand to beg; at the time same as it would have the means of devoting some
care with its person, it takes care not to deposit this delivered misery which can be used to him to request charity. One to hardly include/understand often how haillons them it is covered can remain attached together. In the majority of cities of the Roman State, a third of the population seems dedicated with laziness: one would appear hardly the number valid men that in winter, in Rome, one sees lying with sun, while in other seasons or other places pale and thin faces of the beggars or the tremor fever, make you enough know all that they have to suffer. However the practice hardens the heart of those which could give. Each one feels so that it is impossible for him to relieve, even for a day, the misery which it has without delay under the eyes, which it does not make even it that it could make. With the corner of each street, that which is not itself déguenillé, intends to repeat with its ear: 'Famed HÔ, muoio paved famed', and these words, I am hungry, I die of hunger, which in another language would make him so sharp impression, strike it only like one banal expression, a dress of loan, covered as let us haillons them, for to excite the public commiseration; while it is only too true that several really suffer from the hunger, that in a country where the ground is if prodigal and the food at so low price, several really dies of the last deprivations of misery. But if such is their destitution, why, will say one, it is necessary to call so much each year days laborer of Abruzze and Walk? Why the days are supported they at a price which would be high even in countries where the food are much more expensive? Why the ‘piaz-zaiuoli’, these beggars of the crossroads, cannot be occupied in harvest that to recut and arrange the straws? To include/understand calculations of the man of the people, it is necessary to consider such as society made; it is necessary to admit the consequence of the defects that our same institutions have to him given. As long as it has honor and the feeling of sound independence, it will be subjected to great deprivations, it
will show, capable of main efforts rather than to degrade itself by the begging; but if it tightened the hand once, it will be loan with tending unceasingly; its place from now on, and by this only act, is marked in society; it would abstain from during weeks or months to resort to public charity, that this place would not change. However, the man without vocation, without future, which is called only for a few days, a few weeks with the agricultural work, knows extremely well with Rorne, that for the end of the year it will be necessary that it begs again. Wages a little more raised, had it to even to be him continued a few months, will make it give up neither its dirtiness, nor with its rags; just as its moral degradation, this external degradation became for him a practice, and it does not sense it any more: to accumulate by precaution would not know to enter his thought, one has accustomed it not to know a following day. Thus remain only its physical feelings to compare; with its wages it will have more food, more drinks than with the products of the begging, but it will have also more tiredness, and as by refusing it to him work one it désaccoutumé some, tiredness became for he a suffering: work that one asks him in been multiplies the chances of the diseases; and when it refuses to go, for some paules per week, to expose itself to the fevers maremmanes, which will lead it to the tomb only after years of languor, it undoubtedly makes a wise calculation. To raise the character of the people, it is not the present that it is necessary to give him, it is the future. When one measured his life at the day, one also limited his desires to the coarsest pleasures; that one to return the duration to him, that one makes him feel that it has in time a heritage, and one will raise soon its character: because all the ideas morals bind for him with the precaution, all the duties refer to what must arrive one day. The more the Romain was degraded by his institutions, and the more it is necessary to employ energetic means to raise it, the more it is necessary to give solidity, of reality to its hopes. Some disastrous effects which had on the character of the English unskilled labourer,
not the tax of the poor, but the daily wages which have made the tax of the poor necessary, it remains however still in its memories, its practices, enough of traces of its old independence, enough of taste for the order and for cleanliness, enough of respect for itself, so that it is enough to make him foresee the probability of a regular employment, and the spring of its heart will be raised, and the need for consideration, of independence, order and economy will direct its control. But the Romain was lying too a long time in mud to rectify itself; he will not espérer the property that when it holds it already; he will not include/understand duration of the wellbeing that when it enjoys it; it will fear the degradation of the begging only when it changes any sound being. In time when work was always ensured of a reward, and where great catastrophes, evils which made work impossible only reduced one man to ask alms, perhaps the institution of orders beggars was born it from a beautiful idea: it invited the respect on the enough unhappy man to have to live public charity: but today the way which leads with the begging is too broad and too easy; far from inviting the religion to decorate it, it is necessary to multiply the supports for poor, so that it is not let there involve. A support of this kind, a social organization which called each citizen with living under the glances of the others, with to respect in the others, existed formerly in the Roman State, or rather still exists, though this organization has lost its influence, it was the character of townsmen printed with the farmers. The agriculture, exerted by families which return each evening in the enclosure of the cities, is not without do not doubt without disadvantages; it decreases the affection of peasant for the ground and the diligence of its care; it prohibits to him several of the more exposed cultures to the small wastings; it makes almost impossible the transport of manures, and it is undoubtedly necessary to allot to him the abandonment of this great means of fertility in all the Roman State; finally, it makes lose much time to the men as with the attachments; but,
in addition, the meeting of the men in villages is more powerful means of civilizing them. It teaches to them that they have common interests, duties to exert the ones towards others; it ensures them of the mutual services in the event of accidents or diseases; it provides for defense with theirs people and their properties in the countries of armed robbery, where the government would be without force to save them; it put at their range the helps medical, religious, teaching, to which the peasants dispersed in the fields must to almost give up, or that they cannot obtain at least that with a great waste of time and considerable expenses; finally, it accustoms the farmers to show more regards for the public opinion, to subject itself more to the rules of cleanliness and the decency, and consequently it learns how to them to better enjoy the life and to be made some worthier. In the state where Agro Romano is reduced, it is a need for the farmers for living the cities. If their houses were dispersed in the fields, they would be there unceasingly exposed to see itself stripped by these vagrants who traverse only the territory, and who present themselves in turn like shepherds, as days laborer asking of the work, like beggars or like brigands. The villages were for majority built in a time of greater opulence; those who live them today would have taken less care for the healthiness of their residences, or would not have built them so vast; as they call well seldom it there carpenter or the mason to repair them, they saddens almost all by their state of degradation. In the same way, in their interior, dirtiness, the disorder contrast with the practices of Tuscany; however, one meets there in the same way a certain abundance of the things most necessary to life, kitchen ustensils, left out of copper, part out of ground commune; the beds, the tables, the chairs, the cupboards, attest that the owner has some superfluity, that it give something to appearance, as well as with the real needs; and if his wife is a good housewife, its cupboards are filled of body linen, to count of bed, which it wove and
thread itself in the winter days before, and which it works to increase unceasingly. But formerly the general ease, which today decreases quickly, still appeared by the costumes suitable for each small city, at each village. When we saw Rome for the first time, thirty years ago, it was not one of its least charms than the infinite variety of costumes who, in the feastdays, animated Corso, or them processions: some were remarkable by their elegance, others by their bizarreness, all by a certain claim with wealth. It was seen that twenty various people, each one was proud of its memories, and eager not to be confused with the others, had been given go in the large capital. The artists regret this variety, who emphasized so much beautiful aspects; today the costume of the beggars seems to have replaced all them others; paleness, the thinness, let with difficulty recognize on faces disfigured by the famine or the disease the features which characterized Sabins formerly, Latin or Volsques: the human race, such as one sees it in streets of Rome, was incontestably debased; inevitable effect of the sufferings and laziness. This race appears more with its advantage in the small cities of Latium and of Sabine; and indeed, as far as we can of proud with information that we endeavoured to take, food is more abundant and more succulent there than with Rome. Of good bread, soup, beans and 'polenta' make the base of it; the farmer adds a little meat to it feastdays, a little fish thin days: during the winter, it in general drinks the 'vinella' or the water fermented on marc from where the wine was extracted; and the wine, which generally is good and nutritive, it reserves it for the been. The man-workmen admittedly are more badly divided; they work with jeun until midday, although the doctors recommend not to expose itself to the bad air with an empty stomach; they eat at midday a piece of dry bread, with some grass which they tear off in the fields, without oil, vinegar
nor salt; the evening, when they return to the house, a soup heat awaits them, again with bread and wine; it is this wine which makes all the seasoning and all the pleasure of their food. In these small cities, as well as with Rome, them national costumes almost absolutely disappeared, and it is not only their picturesque effect, but their influence morals which we regret. These costumes maintained, enters inhabitants of the same city, a spirit of body, a regard reciprocal, a constant attention not to degrade the country, which one carried to some extent the uniform. The inhabitant of Al-bano or Tivoli suffered if it saw the badges of Albano or of Travoli trailed by a compatriot in mud. He tended to him by pride a helping hand, if he did not do it by compassion. The costumes were more expensive than clothing current; but it is not the poor one which benefits from the economies that one makes him make; less its maintenance costs him, and less or its work pays him. As much ostentation rich person us afflict, as much the comfort of poor delights us; because it is always the same superfluity which is employed or to flatter the pride of some, or to spread pleasures among the great number. We sought to render comprehensible which is aujour-d'hui today the state of this urban population which only takes some leaves to agriculture its native land, and that it is so desirable to see extending its work, its 'improvements' on a greater surface of ground, and to see at the same time to increase and in a number and ease. We saw that everywhere where it showed industry, where it the ground to its fruitfulness, it recalled owed its progress with the division of the grounds makes in its favour, with a division always very-limited as for its extent, generally very-expensive as for its conditions, but which however always gave him the feeling property and perpetuity. However, everywhere where we observed up to now this division, it was the work of the Middle Ages; it was the consequence of the desire of the gentleman to get the vassal faithful ones, soldiers for its private wars. Since feudal independence ceased,
one saw the great landowners, with whom it military ambition was not prohibited, not to listen to any more but their cupidity or their jealousy towards the middle-class men who had ceased being theirs vassal. Consequently they absolutely refused to make new divisions, to deprive itself of any part of their property on a purely perpetual basis. Quite to the contrary, they pushed back with very tentative distrust of culture which one could have made on their deserts; they successively forced to give up them all the sharecroppers who were there still, and they have sought to repurchase, to swell, all pieces of cultivated property and encloses that the small middle-class men showed themselves laid out to sell. But it remains to be made us to know an exception well worthy of remark to this spirit of body of the Roman princes, a return of the one of them, almost of our time, with the policy of the Middle Ages. In the old country of Eques, behind the Albano mount and on one of the last buttresses of the Sabines mountains, is located the castle of Zagarolo, to twenty-five miles of Rome. They was formerly, as well as Blades-trina who is all auprès, a stronghold of Colonna, but the prince Rospigliosi in inherited. The air of Zagarolo is salubrious, but immediately below one enters the deserted plain and feverish. The castle contained three or four thousand miserable inhabitants, who were confined on a territory much too narrow, remains old long concessions of Colonna, when, about the year 1800, the administrators Rospigliosi inheritance, allured by the price raised to which the corns had arrived, agree to yield in long lease with these inhabitants, pieces of ground juice-qu' then deserted, to put them in culture. Those, which had to then pay at least 12 ecus for a rubbio of grain, believed to gain to promise the same amount annually for a ground rubbio which would produce to them at least eight rubbi of grains to harvest. They did not calculate scrupulously what their own work would cost them, because this work was only seldom required, and it was a profit for them to be always sure to place it. In general, cha-
that farmer asked the agent of the prince as much of rubbi of
ground which it counted valid members in its family; it
received them in their wild state, without fence, without
ditches, trees, producing only pastures natural, intermingled
with brambles and ferns: and it promised in return an annual
gun which varied from 5 up to 12 ecus, according to the
nature of the ground and its distance, but which unfortunately
was stipulated out of money and not out of corn, which has it
made extremely expensive for the peasants when the corns
dropped price. In addition the concession was perpetual,
because one does not know in Rome nor the used limitation
with four lives in Tuscany, nor the 'laudemio' for the renewal
of the contract. At once however that the inhabitants of
Zagarolo had with this acquired title a territorial property,
these same men, that one had seen in the bad years flooding
the streets from Rome to ask the alms, which one had
considered to be so soft with work, so incompetents to support
great tirednesses attached to the culture in an extreme climate,
started to smash the ground and to sow it. During several
years they could expect from another return only them annual
harvests; however they were not limited to tilling, they
profited, for the future, of all them moments, of all the efforts
that did not require them it need present: they surrounded by
fences their new property; they ensured the water run-off; in
the middle of corn they planted the olive-tree, the fig tree, the
fruit trees of any kind, but especially the vine. During five or
six years the grains, only products of their fields, were dearly
bought by their sweats, and they last food of deprivations, but
they were supported by the hope. At the end of this term the
vines entered in full influence, and it is they from now on
which pay the revenue: the product of all the other trees is
growing each year, though they did not arrive still with their
entirety development. During the first years all the farmers
returned each evening to sleep with Zagarolo, in their old
hovels; but those started soon to take again some appearance
of order and
of cleanliness. Later, the majority of them raised, with medium of the grounds which they had acquired, some huts in foliage, some hangars where they took their meals, and where they could rest during the extreme heat of day, or to safeguard itself during the storms. Then several of these huts started to change into houses, the population is descended in the countryside, and those especially which would have too much way to make, do not return to sleep more with the village. This population increased as well as enriched considerably; it passes today eight thousand inhabitants. The 'maglioramento', or the property of farmer in his improvements, is sold at least two time the value of the funds primitive, so that the poor inhabitants of Zagarolo, which one supposed not to have not of capital fixed on the ground, in the thirty years course, a capital twice more considerable than all the value of ground which had been alienated to them. They made with agriculture advances that none the rich person owners of the stronghold had been in the continuation of the centuries in a position to make, that the prince would be also out of state to make aujour-d' today. Like social experience, exploitation of the campaigns of Zagarolo, by emphyteutic lease, fully succeeded. A considerable extent of deserted ground was returned to a rich person culture by the inhabitants themselves of the ground, and without assistance, foreign capital; the value of the buildings has triplet, the population doubled, his ease is extremely increased, the food which it missed were produced in abundance, the idleness to which it was often condemned made place with a constant and lucrative work: crimes became rarer and the easier police force and less expensive; the trade was proportioned with the increase products and consumption, and contributions return more. However food products having fallen to half price of what they were worth in 1800, farmers are burdened with too considerable guns. It would have well better applied to them that they stipulated them out of corn. That would have better
been worth even for the prince, whose revenues would have been paid with more exactitude. Prince Rospigliosi, however, is not content. It does not live in Zagarolo; he is too large lord to look after itself the currencying of all these small revenues; it thus has an agent, or rather a sub-agent in charge of this perception, who complains about the infinite details of this administration, of delays which it attests in the re-entries; and the prince declares that he would like to have only one the least returned much better, and to receive it without concern, difficulties, in the fixed term, like the rich person 'mercante di campagna paid him' when he took with farm his deserts. Consequently, though one he address the every day of new requests to obtain of him of the grounds in long lease, non-seulement in the hill, but in the plain, below Zagarolo, it them grant that with extreme difficulties, and it did not introduce this operating system into all the other strongholds which he belong. One and the other result is also worthy of observation and of study: manner of returning the Countryside of Rome to culture, to be enough there with the existing population, and by only capital which it has, is found; it is founded on the experience in the country even, at that time even, with all the circumstances which one judged in advance to be able to make difficult; it answers the economic goal fully increase in products and wealth, with the moral goal suppression of laziness, increase in happiness and respect for the laws, with the social goal to raise them same members of the Roman society, instead of calling foreigners in their place, the financial goal to increase them contributions paid to the sovereign, and to decrease his expenditure. But this mode of improvement opposes the tastes and them practices more still than the interests of the owner of province. What must one conclude from it, if it is not that it is one great misfortune for the State when the province has an owner? In our century, the people preserve. in general, of the LMBO
feeling against providing it which the noble ones exerted formerly in their castles; and the nobility, in return, is irritated to find more among the poor which live or around it or on its grounds, neither affection nor respect that, in one another time, the vassal ones showed with their lords; it are themselves however which broke these old bonds. In really feudal times, a Colonna lived in Zaga-rolo, another in Palestrina, another in Montefortino; not one of the castles of the province was not private presence of its lord. Undoubtedly this chief, releases from any monitoring, very feared, misused an authority sometimes who. in fact, was absolute. He was the judge as well as the captain of his vassal, and there was no recourse against its injustices or its whims. But there existed in all population of its castle a constant emulation; it distributed favours as well as punishments; it knew each inhabitant by his name, and it knew what it was able. It encouraged certain talents thus at least, certain merits. At the same time as its constant presence created this moral movement among its vassal and contributed to civilize them, all the kinds of village industry were encouraged by the market which they found in its house; products of the sheepfold, mulching, the garden, orchard, were carried to its kitchen; the craftsman of the village was employed to manufacture, at least to restore its housing, its furnishing, its clothes, its weapons. Each one of its vassal contributed for its part to its revenue, but this revenue, it spent it in its turn among its vassal; its presence finally and that of its family were for all it village, a continual cause of life and wealth: and ram lady of the manor, by granting her care and its drugs, by spreading its benefits among the poor and the patients, regained the hearts of those same which had had to complain of the lord. But, now, what prince Rospigliosi for inhabitants of Zagarolo? an obstacle with their happiness, and nothing moreover; a man that they do not know, whom they do not see
never, which did not make work only one of them in its house, which did not make an expenditure for them, and which however, in turn, or prohibits to them to cultivate its grounds waves, or concedes them to them only under one expensive royalty. However this prince is perhaps a lit man, benevolent, generous; a member distinguished from the aristocracy Roman: it is not with him which is the fault if the bonds are broken between the inhabitants of Zagarolo and, it is to him with the organization of the modern society, it is with the entire system who created the 'latifundia', as at time when the Roman republic, which joined together the strongholds of ten, of twenty small finishes lords in only one principality, which concentrated in one only hand of the scattered castles several away days, who condemns them so that the lord of the manor misses always majority of them, or rather so that it misses of all, because he became Romain. But when aristocracy uprooted campaigns, when it gave up flowering on the ground from where it drew its sap, it condemned itself to perish. The nobility lady of the manor had in the affections, in the practices, the mutual services a power indestructible; when it met in the capitals, it could still preserve a political influence, but well more artificial. Since it was done cosmopolitan, since it any more but does not think of enjoying one to shine in all the places where the pleasure attracts it, it completed to break the bonds which he still attached the countries from where it draws its revenue. If the division of the grounds in properties held under emphyteutic lease, although it ensures the prosperity of the country, does not like the owners of the provinces, it is thus not that this division is bad, it is that these owners have need to be reformed. If the prince were less large lord, it would look after itself the perception of its guns, or, at least, it could inspect the accounts of sound businessman; he would enter suitabilities better of its censitaires, and it would less expose them to be postponed. All that tends to concentrate always more the great properties, also tends to impoverish always more the State of Rome. All
change in the legislation, on the contrary, which will bring gradually the division of great fortunes, will contribute with the general prosperity of the country, and even with the maintenance or with the increase in the influence of the aristocracy on the poor population. One does not lead, one sticks only those that one knows. Aristocracy, if powerful with the Middle Ages, was distributed on all the surface of the ground; and it is since that the large lords do not belong any more to any country, that they ceased everywhere having inferiors who devoted themselves for them. The legislation of the successions and the divisions between brothers, however, and the action which the sovereign authority should exert on great fortunes, to bring them closer the level commun run, are not now our object. Us let us occupy of poor, the farmer, the craftsman, and poor of Rome, more unhappy still, which cannot be neither farmer nor craftsman. It is for them that the example of Zagarolo is important; it is for them which it proves that it remedy for the current evils is where it is always found, in the division of the grounds between farmers. It division was made at the time of Latin, Sabins, the Romans, without royalty, and it created the highest prosperity to which this country ever arrived. It was made with eleventh and with twelfth century, by the lords of the castles, under the obligation of personal services, and it gave birth to again one farming population and warlike; it was made, in 1780, by Léopold large-duke, counters royalties in food products, and it withdrew the marshes of Tuscany of lower part water; it them covered with a population vigorous and thriving. This division was made in 1800 by prince Rospigliosi, and it doubled the population and quadrupled the value of the funds with Zagarolo; finally this division could, of century in century, to be carried out without disorder and without attacking the property. One could notice it. we do not have advanced principles abstracted; we did not want to deduce one from them theory; we limited ourselves, in this essay and the precedent, being studied of the facts; we agreed to know
Countryside of Rome, and what, in the continuation of the centuries, had been made for or counters it. It seems to us, indeed, that this study is enough, and that it traces us rather clearly what remains to be made. We do not see that it is necessary with the hesitation: only one goal is possible, only one goal agrees with justice due to the inhabitants of the Roman State, with prudence, which makes it possible to advance only step by step; with the humanity, which does not want to venture health today or the happiness of the colonists, to reach a doubtful good in future. It is the goal which the pope Pie VII had proposed, when it returned its ordinance of 1802: to seek a center of activity in the population of each city, and to direct this activity initially on the deserts close to its walls, then and successively on a zone increasingly more extended, so that the culture reaches one after the other of the circles concentric, and continuous to extend until it meets that of the close cities. It also seems to us that it is possible only one to reach this goal, that whose influence was recognized in all them centuries, that which forever tried without obtaining full success: guarantee, with the man who cultivates, of the property perpetual of the fruit of its sweats. We know that work servile, like work mercenary, his reward is seldom worth: we know that the true wealth, the true force, the happiness finally of the nations is attached to a many rural population; we know that the love of the property, confidence in perpetuity, and the intelligence of that which work for its own account, triumph over nature more rebel; we have known, finally, that for twenty centuries the 'latifundia' ruined Italy and the provinces. Also, like the powerful orators of old Rome, we ask for the agrarian law, because it is only on one equitable division of the grounds which can to be founded social prosperity; but we do not ask it not such as they wanted it, involving with it a spoliation, since it is on the contrary the respect for the property and its perpetuity which seem to us the bases necessary of agriculture. We ask for any unit the division of
grounds and the respect for the acquired rights. While regretting the extent of the territorial properties in the Roman State, we want that their owners preserve all that they in have today, the whole value of the fruits which produces naturally this ground. But we want that society return in the right that it forever which been able to alienate, that to exist; that it returns in the right to draw from the ground them products which the culture and the care would obtain from it, and that the current owners refuse with the human race. Us let us admit the distinction between the direct field and the field useful, which makes the base of the long contract, and without outward journey to seek neither examples in other times, nor practical foreign, we show Zagarolo, and we say that nothing nevertheless the other parts of Agro Romano are returned to agriculture, the private property, the intelligence and happiness, by the same process which succeeded so well in that one. That one does not believe only the condition of the farmers hereditary lessees, of those which acquire the useful field of the ground, while paying an annual recognition with the owners of its direct field, that is to say appreciably worse than was not that of the farmers of Latium, when after having divided these grounds which were vague formerly, they preserved the whole property of it, without paying royalty with nobody. Society which wants to grant well so that some allot an exclusive right on the ground, that nature had granted to all, like the air, water and fire, however always attached some expensive condition to this concession which it guaranteed. The Latin citizen was obliged of to carry free the weapons for its fatherland, and to defend it against its neighbors in wars which were renewed almost every year. Such an obligation was at least equal to a pecuniary royalty, and those which will engage to pay a rubbio or a half-rubbio of corn, by rubbio of ground with the lord, will have acquired their funds in a condition who will not be more expensive than that of the division of the first Latin people.
Rome, this very day, seems less one large city that an assembly of the poor villages, in the medium of which many palates and splendid temples rise. Rome, with its herds wandering in the streets, its haylofts, its attics, its suckers, its manures even, called on all the places, by the inscription, 'immondezzaio', seems a city dedicated to the culture of the fields. It contains forty or fifty thousand inhabitants who ask for work and who have pains to find some; they are placed in the city, poor wretch-lies undoubtedly; however cover their is ensured, and spaces it does not miss them. If one could return one to them rural industry, and the modest ease which is the continuation, they would find soon average to make profitable their residence, for the exploitation of their fields. It is by these forty or fifty thousand inhabitants whom it is necessary to begin with to repopulate the countryside. They should neither be off-set, nor to force their practices, nor to think of building houses to them, it is enough to give the largest mobile of industry, it to them feeling of the property, and soon the love of the order, of the economy and of work will come to its continuation. Less still is advisable it to want to do all at the same time. It is never wise to uphold great changes in popular morals, to expose itself to run up against prejudices, with to break practices, which one does not know all the consequences. We said that Agro Romano, in the direction clean of this denomination, included/understood 111,600 rubbi squares. Undoubtedly, we would like to see time when each one poor inhabitants of Rome would have one of these rubbi, but certainly, theirs to distribute now is not only us let us propose to make. When the pope Pie VII made measure them waste lands located in the ray of one thousand only, with to leave the last endosées and cultivated grounds, it found that they contained 4,792 rubbi. It is with this first zone that we would like, for now, to limit the concession new long beams. The experience us learns that, to this distance, the vineyards, the orchards and the gardens can be cultivated without difficulty by those which
cuts to their residence in the city. Much more, we would distinguish still between thesis grounds. Between them, there are of them 47 rubbi which belong to the Treasury gold the apostolic room, 1,860 with pious foundations, and 2,885 with laymen. Custom let intact custom still leave for some time the last, while the experience would pontifical Be done only one the 1,907 rubbi whose government edge cuts has manner absolute. Possible It recently made it to repurchase with the 4 bores perpetual returned due to the pious foundations, and it of is made pay with itself the capital; it will show much more respect for to their property, and it will leave them more safety for to their future, yew it preserve the direct field of all to them to their grounds, with all the revenue that they withdraw some annually, and yew it impose only the condition to them of in to alienate the useful field, without anything to add NOR anything to cut off of its current returned, goal by evaluating this corn returned, so to withdraw it from the variations which could Be in turn detrimental with one gold the other contracting share. In this manner, the apostolic room would cuts to concedes 1,907 ground rubbi, in the ray of one thousand from Rome, in perpetual emphyteutic lease, for has gun annual, which probably would not exceed 1.200 rubbi corn, but two thirds of has corn rubbio by ground rubbio. It would cuts to divide them between five but six hundred families, with reason of has ground rubbio by individual in age and condition of working. Have this operation would not very-considerable Be, the room could choose among those which would ask to take share in thesis advantages, and it would cuts to intelligent stick to those which would appear to him most for rural work, most industrial, diligent and more with to their ease. Yew it is wanted that all the posterior operations succeed, it is especially essential that the first colonists cuts every success, that they show virtues and of industry, and that to their choice edge Be sullied with No idea of favour but mercantile speculation; also, under No pretext, must they obtain more grounds that they cannot butt it usually cultivate themselves with
to their families. At the moment undoubtedly of the clearing, several among will call them workmen with to their assistance, they will thus offer wages to the poor ones, and they will make with inhabitants of the city the rural training of work. This first co-operation, to smash the ground, must to Be temporary drank. At moment only the goal should not Be forgotten division must Be to withdraw the men of laziness, like the fields of the fallow; that it has call with the industry and the diligence of the spirit of property, and that it will not cuts every success that have much have it will remove work mercenary. In the operations of this kind, it is essential of not to press itself; it is necessary to give to the popular opinions time to Be formed slowly; it is necessary that the experience lights those that the study will never form: it is necessary that the eyes of all are struck of has success which one cannot argument. five but six hundred new smallholdings will not Be all cleared the same year; it will Be necessary five but six years so that the fortify that one will seedling there start to corresponds to hopes of the farmers. It will hardly Be drank after it term which one will Be long whitebait to require of the laic owners that they also give in perpetual lease, and to same conditions, the 2,885 ground rubbi which belong to them in the ray of the first thousand. Drank, have of now, it is necessary well to make them hear that the culture is the essential condition of the property; that yew they C not curry out themselves the “miglioramento” that society has the right to require, they must expect with certainty so that the long division to their is imposed; and indeed, this division must start immediately around of each small city, in the same proportion have around from Rome, so that the alarm clock of the activity is the same one everywhere. The “motu landlord” of the Black and white pope VII A sufficiently informed them owners, there is more than thirty years, that such was them to cuts. They C not fill any the conditions drank society imposed one truths owners; they C not cuts, in addition, none of to their pleasures. They cuts returned one the ground,
that they keep it; returned which they reduced themselves to
the been worth of the natural products of the ground, so that
of its natural it must decrease rather than to increase; it is thus
to make them grace that to declares it invariable; society did
not drank grant the appropriation of the ground, and took it
under its guarantee only to encourages all length-term work
who were to fertilize it. It for has long time acquired the proof
that this work from which depends the subsistence and the life
of all, it is them which prevent them. They were them
representative and the curators of the nation, they benefitted
from it to drive out the nation out of its hearths. Yew, in
splashes of them, to their grounds receive finally the
improvements which will create public prosperity, it would
Be absurd to claim that it must Be for to their advantage. With
them the perpetuity of that of which they were always
satisfied, with the colonists with perpetuity produces it to their
ploughings. Laic grounds located in the enclosure of the first
thousand around Rome the first will cuts to Be distributed
afterwards grounds of the Church; it is not with this
immediate vicinity that the restoration of the culture must stop
drank. Beyond that this circle, the various ecclesiastical
corporations cuts, in Agro Romano, 39,999 more ground
rubbi; laymen cuts in the same territory 66,314 rubbi; it is
necessary that the division of the grounds, this division which
will not remove anything with nobody, who will not start any
the existing rights, extends successively with all this province.
Lastly, the whole of furnace provinces which are in the south-
east of the Tiber has surface of 2,844 public garden miles, but
341,580 rubbi. With the right-hand side of The Tiber gold in
the North-West, Patrimonio has year extent of 1,037 public
garden miles, but 124,440 rubbi. We C not know which
leaves, in this immense wide of territory, belongs with the
Church, and which share with princes; drank we know that,
almost very whole, it is deserted and uncultivated, and that,
very whole, it calls the same legislation. Live Everywhere
farmers, by fertilizing the ground, could in one modest
abundance, yew one wanted to allow them; theirs
contributions would fill the pontifical treasure, while it
become exhausted today to maintain some species of police force in the middle of deserted the, some motor-roads with immense outdistance dwellings, some charity, some help for the poor, where all require, and where nobody is not in A give position to. In their turn, farmers, by to their needs, by to their consumption, would wake up the industry of the cities and would make it thrive. Pontifical The State finally would Be raised entire of its desolation. Renewal of the population, in the first ray of one thousand around Rome, would undoubtedly make easier any operation tending to then curry it beyond that; it is not necessary to expect that it goes itself there drank; one does not cuts to expect that the owners imitate voluntarily the example which will cuts been given to them. Undoubtedly. we hope for it, some will C it, so that it remains in the country some good country squires, some examples of the well heard field crop: majority will not Be solved themselves to C what will drank cuts fact the Church. The interest that they could cuts themselves is too there distant, it oppose too to their practices and to their tastes so that they edge appreciate it, and when they would like it, they will Be never enough rich to curry out it. In any country, the goods of the nobility are out of grounds, and not in capital available. Among the noble Novels, one counts well, it is true, some capitalists, goal they are precisely those who also cuts the most grounds; and it is At most yew that who has for has million ECUs of grounds edge lay out of one hundred thousand money ECUs currency. It would need however three million ECUs to emphasize thesis grounds; because, we saw it, the improvement, “it miglioramento”, must triple the been worth of the ground At least. Also, have long ace them possessions will Be inordinately extended, to their owners will prefer to treat with only one “mercante di campagna”, rather than with two hundreds, perhaps with two thousand hereditary lessees; they will prefer the product invariable Net and of common grazing Land with all the fruits of the neatest culture. It is thus necessary that the sovereign authority intervenes
to impose conditions to them; but this need even must urge the sovereign to be acted with slowness and the large ones cares. It is not that to obtain a great advantage public which it can force the private interests: this advantage could be charmed to him by a circumstance which does not depend not immediately of the political economy. In its state current, the Countryside of Rome is certainly unhealthy, and no increase in wealth could compensate formation of a population intended to usually fight with the fever, and to die without ever to have enjoyed the life. It is thus necessary to take care not to accelerate too much its establishment in the fields, because any failure in colonization would turn the public opinion counters the attempts at improvement. Culture of the ray of one thousand around Rome, by beams long perpetual, made under royalties which leave ease to the farmer, will however inform to the measures to take then. It will teach with the farmers themselves which is the most advantageous farming system, in their position, far from their property; which is the way of life which can spare their health best; it will teach which are needs for the market, which is the load which can carry it farmer. It will give opportunity to better study the causes bad air, its modifications by the culture, and means to preserve some. It is probable for a long time that the result of these observations will confirm, still, the preference for the agriculture which we named 'urban'; that one will feel suitability to create the small ones successively hearths of improvement in the Countryside of Rome, of villages or of the closed villages (castelli), for which one will choose on the hills the most salubrious situation, water the best, the easiest accesses. There one will gather a hundred families, between whom one will divide it surrounding ground, never giving to no more EC who was enough with ease to the Roman citizens, seven 'will judge' or a 'rubbio' of ground by valid individual. These families brought together in a common enclosure, with their priest and their doctor, will be able more easily to protect itself jointly from all
depredation in their fields. They will be able to exert some
organizes the ones on the others, and to look after in particular
the property of their common residence. Houses built on one
regular plan and resting the ones against the others, will
require less walls, less fences of enclosure, will cause less
transport than if they were scattered in fields. The inhabitants
will be able more easily to grant and to receive a mutual help
for the agricultural work; and if one of them attests some
accident, if one of them falls sick, it will not be exposed to
languish and perish in a detached house, far from any
dwelling. The good legislator must think for his people with
the pleasures life, almost as much as with its needs; he should
not forget that satisfaction is the food of the heart, and that it
he is necessary almost as much as food are it with body. It
must still think that among the Italians, much more that
among the other people, with promptness it appears need to
meet: that the deep sadness of loneliness in the middle of the
deserts would prepare them with all the diseases and that it
would worsen them all, while the social life in a village will
maintain the health of the new colonists. Let us leave to make
the individual interests then: when of small colonies will have
multiplied; when the desire to extend them small-scale
farmings will have become more general; when one will start
to want to cultivate artificial meadows, rather to stick to the
natural pastures; when easy owners come to live the fields and
to direct their characteristic culture, one will see also the
houses going down from the hill in the plain, and the farmers
to build on their small concessions as they build already
around Zagarolo. Let us let make! …. when one sees the road
so clearly traced in front of oneself, a moment of illusion is
always attested and one appears oneself that it is enough to
our wishes for us to make there to enter. Let us let make! alas!
it will not be done anything the whole. However after having
starred at some time on a spectacle of desolation, one attests
some relief to be thought that the remedy is with range; that
one should not expensive
expensive in abstracted principles, a theory not still attested, that it under the eyes, is guaranteed there by the experience of time present, by that of all times who preceded, and whom it does not miss any more but the will of to apply.
TWELFTH ESSAY.
COLONIES.

We do not propose to present at the public, in these Studies, a complete course of political Economy, but only of us attaches to some questions, which us seem to be neglected by preceding writers, or treated without giving a sufficient attention to their results on the happiness and the improvement of the human race. One should not thus be astonished if we give up some ones, on which we again sense not to have anything or of important to say; if we do not speak about some others that incidentally, while we grant to third an attention which can appear disproportionate. Each one of these essays, under some reports/ratios, being considered must as a separate work; their order is up to a certain point arbitrary, and the whole which they form could not be regular. Only one idea however, or perhaps should say to us only one feeling, is found in all our system, and it is in him that one must seek the sequence of it: us wanted to defer the attention of the things on the men; not to let lose sight of the fact one moment only men are the goal of social sciences, and that things must be considered by those which study them, that like providing means of progress and happiness to human race. Our precursors, allured by the character more scientist of all the abstractions, believed to be able to make wealth the object of a science, and to consider its increase
or its decline, without taking account of its effects, especially of its moral effects, on the men between whom it divide. We are on the contrary roidi against this metaphysics which appeared disappointing to us; we avoided the language of science, and its definitions which so often generate errors; then fixing our glances on society human, we took care all the symptoms of its sufferings to go up, as well as we could make it, evils which it attested with their causes. The man was called with work by his nature and his position on the ground; and the first work which fixed our attention, is that to which we owe all our substance, almost all the pleasures of which we enjoy, our existence very whole: it is the work of agriculture; also us let us be us occupied in first line of the men who devote to the agricultural work, which creates wealth territorial. The goal of economic science does not have us appeared to be in their connection to teach to them to draw from the ground a greater mass of value, or to collect of theirs companies a greater profit Net, but to make in kind that prudence directed this work, that charity chaired with its distribution and that of its fruits, that justice preserved oppression those which carry out it. Then, while carrying our glances on the thriving companies, we saw almost everywhere that the ground missed with the agrarian, that is to say that the rich person had withdrawn one of them to him left to reserve it for their pleasures, that is to say that all them fields likely to give to the man products useful had already been put in culture. When this moment came, or only when one appears oneself to have reached it, eyes of all move towards these areas of the sphere where the human race stopped in its growth, where its institutions maintained it in cruelty and misery, and where vast deserts seem to call the foreign farmers. Each one then is loan to ask whether it is not right only those which received nature so much of means to live happy and which in cannot make use, those which have so immense known
perflu of a thing that they seem not to appreciate, makes some leaves to other men who for of attest the need. Thus the study of the developments of the territorial wealth bring to the question of the colonies; those are presented initially like one of the means of exploitation of this wealth. Indeed, it is by colonies that the men can to distribute on the surface of the ground, which they can restore balance between their number and their needs, which they can to emphasize what was given up, and to adapt themselves the constant work of nature by fertilizing it. But though the colonies can be considered simply under their chrematistic influence, like means of to create or to accumulate wealthes, it is a manner well narrow, and consequently well distorts to consider one of the most important actions that the men can exert on the other men, an action which sometimes can assist sights of Providence for progress or civilization mankind, sometimes can on the contrary spread among races still young and pure defects of the out-of-date companies. Their influence or for the good or the evil is so much energetic, the colonies contributed so much in all times to change the face of the earth, which we would not know to stop with their purely chrematistic influence, and that we will endeavour only in this essay to examine what they did, which they could do for the development of mankind, to introduce place in place and at new nations the 'good régule of the house and city'. It must be the progress of civilization, not that of wealth, that the nations must propose for goal in their action ones on the others. When we seek to account for the causes to us who contributed to spread among men all them advantages of the social life, the most important first, who is announced to us by the study of antiquity, it is the foundation of the colonies. History of the colonization of the countries located on the coasts of the Mediterranean could be just as easily called the history of the civilization of mankind. This,
history, without us to be known in all its details, is to us sufficient indicated by all the historic buildings who reveal us antiquity, so that we can in to seize the unit. Almost at the origin of times, we find people powerful, the Egyptian people, arrived to one great wealth and a great glory by events which escape our investigation. Its history is wrapped clouds, but private life of the inhabitants of Egypt, theirs uses, their arts, their industry, their agriculture, were subjected to our inspection; the image in was preserved by indestructibles monuments, which very recently still have been carefully explored. The civil life " of the Egyptians, their life like members of large the 'quoted', society, us is represented in dice tables which return it presents to our eyes. We see there, without the shade of a doubt, that they had already made in arts intended to subject nature, progress which seems to us most specific to make happy a many population, that they were highly civilized two approximately thousand years before the Christian era. The Egyptians do not have historians who arrived to us, they do not have philosophers with us known who studied the walk of the human societies; their action, however, on their neighbors, was revealed to us, because the people which gave us the most admirable models in art to write the history, the people which intended art best to form the human society, which studied with more fruit play of the interests. feelings and passions, it populate Greek, begins its history precisely at the time where this immense table of the Egyptian civilization was made up which was put recently under our eyes. Greeks us say that at that time, they were themselves COM-plétement barbarians, and that they owed all their progress, all their developments with the colonies of the Egyptians. The Greeks could know only très-imparfaitement this illustrated history of Egypt. that the art of engraving reproduced in all our libraries, and who, until our days, had been catch in all the eyes in crowned asylums from where
the laymen were drawn aside. They did not seek to put their history in connection with these monuments of old Egypt, they dealt especially with themselves, and not tables of Thèbes to the hundred doors. Though conceited, though seeking like all the people to spread on their first origin an aureole of glory, it is them which us learn that their ancestors had not left the wild state at the time of the arrival on their shores of the Egyptian Inachus (approximately eighteen centuries before Jesus-Christ). The Greeks, say, Pélasges did not have fixed residences; they were hunters and pastors any unit; but their country, cut by arms of the sea and mountains, did not admit the pastoral good life of Scythians or Tartars and of the Arabs, nor formation of large companies. They did not know all the domestiquies animals; the horse was brought to them by sea, it was one present of Neptune; they did not know any culture, the reign plant provided them only the nipple and the faîne beeches, of which they were nourished without to have planted the trees who produced them. The introduction of the three field crops, the wheat by Cérès, the olive-tree by Minerve, the vine by Bacchus, announces under a mythological veil progress due the abroads. None of the three was known in Greece with time of Inachus; all domestic arts were also been unaware of, and the men are covered only skins of animals which they had eaten. This social state of Pélasges is lower than that of all them inhabitants of Asia, of all the negros inhabitants of Africa, who practise arts and agriculture, of all the pastoral people of these two parts of the world, in which it agriculture is prohibited by the nature of their country, but which is however raised rather high in the civil society; it is lower even in the condition of the people hunters of America, who at least knew corn and potato, and which manufactured some fabrics, and it cannot be compared that with the state of the savages of Australasia. However the Egyptian colonies brought the inhabitants of the country at the maximum
high civilization, they taught all arts to them of life, all means
of overcoming nature. They did not drive out them, they did
not exterminate them, but they them admire in their new
companies, they linked them with colonists in their cities;
they did not make any not Egyptians, but of the Greeks: the
religion, the language, manners, clothings, all was Greek, all
belonged to the news fatherland, not with old, but especially
the political organization was Greek. There, only, one saw
being born freedom and love of the fatherland; there, the torch
ignited which had to light the universe. Three approximately
hundred years, in the Greek history, since the arrival of
Inachus which founded Argos, until that of Danaïs which had
to reign in the same city, are filled by traditional accounts
half, half mythological, of the arrival of all these chiefs, or
Egyptians or Phéniciens, which each one with their turn
melted a new city, and brought to him in dowry of new arts,
new knowledge. Greece transmitted to the posterity the names
those which taught to him all parts of agriculture, the work of
the mines, the art of fabrics, navigation, the writing, the
currency, trade, music. Three hundred years were passed, but
at the end of this period the Greeks were more advanced than
the Egyptians their teachers; forming as many States
separated, and engaged in a continual fight, they were less
powerful without doubt, they were less rich, their society was
less stable, but they had in them more life, all the classes of
nation were brought closer, plus frays one with the other;
there was for all more happiness. Hardly Greece it had melted
as only one people them autochtones with the colonists who
arrived to him from Egypt, that it started in its turn to spread
on all the coasts of The Mediterranean the civilization which
it had just received. colonies of Ionian, Wind, of Doriens,
moved towards Minor Asia. Others based new cities, in Italy,
in Sicily, on the edges of the Euxine Sea, on the coasts of
Africa and those of Provence.
Everywhere these colonies exerted on the natives the happy one influence that the Egyptians had exerted on the Greeks. Everywhere they civilized, everywhere they taught arts life, everywhere they admire the former inhabitants with to link itself closely with them, and everywhere, thanks to this union, they preceded soon their metropolis, in population, in power, in wealth, in all arts, and even in developments of the spirit. Troy, Greek colony, were more powerful that none the Greek cities which leagued for its ruin. The colonies of the Greeks in Asia Mineure were richer, more advanced in arts and philosophy at the time of the war of the Persians, that Péloponèse, though their situation enabled them to oppose to this powerful monarchy a less long resistance. Midday of Italy took it name of Large-Greece, because it indeed carried it on Ancient Greece by its extent, the number, wealth and power of its cities. Sicily covered cities more still thriving; Syracuse did not carry it only on Corinth which had founded it, but its population equalized that that one finds in all the island today; it is ensured that it counted to 1,200,000 inhabitants. Of the same Marseilles carried in power on Phocée which had founded it, and Cy-rène on the island of Théra, from where its first colonists had left. Rome was not a colony of the Greeks, but Rome had its civilization, its laws, its language, its religion, with people of Italy, educated by the colonists of Greece. Rome was not satisfied, as had made the Greeks, to carry only of region in region its arts, its language, its religion and its philosophy: it wanted to dominate everywhere where penetrated its weapons. The Greeks sowed on the shores of new and independent people; the Romans tended to the unit, they also spread also their colonies far which they carried their weapons; but these colonies, though they were as many images of the large city, was not garrisons of the large people, not of the germs of new people. They also however were intended to mix with the natives, to communicate all progress to them in
arts and in social sciences that Rome had made, to finally initiate them in civilization, and the colonies of the Romans, in all the old world, completed the first education mankind. Perhaps it will be believed that a table of the progressive age of the modern world, by the colonies of Europeans, would not yield it in size to that of colonization antique. Indeed, in the last three centuries, Europeans carried their colonies in almost all the parts of livable ground. They subjected to it regions which exceed infinitely into wide those from where they left, and they' founded there empires and republics of which the proportions exceed much those of the old world. However one do not bring closer in its thought the colonies the modern ones those of old, without a first impression preceding even the reflexion and informs us that the colonies of old renewed the human race, retempered it, and he made begin the political existence with all them advantages of youth; that ours, on the contrary are born old women, with all the jealousies, all concern, all miseries, all defects of old Europe; that them colonies of old constantly rose in all them left civilization above those which gave them birth; that ours go down also constantly below their founders; that our colonies, already if large, are intended to grow well more still, but that one would seek vainly there the virtues, patriotism, strength, which belonged to the first age of the world. A more attentive glance makes us still sense new differences. The Greeks, and before them the Egyptians, melted a colony so that it was a complete whole; us, so that it is part of another empire. They had unceasingly in sight the good even of the colonists; us, the good of motherland. They wanted that the colony was sufficed for itself, under the influence of the subsistence, defense, of internal government, and of all the principles of its development; we want that it is dependent in all
thing, that it remains by the trade, and which its trade enriches the metropolis, that it is defended by the weapons of this one, obeying its orders, controlled by its lieutenants, and that the education even of these new citizens can achieve itself that in their elder brothers. A thorough study of the colonies points out soon another difference more afflicting. Colonies of the Egyptians, Phéniciens, the Greeks, and even of the Romans, brought a benefit to the regions where they were established; ours, a calamity. First, by their contact, the barbarians civilized; modern Europeans have everywhere destroyed foreign civilization with their manners, in the middle of which they came to be placed; they barbarisé (that one us allows to this expression) the people which they named barbarians, by forcing them to give up all arts of the life that they had invented themselves. They were barbarisés in their turn; because, here one saw Europeans going down to manners of the pastoral people; there, with those of the people hunters; everywhere, in their relations with the natives, it are them which were soiled by the fraud, the abuse force and cruelty; everywhere they moved back in arts which they had brought from Europe; their agriculture became half-savage, all their instruments were coarser; all their knowledge remained more incomplete; men distinguished there were rarer, and the level general intelligence, like morality, is descended to place to go up. Perhaps successes of the United States will be opposed to us, whose prosperity appears enough brilliant not to leave to regret with modern the system of ancient colonization. Perhaps the United States however owes their principal advantages so that their first founders approached much more of the ideas and the feelings of the Greeks and of Romans, that we do not do it today. Pilgrims of New England, emigrating with the research of the freedom of conscience, proposed above all to create a news fatherland as made the Greeks formerly; all other colonists,
sent by Europe, carried with them, for only principle, love of the profit; for only theory, extension of trade; also they always sacrificed the future to the present, and they in the new colony sowed, as of its birth, germs of dissolution. We will have only too many occasions to notice that these germs are in their turn developed in the United States. Let us seek with better recognizing the opposition between the principles of the Greeks, when they melted a colony, and ours. The Greeks, while being transported in a new area, wanted that their colony represented the type originating in their society, the city: when we melt one of them, it represent the type originating in ours, the empire. They concentrated all their political existence on only one point: we disseminate ours on a whole territory. It is not here the occasion to examine which is better for happiness, for the virtue, the progress of the intelligence, small republics of antiquity, or our large ones monarchies. Each nation is involved, by circumstances who dominate the very whole race, to seek the force or independence in a certain proportion of power with the other nations, which, for lack of this balance, could to be tempted to misuse to be able to them. But, with the birth people, with the birth of associations, one has more of freedom to benefit from the lessons of the experience; it is to the colonists only that we can say that, so that it mutual need joins together them, so that fraternity is established between adventurers, often gathered by the only chance, it is necessary that they start by being small, it is necessary that they feel weak between foreigners, because the capacity would return them arrogant and threatening; it is necessary that their position the force with sparing the benevolence of the aboriginals. that they endeavour to join them, instead of treating them as savages, and that they especially take care not to bring to them, of civilization, another thing that arts of the war to exterminate them. First attention of the Egyptians, Phéniciens, then Greeks and Romans, by melting a colony, was it
choice of the site where they would build their new city; because it was in cities that they wanted to live, it was by cities that they spread arts of the life of the cities, or civilization (1). The site of the city was to be naturally enough extremely so that its enclosure could be easily defended, and so that its inhabitants could, without the help of motherland, to resist the sudden attacks of those in the medium from which they came to be established. But this resistance also supposed that the colonists could easily gather for to take the weapons, that the call of the trumpet, which answered then for our bells of alarm, would suffice to do them to run of all the parts of the territory of which they were put in possession. From this circumstance alone rose important modifications in all their economy. And firstly their territory was strong to be circumscribed. More often it was a desert which they had legitimately acquired of the aboriginals and a peaceful way, and this first contract, like those of the modern colonists, interpreted, unceasingly was not unceasingly modified by the fraud or violence. The colonists felt well that they could not, that they did not have to deviate from their city, of their only retirement; they did not have any temptation to usurp a more great extent of fields, and this cupidity, which nowadays puts Europeans with the catches with the natives, was without action on them. Colonists, weak, very few, and completely abandoned of themselves (because the motherland did not think of to defend), care to build all their houses had in the narrow enclosure of the city. The night they rested under one keep common, the day alone they could spread itself in fields for rural work. Of this circumstance their agriculture received the character of that of Provence or of Spain, where farms are not seen, not houses dispersed in the fields, and where all the farmers, with all their cattle, are locked up in the village. This agricultural system has certainly serious disadvantages;

(1) From civitas, quoted, the words civis, civilis, civilisatio came.
it multiplies work of the agrarian and his cattle; it he hardly makes it possible to study its ground or to ask him abundant harvests; it does not encourage it to plant its fields to decorate them, attest for them affection. But the influence of this system on the man is more important that that on the creation of wealth. However, the feeling of the social life, of the civil life, is that of all which it is important to maintain more among the rural colonists, and inhabitants villages will remain more civilized much than if they were scattered in the fields. By itself, society to found a colony slackens the social bond. They are always the spirits most independent, proudest, most disobedient, which engage in this hazardous plan. Often they are those who could not support the yoke of the laws in the motherland, in spite of their ancient authority and power of practices. These same men are much laid out still with obedience in a very new State, where none prejudice does not lend its support to the order, where no practice is not enracinée. It is necessary well to take care not to allow them to disperse in the deserts, because if they can establish them dwelling at a long distance of all their brothers, soon they will not recognize any more other laws but their clean whims, other judges that their resentments, their pride offended or their other passions. Each father will be small tyrant in his family; foreigner at society of his equal, it will require the implicit obedience of its wife and her children; art to persuade will be useless for him, the art of the conversation will present to him neither attracted nor reward; it will not know of another pleasure that those of the directions, and intoxication will hold place to him of all the developments of the spirit. If by chance it is born a quarrel between him and somebody of its neighbors, it knows well that no witness will see them, that no peacemaker will be able to run to its assistance, that no investigation is possible; he will thus seek to demolish himself of his adversary, or, if he is without weapons, to tear off the eyes with the American manner to him, to finish some, not to be tormented of its complaints, for not to be condemned by its attestimony, to still suppose
that he wants to subject himself to courts which cannot not to reach it. Whatever the originally culture of its spirit or the softness of its character, it will arrive très-vite in the condition of the 'backwoodman', the colonist of the forests moved back, such as one sees it in America; with this existence recluse, brutal, forces, who destroys all true civilization, any sympathy with the other men, but which preserves all qualities with which one can raise its fortune, such as the force of the body, the address, the entrepreneurship, and especially the spirit of calculation and cupidity. But, in the Greek colony, the man was unceasingly in the presence of the man, it had with his fellow-citizens, with its companions of adventure, the account of all its moments. It did not venture itself with far without its absence was noticed, it being able to be devoted to no excess without sound intoxication, its transports, its acts of tyranny were known of all, and subjected it to the public animadversion; it could not finally make a homicide, and flatter themselves to escape with the laws, that is to say that one of its compatriots or one aboriginal was his victim. The colony admittedly did not have no force to continue it out of its territory, but it had itself a so constant need for the government colonial, that it unceasingly returned to be put under its wing, and this government, which knew its own weakness and it need that it had its neighbors, looked at a quarrel with aboriginals like a public offence. If the delinquent took the party not to return the evening in its house, to withdraw itself from the courts of its new fatherland, it was necessary that it moved away from there forever, and an exile eternal, at old, was looked like the last torment. In the modern colonies, immense extended from fertile grounds seem abandoned to the first occupant, and the colonist, currency on the all-powerful protection of motherland, allots of it plain share which is not in proportion neither with its physical forces to work them, nor with its capital to improve them, nor with its needs for in to consume the fruits. The colonist of the antiquity, which comp-
conceals that on itself and his/her companions of adventure, did not wish to have fields from where it could not hear the warlike trumpet which would invite it to defend its city, and the colonial authority melted on this principle the division of grounds which it had acquired. It was necessary that all had one there about equal share, since it was necessary that all were always with range of the walls; divisions extended like the sections of a circle, the fields were brought closer strengthened enclosure; with beyond the colony still had a zone of pastures, where one could see by far approach of the enemy. Thus, whatever could be wealth unequal of the associates, a higher interest, the safety of all, brought back to the equality territorial division. One did not ask not with each head of household to buy her new ground; the distribution was free; at most it was proportioned with the force of each family to cultivate the ground and to defend it; with its needs to consume them fruits. Also, as of their arrival, the colonists, limited by space, were forced to introduce into their fields the culture which is appropriate for the grounds of the highest value; they imported there all practices of the rural science most advanced in their motherland, and thus they taught their art with the savages. Ours, on the contrary, learn from them theirs. masters suddenly of an immense quantity of grounds that they hold. or the right of the sword, or a purchase made to the shareholders, they are not domestic any the benefits nature. They clear up the forests by the fire, or while barking trees, to let them rot on the spot; they give up any system of manure, allowance, rotation of harvests; they stick to some privileged points of the ground, which they sacrifice all the others; they tire it by one succession of exhausting harvests, and they reduce soon the richest grounds with sterility. All the vast ones and beautiful regions which border the Atlantic, these campaigns of which the fertility astonished Europeans when they approached there for the first time, were ruined in this manner by the cupidity of the farmer, who sacrificed the future to the present.
The colonist, educated by the American in art to destroy, did not even think of imitating it in art to preserve. Even fault is repeated still today in the Cape of Good Hope, in New-Holland, with the Earth of Van-Die-men; it is by four hundreds and eight hundred acres that one distribute the ground in these new colonies. One wants to start by farms as wide as those which more English farm rich person subject to the culture which requires the most advances, and one however gives them to men almost without capital, which will be necessarily involved to cultivate them, as made their elder on the edges of the Atlantic, for present, and without any thought of future. In the same way, in the projects of colonization for Algiers, we intended to speak only about large companies shareholders and large farms, while it was necessary especially to think of the practices of the Arab farmer, with means of associating it European, and of returning to him this advantageous association, with the improvements to be brought to industry of the country, and not with its upheaval. So indeed the grounds conquered in Africa are removed with the farmers natives to be delivered to speculators, people pressed to enjoy, in a hurry to destroy, and incompetents of nothing to create, agriculture, far from advancing, will move back of the point where the Arabs had carried. The Greek colonies were composed men of condition free, but left all the rows society, and they were led, in heroic times, by wire of kings, later by eupatrides, or citizens of most famous birth; however the consequence necessary of their society was to establish between the colonists a very-large equality. Those which engaged in these adventurous forwardings did not carry fortune with them, and they did not think not either to make their fortune there. They are not only they Re-nonçassent with the ambition; they were flattered to be distinguished with first rank among their fellow-citizens, in the councils or with the war. They were flattered to become large by their eloquence, their prudence or their value, never to become laughed
ches. On the ground of their new fatherland they were not to count to live that on the work of their hands; they received, like all the others, their share in the colonial fields; they were to cultivate them without servants, days laborer, without slaves: because the new society, surrounded by enemies or the jealous one, did not agree to also gather in its centre domestic enemies. Among small people of antiquity, at the time of their mutual independence, slavery was yet only one accident of the right of war, and not one industrial engineering; therefore it did not have still dishonoured work. The largest citizens of the colony thus did not refuse with manual work; but it was necessary that this work did not fill all their time, because they in owed a great part with their new fatherland for sound administration, its instruction and its defense. However, in a country where the agrarian does not have a tenant farming to pay, where the State does not have debts, where a share in the product of work incipient generations was not mortgaged or was sold in advance by their fathers to their creditors, in a country at the same time where manners are simple and where the luxury is unknown, rural industry produces extremely beyond maintenance those which exert it. So today the agrarian can live on half of its harvests, by yielding other half to its master, formerly the agrarian owner lived on work of half of the week or the day, and could in devoting other half to the service of the public. Thus the rich person of the motherland had ceased being rich in the colony, but the poor had on their side ceased being poor; the ones like the others lived work of their hands, but of a work which nature rewarded liberally. The' S ones like the others were called with a usual exercise of all their body faculties, but they did not exert less usually all faculties of their spirit. The government of a colony more democracy took part than that of any old State; it owed it, it could do it without danger. Various conditions of the citizens, at these small people, acted
did not saient like on our premises or as in our colonies, by a universal competition of the ones against the others; but on the contrary all felt a common interest, which always referred to the aboriginals. Trade with those was to only nourish the colony in its beginnings; means of gaining their friendship, of obtaining their confidence, to establish between them and the colonists of the common signs, a language of convention, were the business of all, the urgent interest of all. At the same time, they was aboriginals which could to come all dangers; vigilance on them, defense against them, in the event of sudden quarrel, were as interests as all also sensed. When they had left their motherland, some wire of famous men, some rich wire of men, had probably carried with them some, pride of birth or family, some feeling of their superiority, and if this superiority were linked with a more looked after education, with the practices and the experience world, with the traditions of their fathers, the talents finally, it was recognized, it was appreciated, because it was useful to all. It flattered even popular imagination, because it is in a country where all is new, where all is being born, which the memories antiquity become most expensive. But the least colonist, the least farmer had an interest however identical with this 'eupatride'. As him it served the fatherland by its vigilance, and it defended it of its arm; like him it was allowed with the councils where the incipient people deliberated on the existence of all. The narrower the circle was, the more confidence was intimate, the more the man of the people received the man quite born to which it was associated, the powerful one education of the circumstances and the common action. Us we are accustomed, nowadays, to confuse the instruction with the influence of the books; the great instruction, however, the bearing fruit instruction is the action of the man on the man. All the social interests were in their turn discussed in 'the Agora', all the examples were put under the eyes of all, all the characters developed to some extent in public, and the study of the man, the philosophical study of
passed and human interests was accessible to poorest as with richest. Smoothnesses, delicacies of language did not mark the conditions, because all were studied with the speech with the same purity; so by far in far some books increased the funds of the common instruction, their effect was popular: it was in assembled Greece that Hérodote had read its history. We claimed also nowadays with the democracy; but the first element we missed Greek cities, the equal conditions which resulted from their economic organization, equality which was not nowhere larger than in the incipient colonies. Community of the interests, the intimate bringing together of all the citizens, and their constant action ones on others, made colonies of antiquity like a school of mutual teaching. Knowledge that some higher men had brought there spread themselves soon in all the mass of the small nation, by a contact continual, by a daily exchange of shearings observations, of all the thoughts. What only one knew, all it knew, all practised it, all taught it with the aboriginals: thus culture of corn, the olive-tree, of vine, that the work of metals, that of the tisserands, that the alphabet and art to write, the currency, calculation, the music, were successively introduced into new countries, and that the tradition or mythology preserved the trace of these great benefits; each one was allotted to only one hero, with only one half-fabulous being, but all his/her companions became with him teachers of the nations, because the talent, the superiority, the benevolence of each chief, were considered by all the associate members with him in society being born. How many the action of our modern colonies form a contrast afflicting with that with these ancient, civilizing colonies mankind! Our colonists on the basis of the shores of the motherland, do not form a society chosen, associated to run the same chances, and linking itself under the faith to be always ready to expose itself, each one for all, all for one
only. There is between them neither fraternity, nor confidence, it could not be. The colonists are, for the majority, of the men who attested in the world, or of the reverses, or all with less great sorrows. They leave Europe with a fortune ruined, a credit shaken by misfortunes which one is always laid out to allot to their imprudence; they will seek a new world, where they can forget the old one, and where they can themselves remain unknown. It is still anxious spirits, which push back with bitterness the forms of the old world, and which could not be satisfied with the place who their is reserved there. They are also avid adventurers of fortune, which, not wanting proud with the ordinary chances industry and agriculture, treat the destiny like a game of chance, and their life and they expose fortune on chances which, because they are unknown, their appear immense. This mixed troop, already if not very worthy of confidence, is still enlarged by the rejects of old society, which it rejects with dislike on the news. The bad subjects which them family wants to save ignomi-denies it from a legal proceeding, obtain by favour to be able to pass to the colonies; the garrisons that one sends to it compose disciplinary regiments ", which one recruits of all them soldiers that their madnesses, their defects, their crimes sometimes, make push back other regiments. Employees of finances, law officers, magistrates, the governor himself, are generally sent to the colonies as in one honourable exile. Most eminent were isolated court, because their credit was deposed; others of the legislative rooms, because their opposition there was feared. Some were withdrawn from the eyes of the public, to which they started with becoming odious; others were isolated for to prevent investigations which could have lost them; all finally were selected not as being most specific to the colony, but like being or being found of too in their old country. Lastly, in this enumeration afflicting with so much elements of disorders, defects and crimes, we do not have not still understood the class that Europe could not add to it
without a cruel offence with humanity, deportees, these men faded by a defamatory judgement, and which one sends to inoculate the crime with a new nation, when it is constituted that one indicates by a name which makes quiver, a 'penal colony'. It is strange that men who are announced the ones to others like pertaining to suspect classes all. though to differing degree, instead of seeking itself, avoid themselves; that at once that they arrived on the vast open continent with do their companies, they disperse on all its extent? Those which feel in their heart the love of the honor and of the duty know well that their contact with their companions of adventure can soil them, can compromise them, but nothing good will learn to them. Those which have to make forget their past avoid the glances of the men; those which feel that their control present would not support the examination, avoid more still. All the beneficial influence human society is thus lost for them all; however the corrupting influence remains, because the colonists do not live absolutely only. Richest, the most civilized, are obliged to join their inferiors for manual operations of their establishment, and they borrow always something of their language, their coarseness and their defects. Even in the penal colonies, whatever that is to say loathing of the owners to be approached condemned, as they make do by them almost all theirs work, it is necessary well that they treat with them, that they grant some confidence to them, and that estimating them according to their greater or less hardening in the crime, they look at almost like an honest man that which was not allured that one or twice. The corrupting effect of the presence usual of the corrupted beings is inevitable; the poison also spreads on those which hate them and those which excuse. The man who would not see in these condemned, it is unceasingly surrounded, which objects of dislike or of aversion, which would lose any sympathy to the human figure, any pity for the pain, any faith in the expression feeling, would have attested a moral contagion well
more annoying still than that which would be accustomed to see with indulgence the vice one or the crime. Thus these degraded beings, who can be born only in mud from the large cities, who lost any moral feeling, and who do not distinguish more the Juste and the honest one, introduce with the places where one them off-set a hearth of corruption which will develop also a long time that they will live. Centuries will not choke can be not these disastrous germs of vice, which we have cruelly carried in establishments intended to take a fast increase. We grafted full of fish of fruits on the young wild stock whose vigorous growth promised a large tree with the future generations. In fact only the penal colonies transplanted in virgin lands crimes and defects of the countries who crossed civilization. The history of the European colonies shows us everywhere also the civilized man misusing the superiority of its forces and its influence to strip the aboriginal, to force it with the war, for to corrupt and to exterminate it. Greeks, by their colonies on all the extent of the coasts of the Mediterranean, fixed everywhere wandering people; they recalled to agriculture, then with arts and the trade, the people hunters and pastors; they taught the science of the government to them and love of freedom; they substituted for a dark worship and strapping, with the capacity jealous and oppressive corporations of priests, the worship of the heroes benefactors of the humanity, which were the gods of Greece; they opened finally the spirits with a philosophy which was later to reform and purify one already reforming religion. By all these benefits the Greeks determined an increase in the population, and a population happy, which passes our comprehension. Large-Greece, Sicily and the Minor one counted thousands of cities, to which no provincial town of our greater empires could not be compared. Into same time population of the aboriginals, enriched by arts by Greece, increased with a speed not less surprising, and civilization extended in areas where people Ci
vilisator had never carried his steps. Nowadays, with the opposite, everywhere where Europeans were established, they destroyed preexistent civilization. One saw disappearing by their contact, initially all rows raised in society native, then all sophisticated arts and agriculture that before them natural country practised, then all them native virtues, and finally the race itself. It is a fact with-jourd' today which does not admit a doubt, and which one presents to us even like a natural law, a need, that everywhere where the white race is in contact with an indigenous race, this one must disappear in the course from few generations. When the Spaniards approached on the coasts of the New-World, they found them almost also divided enters still cruel people, and people which had made already of great progress in civilization. Most advanced between those were the inhabitants of the Antilles and those of deus great empires of Mexico and Peru. Those showed which development the red race which populates all America was likely to acquire by itself, and without foreign assistance. Tribes, formerly wandering, had fixed themselves for a long time. They had not found in the New-World that well few likely species of animals to be tamed, also they did not have not attested pastoral life, but they had had more success while extending their domination on the vegetable kingdom; they had gotten by agriculture an very-abundant subsistence; indeed a many and happy population covered and fertilized campaigns, at the same time as a class dedicated to arts had built large cities. Between the tropics, a space much less wide than that which is necessary in the areas moderated is enough, with good less work, to provide food of the man. In the 'will tierras calientes' (grounds heats of the edges of the sea), just as in the islands, one banana plantation, a 'platanar' which occupies only hundred square meters, gives per year more than four thousand books weight of nutritive substance, while the same one are
pace would give hardly thirty pounds corn in France. One plantation of manioc, from where the cassave is extracted, request, it is true, more work and more time, but it provides a substance as abundant and more nutritive as banana. Culture of all the productions of the tropics was practised in the islands with intelligence; it maintained there a prodigiously many population, which, with few needs and much leisure, passed its life in festivals and joy. Population of Mexico and Peru, especially in the 'will tierras templadas', and the 'will tierras frias' (them moderate and cold grounds of the mountains), needed of a more constant work, either to control nature, or to support the political and religious luxury of these two empires; the corn and the potato formed the base of food of the people, but at the same time an infinite variety fruits and flowers multiplied the pleasures of the man. Boats of the gardeners, who, by the lake, arrived in Mexico City, spread out, as they all still make, pumps of this rich person vegetation. Plantations of my-quay (Sisal plant americana), from where one extracts the 'pulque' or it wine of Mexico, replaced our vines. Manufactures adapted to the needs for the people had multiplied in the cities, a court which liked the glare, of large, proud of their wealth, and a religion which was surrounded by pump, had directed industry towards the pleasures of the luxury. With Peru, a system of irrigation admirably conceived, and carry out with as much art than of magnificence, spread fertility on a vast region, between the Andes and the sea, who today is burned by the sun, since the Spaniards destroyed the channels of arrosement of Incas. The race red, both in Mexico and in Peru, had wished to perpetuate memory of its high facts and its discoveries, and it had invented for that a hieroglyphic writing. It had also discovered art to extract from the mines and from to work some metals, and for its misfortune it is appeared money and gold ornaments which excited cupidity first Spanish colonists
We do not intend to recall here the terrible control of these Spaniards in the New-World; the public opinion faded forever. That it is enough for us to say that if one considers and numbers it their victims and the duration of the torments that they inflicted to them, their fixed price exceeds all the fixed prices which soiled the history of the race human. In the intoxication of the victory, some conquerors Tartars gave the terrible order to massacre all inhabitants of a city, a province even, to raise with their heads of hideous pyramids in remembering their victory; but covetous Spanish ferocity cost much more lives still with humanity; it devoured them by a torment much more atrocious, much more prolonged; it sacrificed them without provocation, and in calms of a miserly calculation. The peaceful inhabitants of these regions all were condemned also with the work of the mines; they were constrained with one exercise which exceeded their forces, while one them allocated that an insufficient food; they were thorough there by the whip of their inspectors, in spite of debility, them wounds, diseases, and they did not find of slackening with this horrible torment that in the death, which was not made a long time wait. Depopulation went with so strange speed, that in the course of only one generation the race red disappeared in the Antilles; population of Saint-Dominigue only passed, however, a million inhabitants; Cuba in had at least as much, all the other islands with proportion. Among the Caribbean, a few thousands of men of this race unfortunate escaped the extermination; but it was these only which, turned sour by the suffering and losing any hope, did not keep any more fixed residences; they gave up agriculture, gave up their civilization, and were thrown in the life savage. The inhabitants of Mexico and Peru had not been subjected to a less terrible oppression; but either that the race of the inhabitants of the mountains was more vigorous, or more accustomed with hard work, that is to say that the corvée which he was imposed, the 'mita', which called it in turn with the mines, was exerted with a little more equity under the eyes
same of the viceroy, that is to say finally that there had been no time for to achieve the work of destruction, part of old inhabitants survived more atrocious measurements, and it is them who renew this part of the population today. At the time of the voyage of Mr. de Humboldt, they were not any more subjected to any species of corvée, their work with the mines voluntary and très-richement was très-richement paid; at the same time they had taken again with heat the continuation of agriculture. With Mexico, the red men, who still form a population of 3,676,000 hearts, are the only ones which are announced by their industry in the culture of the grounds, and their activity for to introduce into new districts. But this race compose more from now on that labourers; all the large ones Aztec empire disappeared, and with them all the rich person, all priests, all scientists, all middle-class men, all merchants. One cannot find the old one on their premises any more civilization of the red race. These labourers are attached to the continuation of a Spanish civilization and Christian woman which is not theirs; none of their ideas is prepared for in to profit, no progress is possible for them, no European development does not penetrate until them. In Peru, red race suffered more, it is more close dying out, and there remain to him nothing the old civilization of Incas; but of the negros and the mulattos replace it and are charged the most tiring work. In Chile, where the native race pointed out by its warlike virtues more than by its civilization, it was pushed back entirely out of the European society; but the wild tribes are excited by Spaniards with continual wars ones against others, and drunkenness their made lose all qualities who distinguished them formerly. Never, we hope for it, Europeans, the Christians will recall the control of the Spaniards to the New-World without horror and without indignation. With some reason, undoubtedly, they will show the spirit of XVle century of it. Old bands Spanish of Ferdinand the Catholic, Charles-Quint and of Philippe II, announced themselves during this century in Italy, in
France, in Germany and in the Netherlands, by their ferocity, and one should not be astonished if the same character appeared more still in the New-World, where these savage warriors were completely withdrawn from the brake of the public opinion, at the same time as they did not have any feeling of fraternity for men of another race. But, without claiming to excuse the Spaniards, it is especially it modern system of colonization which we must condemn for such horrors. It is this system which pushes on foreign grounds of the adventurers without honor, probity, without brake; who encourages their cupidity, which celebrates their armed robberies like exploits; and which giving up with all theirs more ashamed passions of the men of another race than one started by naming cruel, to exempt itself towards they of any pity, and to be authorized to strip them, gives to the attackers all the support of civilization, all the support of a nation powerful and advanced in arts of the war, them provides weapons, ammunition, and with the need for the soldiers, to exterminate inoffensive neighbors. Continuously re-examined modern colonies, we will recognize soon that the arrival of the colonists of any other nation of Europe was less disastrous to the natives than that of the Spaniards. Well more, the Spaniards are the only ones who admitted the natives in the social union, to occupy the rows at least there inferiors. They are the only ones in America at which the race red multiplies again; everywhere else it is on not to die out. It is not, with the remainder, that in the old Spanish colonies, in Mexico, in Peru, in Philippines, that the devouring activity adventurers made place with sedentary practices, and that the inhabitants think of enjoying the life instead of not having for goal to grow rich quickly. There only universal competition to gain, accumulate, by honest means or déshonnètes, if not was suspended, of less moderate; and there too the subjugated races obtained, if not regard, equal rights at least and some protection. In Cuba, the Spanish colonists continue to exploit
men preferably with the things; they are manufacturers, they are given up with the mercantile spirit in any sound roughness; they cultivate the cane, and they manufacture sugar in the true system of the chrematistic school, aiming only to increase the products, and to save as much as possible on what they cost, i.e. on the maintenance of the men who give birth to them. As, of all the countries with slaves, there is no where their treatment is more barbarian as in Havana, no where the draft is more openly exerted. In all the remainder of the half-deserted possessions of the Spaniards, in New Mexico, California, the Andes, Paraguay, countries that Maragnon sprinkles, everywhere finally where the career was opened to the adventurers, the Creoles act in the old spirit of the colonists, and their action to make barbarian the country is also constant, as cruel as it ever was it. All the people their neighbors were abandoned to them like game of the forests and savannas, so that they made their profit, or of their life or their death. They go to the hunting of the 'Indios cheers' (Indian savages), with also little scruple which they would go to that of wild boars. If they can attract them in pièges, they take them with trap, with the net, they force them with current dogs. If they surround their village, they massacre all that resists, they involve the remainder in slavery. By their continual continuations, they have constrained these Indians to live wandering, of only products of hunting; and as soon as the Spaniards make these Captive Indians, they oblige them with a constant work, above their forces, under which they are not long in perishing. Concurrently to these odious hunters of men formerly admittedly met colonies of missionaries who went to follow in wood these same 'Indios cheers', and to endeavour to convert them with the Christian religion at the same time as with the agricultural life. God keeps us to refuse our admiration with a so high virtue, with a so burning charity, so large sacrifice of oneself. The missions however never have the beneficial effects of the ancient colonies; not that them Indians were lower than Pélasges, and more incompetents
of instruction, but because the instruction that gave them the 'Padres' was prepared too little, too little in connection with their nature. They began their education not with the material world, but by the invisible world; they wanted to bring, not to include/understand, but to confess these mysteries on the human nature and divine nature, that strongest heads, at the méditatives nations, have sorrow to seize; and, forcing them to give up their own language, they them their exposed in two new languages, the Castilian and Latin, which carried to the poor Indian only of the empty sounds the direction. It is because of this sacrifice of the intelligence with memory that the 'Indios reducidos' (Indian subjected) became between the hands of the missionaries of large children, listening without including/understanding, and obeying without knowing why. Moreover, almost all the pleasures were represented to them like sins, so that they live without having reasons for the life; they lost any interior spring, they present the image of a European society, stripped of its activity, its intelligence; they are unable progress, and they confirm, by the effect even as had on them a European education, the prejudice that the European race with fact of being born against all the red race. With the remainder, the 'Indios reducidos' have sorrow to be withdrawn with vexations of the Spaniards, who themselves do not see that with jealousy companies of the 'Padres' for their conversion. Each progress of the missionaries withdraws some a number of individuals or families at this funds of creatures human, that the colonists look at as reserved for their hunting rights; it impoverishes the market of slaves, and more the prisoners die quickly, plus colonists look like important to maintain the funds from where they draw them. In general, the missionaries had been established at a long distance from these so aggressive colonists; but like those advance unceasingly, the missions are soon in contact with the hunters 'of Indios cheers', which, of their side, take for pretext of their hostilities the desire of to make among them conversions. The Spanish government,
very filled of prejudices which it was, very oppressive that it often showed for the interests of the colony, did not have less no sympathy with the hunters of men, and its general the purpose of orders were generally to protect humanity and the religion. But in the new republics, the local authorities were entrusted to men who share passions of the district which elected them. In general, it were very-unfavourable with the missions; sometimes they forced to emigrate the 'Padres' themselves, with all the 'Indios reducidos'; one saw some arriving of the many bands in Guiane English, while Mr. Poeppig when it crossed in 1832 high Peru, did not find any more in the center of the old missions of Cuchero, Pampayaco and Tocache that quiet deserts; fast vegetation of tropics did not let there any more recognize any trace of work still recent of the man. Republics, while expelling the missionaries, claimed to be rented for their liberalism; they wanted, say they, to contain the influence frightening of the clergy, and to be opposed to progress of the superstition; few people indeed will include/understand, to a few thousand miles of distance, that the true goal of this liberalism was to extend on new districts hunting to the men. The white race, by exterminating the red race in one most of America, admittedly multiplied there in its place. All the continent of southernmost America east today opened with Europeans, especially with the descendants Spaniards. But one should not believe only with their race civilization extended in these deserts. The large plate with southernmost America covered itself with herds of oxen and of horses which were brought there from Europe. In the News-Grenade, republics of Rio of Plata, Bolivia, Chile, one meets many owners who have fifteen and twenty thousand animals with horns; but it 'Vaquero', which lives in the middle of these wild become again herds, and all population of these central areas, or those which one names the 'Llaneros', are descended much rather on the level of the people hunters that to that of the people
pastors of the old world. Far from overcoming or taming savage animals, as had made the Tartar or the Arab, they returned in a wild state domestic animals from which they benefit only by destroying them. The Arab, by its care, its intelligence, its affection, the study of all the instincts of the animals, had succeeded in sticking, returning obeying, proudest and most savage; the 'Llanero' does not consider the ox, the sheep, the goat, the pourceau, that as a game which gives him the pleasure of hunting, and which it enjoys to inflict torments with inexpressible ferocity. What we said of the Spanish colonies can, with many regards, to apply to the Portuguese colonies. Those, instead of carrying civilization, did not also spread everywhere that armed robbery and desolation. In Brazil, where Portuguese were in contact with the red race, in its first state of cruelty, i.e. when it is composed of wandering hunters which hardly start with to fix and to cultivate the ground, they forced it to give up this culture, and to be inserted fans wood, where the colonists continue it to exterminate it or reduce it in slavery. They have sought to replace it by negros, of which still aujour-d' today they import a hundred and thousand each year in Brazil, though the moment approaches where those, become strongest, all will massacre. In the two kingdoms of Congo and from Mozambique, where the Portuguese were established on both coasts Western and Eastern of Africa, colonists, of blood European or mixed, is so well descended on the level from natives, that one does not distinguish them more; any trace of civilization disappeared among them, and the sovereignty of Portugal, on a so vast portion of Africa, did not point out itself, in modern times, that by the claim of the Portuguese nation to continue the draft of the negros, when it was rejected by the rest of Europe, because, said the Portuguese diplomats, their merchants had an exclusive right to sell the inhabitants of these areas, because they had been born prone from king de Portugal.
Forwardings of the Portuguese in the Eastern Indies recall those of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru; one finds there the same mixture of cupidity and chivalrous bravery, same religious fanaticism being combined with the perfidy and ferocity. But the Portuguese arrived to more civilized nations, richer, and more advanced especially in the art of the war that those which the Spaniards conquered. They needed to employ with them greater cares; they were presented more often as merchants than like warriors; moreover, there were no mines in the places where they were established, so that they could not have the appalling thought to reduce the whole generations from the conquered people in the entrails of the ground, to draw some from gold or money. However, while sticking to the reading of only Portuguese historians, one remains convinced that in all their quarrels with the Indians, they was the Portuguese who were wrong, so that it is always on them that must to fall the reproach to be attackers, the perfidious ones and it barbarians; that their wars cost humanity torrents of blood which they poured of gaité of heart; and that them domination on India, fortunately today reduced with two large cities, contributed much to make move back this region towards this state of anarchy and military oppression towards this domination of the adventurers substituted for that of old governments, which have it consequently almost constantly afflicted. The colonies of the Dutchmen were founded on the ruins Portuguese empire in the Indies; the system changed, a very mercantile spirit replaced the religious and che-valeresque spirit which spread a kind of glare on cupidity and Portuguese ferocity, but humanity did not gain anything with change. The Dutchmen did not think more than did not have fact Spaniards or Portuguese to carry civilization with them. Though republicans and Protestants, though having attested on their premises all the advantages of the spirit of examination, and co-operation of all for the good of all, though having reached freedom and independence by a federation
provinces and cities, which, each one, looked after with predilection their local interests, they did not carry any feeling freedom, no progress of the understanding, any thought local advantages in their conquests. They were held with one immense distance from the beneficial colonization of the Greeks, and everywhere where their domination extended, they did not think to even disguise the miserly one and cold calculation of speculators egoists, who paid very to themselves, which estimated very out of money, and which did not wonder even if them payments by which they protected their monopoly would carry misery, desolation and mortality among the natives, that without provocation, pretext, they had reduced in subjection by the force of the weapons. For a long time one announced to the world low cupidity mercantile which makes burn, by the Dutchmen, in Moluques, all the grocers, which' they prefer to destroy rather than to allow that their prices weaken on the market of Europe. One also knows their annual forwardings to tear off, in all the islands of the Probe, all the feet of groove, cloves, pepper, and nutmeg who could have escaped their monopoly. But it is especially in the life to sir Stamford Raffles, this virtuous administrator, who succeeded the Dutchmen, initially Java, then with Bengal, and which had then the pain to give to Dutchman this same island of Java, on which it had spread as well benefits, as one can learn all that this miserly and immoral government still allows aujour-d' today, to make move back towards cruelty its industrial subjects in the Indies; which plague, for all the splendid archipelago islands of the Probe, is the Dutch domination, and how much was guilty the minister who, slightly, thoughtless-lies, returned, by the treaty of Vienna, of the million subjects prosperous with the hated masters who oppress them so cruelly. The Dutch government, which made move back towards perhaps cruelty all its possessions in the seas of India, will appear, with the first blow the eye, to have had more success.
in the large colony of the Cape of Good Hope, that it founded,
in 1652, with a handle of Europeans, and which took anjord' today all extension of a great empire, of which them English
seized in 1795, and whom they consequently kept. It was in
1670 only that the Dutchmen bought Hottentots, in the
medium of which they were establish, it district of the Cape,
and that they established Dutch peasants there, 'Boors', to on
sale cultivate and offer fresh provisions to the vessels which
slackened in the Cape, in the crossing between the Indies and
Europe, One should hardly have expected that these 'Boors',
peaceful and industrial farmers of the 'polders' of Holland,
famous for their methodical practices and their slowness,
would change in only one generation in Pasteur people and
warrior, not less quarreler not less frightening with its
neighbors than Mogols and Tartars. But Boors had in front of
them vast regions clean especially with the pasture, and that
the natural ones of the country had already covered with
herds; they had behind them a seaport which offered a rich
person gone for all to them products of pastoral industry; they
were in contact with people for whom one had inspired none
to them sympathy, that one gave up to them to exploit, and on
which their weapons with fire ensured an undeniable
superiority to them. Lastly, in all their quarrels with them,
they were ensured of the powerful assistance of the
government of the Cape, which could, in their deserts, neither
to inspect them, nor to direct them who renonçait with the
claim to judge them, but which was believed always obliged
to defend them. Dutch Boors could only misuse similar
advantages. Region where the Dutchmen had founded their
colony was inhabited by a soft and inoffensive race, men
divided into small tribes, and incompetents to oppose a
resistance effective: it was Hottentots, which one enjoyed to
announce to Europe only for their ugliness, their dirtiness and
their superstitions; however these men had done them the first
most important steps and in civilization, those who make easy
all the others: they were surrounded by ani-
domestic evils, and they cultivated the ground. The man has already exerted a great intelligence when it studied and knew to recognize, in the savage animal, qualities which can it to make useful in domesticity, the affections by which one can gain his obedience; when it disentangled, in plants of the forests, properties useful for the man and means of multiplying them. Pélasges were not so advanced, when the Egyptians and Phéniciens approached among them; Italians, the Gallic ones had hardly taken these first steps, when the Greeks made them do all the others. With benevolence, of persuasion, the good faith, the colonists would have inserted Hottentots in the ways of civilization. Already then their population was very-considerable, today they would have become a powerful nation; but Boors were not believed dependent towards them per any the duties morals; under pretext of adulterate with them, they them misled in their markets, and after having excited them resentment by the fraud, they found, in this resentment even, a pretext to make them the war. Joining by bands from 80 to 100 shepherds, they were thrown on the next one tribe, they killed those which were defended, they reduced some others in slavery; with those which had fled, they removed their cows, which made their only wealthes, and they exposed them also to die of hunger. One could not estimate at less of 200,000 hearts population of Hottentots at the time of the first European establishment; today one does not count any more but 20,000, still the three quarters are wire of Europeans, that their fathers left under the condition of the black mothers who had put them at the day. As of the year 1771, the Dutchmen were only masters of all the region to the mountains snow-covered (Snieew Berghen); they had 100,000 miles squares of extent, or ten times the surface of the United Provinces; but the human race had almost disappeared from this vast territory. After the extermination of Hottentots, and the occupation of their country, the Dutch colonists was in contact with a more quarrelsome race, more plain and more frightening
that we indicate by the name of Kaffirs, Arab to kafir it, non-believer, because this name their is unknown with themselves; Boors attacked them same manner, but they had to gather for that of greater forces, and to make a call with the national militia, which one indicates by the name of a 'Com-mando'.

"It appears to us, says a writer of Edinburg Re-view (1), that Boors were only the conquerors of the south from Africa. The government of the Cape, and that of Holland had done what they had been able to contain them, by theirs threats and their proclamations, and to protect from theirs attacked the aboriginals owners of the ground; all was useless. Boors went ahead with their herds, which increased unceasingly; everywhere where they found pastures, they seized the country, and the colonial government does not have of another party to take to follow them, to claim the sovereignty of their conquests. " The passage of the colony under the English domination does not have been able to make change this system; in spite of them the English are pulled by their Dutch subjects with conquests always wider, with wars increasingly more baited, with expulsion or with the destruction of all the aboriginals. The last war counters the Kaffirs, which the treaty finished from September 17 1835, was announced by wild acts who attracted on European soldiers severe reprobation British government. It extended the border colony to banks of Ky and Keiskamma, him giving a surface at least of 200,000 square miles; but in this immense empire, Europeans do not count that a hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants of their race; the many ones nations which lived it formerly are destroyed, and the small one a number of free blacks that the last treaty has again intermingled with Europeans, will not be long in disappearing from it. History of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope us made pass from the Dutch administration to managed

(1) Flight. LXII, N. CXXVI, p. 457. One the late Caffre war.
tion English, but it did not give us occasion to celebrate an improvement of the fate of the natives. However English are the only ones which felt a true sympathy to people in the medium of which they sent their colonists, who have recognized their rights, which proposed them seriously to protect, to civilize them, to make them happy. This feeling who honours them, one finds it in the government, in the deputies of the nation, the British writers, but one does not find it in the colonists. Those, high with medium of this fight if animated between all the professions, of this emulation to become rich, which characterizes especially England and the century present, embark for the colonies, penetrated of the thought which them first business owes to be to earn money, and considering the universe with its inhabitants, as delivered to their speculation. The cupidity of English does not resemble that of the other people which them out preceded in this career: the Spaniard, the Portuguese, taking the sign for the thing even, thought only of to pile up gold, money; they sought the precious metals with a disordered passion; they seemed enivrer by their possession. The Dutchman was calmer, it joined together the character of the usurer to that of the merchant, it calculated more coldly interests, profits, advantages of monopoly, and what the ruin of others could report to him. The English wants to gain to spend and enjoy. In its career of fortune, it is never deprived of the 'comforts' of life; it combines more than any other the luxury and elegance with cupidity. No government is more dearly been useful, and the officer salary, in India, is equal to the revenue princes, and is employed entire to get to them, not ease, but of the luxury. This elegance holds the English with a longer distance from the natives than all the others European people; it less exposes it to the private fights, with heinous passions, but it leaves, in addition, less of place to sympathy, the friendship, these communications close friends who could hasten progress of the people less advanced. English, especially young people, in their
relations with the soft ones and timid inhabitants of Hindostan, believe invited to retain in obedience and fear 'the black fellows, the native', these rascals of blacks, which could forget the difference in their nature. Such as they are, however, the English are still the best masters that the Indians met. Everywhere where their domination is direct, in this vast continent, it is a real benefit. They restored there safety and justice, they gave to people a feeling of duration and a future, and precisely because they were held separately, because they did not want all to direct, all to change, they let take again with Indian civilization, below them, its natural walk; agriculture is flourishing, arts are cultivated carefully, the population and wealth start again to increase, the intelligence makes progress; and of the European opinions graft naturally and gently on the old thoughts from India; finally, the conquered people learned how to defend the foreign domination, the native army is frightening, and it is little probable that if the way of India were opened to the Russians, they could support the fight there counters the English. The presence of European however exerted on India, not subjected, its disastrous influence, it hastened its demoralization; the adventurers who spread themselves there shake any respect for the opinion there public; all the princes feudatories or close to Society are devoted to a more ashamed armed robbery, and theirs subjects are more unhappy because same fear whether the English inspire to them, and of the tributes or the present that the latter require them. In their possessions in Canada, the English are not more in contact that with the least advanced of the people red race; they are companies of hunters which moved back unceasingly in front of the English colonists, and who have so much decreased in a number, which one can provide the well brought closer time where their race will be entirely destroyed. The immense one continent colonized by the English, and which forms today the United States, was, just as Canada, formerly occupied to the edges of the Atlantic by these tribes of
hunters and of warriors who, not practising any industry, and almost no culture, and not having any animal domestic, asked a fort great space for to live. New population, of European origin, which live this continent, undoubtedly exceeds infinitely in a number the indigenous population which was destroyed; but this advantage is it enough to excuse the usurpation? Americans of our days often present to us, in writings of imagination, the somewhat fantastic table of the virtues, happiness, address, development of all body faculties of the natives of these regions before the arrival of Europeans, without giving to their accounts an absolute belief, us let us must however recognize there that the natives were much more advanced in civilization than they are it today. Their Antique arts are lost; it is advisable to them to better buy Europeans their clothes, their weapons, their ustensils to manufacture them themselves; they are thus baited with destruction of game to get fur skins, theirs only goods, and they increase thus always more their misery; those which remained in the middle of the possessions English almost never wanted to submit itself to agriculture: those which were pushed back towards the occident, constrained with a life always more wandering, lost the small number agricultural practices which they had acquired. French, English and Americans, by involving them in theirs wars, provided them weapons much more fatal than those which they had formerly, so that the flower of theirs warriors was harvested everywhere; but especially Europeans out poisoned all the people half-savages with the brandy. It is a great crime to have offered this disastrous drink with men whom it necessarily owed to abrutir. The red man, who feels humiliated by the superiority white, which is pushed back in indolence while very is agitated and animated around him, which attests sadness of the present, the larger sadness still of the future, does not resist the seduction of one gaiété, of an excitation artificial; it sacrifices all that it has for pro
to clean brandy, it is plunged in more disgusting intoxication; at the time same as it leaves there, it is stunned, it is unable of any work, and it is not long in dying. It is the brandy who depopulates the New-World; it is the brandy which made to perish richest first, the 'Sachem', chiefs of populate, and which prints on the face of the survivors this character of indolence and degradation, so contrary with that former warriors; it is the brandy which, in fifty years perhaps, only one of the aboriginals will not let survive. It is undoubtedly vice, and a misfortune for the nations that drunkenness; but when wine, the beer, cider, the pulque one, are the only drinks which they can reach, their effects are momentary. The brandy, of which manufacture ask chemical knowledge, is a product of civilization; but how the civilized people do not have felt that was for them a narrow duty not to carry with the cruel people of drugs which destroy without return them health? How can they be justified to have allured them by opium in the Indies and China, by the coke in Peru, by brandy in all places: Any colony which carries water-to life with it is necessarily a destroying plague for the area where it is established. The brandy destroys the red race with as well speed, as the United States could have saved the acts of fraud and cruelty by which they have very recently still expelled some people of this race of the territory of the Union. It would have been enough for them to wait a few years still the effect of the poison which they manage. The colonies of the English, in Australasia, were in contact with a later race still than the race red of America, sparser, and, so that one ensures, wilder in its practices. One cannot doubt however that, especially in the penal colonies, the provocations do not come unceasingly from the white to the natives, of the powerful ones with weak, and that destruction nearest, imminent, of all the autochtones of the southern lands is not one crime to be added to those which the system of colonization produced modern.
Some generous men, animated by a recherche spirit, left England at the same time to spread civilization by colonies which have a little more relationship with those of antiquity; because, like those, they seek success only in progress of the natives. They are the missionaries who spread themselves in islands of the South Sea. But perhaps these men, all occupied sky, were they not very specific to teach arts of ground; perhaps very filled of the importance of certain forms of faith, they dealt too little with progress of ideas; perhaps they undertook a transformation too rapid, by wanting that inhabitants of the islands of the Friends became English methodists. The reports/ratios on these missions are admittedly contradictory; however, which appears most certain, it is the introduction into the islands of the uniform, police force, tax, South Sea, of weapons with fire; and of other by a reduction in the race, if rapid, which it is not probable that it can still last during two generations. The French, in their turn, had also colonies; well more, of all the people of Europe it is perhaps them who showed the most sympathy to the people than one name cruel, and which seems, consequently, more clean to civilize them. Because of the inferiority of their navy, the French, in the other parts of the world, always have to fear the hostilities of rivals more powerful than them; also they never could be devoted to it to this arrogance superiority of their bayonets, that with people more neighbors they put so often at the place right, justice and affection; on the contrary, they sought the friendship of their hosts of another race, and they almost always have it obtained. Less attached to their opinions and their prejudices that all other people of Europe, less proud of their nationality, they were most flexible of all to cover foreign manners and practices; their activity, them entrepreneurship, inserted them of all their heart the pleasures as in the occupations of the wandering tribes.
Less covetous than the others, they continued success, it movement, rather than the profit, and when they did not have with their range society of their compatriots, their sociability made them seek with eagerness of the bonds of friendship with the savages. In Canada, Louisiana, one narrow alliance was formed between the French and the men reds; they became companions with the life and death, for the war as for hunting. French names, all like French feelings, found themselves among the most frightening tribes which infested the borders of English America. The French, become half-savage, had learned from the American who' it had not taught to him. It had lent itself to its opinions as with its practices; it had only communicated its weapons and its pleasures to him. rifle and the violin had penetrated in the retirements more savages; and still today, the French villages which find in small number disseminated in the middle of the vast ones colonies of English origin, are recognized by far, not with their opulence, not with the good culture of the surrounding campaigns, but with the accents of joy that one intends some to leave, with the dances of Sunday, where the red men link themselves gaiement with the white men. The violin, like the quadrant of Orphée, would have made more to civilize the wood of America, than the trade or philosophy; it would have taught with the men of the two races to be liked and to meet. The colonists of Canada and Louisiana were farmers; they preserved the character of the most pleasant part and most estimable of the nation. Colonists of the Antilles Frenchwomen, of Guiane, and the islands of France and Bourbon, had left the cities; they belonged to a class more computer, more avid of profit, more sullied with the defects of trade; defects only, because it was in general those with which them misconduct had attracted reverses, which passed to the colonies. They found funds of population there formed of the remainders of the flibustiers and the buccaneers. These savages adventurers, reject of the French nation, had listened their ferocity as much as their cupidity in the foundation of
their dens of corsairs in the Antilles, from where they left to plunder the Spaniards. They were again recruited during a long time by soiled deportees of crimes; because the government considered yet its rich person islands with sugar only like penal colonies. The French did not have however no the share with the extermination of the inhabitants of the Antilles, they had already perished under the Spanish yoke. The first conquerors had transferred them onto the continent, to work with the mines. The French were not so free from crimes towards the African race. In the islands which they had with raising from Africa, they initially made perish, in slavery, all the natives, then they recruited their workshops by draft, and they imported the unhappy ones, removed by the armed robbery in Madagascar, and on the coast of Mozambique, for to continue work to which they refused themselves. The crimes of the draft and slavery more deeply soiled still the Antilles and Guiane. Non-seulement Europeans never civilized these areas by their colonies, but still, after having made some perish all the inhabitants, they renewed of them two or three times, in the course from two centuries, whole population, to do it as much time to perish by a long torment. And however, between all Europeans who were soiled by these horrors, the French were still the least cruel. Less avid than them other growers, less rich, and always living themselves in the middle of their negros, instead of entrusting them to agents businesses, with separate factors of them by the vast Ocean, they are recognized, between the industrial masters, like less cruel. France has nothing any more but one very-small part of its old colonies, and his/her children are not there more in contact with the natives. But the conquest of Algiers comes from he to nowadays open a new career for civilization. The moment came where the European race can to discharge its debt towards mankind, where it can carry freedom, justice, agriculture, philosophy, all them arts of peace, port in port, shore in shore, on
edges of this same Mediterranean that the Greeks covered formerly of their colonies. The Arab race and Moor, with which the French are in contact, was able of highest civilization. Already today it took all the most important steps, all most difficult in this career. It was oppressed a long time, it has much suffered, it will sense more highly the advantages them safety, equity, benevolence. Under one government right, it can in little time to multiply with speed, to cover, marvellous agriculture that it had introduced formerly in Grenade and Valence, an area not less fertile than Spain, and which is hardly less extended. Three times civilization were carried to this same race, in this same region, by Phéniciens and them Carthaginian, by the Romans and the Arabs, and each time it produced its most invaluable fruits there. There are not nine centuries only arts, the letters, sciences, all that makes today the glory of Europe, flowered in Cairoan, while our fathers were plunged in cruelty. French they will be shown more unable to return the order, peace, the happiness and culture of the spirit in the north of Africa what wasn't to it the successors of Mahomet? Instead of to spread will benefits, continue this war of extermination which they already began? By causing them Moors and the Arabs and forcing them with the combat, will burn the cities and the villages, and will push back in the deserts two million and half of inhabitants whom they found in regency of Algiers at the time of their invasion, and which, under one paternal government, can become the seed of one large people? After as well of disastrous examples as us the colonies of Europeans in the last three present centuries, the choice which the French nation is on the point of to make between the career of the benefits and that of the crimes made to shiver, and fear still redoubles when complaints, when denunciations of the acts of plunder and cruelty are accomodated with the public platform by this cry: 'You dishonour the nation!' or when concessions, when the recon-
birth of the rights of the Moor, when peace treaties, who can found the benevolence, are pushed back like acts of cowardice. Ah! that which would dishonour the nation would be that which would show indulgence for the fixed prices oppressors. That which would dishonour it would be that which would prefer with the soft influence of the example, persuasion and benefits, the rights untrue of the conquest and of violence. It is not to transport a few thousands of colonists French, a few thousands of adventurers on the shore of Africa which it acts, it is not to found some farms experienceal in the plain of Mitidja, one to give the value with the actions of some companies of speculators; it is to make return two million and half of subjects, or still of combined better France, Arabs having recovered the hope and the pride of their nationality, in the career of happiness and the improvement; it is to return with any Algerian farmer the safety which it for a long time lost, so that it redemande in these fertile campaigns all produced rich person that his/her fathers asked them formerly, and that at the same time it be lit, directed by sciences of France, which will join him, to teach to him to still make better. It must be the task of France of to raise, to make thrive all these cities, all these villages who were formerly the stay of large people; to revive these arts, this industry, these manufactures, which formerly so many objects of exchange offered to Europeans, and to help the Moors subjected just like the Moors combined to benefit from all advances in knowledge to increase their industry; it must be the task of France, to inoculate civilization Africa has, and not to cauterize it by iron and fire; of to return to the cities and the villages of Mauritania, capacities buildings what claims, old practices of the country, to ensure the former inhabitants of the country the benefits of municipal administration and of a prompt justice, all in the illuminant, for the government and jurisprudence, by the social sciences, cultivated in Europe; of
to renew the previous studies and the brilliant literature Arabic, while putting it in connection with progress of the spirit of the Frank ones; finally, it must be the spot of France to maintain, among the Moslems, the beneficial influence religion of Mahomet, while releasing it from fanaticism coarse which was introduced there by the despotism and ignorance, while making it converge with charity and philosophy Christians, to bring together the men by theirs religious feelings and to point out their fraternity to them, with the place to oppose them ones to the caves. If such could be them fruits of the conquest of Algiers, humanity would have in France an eternal obligation of it, and France would collect some not no glory only, but most important and them more durable of the material advantages.

POSTSCRIPT.
The French government noblement answered the desire that we express here, by the treaty of Tafna, of May 30 1837, with Abd-el-Kader. It gave a great example of moderation, justice, respect for the rights of one populate foreign; and its control is all the more méritoire by seeking peace, that two oppositions, by spirit of party, colonists by cupidity, the very whole nation perhaps, by love of a false glory. led to a control opposite. The war against the regency of Algiers was right: it was a government of corsairs who had put themselves apart from law of the nations, which insulted Europe by their armed robberies, and whose existence should not have been tolerated if a long time. But the Turkish militia of Algiers, which controlled the city and tyrannized the province, was not
tion Moor. The victory over the Turks did not melt one right for the French on the country where the Turks raised one tribute. The yoke was broken, the Moors returned in their independence; their joy, ensures one, had been lives, at the time-quat' at the time of the catch of Algiers they had believed to see reappearing their nationality. This race, which took the first steps in the instruction and the civilization, and which showed formerly how much it is perfectible, were ready to enter the career improvements and to stick to France, to which it would have had largest of the benefits, that to have reversed an odious tyranny. It was a great fault of having regarded the catch of the capital as equivalent to the conquest kingdom, or victory over the Turks like a defeat Moors. The fact was not more in favour of the French that right. The country which bears on the charts the name of kingdom of Algiers had not been conquered, not even traversed by the French; the Moors had not been overcome, they had not even fought. But it is not the moment to raise of the faults passed when the present is worthy praises. The feeling of the Moors had not been known, had not been included/understood in France; and the difference in religion, to language, and manners, is enough to explain this ignorance, that many other causes still could maintain. When the Moors organize themselves however, when they put at their head a skilful and generous chief, when they make to see that they are in a position to control themselves, when they claim their independence and the memories of their antique glory, all the generous hearts must be linked with them, and assist their wishes the people poor, weak, dispersed, who resists the usurpation of the fort. The war started under the most disastrous auspices; it took a character which would not have been long in becoming atrocious; and already one had managed to question if one did not have to propose the extermination of the Moor, that it was not enough to subjugate, which would always resist, which would always contemplate revenges. The war of Algiers could mine slowly and during one
continuation of years finances and the army of France; but especially, and one could not think of it without quivering, the war of Algiers could have as a result only to extend desolation on an immense region, to make move back the nation Moor towards cruelty, and to leave between it and Europeans seeds of an eternal hatred. The treaty of Tafna returns to the Moors their existence; it them gives about in this relation of recognition and of friendship where they had believed to be after the fall of their oppressors. Undoubtedly much of seeds of distrust, of jealousy, and perhaps also of resentment, remain in their hearts; one will need address and cares for to entirely regain their benevolence; severe will be needed vigilance on the French colonists who, bearing in theirs relations with their neighbors the pride of a great nation. will undoubtedly give more than one cause of offence. But yes peace can be maintained for the first years, if relations of good vicinity start to be formed, French sociability will operate soon its true conquests, the influence of the example and the instruction will act on the Moors, and the colony of Algiers will become civilizing, as were to it the colonies of antiquity. It is a happiness for it which its borders were tightened; they still exceed much what French colonists can populate or to put in culture, which they can even do to cultivate in.liaison.with them by African sharecroppers. It is on this territory limited around Algiers and Oran, that France must direct from now on its civilizing force, not to open there a field of companies to speculators avid, or with companies of shareholders, who would carry there play and the agiotage instead of agriculture and of the trade, but to multiply in the campaigns the workers there industrial, in the cities sober middle-class men, modest and active, everywhere a population which is fixed on ground, which does not come there to seek fortune, but to make fortune country, which brings arts of France there, the experience of France, sedentary manners of France. and which becomes
for Africa a model colony, a school of teaching mutual, from where sciences, manners and the laws will be spread in neighbors suitable for culture, and eager to advance on their side in the career of civilization.
SECOND SECTION.
COMMERCIAL WEALTH AND MEN THAT IT MAKES LIVE.
THIRTEENTH ESSAY.
ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY HUMAN.

None social sciences has, in the course of the last century, been cultivated with more zeal than the political economy; none can present more names illustrated by the extent knowledge or the nobility of the character; none count among its writers so much deep thinkers and of philosophers. If it is one, Adam Smith, that we considered more particularly like our master, us in let us can name several that we honour ourselves to call our friends, several who join together in our eyes, and in their spirit and in their heart, all that must inspire the respect. It is thus not without a feeling of distrust and fear that we advance by an absolutely different way of their, that we develop successively a system who also deviates from all, those which they followed. economists do not give birth to the events from the world industrialist, they are satisfied to observe them and to explain them. We thus do not allot its sufferings to them; but
difference between, they is that, pilot them and us like us of a 
very new direction which the spirit follows today human, of 
an industrial heat which seems to seize all them States, of an 
eagerness to innovate, improve, with pro - duire in all arts, all 
the applications of the forces human, they applauded it of all 
their heart, they called all latent energies to assist them, 
compete them ones with the others to go always more 
quickly; and us, on the contrary, we felt only alarm of this 
movement which involves society; we announced the 
annoying ones consequences in the present; we announced 
some more annoying in the future, and we called all them 
thinkers, all people of good, all friends of humanity, to help us 
to retain, delay the social tank, who, in his accelerated race, 
appears to us to precipitate towards the abyss. An appreciation 
so different from the effects of the movement social for us the 
consequence of the spirit is not of system, because we started 
by adopting fully principles of the dominant school, and it is 
only slowly, pulled by the facts, the observations, that us them 
gave up one after the other. We were struck sufferings of 
society, at the time same where his marvellous progress was 
celebrated. More occupied of history than them other 
economists, with range, consequently, to compare more times 
present with spent, we sought which were those which 
collected the fruits of all the wonders arts which took place 
under our eyes, of this activity dazzling which multiplies at 
the same time the man power, the capital, means of transport, 
communications between all the universe, of this fever which 
does all to us to live so quickly, of this competition which 
does all to us to work to supplant us the ones the others. We 
sought, and while we recognized in our century the triumph of 
the things, the man appeared to us more badly divided than it 
had been never. The first object presented at our admiration 
was progress manufactures; it is by him that the industry of 
our century differs completely from that of the last centuries;
it is by the application of sciences to useful arts, that the man nowadays acquired a so great empire on nature, that it has constrained all the elements to carry out a human work; that, while it obliges machines driven by the wind, water, the steam, to show address and precision, it can to exempt the workman of any training, it can employ children as of the six years age, and to ask them nor intelligence nor moral fibre; it is in manufactures that capital higher than what never employed industry, are joined together in only one hand, directed by only one head: it is in manufactures that thousands of men, of women, children assembled for the interest of only one master obey only one will. We looked at indeed, and our first feeling has been that of the astonishment and admiration, for a so great development of the human power; we recognized at the same time the promptitude and perfection of a work who would have seemed more marvellous with our fathers than work of these enchanters whom they if were laid out to believe; but when we wondered then who enjoys all that; when, diverting our glances of the things to carry them on the men, we wanted to see the happy ones created by this so extraordinary progress of industry, we started to recognize how much this progress is fallacious. Who are the happy ones whom manufacture does? Undoubtedly, it should be asked above all for England, because this country has so exceeded all the others in the industrial career, its capital is so immense, its so sophisticated machines, its knowledge so immediately employed with the service of useful arts, that its successes caused the jealousy and the emulation of all the other nations. It is still necessary, in England, to ask before very other the cotton manufacture. This manufacture, which provides only half of exports from England, four times more than that of wool, eight time more than that of fabric, twelve times more than that of hardware; this manufacture, which employs fifteen hundreds thousand workmen of any age and any sex, and which is consi-
dérée from now on like the firmest support of prosperity British. Who are the happy ones? Ah! admittedly, it is not the fifteen hundred and thousand workmen whom it makes live. We will be invited later to emphasize some of the details of system of the factories, to raise some of its horrors such as they were exposed in the various investigations ordered by the Parliament. We will see whereas these unhappy workmen who live in an always heated atmosphere above 80° from Fahrenheit, or 22 of Réaumur, always impregnated cotton particles, always corrupted by oil and other mephitic emanations, reach seldom the forty years age, and that at this age they are almost always congédiés like not being more specific to work; that they have, for the majority, out-of-date before time in misery, dirtiness and the vice one; that principal work is made by unhappy children of the age from six to thirteen years, other time sold by the deposits of begging, today sold by their parents; sold, we say, because their work is forced by punishments, and the wages are not for them; that all developments of the intelligence as all the pleasures of the life are prohibited to them by one application without slackening; that one can only hold them waked up by the blows, because of the tiredness to which they succumb; that one made them work up to fourteen hours per day and more; that a statute of the Parliament obtained for their protection, finally their work reduced to twelve hours per day, but that its beneficial intentions were frustrated by the acceleration of the machines; however, this one is such as, while the child who, to slip by, is obliged to follow the movements of its trade, made in 1815 eight miles per day, it was obliged into 1832 to make twenty of them and even twenty-five. This continual walk, joined to work, has on health them the most disastrous effects. Reports/ratios of the doctors on diseases and the mortality of the workmen employed in cotton manufactures make shiver. Far thus wondering if the cotton manufacture makes the happiness of the fifteen hundreds thousand English workmen who are employed there, one must rather
to ask whether no pecuniary advantage can never compensate for a nation the sacrifice of fifteen hundred and thousand individuals, whose health is destroyed, whose life is short cut of half, whose education is removed, to make place with a work without slackening, whose intelligence is choked, of which the morality is corrupted, in which it love even fathers for their children is sacrificed to cupidity (1). But if the happy ones that makes manufacture are not them are workmen, they perhaps the masters? We will observe initially that these happy is not numerous: in 1835, one counted between England and Scotland twelve hundred and sixty two workshops of the cotton manufacture. It is necessary some much that the number of the owners either so large; majority of them, indeed, have several workshops. But we do not stop with this consideration; one estimates to 34 sterling million the total capital of the manufacture of cotton; that supposes that each owner made an advance from 26 to 27 thousand pounds sterling on average by workshop. nation should not be destined for great sacrifices for to get ease with those which have already similar fortune. But in the fact those which start with so small capital, with 600,000 frank of France, are sure to be ruined: the monopoly of wealth is irresistible in manufactures. Way of fortune is led to those which start with a few hundred thousand pounds sterling, it is closed with all the others. And registers commercial attest that the number of the bankruptcies in manufacture of cotton, was unceasingly increasing with the new inventions, each one destroyed the value of the capital fixed in the preceding inventions. But the happy ones that manufacture makes, say us one then, they are not the producers, they are the consumers. The first work to get pleasures with the others; the more they make of work, the more they do it with

(1) One can see a summary of these horrors in Quarterly Review, N° 114; The Factory System p. 396.
good market, and more these pleasures are abundant. Thus manufacture cotton employs two thousand times more matter first, it makes two thousand times more work than it did not make in 1791, at the same time it sells its products six or seven times cheaper than it did not make then, and cleanliness, the health of the poor consumer must increase with the abundance of linen put consequently at its range. Extremely well; but if such is the advantage of manufactures, one nation must wish not to have itself of it, but that others have some for it. In 1833, England consumed for 12,879,693 pounds sterling of products of its manufactures of cotton, it exported some for 18,459,000 pounds. It is thus it which made the sacrifice of the intelligence, of morality, of health, happiness, the life, fifteen hundreds thousand of its citizens, for this abstract benefit of the consumers, of which it reserves only the two fifths, while it gives up of them the three fifths with foreigners, who do not have any moral sacrifice to make to acquire it. With the remainder, a thorough examination of this benefit of consumer, makes some soon disappear the importance. Enter the thatched cottage of poor English, then in that poor French, Italian, German, of which practices are not still changed by the introduction of the products manufactures. Which has the most linen? Admittedly it is necessary that it is the English; hardly it has pairs as many cloths that the German, the French, the Italian, in the same one condition, in A of dozen pairs; it is the same for any other species of linen. But the value of this trousseau is lower still than its quality. Each pair of cloths of hemp which the good French housewife spun is worth four time, six times, the pair of cotton cloths that the housewife English bought: the wool clothes of the first are worth in the same way infinitely more than the clothes of cotton of the second; if you sell the furnishing and garde-robe of the first, you will draw ten times and twenty times from them the value that you will draw from the second. Who gains with this difference? it is not the poor one: society is assembled so that sound
work does not bring anything beyond its subsistence to him; that it eat potatoes instead of bread, which it carries of let us haillons instead of clothes, and its wages will be regulated immediately on what is enough for him to live. It will have lived well in one case, badly in the other; its skins will be worth something in the first, nothing in the second. It is never him which benefit from its economies, sometimes it is the rich person who employs it, more often it is not nobody. Thus our first research, as soon as we wanted us to occupy of the men and either things, have us fact of feeling all that there was the fallacious one in a prosperity initially if dazzling. We are consequently endeavoured to draw attention to the false road which followed industrialism; we showed the machines removing bread with the craftsmen, universal competition, reducing legitimate benefit of any work, exuberant production choking the poor one instead of him to get abundance, and we were consequently accommodated by a clamour almost universal. One reproached us for being enemy lights, enemy of progress: one asked us with derision how we could believe in a surplus of production, while such an amount of poor was in the need; one believed to answer us with tales of children, and making appear a giant who the force of the wind represented, the another force of water, the another force of the steam, one asked to us whether we would advise with the man to be enough easily deceived to refuse their assistance, when they were offered to make a human work. Our answers would have fact little impression, time answered for us. Industrialisme went, the production continued to increase, but with it also the distress of the producer increased. The crises of manufactures reproduced formerly with boils of a cycle of a few years, today it lasts with pains a few months, a few weeks: that one opens with chance some English newspaper daily that it is, one is sure to find there the details of an appalling misery, in turn in one or the other of the manufacturing districts. trade seems a patient in a state of burning fever,
one is astonished and one is frightened extraordinary speed of
its pulsations (1). We in turn walked our glances on other
economic wonders of our century; everywhere we saw the
progress of the things, everywhere the suffering of the men
none of these inventions if praised could not support this so
simple question: where are the happy ones that it makes? How
much wonders one did not allot with the system of the banks;
that wonders one did not wait creative capacity of

(1) Perhaps some examples are they necessary to render
comprehensible which price this activity extraordinary of
manufactures is bought. manufacture silk trade is one of those
where successes of the English, thanks to the perfection of
their machines, were more surprising; they succeeded in
reselling the factories of France and Italy which exploited
silks of their own ground. But the alternatives of extreme
activity and stagnation are more frequent in this manufacture
than in all the others. For the working life, employment
contractors traverse the campaigns counties where the farming
population overflows, of Sulfolk for example, and they urge
of the very whole families labourers to leave the agricultural
work for that of the workshop. But soon the obstruction is
felt; the silk fabrics fall from 20 to 30 percent of their value;
then it mill is closed with the improvist: the workmen are
congédiés, and as they have often three hundred miles to
make to turn over on their premises; like more the parish
where one breadth called is not held to assist them, and that
that from where they left does not want any more to recognize
them, one saw some in Congleton, in Staffordshire, several to
perish of misery. (HERALD., march 4th 1837; GALIGNANI,
7 march 1837.) In Nottingham they are manufactures of
bottom and those of laces which are supposed to make the
prosperity of the city; but during the three first month of this
year they almost suspended any work, and on April 26 a troop
of two thousand congédiés workmen visited successively
them shops of the bakers and the butchers to request their
charity. (GALIGNANI, April 29, 1837, n° ° 6906.) In
Sheffield and Birmingham, it is the trade of metals which is in
suffering. There was not in Birmingham, in thirteen, June less
thousand workmen without work. One initially saw them
traversing the streets in bands of four or five thousand; later,
they judged wiser to divide in small troops of twenty or thirty
individuals; they will strike with all the doors; the hosts are
called, one of the workmen states to them that they are
without work, that their wives and their children die of
hunger, and they request their charity. But which charity
would not be impotent to relieve so much difficulties at the same time! (GALIGNANI, June 12, 16 and 23, Nos 6943, 6947 and 6955.) However all these manufactures put together do not approach importance of that of cotton; also no distress can be compared with that of the fifteen hundred and thousand workmen whom cotton should make live.
credit? Indeed, it was a phenomenon worthy of admiration that this substitution dice produced of the rags, one of cheapper matters on which arts of the man are exerted with the precious metals par excellence, that this great economy main road, that this facility acquired in the transmission, values at long distances, that this market capital always opened, that this eagerness of lenders to be sought of all shares of the borrowers, that it to be able given to not very rich people, to offer the use of wealth with which would like it. It has been twenty years that us let us be endeavoured to render comprehensible all that industry banks had the dangerous one for public fortune; how, instead of nothing to create, it only borrowed a national property, currency circulating in the State, and in the place only one not very sure pledge left. We had against us it interest of the moment of all the bankers and the interest of all those, which wanted to borrow them: we do not have listened been, and each day, still this year, we have considering creating new banks. But where are the happy ones what made this system? They are not the traders who, misusing of a credit offered under too easy terms, are launched in companies above, of their force, and have fact bankruptcy; they are not the capitalist traders, of which these adventurers came to spoil the trade, in substituent them chances of the play to those of the legitimate traffic; they are not them bankers themselves, because one could indicate none speculation which reversed a greater number of old fortunes: and of imprudence in imprudence we walked until the current crisis, which starts with the embarrassment of merchants and of the bankers in America, but which shakes trade of the world, and which threatens of an absolute ruin banks which one had so far admired prudence. We could follow the other economic inventions from our century, and to ask in the same way each one: where are the happy ones that it makes. But we do not wish to raise at the same time a so great mass of prejudices, we feel it
disadvantage to tackle any whole of the received opinions, interests and hopes. Also, we believed to have to accustom our readers with walk that we propose to follow, before seeking the fundamental principles of science. We thus stuck to oldest, with most important, or rather most necessary of divisions human work, agriculture; to include/understand by it the economic organization of all society. In effect, the farmer is, between all the men who work, that which most clearly sees the destination of sound work in front of him; it can do without everyone, nobody can do without him. When it delivers its produce with the trade, their value exceeds that of the products of all other industries; but it does not have itself not need for is traded, its existence does not depend on none exchange that it has to make with the men, its subsistence is ensured by the exchange alone that it makes with the ground. Thus, its condition precedes all the complications by society; it is simple, and the influences which cause its happiness or its misfortune are easy to include/understand. Agricultural wealth however, like all the others, excited cupidity has; the condition of the farmer, like all the others, attested oppression. We sought which had been the consequences and in cruel times, and in civilized times; we are however preferably attached to the last, like richer in instruction for us. The spirit of the industrialism is in effect also entered agriculture nowadays, one considered it like a manufacture; an economist celebrates A even definite by these words: “A manufacture of products rural which thrives all the times that they obtains or more products for the same expenses, or the same products for less expenses.” But it is essence of the system manufacturer to centralize, confuse the interest of master with that of society; the manufacturing master or farmer counts the maintenance of his workmen among the expenses: the first economy which it proposes is that of the lives hu-
maines which it employs. We studied this system in several of the countries which adopted it, and asked we to him the happy ones that it made. It is of England that us the impulse comes today in almost all social sciences; England goes at the head of the industrialism; it is it also which, with more of zeal and intelligence, applied its principles and its calculations with agriculture; it is it which shows us in his perfection the system of the large farms. Indeed, when one only stop its glances on the things, it is impossible to contemplate them without admiration. Nowhere agriculture is not improved any more, nowhere all its instruments are heard better, its buildings, its bodies of farm are in better state, its more beautiful races of cattle, its pro-products more perfect fields; nowhere even the beauty picturesque is not joined together better with the utility. And though England, according to the system which it adopted, sought to obtain these splendid products with less men who was possible for him; though it reduced its population agricultural with a proportion lower than any other country of world; though its nation is at the same time the nation manufacturing par excellence, the agricultural interest is still for it the first of the interests. The farming population is still more than those of all manufactures from England joined together; the value of the rural products of England is still higher than that of all the others products. Without attaching an importance in addition to measurement to statistical reports/ratios, we will borrow only this one with an English economist: The annual value of the products rural intended for the only food of the man in Great Britain increased, of the year 1755 at the year 1835, of soixante-douze sterling million. This increase alone and thus equal to more twice total value of the products manufacture of cotton, with more than three times interest national debt (1).

But when, deferring our glances of the things on men, we seek the happiness produced by this large agricultural prosperity, when we ask where are the happy ones that this system created, the same phenomenon is represented with us. The great mass of the nation is descended from condition of peasant to that of day laborer; it lost all to the property, very guaranteed future leaves; it is obliged to resort unceasingly to live with the help of the tax of the poor; and these helps are granted more today only under conditions of captivity, separation of the husbands of with the women, of penitentiary mode, which give them all characters of a punishment. At the same time, both other classes of the nation which divide the fruits of agriculture, the farmers and the owners, complain about their ruin, they ask great cries protective laws, monopolies; they state to be able to support competition foreign corns; and indeed, much of farmers go bankrupt, much owners voluntarily give up the quarter or the third of their tenant farming. Lastly, in same time, of frequent fires of harvests and of rural houses announce irritation and fermentation deaf person of the days laborer of agriculture, and the precarious state of all society. It is time now to seek an explanation of so much facts which appear contradictory, to discover where find the disappointment of the system of the industrialism, to show how it gave up the substance to run afterwards shade, to substitute finally for chrematistic, or science abstracted from wealthes, true political economy, or knowledge of the rule of the house and the city. This research necessarily brings back for us to the concepts most abstract of science, with the definitions most disputed, a whole logomachy that we have a long time sought to prevent, but that it is necessary to approach finally to show how much it is fallacious; that it is necessary to approach, but without hope to be much clearer than our precursors. Also, after having indicated the point where we believe that they
are mislay, we will give up these abstractions to return again in the field of the facts. Up to now we dealt with the goods which produces ground, and of the men who share them. These goods are useful, are necessary to those same which give birth to them; as their value is 'intrinsic' with righter title as those that one indicates commonly by this denomination; it is independent of any exchange, it is former to any trade. But we now arrive at the goods that the industrialist product for the use of others, and not for its own use, with the goods which start to be useful for him only for the moment where it exchanges them, which requires consequently the trade or the art of the exchanges. We included/understood them under the name of commercial wealth, and we indicate all the goods thus who are appreciated only by their exchangeable value. What the value, however? The goods do not have not an actual value independent of the fluctuations of the market? The goods which are most necessary to the life, air, are water, fire for example, without value? It is here that presented itself at the spirit of the economists a chaos, a confusion of ideas of which it was impossible to them to leave. II does not have there not one of them which did not give a new definition of the word value, which did not work to avoid the inconsistency of not to know to distinguish what is useful for the man and what is to him useless; who did not analyze separately, and the price of production, and the price of affection, and the monopoly price, and it nominal price, and the real price, and many other modifications still which was used only to make the concepts more confused. We remember to have seen, in an Italian newspaper, a score of definitions of the words borrowed prices and value with the various masters of science and compared. II y in did not have two of identical, not two which returned precisely the same idea. We will not try to be more precis that we were not it formerly, or more happy that our masters. We will take the word of value such as the use gives it to us, with the degree of ambiguï t-piece which him remain attache. We will notice only that there is one of
its directions, the etymological direction, on which there remains none doubt, it is the exchangeable value, it is the equality of a thing to another thing, for which the trade is ready with to exchange. One, with reason, admired in the trade fraternity that it established between the men, the activity with which it made contribute to the common utility, the concepts of justice and of equality which it spread; but one did not notice with which point it removes with wealthes their primitive character of utility, character which imagination however always continues with their to attach, and how it does not leave them any more that suits them them exchangeable. It is the opposition between the usual value each one has the feeling in oneself, and the value exchangeable to which the trade reduced any thing, who makes impossible to give a satisfactory definition of these various words, price, value, wealth. But effects of the ambiguity do not stop there. It is confusion between the evaluation of a usual value and that of a value exchangeable, which is at the bottom of the disappointment of the systems modern of chrematistic. As long as the men work to satisfy theirs proper needs, and that they exchange between them only their superfluity, the utility is for them the true measurement of the values, and the increase in quantity of a useful thing is an unquestionable increase in wealth. The farmer who eats his corn itself will never hesitate to say that it is twice richer with twenty corn bags than with ten bags. It will persist with to count thus, or about, although it sells one or two bags of this corn which it is to have of too this year, with one price lower than that to which it could have sold them the year passed. The housewife who spins and weaves her fabric itself will count also that it is twice richer with twenty ells that with ten, although it is able to him to be demolished of one or two of these ells at a different price. It is the primitive state, the patriarchal state of society; the trade exists well then, but it did not absorb it very whole; it is only exerted on the surplus of the products of each one, and not on what con
stitute its existence. He leaves with wealthes their character essential to satisfy the needs for the man, and it does not prevent not that when they increase in quantity, they do not increase precisely as much in value. But the condition of our century, character of our economic progress, it is that the trade took care of distribution of the totality of the annually produced wealth and that it consequently absolutely removed its character of useful value, to let remain only that of exchangeable value. As professions, that them trades made place with manufactures, the totality of theirs products was delivered to the trade, so that it distributed them; when the large farms were substituted for small, consumption of the farmer in rural products was if small in proportion of the quantity which it was to sell, that almost the totality of the fruits of agriculture became part of the commercial wealth. Consequently the usual value vanished for the farmer as for the manufacturer, the exchangeable value is remained only in its place. Consequently also it was victim, and the public and the philosophers were victims with him of an extremely natural illusion; it believed to increase its products when it increased their quantity or their utility, while in the truth, as their exchangeable value was always the same one, it had not made any progress. The farmer who had improved his agriculture, not not only, but with all its province, so that its corn he returned from now on eight for one instead of four, believed to have doubled its revenue; it had changed nothing however there, because the measurement which it sold before eight ecus was not worth any more than four. This mécompte appeared accidental to him; it in showed the seasons, the foreign trade, the lack of protection government; it should only have shown some nature even of the trade. This depreciation, because abundance of the products, is much more sensitive still in manufactures. Hundred cotton fabric alders are sold today for a price which would not have gotten any ten alders thirty years ago. A aug- should not be seen there
mentation multiplies by ten this part of the national wealth; the ten ells of formerly were equal to the one hundred of aujourd'hui today. When the exchangeable value is not increased, it trade account the increase in the quantity for nothing. As of the moment that the trade seized all them produced work of the man, any production was subordinated to only one great circumstance which determines some value, it is the sale or the flow. Products sound not still of the positive quantities, the aliquot portions of wealth; as long as they are between the hands of the producer or of the tradesman distributor; the sale alone with that which in A need to consume them, and which is in a position to give to get them a compensation higher than what in other offered very, determines their value. The sale them give the character of wealth, and the sale, we sought to render comprehensible it in one of our first essays, can be carried out in a durable way that by the exchange of annual product counters the annual revenue; it is thus, in end of account, this revenue which determines the true value of the goods annually produced, and if quantity of these goods increasing without the revenue against which they must be exchanged also increases, their value will not increase. The true office commercial is to exchange the product social the social revenue, or the product of the kind counters human its revenue counters. When it sticks to this distribution, it renders service to all those between which it is established exchanges, and it deserves on its side a remuneration, one commercial profit which could not it miss. But it is quite difficult with the tradesman to have so broad sights, or of to be formed an idea so right of its functions. II does not think in general that to adapt the greatest part which it can of revenue, in exchange of the products it has. Each producer seeks to resell his fellow-members, to attract by the good market the purchaser with onself preferably with some other who will not be able to sell. Its operation takes, consequently, it character of a play and either of a trade; its profit is
random, or founded on there loss which makes another, and not more mercantile, or founded on the advantage of all; and the consequence necessary, inevitable of the resale by some, it is the obstruction for all, or the arrival on the market of a quantity of goods higher than the needs, and which will be able to be sold only at a loss. The obstruction is it plague commercial, and the current state of society, when all the products are delivered to the trade, when all another value made place with the exchangeable value, the obstruction is one of the large plagues of humanity. We hope to have made foresee the cause at least sufferings which afflicted society recently, of obstruct, impoverishment realities which could agree with an open increase in wealthes, prosperity for the things, and adversity for the men. production higher than the revenue which must be exchanged against it, has all appearances external of wealth; compete with between the merchants to resell itself present the image of the activity and the prosperity of the trade, during perhaps that they have death in the heart, and the obstruction, most frightening of the plagues for the producer, announces itself by all the characters of abundance. But us let us be proposed here to make foresee this cause of disappointment, to make have a presentiment of that what seemed a contradiction in term, misery growing with abundance, could have reality, to get one thus rest with the spirit, which almost always refuses its attention when it sees that one wants to lead it to too contrary results with his first concepts. We hasten to return to more tangible matters and which require less application of spirit. More we attested of sorrow to make us a precise idea of wealth, to define what was the value or the price of each thing; more we found contradictions in the preceding definitions, and more we believe this fallacious study: wealth is something only when one considers it compared to the man, wealth is the expression of the relationship of the things with the man; but wealth
considered abstractedly, wealth without relation with the man who consumes it or with the man who produces it, is a meaningless word. However the science which one names commonly economy policy, though the name of Chrematistic is its true designation, proposed for goal the study of wealth taken abstractedly, the study of its nature, the causes of sound increase or in its destruction. We reserve the name of political economy being studied of the social organization of the man in his relationship with the things, of the man who consume wealth and of the man who produces it; it is not not only one distinction of words, we are not satisfied not to give in the name of political economy a direction more extended, and which includes/understands in oneself the chrematistic one, us let us look at the last like prosecutor a shade without reality; and we believe that, of disappointments in disappointments, it leads us to the precisely opposite goal with that which it proposes. All the system of chrematistic can be summarized in two words: to increase wealth it is necessary to produce much, to produce with few expenses. To propose to produce much, it is not to take account of the distinction between goes them useful and the exchangeable value, it is often to increase the quantity without increasing wealth, it is, while pushing continual development of industry, to attract on industry most frightening of the plagues, obstruction. To propose to produce with few expenses, it is the second council of chrematistic, which loses the man of sight by continuing wealth, and it is more disappointing still. Society, while conforming to it, went of economy in economy; it made an effort to to produce all the objects intended for the trade with less possible work; it cut off consequently with all the professions as many men as it was possible of their saving some; it forced at the same time those which it left them with to give more labour for less reward. It worked to nourish the man in the most economic way, thus it initially substituted the bread for the meat, later
potato to the bread; in the same way it cut off from clothings, and the low price of the cotton fabrics allows the man and especially with the woman of the people to get dressed with ten times less expenditure than they did not make formerly. One has persuaded with poor that trousseaus, great provisioning of linen, copper utensils, furnishings of some price, the jewels, were ruinous advances, capital which it left idle without profit, and one him made carry so far the economy, that all its furnishing and its garde-robe, all that it has in the world, is not worth not three months of its work. Time was saved like the expenditure; one made all the communications prompter, and the trade serves a great empire also quickly that it served only one city formerly; but consequently it was easy to render comprehensible that half, three quarters of old intermediaries commercial were useless, that it consumer would gain to address himself directly to large merchant of the capital, which would send all to him of which it would have need by the return for the mail, which one thus could to remove all the wholesale dealers and in detail of the provinces and with them majority of the tradesmen; that economy was not to stop with the people, but whom one could to also remove all the freight depots, all the funds of store which, in the old system, were spread by all the State; that one was to propose to arrive with a so large activity in the traffic, that goods would be hardly detached from the trade of the manufacturers who it would be delivered to the consumer, bus thanks to the swiftness of the cars to vapor, it would spend less hours on the road than it did not spend weeks formerly there. Precious metals with their turn were the object of a similar economy. The chrematistic one made feel at society the abuse to employ some for a so great value to manufacture currency: the ecus are replaced by banknotes, and, with the statement of more than one philosopher, silverware should be replaced by plate, and all vain ornaments of church by a worship more spiritualized. And here, us are assured, like a nation enri-
chût by the economy, as it grows rich while achieving much work to few expenses, because then all its houses, or about, could be empty, all its shops and its stores could be empty, all the tanks of its carriers could be empty, all the purses of the citizens could be empty also and works it of all being able to be fact with half less work, half of the labourers, half of the craftsmen will be able to be exempted to live, the different one half will live with half price of what it did formerly. How thus it arrives that those which do not want to seek that wealth, present to us, instead of his image, it more appalling destitution? It is that one can succeed in getting along in political economy only as much as one unceasingly fixes his glances on the advantage or wellbeing of the man. Those on the contrary which claim to go back of the man to the essence of the things, arrive well quickly not to more distinguish the goal towards which they direct efforts of society. This goal, which seemed to them initially a positive thing, revêt, more they approach some, a form increasingly more vaporous, more insubstantielle, and it finishes by to dissipate in the vagueness of the air. We consider the political economy, the rule of the house and of the city, as being primarily science government. Undoubtedly, like object of meditation and of study, it is accessible year ordinary citizen, but it is always solved in councils given to the social capacity, in exposure of the plan of control or influence which will be it more advantageous at society. One could say that the council popular given nowadays to the government, it is to support continuously the development of industry, it is towards this goal which one wants to make converge all his studies, all its influence in political economy. But, according to us, it is higher than it is necessary for him to make carry its glances, it is on the unit of what constitutes national happiness, on reports/ratios, on the proportions which must exist between various conditions, between the various classes citizens, for that all between are helped, that all provide for the needs
from/to each other, that all link the hope with the feeling safety, that all finally, by the development of their energy, can meet the best conditions for happiness, can enjoy the activity in calms. Each one symptoms isolated from prosperity can be misleading; one increase or in population, or production, or export, or of currency, only the nation does not prove that is to say happy, not even as it grows rich; it is the proportion, it is the right relationship between this progress which preserves at all wellbeing; just like it is the proportion between various professions which gives to society strength, health of a body quite made up. When, penetrated of this idea of the mutual reports/ratios enters the professions, we contemplate society, and which we seek which must be its economic organization for happiness of all, we recognize easily that the base of the social structure can be assured only when the body peasants on whom it rests is many and happy. Without doubt, the State needs the food which the farmers will make to be born, but it needs more still the farmers themselves. No class, if its happiness is ensured, if is attached with the law and order, because perpetuity is combined marvelously with its condition, and it asks the order the guarantee fruit of its work, until the most distant times. No class has as much love for the country, of which it takes its name; none will show more value for to defend the fatherland, because the nature even of its work strengthen its health and exerts its strength and its courage. It is necessary thus to wonder, not not with which saving in arm one will be able to achieve his work, but, on the contrary, under which conditions one will be able to call a population more many in the fields, to retain there and to make happy there by abundance. The social order can ensure the peasants more happiness in the present, more safety in the future, than with any other class among the men who work their arms. It would be a quite narrow manner and well distort to consider them, to see in them only one
means of creating wealth. They are a goal, on the contrary, one of the great goals of society; and a happy distribution wealth should be only one means of ensuring their number, their happiness, and their attachment with the fatherland. After the farmers, the class most essential with well-being nation is that of the ground owners, of those that one names, in much country, the gentlemen countrymen. Too much often undoubtedly this class is allotted the property of the totality of the grounds of the State; then it is sovereign rising of the ground, and mistress to expel some who it wanted; then still it believed that its utility was the only goal of agriculture, and that its profit Net was even thing that national profit. This error, in which its pride and its cupidity involved it, always was fatal with the nation, and almost always with itself. The role social of the owners, it is of living intermingled with peasants to civilize them and spiritualize them, in some left. The life of the fields develops in them, as in good peasant, health, strength, courage, love of the order and love of the fatherland. Ease, the leisure and education put moreover at their range the intelligence, knowledge, with the feeling of human dignity and the love freedom. When the country aristocracy does not maintain with the peasants that reports/ratios of benevolence, good vicinity or of association, it communicates its virtues to them and its lights, it directs them to the service of the fatherland, it them fact of taking part in the influence of sciences on agriculture, it civilizes their manners, it inspires to them more by the tastes elegant; it makes thus, of all the inhabitants of the campaigns, a homogeneous whole, linked by the affection and the confidence, which the nation will make strong to the war for its defense, thriving inside by a consumption and a reproduction abundant to which all take share. But yes the territorial aristocracy enters in fight with the peasants for to grow rich with their costs, if it oppresses them, if it them impoverishes, if it turns sour them, if it is obliged to disarm them, because it is defied them; if it separates from them,
either by widening by pride the social distance, or in giving up the fields for the cities or the capital, it does not fill any the functions for which it was instituted it does not exert on the great number any influence advantageous neither moral, nor intellectual: far from raising them peasants, it degrades them; far from aguerrir the nation, it weakens and endangers it by an internal discord; far from providing the trade with consumers, it ruins cities because it impoverishes the campaigns. Health society thus claims the maintenance of a right proportion between the gentlemen and the peasants, their independence mutual insurance society at the same time as their union, the dissemination gentlemen in all the parts of the territory, it maintenance of their ease finally, but also of the ease of farmers, so that the consumption of all increases, more still than the population. The third order which society needs, to form a likely whole of life and prosperity, it is that of experts, of the men who exert the industry of cities. In the first origin of societies, all work on metals, the stones, the grounds, wood, wools, them hems, leathers, by which the men provide for their housing, their furnishing, their clothing, and theirs ustensils and tools, were accomplished in the centre of the families of the first two classes; but these works, carried out by men who did not have the practice of it, were well coarser than today, much more imperfect, and they required however much more time. After society had sat down, had been fixed by agriculture, the women of each family long enough continued to be reserved the factory of fabrics; the men, who did not have known the need for the houses in the pastoral life, when they became farmers, raised, as they make in new clearings of America, their huts (log-houses) by the mutual assistance of all the neighbors; but it work of metals required more force, of skill, and a constant practice; also the trade of blacksmith seems
T it to have preceded all the others: the Greeks reflect in Olympe a god blacksmith, like showing that sound trade belongs at the first origin of the human society, and the history is lost in the mythology, which tells avêne-lies it, in Greece, of the Dactyls idéels, or forging of the Cyclops. When the progress of the ease of the farmers brought successively formation of all the other trades, for to be useful, to build their houses, their pieces of furniture, their tools, their clothes, in exchange of part of subsistence what produced agriculture, men of trade met in the small cities or the villages; they were to be however held with range of all the dwellings territory, because products of their industry being only not very suitable for transport, they generally went to exert on the spot where it was necessary. They did not make any work but that which was required of them; they had consequently, never funds of store, a capital which awaited the purchasers, and whose exchangeable value decreased or disappeared if it could not be sold. Trade did not exist yet, the products of work were estimated because of their utility, or the work which they had cost; the obstruction of the goods was not a possible thing. Still today, one does not see the carpenter or the mason to sell with cheap price, fault applicants, the work that they prepared. But one can see an obstruction of arm in their profession. There can be in a district more masons, more carpenters, more professionals than the district does not want to employ some, or cannot reward some. Then it is not wealth whose value is destroyed by competition, it is the man himself. Society must thus propose, as for the professionals, to make in kind that they are everywhere, and that they are not nowhere too numerous. There is a little embarrassment, a little waiting and faintness for all, if it is not in a canton as much masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, that the canton in would like to employ and could about it reward; but there is
very-sharp suffering for all these professionals, there is misery and mortality among them, if it is too much of it. Excess is thus much more to fear that the defect; and if society can exert on them any vigilance, it must be to prevent that, in any of these professions, them workmen do not multiply in addition to the need. The fourth order is that of the manufacturers or manufacturers; and we thus call all those which prepare suitable goods for transport, so that trade distributes them where they will be asked. These do not regulate their work on the request which them is made by that even which wants to make use of it. But they make, or the trader made for them, an approximate calculation of what they can sell; and establishing in advance their goods, they await the purchasers. In general, the first manufacturers intended themselves to satisfy one of the first needs for the men, that of clothing. But, in the other trades, one also noticed that one could work more quickly and more economically manufactures some than according to the order: it was seen that tisserands, by always repeating the same operation, were accustomed to make it with a promptitude and a dexterity that could equalize the other men; that they had into same sophisticated time their instruments; that they worked without slackening, instead of wasting time to await the orders of consumer; that they gained on the quantity, and that they could, consequently, establish with cheaper one work makes in advance, that if they awaited the order of purchasers. The professionals thus started to establish in factory all kinds of goods which could to support transport, and as the means of transport became faster and more economic, manufacture always more the trade replaced; larger a number of objects was prepared in advance, not on the order of the consumer, but on his provision supposed with to buy. The manufacturer did not propose in this innovation the advantage of the consumer, but it his clean; it
intended to benefit from all the economy that the application of sophisticated mechanical capacities, of great provisioning, a monitoring exerted into large allowed him to make; but in addition the sale, the flow had become necessary to him; it depended on the consumer more although the expert; this one, while waiting for that its work was required of him, could live of its small economies; the manufacturer had employed all his economies with to prepare new goods; the need pressed it, it he was necessary to allure the consumer, and to this end it was not long in giving up all the economy to him which it had made on manufacture. We put only in fourth line the class of the manufacturers, non-seulement because its origin is posterior with that of the three others, but still because society can do without them much better than of the professions than us named before. Indeed, at the origin of societies, all the work which the manufacturers undertake today was carried out in the centre of the families, with less economy undoubtedly, but also with the certainty which it would not be never useless, that it would never be sold at a loss. Later this same work was carried out by the professionals, with as much of profit for the producers; only it cost less the consumer. Lastly, in a state more advanced of the world, a nation still can without regrets to become manufacturers, because all the other nations hasten with the envi to provide him all the objects which can to prepare in factory. In this case, the consumer, with the place to benefit from all the economy that the manufacturer made on the expert, sees it a little decreasing by the expenses of transport which is with its load. The consumers, as a whole, make all the nation; but, in a special way, the important consumers are the owners and the farmers, or two primitive classes; all the others were established to serve them, and they undertook to be useful in even time those which serve them. The work of the manufacturers
their is always finally paid with the food products which makes to be born territorial wealth; they satisfy most pressing of their needs, and those which produce them are of much most of their consumers. It is important enough few with these masters products of the soil which the objects manufactured that they buy are national or foreign; the difference in price between all and sundry can slightly affect their pleasures, it could not never cause them a suffering. But it is with a suffering, and a very-sharp suffering, that the manufacturer is exposed, if the work which' it made does not find a flow. By preparing in advance the products of its industry with which he wants to allure purchaser, it must propose to be well supplied, to offer with those of the sets; it thus needs a surplus of goods, and it works without slackening to prepare them, of as much more than any wasted time is for him a loss of revenues. It thus employs all its economies, all its credit, also far it can extend, to buy raw materials which it implements; and the goods which fill sound store non-seulement represent the wages with which it must live, but all the small fortune which it had accumulated, all the capital which' it had borrowed in the long term fixes, and that it must return. Also, if it attests a delay in the sale, not-only-lies its subsistence is cut off to him, but its honor is compromise. When the need really presses it, it is necessary that it sells, and that it sells at all costs. It agree to lose all its wages initially, then any capital small sound, rather than not to satisfy its creditors at the limit. It thus works, it works with heat, and, instead of creating wealth, it dissipates it; because the goods which it finished are worth less that the raw materials were not worth with which it did it, joined to its maintenance; thus the general fall of the prices is a reduction in its fortune, and at the same time in the unit national fortune. But this state of suffering and of ruin, this state of despair is not a rare accident for the manufacturer; it is on the contrary the fate which awaits it during one unspecified time of its existence, because it is the direct result
of its efforts. Indeed, each progress, each application of the science by which manufacture has initially replaced the trade, by which then sophisticated manufacture replaced coarsest, caused necessary to throw on the market a quantity of goods supernumerary: the inventor, thanks to the progress which it had made and with the reduction in price which was the consequence, hoped to sell with that which bought its neighbor before; one called prosperity the increase in the flow of the inventor, and one closed the eyes on the ruin of the neighbor, on the obstruction which was the consequence. But in this fight, to succeed at the expense of others, each one in its turn becomes the neighbor, and the obstruction is felt in turn with all the parts of the trade. The more manufacture acquires importance, and the more unknown the consumers for which it is intended are to the manufacturer: it is by conjecture that it evaluated their needs and them taste; but at the distance where it is them, it is always likely to be badly informed, or of the reduction in these needs, or of the increase in the means of the rivals who supply them like him. Thus manufacture is important and its market is distant, plus the obstruction is unexpected and its effects are disastrous. With the remainder, as the manufacturer is stimulated with his work by the most pressing needs, this obstruction does not stop it; it is necessary for him on the contrary to redouble efforts to produce, until an absolute ruin it forces with idleness. As long as its goods are sold well, that it is well paid, it lives in ease, it is given good time, and the pleasure which it often prefers with all them others is that of the rest. But as soon as its goods attest sorrow to be sold, that its wages or sound profit decreases, it is made a duty of assiduity. To give up to work would be to give up eating, and more it has of sorrow to have its work, more it is hungry. It recognizes well that there are too much with hands employed to make the same work that, but far from concluding from it to him that there must remain idle one left the day, it will seek to deserve the preference of
that which can employ it, non-seulement while being satisfied of a less reward for its work, but by earlier beginning it in the course of the day, by continuing it with more of assiduity, and by finishing it later. The obstruction is thus much more frightening for manufacturer that for the expert; it attracts much more quickly on him misery, the suffering and death. None human prudence could not preserve some, because it works for a distant and unknown market, and they are also rivals distant and unknown which, suddenly, and without it being able to envisage it, comes to supplant it in the market which it occupied, in offering to the place of its goods new goods who costs less or who is worth more. When people with trade overflow in a place, like disproportion between the request of work and the arms to carry out it can be neither very-large nor very-sudden, the craftsmen find in general average to move and to go in a place where one needs them. At least, as they are not not many, they can be helped by public charity. But the manufacturers are gathered all in one even place, far from those which they must serve; when they find of too much where they are, it is extremely difficult for them to know where they must go. Generally, like even obstruction reacts everywhere, they are not desired in no place, everywhere also they are of too, and in addition they are so numerous that public charity cannot be enough, in the places where they are accumulated, to provide for their needs. Also their sufferings are horrible; they put also in danger public morality, health and safety, and one can announce them like largest of calamities to which, in modern times, the governments have to provide. But if the danger of the excess of production is infinitely more frightening for the manufacturers than for the professionals, the danger of the defect of production is hardly appreciable: all that will miss on the market, but which can to make in factory, will well quickly be compensated by the
commerce foreign. The consumers will hardly realize light difference in price with the help of which one them ends of the ground all will bring of which they will have need. Also we will still repeat with good more reason for the manufacturers and manufacturers, which we said professionals, it is that if society can exert some vigilance in their connection, it must propose especially to prevent that their multiple number beyond the needs. We reviewed the various professions which achieve the manual work which society needs for its subsistence and its pleasures. Above them all rises another class of men, which does not work of its hands, but of its intelligence, which directs all the others in their efforts, which protects them, informs them, the conduit towards the common goal, which finally exerts in society with little close the functions of the staff in an army. This class is divided into hundred various professions. and all are raised, because all can be regarded as referring itself with social happiness. Among these workmen of the intelligence, the ones enter all the offices of the government, and them function must be to direct the efforts of all worms more large good of all; others take for their province special to develop in the nation progress of morality and the intelligence, and to carry out it towards larger perfection: to this end the ones take care of education youth, others of the religious teaching, which is the education of all the ages. A great number of them devote to defend the interests of society, or individuals who make it up; they are the antagonists of any species of disorder; they study or practise the art of the war in all its parts to guarantee public peace; or they are made the guards of health, as doctors, or of property, like men of law. Many others finally take care of the direction of all material work which are carried out by the other classes. One can arrange in this category the capitalists, who provide the funds necessary to carry out work; contractors of my
ufactures with all their inspectors and their assistances, who
it direct by their intelligence and their vigilance; traders, who
forward to a class or a country the productions of another; the
scientists, who discover the laws of nature, and engineers and
mechanics, who make the application of these laws to all
human work. In spite of the infinite variety of the professions
between which divide the men of the intelligence, a common
glory stick to them all: it is them which made obtain with
human nature all the highest developments of which it is
likely; it is them which made grow its power morals and
intellectual, and this beneficial influence extends non-
seulement to the individuals who belong to these professions
raised, but with those also which live exercise their arms. The
latter, indeed, are lit by the reflexion of the light which the
men of the intelligence spread on them. Glory, just like
guarantee of society, is in the men of the intelligence, and the
economy policy must look at their production and their
improvement like one of its special goals, one of more happy
fruits of the good government of the house and of city. It is
only by means of the community of the efforts and guarantees
that a creature weak, dependent and tormented needs as is the
man, could in a society organized well to rise so high towards
the world of the spirits. But if the development of the
intelligences is the noblest goal what can propose the human
societies, when one has suddenly regarded this development
either as a goal, but like a means, when one only asks him to
lead to fortune those which obtained it, the class of the men
intelligence can, just as easily that no other, to see threatened
of obstruction. Much more, this class attests today, almost
everywhere, the suffering which results from it that it is too
numerous for the task which it must achieve. There is no
country where one complains about only it y more career for
young people has. We still can us to ressouvenir of a time
when a man who had received
the education which one could obtain in all the colleges, without even if to have been distinguished there, was sure to make its way, provided that it showed assiduity and goodwill; so even this young man intended himself for the trade or for manufactures, these two qualities were enough for him only, still that its intelligence was limited enough, and that its instruction limited itself almost only to knowing to read, write and quantify. But today the parents who intend their children for trade, feel the need for making them acquire one large variety of knowledge; after their makehaving made give special education that they consider suitable with a lit trader, they need credit and recommendations for to introduce into commercial firms, where all with more one small wages their are ensured, and where they seldom see in front of them some hope of advance. A higher education does not give young people the best guaranteed that they will be able to make their way in the world. Each year, schools of theology, of right and of medicine bring a crowd of young people juice-qu' to the door of the temple of these three professions well-read women, and there starts, and renews themselves unceasingly, a discouraging fight to penetrate there; sometimes the talent succeeds with to make distinguish, often it fails, and the students all are also convinced that only it is not enough to do them to arrive. A more crowd still besieged unceasingly ministries and all avenues of the capacity to ask places; but there are no places what to occupy half of those which would be able to fill them. The indigence of the scientists and the poëtes was proverbial a long time; perhaps it decreased a little today, because employment that the daily press offered to the men letters of second stolen; however for them also it numbers talents not employed exceeds of much it numbers employment. Those which observe the trade of bookshop realize soon that one writes more than one does not read; that the serious works are bought by vanity more than by desire of instruction, and that the libraries are rather
an elegant piece of furniture, whose rich person want to
decorate their apartments, that an instrument for major studies
The obstruction will be felt soon in the bookshop more that in
any other trade, because books, with place to consume itself
like the other goods, accumulate between the hands of the
purchasers themselves. Thus, society, if it can exert some
vigilance on the class which lives of its intelligence, must tend
to prevent, for it as for all the others, which it multiplies
beyond the need. Sufferings of the men of the intelligence,
when they miss bread, are indeed more cuisantes that those of
any other kind of men. Their education constantly tended to
develop their taste, them delicacy, their sensitivity, and
consequently their susceptibility for the suffering. They form
the aristocracy of the spirit, and sometimes that one agreed to
lower all the others, but it could not give up itself being
distinguished: the pride of those which received a higher
education their any species of humiliation returns, any species
of dependence, more painful. Their bodies do not allow them
to pass more from work of the spirit to those of the body; but
if, in their misery, they suffer more than the others, they are
as, in their suffering, much more dangerous as others for
society; they have the capacity to overheat and direct the
masses; they are hastened with the attack of a social order in
which they did not find of place, and they show more skilful
than all the others to reverse it. Those which exert the power
in the absolute governments, in all those which resist the
social progress, of are well seen, and they supervise with an
extreme jealousy all candidates with the professions well-read
women; but one cannot to notice without sadness that this
enmity for the lights gain today the mass of the citizens, who
see in students, young lawyers, journalists, the constant ones
enemies of their rest. However, the most virtuous friends of
humanity make in even time to resound their voice to ask
unceasingly
the instruction of the people and his education: they look at foundation of the schools like most powerful of the remedies for evils which afflict humanity, and they are convinced that them progress of the popular intelligence will not calm only passions, but the needs for the people. To be explained so contradictory wishes, to be done an idea righter of than one can reallywait progress of the lights, it is necessary to distinguish, it is necessary to consider the instruction like goal, it should be regarded as means. If one looks it like goal, the progress of the human intelligence must be the first of our wishes; if it is looked at like means, the instruction intended to lead to fortune, and given to a too great number of men who have need to gain, will lead them on the contrary to misery, and the State with a revolution. The man was intended by his Creator for all progress; and noblest, most desirable of this progress is that of its intelligence, by including/understanding under this name all the part immaterial its being. Any education which will embrace in even time all the nation, classes intended for work handbooks like the others; any education which will give with a whole a thorough knowledge of its duties, an idea righter of its relations with God and with men, a higher feeling of its moral dignity, one more constant provision with the benevolence; any education who will develop at the same time imagination and the sensitivity, which will thus prepare pleasures more raised with beings made more delicate; any instruction, finally, which will make better know in all the material world, the medium all must live, for all the human creatures a great benefit, an advantage in conformity with the plan will be of God in their connection. But the education given to the poor classes, and which have need for their work to live, when the purpose of it is to leave them their state; the education which will be represented to them like a means of giving up manual work, to rise with fortune by work from the intelligence,
will mislead those to which it will be given, and will cause
them more suffering than of well-being. It is a benevolence
 disappointing that that which proposes to make pass the men
class of the manouvriers to the class of the workmen of
thought. Society cannot exist without carried out work by the
physical force. If one calls many peasants with to leave the
fields to enter the schools of theology, E right or of medicine,
it will be necessary to recall besides peasants to cultivate the
fields which they will have given up, or rather one will need
that it is born, in the families of farmers from where they will
have left, more children to hold their place; because society
cannot remain if the rows of farmers are not filled. It is not to
make the happiness of the peasants only to offer to some of
them one ticket for the lottery of the distinguished rows. It is
the same trades of the cities and manufactures. Public
education can make well that such son of blacksmith or
workman manufacturer is distinguished in a profession well-
read woman, but it will not be necessary any less than its
place is filled by another blacksmith, another manufacturer;
one will not have any less than the manual work of society is
achieved, that the material needs for society are satisfied.
Perhaps it will be objected to us that while thus speaking we
appear not to hold any account of progress of mechanics and
of the application of all sciences to all arts. The hope of the
human race, will say to us one, it is precisely of to find in
science a means of exempting the man of any muscular work,
and to leave it entire with the meditation and the development
of its intelligence. Already, by clever discoveries, one
succeeded in cultivating the fields with half, with the quarter
of the arms that one employed there formerly. England, where
agriculture is if thriving, do not count twenty farmers by
square miles, while it in is necessary at least two hundreds for
Italy. Cannot one hope that by means of progress of arts one
will succeed in exempting still work twenties which remains?
The scientific capacities still have much more the effective
one in manufactures.
It is there that the steam engines replace the man: with a singular favours. By their working only one assistance, a child, makes a work which hundred men could not to achieve formerly; why we do not espérerions only it only workman will be able to rest in his turn, that at least the child could be enough, and who between thirty and forty years any made man will be congédié of any manufacture, like he is it already today of the cotton manufacture? All the work of the fields, all that of the cities will be made one day by this gigantic power and blind man that knowledge of the man submitted. It is thus quite essential to open all shares of the higher schools to prepare with the professions well-read women the million and million men whom had employed up to now in a manner if degrading work handbooks. --We conceive, indeed, how progress that one us advertisement will remove to these million men them current livelihood; but, to appear itself that they will find some new in the professions well-read women, it is necessary to have forgotten that the various classes of society are in a dependence mutual insurance society from/to each other. If unskilled labourers nourish, equip and place the nation, the men of thought are in their turn intended to keep, direct, with éclai - the RER, to cure the unskilled labourers. When the number is reduced unskilled labourers to the quarter or the fifth of what it is now, one will not need more for them but quarter or of the fifth of the priests, lawyers, the doctors and of all other members of the professions well-read women which they employ today. When they are cut off absolutely, one will be able as well to do without mankind. Strange system that that which makes regard as a progress art to cut off from the men, sometimes in a profession, sometimes in another! who confiscates them everywhere with the profit things, and which speaks to us about the increase in wealth when one does not lavish it any more to nourish a nation! We believe it; it is to mislead the poor, and to prepare to them a miserable existence, to invite them to leave plough or the hammer for the benches of the school, in their
announcing that it is the way of fortune. Undoubtedly, it is not necessary that the door of science their is closed: it is not necessary to deprive society of the eminent talents which can to make day among the lower classes, and which will spread with their turn their light on all the men. But one can proud with natural energy with the men of genius: it will do them to grow and surmount all the obstacles, without it being necessary of going to seek them. Moreover, more education will be looked after of the people which one intends to remain people, plus the genius will find the means of emerging from the medium of its rows. There is not of evil so that the obstacles which it will have to overcome are frightening; because is to render service to the poor talents which to discourage them of a career which would carry out largest numbers of them in a state of embarrassment, fight and dou them. While exciting at the men who must live tra-garlic their arms the desire to change condition, one fact that to make them dissatisfied with their, which however must to be filled, and the concern which one would work them would harm as much with their happiness that at rest of society. Let us summarize now our observations on the co-operation of all classes of society to give birth to wealth by work, and on the division of this wealth between all these classes, to also maintain them all in a state of prosperity. It is there what we named the organization economic of the human society, and what we propose for goal with the meditations of the economist and with efforts of the statesman. The word of wealth, just like the word of prosperity, just like the word of pleasure, is meaningless, if us let us not bring it back to the person who enjoys. We conceive that one can look at the science of finances like one means of enriching the prince; we conceive that there is one science to grow rich oneself, and this science without name is not for that without students; but we only know can be science to enrich, the chrematistic one, science wealth, catch abstractively, and we do not conceive wealth of a society that in the participation of all
its members with the material advantages that work gives birth to. In our eyes, the men do not have in human associations reciprocal duties, that because they wait these associations of the reciprocal advantages. They left with the hands of their Creator, free, independent, endowed with faculties, if not equal, at least of equal nature. Animated same desire of conservation, of the same thirst for happiness, they believed in to find the guarantee in the association of the house, like in that of the city. Any association could not be maintained that by subordination; but this one could not be legitimated that by its goal, the common good. The idea of this common good rise rather high above the individual to carry this one until the sacrifice of itself, until heroism; but héroïsme is waked up only by the feeling of the duty, and - to see, noble distinction to be it intelligent and moral, includes/understands always in oneself the memory of a right, the feeling of the reciprocity. The men cannot regard themselves as really associated, that as far as they internally gave their approval to association, because they recognized that, even under their humbler condition, they are protected by it. As long as there is reciprocity of advantages, the men contracted obligations towards the social order: they are prone, if the reciprocity is incomplete; they are citizens, if it is equal; but if there is not any reciprocity, if those which obey are slaves, if their advantage is not included/understood in the advantage general, they did not contract any obligation: violence that they attest put apart from the right, in outside of the law, and duty exempted. This reciprocity of advantages is the base of the political economy, as it is that of the public law and constitutional. Like raising with prudence the political building in a nation, one must study how each order in society, each capacity which it organizes or which it reconnaît, contribute to the common good, and receives in return of all them others the support and the guarantee which will preserve its existence; thus, when one wants to provide for the subsistence and for enjoyed
sances that work gives birth to, it is necessary to study how each condition, each profession which is formed by the division of the human labour, and that society find existing or that it causes, contributes to the subsistence and with the pleasures of all the others, how in its turn it finds the guarantee of its subsistence and its pleasures, how finally mutual assistance is born happiness or rather wellbeing of all. This material wellbeing of all the population, these advantages we include/understand under the name of wealthes, distributed manner so that all the classes of the nation benefit from it, always suppose a certain relationship between the increase population and that of the subsistence. The book of Mal-thus on the principle of population a revolution produced in science. Several pushed back its proposals like too much depressing, and found more convenient to deny them than to afflict itself some; others could, with more reason, to criticize some too absolute proposals of Malthus, to show that the food can always occur more quickly than the population does not increase, and to make feel that it is the proportion between the population and the social revenue which decides its ease or of its misery. But a great fact is always resulted from research of Malthus, a fact that nobody can deny without voluntarily closing the eyes obviously, it is that the population can increase too quickly by influence with its means of subsistence, and that this increase disproportionate is the greatest calamity to which nations can be exposed. Another also undeniable fact is still resulted from research of Malthus, and of all those which out made since on the same subject, it is that the human race has a so main tendency to increase and to multiply, that at once that a new career is opened to him, one creates by this fact only a class of individuals very ready with to traverse; at once that a livelihood is presented, one makes to be born the men who will dispute it. Prudence alone or misery stops the parents in the multiplication of their families, and some quickly which one sees the population
is had to grow sometimes, it grows much more quickly still, if the rich person nor the poor never thought of the deprivations to which birth of a greater number of children them would expose. The offer of a new livelihood temporarily makes forget these deprivations with the poor; also it is immediately followed by an increase in population. These facts are admitted by all those which wrote recently on the political economy; but it is strange to see like with the application they held account little of it. They said well, indeed, that it was necessary to teach with poor the 'forced moral', which must make him repress its passions, to delay its marriage, to abstain from having more children than it cannot raise some in the abundance of the things necessary; and they announced that they would arrive at this happy result by giving to the people more raised instruction. But them, which received this more raised instruction; them, the philosophers who occupy themselves to organize society, which calculates the production and consumption, they thought only of increasing disproportion between one and the other. They want well that the farmer draws more corn of his fields, the manufacturer more fabric of its trades, but it is not so that there is larger a number of industrialists, and that each one of them has for its part more food and more clothing; quite to the contrary they teach how one can do men and in the fields and at the city, and how one can nourish and to dress with more economy those which one is forced to preserve. We considered differently the science of the economy policy and the duty of the legislator: we sought which were the classes necessary the ones to the others, and which was the wellbeing necessary for each class; us let us be asked, not how one could remove some or to decrease by them some one, but how they could to maintain all in abundance; and remembering that all run the same danger of an exuberant population, we asked that the social capacity took care on all, not not to prevent them from increasing, but for garan-
shooting, if it is possible, that all increase only according to certain rules and in a wise proportion. We address initially to the farmers, and us them let us say that their profession is always that in which multiplication of the men, work, of the products, involves with oneself less dangers; that however they also go towards an unquestionable ruin, if they bring on the market food products which the consumers do not ask, that they cannot buy. The industry of the farmer is not necessarily dependent on the trade; while it works for itself and its family, the prices of market import to him little: if it works only for close city, it can still easily learn how to know which are there the needs and the provisioning, and one ordinary prudence will be enough for him not to be charged food products which it could not output; but more sound market extends, plus the trade of corns grows, and more it he becomes impossible to know the needs, the resources those for which it works, more the value of its products, most important of all, is subjected to the great play of chance of the trade, which, with the first obstruction, reduced extremely below what they cost him. Thus us let us believe that the State, for its safety, must take care that most of its provisioning arrives to the consumer without being subjected to the chances of the trade. In this goal we expressed the desire that the greatest part farmers are owners, so that they do not make not to be born food products by speculation, but in proportion their own needs; so that they do not marry, and marry their children, that as much as they will see being born for them them food; finally, so that agriculture and population, that is to say that they are progressive, stationary or even retrograde, always go of the same step, bus it is of their disproportion that the suffering results. We showed then how the owners not farmers, how the aristocracy of the fields was useful for society, and we invited society to maintain it in
the suitable proportion. This order does not run, like others, the
danger to become too poor, but with the opposite that to
become too rich, that is to say that the number of country
squires decreases as theirs heritages meet, that is to say that
they buy successively the goods which were to be divided
between the other farmers. By pointing out the goal of their
existence, we announced the double danger against which
society must be held in guard in their connection. We arrive
now at those whose industry is necessarily an object of
exchange, and who live consequently commercial wealth. The
first are the professionals, who carry on the market their
services rather than them products of their industry. We show
how much them existence is necessary to society, how much,
in return this one is held with rewarding some equitably. They
will not obtain this reward that as much as they will not be not
exposed to a destructive competition. Their interest and that
of society also require that their number does not increase
beyond that which is necessary for to achieve the work which
can be required of them, and that them residence is always
brought closer those which employ them, so that the
proportion between their number and work requested that is to
say always easy to seize. The following class, that of the
manufacturers and manufacturers, exist only by the trade and
for the trade. Benches with a long distance from those which
they must serve, working to satisfy needs whose they do not
know measurement, it is impossible for them to be able not to
make precisely that the work which will be consumed: they
are thus obliged of of proud with competition, to work in the
hope which they will be preferred with their rivals. They
create wealth as a long time as they satisfy existing needs;
they destroy it, on the contrary, as soon as they produce on the
market one superabundance, an obstruction which cause a
drop in the prices: because to manufacture is not to create, it is
to change a substance into another; if they lose on this
exchange instead of y
to gain, more they produce, more they destroy wealth. But the passage of creative industry to ruinous industry and if slipping that themselves cannot recognize it. There is moreover, in the competition of their workshops, the practice 'to resell', in the hope to supplant themselves reciprocally, and to ruin the ones the others, something of antisocial, which returns the introduction of this kind of singularly frightening industry. We do not say however to society not to tolerate it: it is often the consequence of the irresistible walk of the human spirit and the domination of the man on nature. But we will say to the government to always look at with distrust progress of the manufacturing spirit, to remember that all dazzling that is the prosperity of a new manufacture, with sound hearth, this prosperity is almost always compensated by misery and ruin of another industry at the end of its rays: that this prosperity is still, of its nature, of short duration, because another will be born which will remove sound to him market, as it removed that of industries which have it preceded; that finally no misery equals that of a manufacture in decline, and that society, behaviour to be protected all his/her children, must think in advance of the sacrifices that it will have to make when the calamity will reach its manufacturers. Then however it should not hesitate to come largely to their assistance, because generally it did not depend on them to avoid their fate, and though by judging the things of the Almighty one can show their principle, competition, to be antisocial, never they did not have themselves of it the feeling, never either the moralists informed them, so that their control is free from blame. Finally the last, or if one wind, the upper classes of society, that which saw work of the intelligence, is not foreign with the commercial wealth; because its work is for it an object of exchange, and they have exchangeable value only as much as they indeed find to be exchanged. We believed to have to recall that there are danger and suffering to the workmen intelligence, if their increase in a number is too much
rapid, if it is disproportionate with the needs that they have them other classes. Consequently, we ask that society proportionally take care that the intelligence of all is developed, with the state where each one must remain; that education public tends to make all the citizens happy, sophisticated and perfectible under their condition: but us also let us ask that one not encourage the poor one to make an effort to change condition by work of the spirit; that one receives in the rows of the men of the intelligence, when it is distinguished and that it rises itself, but which one will not seek it for making there enter, because competition is there already so large, that instead of making his happiness, one would probably call it with moreover sharp sufferings. We' have few means of execution to propose for to achieve the desired goal; but we believe much to have made by putting this goal clearly in front of the eyes. This goal, it is assured abundance with the human race by, employment always useful of human work; however the obstruction returns useless one started from this work, and impoverishes of as much society: this goal it is the suitable proportion between all the conditions of society, so that they assist the ones effectively them others; this goal, it is for each individual a right proportion between its activity and its pleasures; this goal finally, it is the ease of all, ease which consumes and which destroys, in even time that it creates: while we only know can be an increase in material wealthes, an increase which society would obtain while producing more and in consuming less, because as of the moment that commercial wealthes are accumulated, they form obstruction, and they lose their value.
FOURTEENTH ESSAY.

HOW MANUFACTURES CONTRIBUTE TO THE NATIONAL FELICITY.

All work of the men, or all the products of theirs work, can in their turn become an object of exchange, thus that we sought to render comprehensible it in the essay precedent; all then take part more or less of nature commercial wealth, and their value ceases being proportioned, or with the sorrow which they cost, or with the utility of which they can be, to be regulated only on what one can to obtain in return. The exchangeable value, the commercial value, fact then of forgetting all the others. However it is not that during one advanced time of society, that products agriculture, that products of the trades, that them products even of the intelligence, all are intended to be exchanged: they all are former to the trade, they could to be obtained without trade, they are it often still; while the products of manufactures were born from the trade and are intended only for him. We, indeed, considered like the distinctive character of manufacture, to prepare suitable goods for transport, without they being asked, and to then deliver them to the trade, so that it distributes everywhere where they will make need. This is why, when we especially take into account wealth commercial, our first attention must be drawn by manufactures.
It is as in this manner as hear it the philosophers, publicity agents, and almost all bodies of the opinion, when they ask the government to protect, to encourage industry; for them all, industry it is primarily manufacture: our time is named that of industrialism, because it is that where manufactures have asset greatest developments. Nobody seems to revoke in doubt that their progress is not an unquestionable sign national prosperity; we believe however that them same sufferings as attests society today, invite us to take again the question moreover higher. Which are them reasons which would have, between the branches of industry, to carry governments to support manufactures? Which advantages their progress gets with the consumers, which benefit get with the producers, which dangers are attaches with their development? We already let foresee that we do not divide not this zeal which seems universal for the industrialism. Us placed well low, in the appreciation of what forms wealth, the force and the happiness of a nation, these manufactures who are regarded today as the most beautiful development genius of the man; this trade which one has celebrated like the agent of universal civilization; this provisioning from abroad, this export, which one has proclaimed like as many victories gained over rivals. We however do not have intention to depreciate any efforts of the man or his successes; especially we would redden, in a so serious matter, so closely related to happiness general, of any provision to support opinions paradoxical, of any desire to astonish by their innovation. We recognize that manufactures, in their development current, present a succession of victories to us, that the man, by his intelligence, gained over the matter; we agree that the trade extended on the whole world a new moral influence, that it spread with far knowledge, which it tightened of the bonds of fraternity between men of various races. It is nothing but blind admiration
for one of the developments of the power human that prevents us from subjecting to a right appreciation the various social circumstances which a society it, to indicate the relationship of the ones with the others, and to bring back the attention on the great goal of human association. This one, indeed, had not proposed to seek how them men could achieve the things, but how them things would serve the men. It is advisable to us to be held in guard against a provision commune with all the men, and which often makes them illusion. They so highly sense their weakness and their impotence, that they cannot see producing disproportionate effects with this weakness, without giving up itself with enthusiasm. All that carries a character of size and power is sure to obtain their admiration, at the time same as sometimes this size is exerted at the expense of that which admires. superb will and the power of a despot strikes his subjects of an involuntary respect, some danger that there is for the mankind not to limit this will, some unreasonable that is often the use of this power; but the witnesses who admire them are struck only contrast between the weakness of the individual, who orders, and force that it exerts on million. Often one heard subjects to praise itself of what them monarch was absolute, of it that it could have their goods and their lives, of it that it was not obliged to listen to even their own remonstrances. Perhaps the throne of the tyrants of Asia does not owe its stability that with this admiration which their subjects feel for a human will which nothing resists. Works produced by this will excite perhaps more admiration still, because one sees there impressed only them size, and not the suffering of those which carried out them. The pyramids of Egypt have collected for four thousand years the admiration of all the successive generations, though they have neither beauty, nor utility, only because they are a monument, which seems eternal, of the triumph of one of more weak between the beings, on the immense forces of nature.
Since this feeling raises the man, and that it increases its confidence in itself, undoubtedly, like all the feelings natural, it has its utility: enthusiasm, even unreasonable always in oneself something of noble has; but one should not to give up itself there until letting itself plug by him; especially, it is not necessary to entrust to him the control of the destiny of the nations. One should not expect it, but the political economy was often mislaid with the research of large rather than of the useful one. Thus, for example, imagination was flattered by this high thought of the trade which binds the ends of ground, which makes contribute the most distant areas to satisfy the needs or the tastes even humbler individual; who makes undertake adventurous forwardings, in the most frightening climates, on the most stormy seas, in the middle of the cruelest people, to serve as the consumers unknown. Never let us refuse our admiration with what carries a character of size; such is the trade, or in its thought which embraces the universe, or in its spirit of society which as a brave man dangers; but let us not conclude from it not that the trade is all the more useful as it extends more with far; it is on the contrary never more advantageous than when it is done of door with door, or between the city and the countryside. We still see each day that imagination is flattered by any appearance of size in work which serve the man, by the vast one extended from the stores of only one merchant, when they gather under your eyes all wealthes who can flatter your tastes, or excite your desires; by the order and the regularity that only one director of work maintains among hundreds of workmen, when it does them all to contribute to the execution of its thought; by the extent and the opulence of the buildings of a vast farm, where one sees returning many herds, and around which fields as far as the eye can see are subjected to only one farming system. Us let us not deny the beauty, the size of these various aspects, but it is the beauty of the things and not that of the men. However, we ask the economist to bring back his glances unceasingly on the man, to estimate what promises with the man it
more happiness, or only store where an opulent merchant joins together all the treasures of a province, or hundreds modest shops, of which each one nourished a household independent; to judge if all these arms which carry out the thought of only one head develop as much human intelligence that if they obeyed as many heads which were exerted to combine and to reflect; to count finally if the opulent farm which cover one square miles of extent will give as many brave men to the fatherland that forty rustic houses, pertaining to as much peasants owners, ready to defend the laws which them make happy. This same admiration for any development of power of the man had a great part with enthusiasm with which one celebrated recent progress of manufactures. Among the victories that the man gained over the matter, it is indeed little of more admirable than those which it has had with the application of science to arts. The man who, by itself, felt weak, required force of all what, in nature, appeared to him to have some. It in one saw acting in the fall of water, the breath winds, and it started by controlling these movements preexistent, it has constrained them to obey to carry out one human work. But soon the genius of the man made him to some extent to discover latent forces, which it could at will or to create or suspend by the application of the laws of the matter, which it could excite in any place and increase almost without limits. With gravity it made movement; then it seized the expansive force of the vapors, it has it subjected to its will better than could not have been it or water or wind, and while untiring power of this agent blind man does not ask for any rest, the engineer who directs it endowed with intelligence and almost with address. Undoubtedly the man can, justifiably, proud being of the empire which it has exerted on nature, and of all the human work which it forced this one to achieve; but nor the force which it borrowed from elements, nor the skill with which it exerts it, are not evidence that it is resulted from it a larger good for society.
The human being has become more powerful, but will its power be exerted for or against its peers? Should only the happiness and improvement of one individual in a thousand be advanced, or ought the happiness and improvement of all, be of concern to the political economist? If a so great development of power really produced a social good, this good must be proportioned with its cause, and it should strike all the eyes. One cannot prevent oneself, on the contrary; to wonder with astonishment how one if extraordinary progress in arts did not change more fate of the human race. We acquired, in sixty last years, a domination on the nature of which our ancestors did not have even the idea; we forced matter to obey us and take the forms which we want, and sometimes we carry out in a day what, in time of the antique civilization, one would not have believed possible to make in one year. How it arrives that this extraordinary does power exerted on the things leave if few monuments? If in thousand years from here an observer philosophizes traversed the areas on which the people will have passed Europe, it is probable that it would be still struck more remainders which it would find of the power exerted on matter by the Greeks, the Romans, even by our barbarians ancestors, that by us. It can be true that with us belongs art to stir up the heaviest burdens, that of to make obey elements, that to subject the raw material with the intelligence; however the stone which breathes, like if it was animated by the feeling, was modelled under chisel of the Greeks; the Pantheon, Colysée, the Thermal baths, which triumphed over the elements entreated against them, are the work Romans, and the temple which raises to the skies its bold needles, was built by our aïeux in a time that we name barbarian. Our age however undertook in its turn of work gigantic; fortifications of the cities, main roads, ship canals, the railroads, announce it contest of an infinite number of arms, use of immense
capital, of the design of a high intelligence: but almost always we refuse with our greater work it character and duration; it is possible that those which us have just indicated any does not exist yet in hundred years. Us let us calculate too just the utility to trouble us to leave some none with our descendants; we keep in mind only ourselves, and we would make hardly an effort or a sacrifice for to prolong the duration of any of our monuments after the extinction generation which raised it. Our ancestors did not forget not as much as us them posterity; their capacity on nature was limited, but such as it was they left some to us fruits: by them the ground was cleared and fertilized, encloses and crossed clearing and irrigation canals; by them the palates and the middle-class houses were high, not not as in England, on a one hundred years lease to the end of which one throws them to ground, but so as to last several centuries, and to still get one of great softnesses of the life, one roamy housing, with those which are not rather any more rich for to build. It is not, indeed, of our public monuments that them panegyrists of our century enorgueillissent themselves; it is less still of what we do for the posterity: one establishes rather as maxim which each century must think of itself. Our triumph, says one, is in useful arts; all our social organization is directed towards their improvement. But if one excludes the economists of them, made public singularly little case of these useful arts, in the appreciation happiness of the men. We often heard to compare the civil life of the people of antiquity with ours: but never nobody claimed that we were happier than them, because us portions of bottoms and of cotton shirts, although the trade with bottom and the wheel with to slip by, to which we owe all and sundry, are to us represented like two extraordinary conquests of industry in our century. The effect of the fine arts on the spirit, on the imagination of old, was appreciated by the philosophers; theirs masterpieces seem to ennobling our nature itself;
but the effect of useful arts was always counted for nothing, because we feel, without same thinking of it, that more beautiful fabric of another century replaced under all the reports/ ratios, and of utility and pleasure, the most beautiful fabric nowadays, although ours is produced by processes infinitely more clever. Perhaps, it will be said, that indeed useful arts do not claim to develop imagination, the sensitivity or it taste, like the fine arts; that they do not have either to be judged like a charitable organization; that they are intended for ourselves and not not for our posterity; that their merit is that even as their name indicates, to be uti them, and than this merit could not be disputed to them. Useful arts: this name recalls, indeed, that they are devoted for the use of the man; they must serve its conveniences, they must spread ease in all its practices, they must make enjoy their utility all the conditions of life. Is this there what they do indeed? The ease of a country increases it with its industry: One sees the house of poor furnished better, its more packed garde-robe, provisions of any kind more abundant under its roof, with proportion of it what the nation to which it belongs produces more? One sees the working hours of the workman shortened, his less tiring muscular efforts, his less monotonous labour and less tedious, its quieter rest with proportion of what the wind, the fall of water one it vapor do one more most of its work? Last times are catch with our inspection; but we can travel in our neighbors, less industrial, or, like one says, less advanced that us: and if, in some regions of Europe, us let us find this abundance of all the usual things under the most rustic roof, this rest, this satisfaction, these practices of relaxation or popular joy, certainly, it is not in the countries which pass for most industrial. The charm of this trustful abundance, this primitive hospitality, this soft rest seasoning a varied work, this charm that so many travellers will seek in the cantons plus Re
culés of the mountains, disappears at once that manufacture in approach. However, we will not dispute with useful arts them name: but useful arts are divided into two branches, them trades and manufactures. In the trades, formerly, them craftsmen, always ready to achieve the work that asked them the consumers, with the help of the advances that these consumers made them, answered the goal fully of utility, although they did not reach a so great economy. Thus, in the first of useful arts, bakery, the bread was cooked for the account of each private individual, by public bakers, who exerted a trade; it is prepared today by bakers who, doing it for their count and selling it with the public, exert a manufacture. In the countries which preserved the old practices the most, the majority of useful arts are still practised, like was formerly has bakery in the communal ovens. The farmer sends his leathers to the tanner; domestic its wire has of hemp or of wool with Tisserand; all the work is made for the account of the consumer. No part of this work the chance of the obstruction does not run, or is not likely to lose its price, because one does not find to sell it. This method, we have says, is less economic; but, of other leaves, it never makes run the risk to confuse the profit mercantile with the contingent profit, the real saving in manufacture with the loss of the manufacturer. The scientific processes, the wonders of art, could after all to find their application in the trades as well as in manufactures; and there is indeed country where rather complicated machines are used for the account of the consumers, like were formerly them communal ovens, like are commonly the communal mills, either for the grain, or for oil. The difference between these two methods is in the fall of the prices that one can obtain. But is advisable it cause a drop in the prices of all products of industry, all those of agriculture. or rather in which case this lowering of the prices is it one
is profit for society, in which case a loss? To pose the question in this manner is already to leave on side them things to think of the men; it is to recognize that it is necessary to deal with the prices in their relationship with the consumer, and in their relationship with the producer; it is to commit itself appreciating with accuracy the advantages that the low price and abundance will bring to the first, the sufferings that these same causes will be able to make attest with the seconds. The products of work are always intended to satisfy requests of the man; but these abstracted words, requests of the man, the request of society, the request market, make us illusion, because they represent like an identical thing of the desires which are also different in their intensity that they are it in their object. In the same way, denomination of useful arts makes us illusion by giving one even character with arts of which the ones satisfy the first needs for the life, others with its last superfluities. The first requests of the human society call men with work to satisfy their needs, and, among those, it is the so pressing one, that, without this satisfaction, it has there no more life. As long as they are similar needs, how much painful that that is to say work, he is it less that would not be the deprivation of its products. The request of company is then pressing; it is necessary that work is achieved. But after the satisfaction of the needs come them pleasures, come the pleasures; and those are not all of comparable nature: it of if is purified by it, it is of if delicate, that they contribute to ennoblir, non-seulement that which tastes them, but all the human race which takes part in it; such are sometimes those which the fine arts give. It is of so momentary, so futile, so corrupting, that one reddens to think of human sweats at the price they were bought. Perhaps society must to wish the first rather than it indeed does not wish them; it is not it, but some of its members only who wish the seconds. It is even as anybody do not wish, and it is the invention of the producer who in fact
to be born taste before satisfying it. The wonders of the fine arts did not make only the ornament of Athens, they made still Athenians the most delicate people, most elegant, more refined which ever existed; they thus had for object the advantage of the very whole company: society however had not included/understood it in advance, and did not have them highly asked. The luxury articles which decorate aujour-d today' the residences of the rich person were not required by very whole company, but by a class very few. trinkets of the mode are required by nobody; it is necessary that the thing exists to give birth to some imagination. In order to produce the corn whose whole company must be nourished, it is necessary that the agrarian subjects himself at dawn day until the evening with the most tiring work, that it faces the heat of the beens and the rigour of bragged, which it overcomes its loathing to spread on the fields fertilizing manures; it is even necessary that, to achieve day after day its task in full air, it develops its body faculties at the expense the intellectual ones; that it gives up partly improves-nent the EC what there is of nobler in him, its intelligence and its sensitivity. In the climates where funds of the subsistence of the man is ensured, not by wheat, but by rice, it is still necessary that, to cultivate it, it sacrifices its health, it expose its life. It is thus at an infinitely high price that company buys its subsistence; but it pays too expensive does thing what it buy thus? not undoubtedly, because it is the life, and life of all. The request of society is in this case a pressing and irresistible order. However the man, after having obtained at this price its food, and to have given a price not less low for clothing and the housing, which is almost also necessary for him, still wish another thing; but it does not wish any more with same heat, because it can do without the thing which it wishes, without the deprivation costing him the life, or even ease. It wishes more exquisite food, a housing, a furnishing, more elegant clothing; it 'rises desires in desires, whims in whims, until asking
so frivolous improvements in all the accomplished things by the work of the man, that their designation even becomes ridiculous. It at the same price will buy to which it bought bread or rice necessary to appease its hunger? Not, undoubtedly, if it were the same man who attested the desire and which had to do the work necessary to satisfy it; but yes, in the current organization of society, because the trade and manufacture divided the conditions of such kind, that that which works is obliged to cultivate frivolous arts with as much of eagerness than useful arts, to satisfy capricious requests like the requests necessary; because it is always with the first needs that it is itself exposed, it is always the hunger which it must fight, first needs for the life to which it must provide. That it is a question of decorating the bottom of the dresses of a woman of finer laces of an unperceivable degree, or to add a galon moreover with delivered its lackeys, or to give to its pieces of furniture one finished of which it will not realize itself. some languid that that is to say its desire, it will be always for the workman a business of life or of died of being able to satisfy it. It is necessary that it satisfies the most frivolous whim with great lady which will buy its goods, a whim that it be unaware of itself until the moment when the object that one him present wakes up its desires, or although the workman ceases to eat. The hunger makes him make the same sacrifices as with agrarian who must provide for the subsistence with all: it him in makes still make larger. He will work also without delay, also harshly; he will subject himself to a monotony occupations more abrutissante for the understanding, with one more precarious condition as for the rewards; it will live in an atmosphere choking, mephytic, poisoned, which will destroy its lungs; it will be resigned during hours to or, or lying, or to have sat upright, in an attitude which will inflate its bones and rachitic will return it; he will serve a machine whose blind and gigantic power will make him run the risk, with the least negligence, to be crushed between wheels. All these sufferings, it will not only accept them
lies for itself, it will divide them with his wife and its children; it will expose those at the same time to a contagion more dangerous morals still. II itself will be degraded in thus choking the feelings of nature, while selling in slavery the beings which are most expensive to him, and he is the only guard. Thus the bread which it will buy, it will pay it with price of its tiredness, its health, its intelligence, of its affected and of its morality. For the workman who follows the whims of the luxury and the mode, this continuation of sacrifices is a need, it is the price with the help of which it obtains the permission to live, it is the result inevitable of the system of constraint per which society force the unskilled labourer to satisfy his desires and its whims; but behind this system of constraint, it is necessary to examine will even of society, it should be asked to him whether it really all wants that it forces to do. II acts to see up to which point she wants to satisfy each taste them more frivolous of its favourites, up to which point she wants to require, under penalty of death, which the cotton yarn acquires a degree of more smoothness; sounds death penalty, non-seulement for body, but for the intelligence and the heart. II acts to see whether it does not pay work too expensive only it makes carry out, if it is knowingly and with reflexion which it this perfection-ement of industry wants that us are represented as the goal of all its efforts. Society, after all, does not want anything similar; it has let organize in its centre a system of constraint based on the universal competition, which excites the invention of industrialists, who pushes the capitalists to make the advance of their capital, which determines the workmen to offer their arms to reduction, and scientists to submit to the man all the forces nature, without never going reason of what she wants to obtain by these gigantic efforts. Society strongly wanted and before all the production of the subsistence, but one time that it obtained it, its will must change; it is not any more of the consumers that it must be occupied, they are producers. It wants, or it must want that, by work,
the workman finds his subsistence, but it does not only wish
the workman is born for a work which imports to him little; it
must want that those which produce at it the pleasures
frivolous of the rich person, take part in the common
wellbeing, but it worries little about acquisition about these
pleasures, and it would not like theirs to get at the price of the
suffering physics, of the moral degradation of any the
members of association. Indeed, at the moment of the
introduction of a manufacture news in a State, in a district, it
is to the producer that one thinks, it is the advantage of
offering work and bread to the working poor, with a
population without resource, that one fact of being worth. The
founder of manufacture undoubtedly has in sight its own
profit, but it does not leave be regarded as the benefactor of
the country where it is established, because it comes, he says,
to distribute wages to the poor ones which could obtain some
no before. There is well some contradiction between this
alleged merit and the acknowledged goal of any new
manufacture; this goal is to make the same one quantity of
work with a less number of hands, but this contradiction is
hardly noticed, while the fact that a new work is required, that
new wages are offered in places before languid, striking all
eyes. An immediate good is produced, a prosperity news is
created, a new population is destined for the existence; it
gives value to all the agricultural produce of the vicinity, and
everyone is content. When the mechanism to spin cotton
(spinning frame) had been sophisticated in 1769 by
Arkwright, and that the power borrowed from a river had been
made able to carry out quickly one of most delicate between
the work human, of large capital were immediately intended
to found what one names in England of the factories, it is
with-statement of manufactures on the greatest scale, length
rivers of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lan-currencyire; it
was, to some extent, Switzerland of England, a country of
mountains, rivers, valleys still
savages, where agriculture was not very advantageous, population not very many, but where abundant water falls offered with the mechanic a force whose Arkwright had taught to benefit immense, and which, already front, had to him started to be employed by industry. The factories ap- elèrent workmen of all the parts of England; they offered pledges higher than those to them which they obtained in other professions; they treated with the deposits of begging of London and other large cities, to be made deliver all the children who were maintained there by public charity. These children were engaged with the masters for seven years, by the clauses of the statute of training, who put the apprentice under the orders of the master who it nourishes, and which authorizes this one to force it with work by corporal punishments, and without him to give wages. Then a system of oppression and cruelty started which cost with these workmen, with the children especially, given up, without guards, far from want of the public, under the orders of masters avid, of the thousands and the thousands of victims. This system was finally revealed with the English public by the first parliamentary inquiries of 1796. However the general appearance of districts where factories had been built was that of a high prosperity. The chiefs of all new manufactures have considerable profits; the population increased with the most extraordinary speed, in spite of the contagious fevers and the great mortality which often alarmed province. Pledges of the workmen, without being as high as with the first establishment, however made them live in abundance, and agriculture thrived around the factories, because of the gone rich person that those had to him opened(1). But the prosperity of the producer who grows rich does not have to make forget the misery of the producer that its competition has ruined. Before the establishment of the factories, the manufacture of

cotton existed already in England. Inventions of Arkwright, of Lewis Paul, and all these men with rare talents, which improved the every day the mechanism of the spinning mill and weaving, and which obtained each one a licence, to profit only, during fourteen years, their discoveries, ruined their rivals, because they put the inventors in state to sell their products at much low price than made the old establishments. The historian of manufacture of cotton announces the efforts of these rivals to resist with the calamity which reached them, and the lawsuits in which inventors were committed; but it stigmatizes them like effects of the low cupidity and the jealousy of these former manufacturers. However it was for their existence that those fought. Moreover, these cotton manufacturers did not represent that the very-small number of those from which industry came to be sacrificed: the others did not make body together; scattered in all the households, they did not realize only they had a common interest. In England, before the immense ones progress of the cotton manufacture, like aujour-d’ today in all the continent, each woman slipped by or knitted in its leisure hours; the traces of this practice are done still to notice in the language of England, where all nonmarried woman takes the designation of ropemaking machine (spinster): all the linen, all works of mesh consumed in kingdom, were then the product of a domestic industry. This industry undoubtedly achieved much more slowly the work which it is not made today by the machines; too it was destroyed, because no ropemaking machine, no tri-teuse cannot support the competition of the sophisticated mechanism. One cannot say however that the nation has there gained; it is like impossible to find a work advantageous, that each woman can make with the home. Then it there of more than one million had which slipped by and knitted in time lost, anjourd' today their time is lost indeed. The amazing improvements which the mechanism received of the cotton manufacture in England, since this time until the current moment, the extraordinary development that it
took, must be especially explained this manner: it occupy the place of another industry which was then almost universal, it ruined much more producers than it did not enrich any: and is needed well that that is thus, because each invention' is a labour-saving, and one economy on the greatest scale. We want to believe well that English consumers, tried by the good market, make use of a little more linen than they did not make there is sixty years, though the comparison between the English uses and those of the continent suggests us the contrary conclusion. But let us suppose the consumption of each individual doubled, and population also doubled since 1791, so that then English would consume four times more linen than then. With this time, England imported of America a hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred and sixteen books of cotton, and in 1834 it drew three hundred eighty-four million from them seven hundreds seventeen thousand and nine hundred and seven books, or more than two thousand times more. Three fifths of the products of these cottons are exported, but two fifths remain in England. How it is made that, while consumption of fabrics by the English only increased like one to four, their consumption out of cotton that is to say increased like one to eight hundreds? It is that manufactured cotton all the produced linen of a domestic industry replaced, without counting a considerable quantity of all other fabrics of flax, hemp and wool, which were the product of other manufactures in England. Thus, at the same time where prosperity of manufacture was real, where it struck all the eyes, where chiefs of manufacture made all fortune, where their workmen were paid well, where they never missed the work. and where them wealthes seemed to ebb of the districts where they had been established, it was not true only the producers, taken in mass, thrived with manufacture; labour-saving had had its natural and necessary effect, to leave labour not employed; rivers of Lan-currency made a work which they had removed with all them
the poor women of England. They did it well, and with economy, but all these poor women had lost an occupation which they never could replace. The cotton manufacture took new developments in England when the invention of the steam engine allowed to create everywhere where a capacity was wanted engine, which one found before only in some valleys. News factories, larger still than them old, were built, or in the large cities, or in the vicinity of the invention and coal mines, always new, increasingly more admirable, saved always more human work. The exclusive use of each invention was always ensured its inventor during fourteen years, by a licence, so that a monopoly is always ensured each new manufacturer with the damage of old. Consequently also the suffering of the producers appeared, not only in the insulated huts, the centre households which lost one their resources, but in the great manufacturing establishments which could not to support the competition of new more come. It is, in effect, a consequence of the encouragement given to the inventors, that each really important discovery in mechanics, each one of those which produce an economy of work and a considerable profit (1), immediately makes create a new factorie to allot them exclusively profits. This factorie is not intended to satisfy new needs, but to resell (undersell) the old ones manufacturers. One must allow us this English expression

(1) These inventions followed one another with an inconceivable speed. After Arkwright, which introduced the 'spinning frame' and the 'drawing frame', and Lewis Paul, inventor of the carding machine, Hargreaves introduced it 'spinning Jenny'; Crompton, 'the mule'; Cartwright, 'the power loom'; Johnson, 'the dressingroom machine; Roberts, 'the coil acting mule'; Whitney, 'the saw gin', and each one of these mechanisms, which perhaps still do not have French names, made a revolution in manufactures. (See Baines, History of the knitting machine manufactures.)
to represent an operation which makes the base of the trade English. The needs did not extend, the number of purchasers did not increase; but, thanks to the new invention, those which exert some the monopoly can sell with cheaper than their precursors, and consequently to allot all their practices. To draw the greatest party possible of its discovery, it would be necessary that the new factorie could supply only the market: it is far from reaching this goal undoubtedly, but thanks to the superabundance of the capital, thanks to the eagerness of the banks to make advances in tickets, of the million frank are gathered soon for new society, of the million ells of cotton fabrics are suddenly thrown on the market which does not require them. The domestic consumption is hardly likely of one new increase; the cotton fabrics already took place of all the other fabrics for which one can substitute them; some new employment still arises; it is true; thus the cotton fabrics get busy today with the binding books, and replace calf or sheepskin, with the detriment industry which produced them; but, in general, it is with foreign market that this supernumerary production must be destiny. At the moment when the new factorie started its gigantic operations, the older factorie of which it endeavour to allot the barges did not suspend nor not slowed down to them his, on the contrary, it works of all its power to recover the possession of the markets. It is its existence even as it defends, and it combat is with death. The chief is satisfied with a much less profit; often even it work at a loss to maintain its credit: it gives up all rent on its buildings and its machines; it engages its workmen famished to be satisfied with the most miserable wages, rather than to be congédiés and all to lose; after having worked it day, they work also during the night, and the quantity of the products more exceed the every day the needs for consumption. Thus, most appalling obstruction is the usual state, the state necessary of this manufacture which invaded all them
others, of this manufacture if praised by England, if envied by
the other nations. It is not any more one interest sea-cantile, it
is a national interest, it is the life to some extent from England
to continue to make work its fifteen hundred thousand cotton
workmen. To this end, it directs turn to turn its efforts towards
America which produces cotton, and where it endeavours to
always obtain it with cheaper; towards the manufacture,
which it endeavours to make work with low price; towards the
foreign markets, in all the extent of the universe, where it
endeavours to make penetrate its fabrics: but it never succeeds
in any of these attempts, without produir a calamity. If it
manages to buy cotton with low price, the American grower
will lose part of its revenue, and the unhappy negro farmer
will be more badly nourished, more still maltreated; if it
succeeds in working with better gone, it will be by urging the
capitalists to be satisfied with less interest, merchants and
manufacturers, of less of profit, the unhappy workmen, whose
existence is already so hard, of less wages; if it extends its
market to the outside, if it succeeds in in its current efforts to
make penetrate its cotton fabrics in Turkey, in Persia, in
Africa, it will be with the detriment of the small number of
manufactures, and especially of the domestic industry of the
people which will open theirs to him doors; it will force their
wives to pose the stopper rod like the women of England as of
a long time posed it. It is not not industry, they are not the
manufacturing inventions who directly cause all these
calamities, they are both operations which characterize all the
sea-cantile spirit today in England, and which has of another
name only their name English, 'to overtrade' and 'to undersell':
overtrade (on-COM-mercer), it is to push the trade with
excess, it is to produce or to import without proportion with
the needs for the consumers, it is to encumber the market; 'to
undersell' (to resell), it is to obtain the flow, the flow of its
goods, to yield at low price than any other producer, to ruin it
producer, to drive out it markets, while being satisfied for that
to work with less benefit than him, or even at a loss.
The cotton manufacture in England passes however to be in a state of shining prosperity; its factories are palaces, its machines are completed with a perfection inimitable, its workmen are more numerous than those of any industry, and its exports increase each year in value. The prices, in addition, drop and do not have ceased dropping; they are so reduced that one is attested deep feeling of pity while calculating how much so much industry is badly rewarded: the capital which is employed there carry only one tiny interest; profits of the masters are infinitely reduced; old machines, the factories even very whole, replaced by new inventions lose all their value; the immense capital which had been fixed in their construction is destroyed; finally, fate of workmen became so deplorable, the deprivations to which they are subjected, the destruction of their health, corruption of their morality, the daily sacrifice their children, present such a complication of sufferings, that we feel reluctant to trace the table here of it, more especially as us should borrow it from the reports/ratios and the parliamentary inquiries, not with our own observations (1). Us relè-

(1) On the appalling fate of the workmen of the cotton manufacture, one can consult: 1. 'Carryforward from the committee one the bill to regulate the ploughing of children in the mills', folio, 1832. 2. 'Carryforward of factory commissioners', fol., 1833, 1834. 3. 'Carryforwards and obviousness of the parliamentary committee one the factory question', fol., 1832. 4. 'The curse of the factory system, by John Fielden, M.P. and to manufacture', 1836. 5. 'Factory statistics, in A series of letters by the late m.t. Sadler, Esq.' 1834. 6. 'Year inquiry into the state of the manufacturing population', 1831. 7. 'Moral And physical condition of the working classes employed in the knitting machine manufactures in Manchester, by James Philip. Kay, M.D.' 1832. 8. 'The evils of the factory system, by Charles Wing, member of the royal Society of suckers, and one of the suckers to the royal metropolitan hospital for children, London', 8°, 1836. One would find in this work of sufficient extracts of the reports/ratios
minnows only one circumstance which explains this species of fever which torments the factories, this fast alternative of exaggerated activity, and complete stagnation. With the vastness of the capital employed in the factories, and exiguity profits, the masters feel that they would be ruined soon if they worked differently than on orders; but, in addition, they seek and request those with an extreme activity, and do not push back any of those which their are offered; they take care some often much with beyond the EC what they can achieve: then non-seulement they engage of new workmen, but they make work their workshops the night like the day; among the manufacturers, the ones engage 'at the long hours', and work up to twenty hours of continuation; the others are raised, and they enter the morning the still hot bed from where one made leave their fellow-members: at this point in time health is destroyed, that them contagions are spread, that the children become rachitics become deformed for the remainder of their life. But this activity is from short duration; the order is achieved, all the workmen are congédiés until the masters can of to get another, and this population, exhausted work, is condemned suddenly, and without being able to envisage it, with one idleness more still despairing, with misery and the famine. No example is more striking that that of manufacture of cotton, most powerful, with the statement of its admirateurs, most flourishing that there is in the world, and that which all the other nations make an effort today to to charm in England, but its history is about that of all others. The establishment of a manufacture is almost always due to the application to arts of some process scientist, who allows to make with the forces of nature what was made before with the man power; close

[( 1a)] members of Parliament mentioned the first, but which are difficult to get on the continent. 9. 'A voice from the factories', 8°, 1836. These works are analyzed in volume LVII of the 'Quarterly Review', for December 1836.
that always also manufacture produces a displacement of industry; this one, at the origin of society, had been established with the door of the consumer. The scientific discovery in moved away to transfer it onto the spot where it finds natural force which she wants to exploit. Also, at the moment of its establishment, in the district where it is transported, it appears very beneficial, and though its goal and the benefit to which it claims are to remove human work, it appears, on the contrary, to distribute work and wages with idlers. The new, or imported invention outside, gives with the manufacturer the means of establishing his work with better market that those of which it was made the rival; and while this advantage lasts, the workman whom it employs is well paid and lives in abundance. At this point in time it Marie, and that her family increases quickly; they is then also that of all them other trades arrive the supernumerary arms which are enrôlent in the workshop; that all young people arrived at the time life where they choose a state, embracing which they see thriving. But it is in the nature of arts that them inventions follow one another one the other, that a discovery news comes to remove the fruits of the preceding one, and that boom of any manufacture is promptly followed by one period of distress. It is enough for us to to know that a manufacture flowers today to be able to envisage, almost with certainty, that in ten years, in much less time still, according to any probability, it will have had to succumb to competition; because more we advance in science and more our steps are gigantic, plus discovered follow one another one the other, with an acceleration who does not leave time to recognize himself. By the application of some discovery in arts or sciences, by the invention, of some new process, one will replace them produced of any manufacture which flowers today, with others which will cost less, but which will require new machines and of the new men, or at least men having made a new training. Men old process will not be able to be resigned to sacrifice all
the value of their old machines, their skill acquired. They will reduce their profits and their pledges; they will lower their prices, they will fight for their life, but they will not be able to save it. This fate threatens each one in turn manufactures: that which one establishes today like that who counts already several years of existence. This fate is the inevitable writ of summons of any manufacturer, under the mode of universal competition. It would not have been better for wouldn't England, have been better for all the cotton manufacturers, than they had never been born? It would not be worth not better, for the countries where one makes an effort today with to give birth to a rival manufacture, which one did not have creates a population unceasingly exposed to the deprivations, the diseases, with immorality and the famine, all those dussent which carries cotton clothing to occur all their life from it, with stronger reason dussent to pay them two pennies moreover by ell by buying them from abroad? We thus examined the advantages and the disadvantages manufactures, under the two most important reports/ratios: that of the consumers, or their merit like useful arts, like satisfying the market demand, and that of the producers, or the ease which they spread among the masters and among the workmen, as well as the stability which they ensure in the condition of the ones and others; but it is of another manner generally that they are appreciated by the general information of the men. Among people which wish with so much heat to enter the career of industry, it is not to buy fabrics with cheaper than the large one mass citizens is delighted to see raising in the middle of it a manufacture, it is for an abstracted advantage, general, who seems with each one to include/understand the very whole nation, and that it does not pay to oneself. It is, says us one, so that our industry is not tributary any more from abroad; or. it is so that the mass of the things to be exchanged being more considerable, the movement of the exchanges is faster, and that more goods being produced, more needs are satisfied; or finally, it is so that the balance of the
commerce is unceasingly balanced to us out of money, and which it increases thus on our premises the mass of the currency. It is true that these general reasons are not those which with work the chiefs of manufactures call: those are animated and must be it by a very personal interest. Their goal is given and they seek their own advantage. They see extremely well how they will find it in competition that they make with those which rose before them, that is to say with the foreigner, is in their own country. They gain an unquestionable quantity by the application which they make themselves of the scientific discoveries to useful arts, of course that they are far from wishing that a later discovery comes them to remove the fruits of their; they gain by their fight against workmen, to maintain the wages at low prices; they park by the constraint that they contribute to exert on them, and which reduces part of the nation to be worked with the most frivolous improvement in arts, with same energy that if it were about the subsistence of all. The contractors of all industrial work walk towards their goal, without disturbing the spirit of what is appropriate or is not appropriate not with the whole of society. There is however some pleasure to see that the mass of the men considered the questions political saving in a not involved manner. It can be in the error as for the abstract system which it has embraced; it is not less honourable for the mankind, than the sufferings resulting from a disappointing continuation are not due to the only cupidity. However, this public prosperity, attached to the extension of manufacturing industry, when it does not bring with it a greater ease for the manufacturers, is not that a great illusion. What means fear to return our industry tributary from abroad? A tribute is not paid when one concludes an exchange with equal terms. It does not matter with that which buys the objects for which it requires that they are foreign or national; it asks the handsome price and good quality, it does not need to be concerned with another thing. For society admittedly the question is a little more complicated.
It is appropriate for any nation that all the objects which were produced on its territory find a purchaser, because it him is appropriate that any national work is rewarded, that all man finds the means of living when it makes an effort the maid faith to contribute to the common good; but this interest of society must commit it to take care so that it does not do at it work useless or unprofitable, and not to spring in all the industrial careers. The consumer refunds all advances made to produce the goods; and if the producer does not find a consumer, the nation sees itself obliged to come to its assistance, because its first law must be not to let perish of hunger none of its members. But if the objects for which the purchaser requires are not made in the country, this country can find one favour to train workmen to produce them in the future it is the advantage of these workmen themselves. If can admittedly be reasons for another nature, foreign reasons with chrematistic, to encourage industries which produce the objects necessary to subsistence or with defense main roads. The existence and safety must pass before wealth, and people do not have to regret the sacrifices which it makes to remove the abroad the means of dictating the law to him during the war; but as for all the objects of which it can occur, as for all those which are for him only pleasure, there is neither dependence nor humiliation to receive them foreigners, and it should not think of to produce at his place that under the double condition of making to find with the class of industrialists who it will give birth to to this end a reward which is enough to maintain an existence happy and honourable, and to return such an advantage not not temporary, but as durable as the men as it must to nourish. A nation must measure its interest in the news industry, only on the happiness which it can guarantee in a permanent way to those which it calls with the existence. If it promises on the contrary only dependence to them and that misery, if it condemns them to live from day to day, with to feel unceasingly exposed so that their livelihood their is
removed without there being of their fault, without no prudence of their share being able to save them with their families of more appalling distress, it is undoubtedly better it to be been useful by the foreigners; it is to better pay them so that they charge of so deplorable functions, not a tribute, but of the pledges. It is of Auvergnats which carries out in Paris them more disgusting work necessary for cleanliness of large cities; in one will conclude that the capital is tributary for this industry, of the mountains of Auvergne? There is a village in Switzerland which, since centuries, is in possession to provide torturers with all the cantons; in one will conclude that Switzerland that is to say tributary of this village for the industry of high works? The second reason that one gives us to support industry, to accelerate any species of production, it is that then mass of the things to be exchanged being more considerable, it movement of the exchanges will be faster; and more goods, says us one, being produced, more needs will be satisfied, and there will be more pleasures for each one. We believe that those which reason thus lose with continuation of an abstraction that they show us initially that more pleasures exist, and then we will recognize that more wealthes are created. We know indeed that, of many different manners, the goods can to cease being wealthes or giving pleasures, is that they are not in conformity with the needs and the tastes consumers, that is to say that those do not have the means of to buy, or to pay them what they are worth. We have considering that the same goods whose production imports less to society, does not leave made, in general, only because those which work do not have an other means to get the needs for the life. But if the workman must be pursued by the need to prepare with others all the pleasures of the luxury, it is to make fun which to speak to us about its pleasures with itself, since on the contrary it is only as much that it is private pleasures which the luxury articles are products by him. This error of the public, which confuses the increase in
productions with that of wealthes, this error on which rest all
the system of chrematistic modern, has sound origin in the
vague attache with the notion of extended of market, and
confusion enters the preliminary exchange of trade and the
final exchange of consumption. The economists indicate by
these words, 'extended from the market', non-seulement the
distance until which a producer can export its products with
hope to sell them, but power and will to buy of all those
which are included/understood in this ray. If, to encourage to
found one new manufacture, the promoters of industry had
known as with the scientist: Seek some new application of
mechanics which can save the work of the man; with the
capitalist: Advance to us new funds; with industry: Give up
your trade to embrace that which us you will teach, and by our
joined together efforts we will be in state of to ruin all your
neighbors, to put them out of state to sell only one part of
their products; they will go bankrupt, they will die of hunger,
and we will swim in abundance; each one would have moved
back of fear to this proposal, each one would have answered
that it was not so deaf with the voice of humanity to only
found its fortune on the destruction of its similar. But
promoters industrialism lost sight of the fact themselves
reality, or made it lose sight of the fact to the others, while
directing all their attention on abstract words. Extent of
market, have says to them, is unlimited; lower your prices,
and your goods will be able to reach until the ends of known
world; lower your prices, and, in your country even, lower
classes and increasingly more will be able to buy your goods;
lower your prices and produce boldly, excess in this kind is
impossible, the activity of the trade could not be exaggerated:
what the English named 'overtrading' (in addition to-trade)
does not have reality, because more y will have wealthes, and
more the people will enjoy and consume (1).

(1) See, in this session even (1837), a speech of Mr. Atwood,
where it denies the possibility of 'in addition to-trade' at the
time when all the others were forced to recognize the
disastrous effects of them.
A Scottish economist, who likes to cover his reasoning abstract and severe forms, said: Exchanges will necessarily increase themselves with the increase in wealthes; thus field A, the first year, produced hundred corn bags, and the workshop B, the same year, produced hundred alders of cloth; after which the bags were exchanged with the par against the ells. The following year, the same field produced thousand bags of corn, the same workshop thousand ells of cloth; why wouldn't they also be exchanged with the par? why the exchange would also not be made it if it were about ten thousand or of one hundred thousand? According to its use, the philosopher Scottish the man in his reasoning forgot. If it were remembered that it was not a field and a workshop, but two men, of which one was a farmer, the other craftsman, who were to exchange the surplus of their products, of which they did not do themselves use, it would have realized that it said a nonsense. One of the two men, after having bought it corn which it needs to be nourished, is not any more hungry, and in does not want more, whatever the quantity produced by the field of its neighbor; the other, after having bought cloth of what to dress itself, is not cold any more, and does not want any more, whatever the activity of manufacture. Extent of the market east thus always limited by two circumstances extremely independent one of the other, the need or suitability of the purchasers, and their means of paying. It is not enough to be hungry to buy corn, it is still necessary to have average to pay it; also the population increases in vain, if its revenue does not increase, its consumption will not increase either. In addition, it is not enough to have a revenue to buy corn, it is necessary to be able to eat it. However, non-seulement quantity of corn which can eat a given population is limited, the quantity of products manufactures which it can employ is limited too. It is quite true that the rich person can not put not others terminals with their pleasures that their wealthes themselves; but quantity of the products of manufactures which consume the rich person is singularly small: the goal of the manu-
invoices is to produce at a cheap rate, the goal of the rich person is to consume expensive things, rare things and who announce them among crowd. As soon as a product, such as lace, starts to be multiplied with abundance by the factory, and to be with range of vulgar, it is not any more worthy of them; also they are addressed preferably to the artist rather than with the manufacturer, the embroiderer and the sculptor rather that with the merchant of painted fabrics. The poor one, the man who work, is necessarily the large consumer of products manufactured: so that it can buy them it is necessary to increase its wages, because the wages form almost the totality of returned of the man who works. Also the low price of labour, far from being, as one claimed, a cause of prosperity for the factories, is for them an unquestionable cause of ruin, a cause which moves away from them the great mass purchasers. The high price of labour, with the opposite, will allow the day laborer to buy with the factories as much their goods which it can consume without to cease being poor, without ceasing being day laborer; but this quantity is singularly limited: when the day laborer has doubled, when it quadrupled, if one wants, its funds of linen and of clothes, it is impossible for him to go beyond that. Thus the limit of the domestic market is très-vite reached: the manufacturer has très-vite produced the quantity of goods that the poor one can buy with its revenue, that the poor one can to employ usefully with its practices: when manufacture continue to increase with speed and to output themselves with the interior, it is seldom because the revenue of the people has increased or because its consumption increased, it is rather because it gave up the things of which it made use previously for their substituting news of them: there is thus an industry in suffering beside thriving industry, and the damage of is equal to the profit of the other. When suffering industry was already set up in manufacture, one sees its decline, one hears the cries of distress of its workmen; but if it were exerted by trades dispersed on all extent of the territory, or better still, if it were exerted
by women in the centre of all the families, it succumbs in the shade, and however its distress is not less real. But the limit of the external market, will answer us one, is not other than that of the known world, why a nation would not seek it to make penetrate its goods also far its means from trade can reach? Why would not benefit it from progress which it made in arts and sciences, to do the abroad one ruinous war on their own markets, to resell their manufacturers, their craftsmen, their wives, to force them to close their workshops and to be satisfied with what it offers to them? Why? Because our duties towards the human society are similar to our duties towards our compatriots; because we should not speculate more in the ruin of Turk or of the Indian that on that of the French and the English; finally, because what is unjust is never at the advantageous bottom, and that if we ruin the industry and the craftsmen of the others people, we will ruin our own consumers on their premises. This same flow growing of manufactures abroad us is still presented in another form and like one third abstract advantage of progress of the industrialism. Manufactures, says us one, get for the nation one export trade, which, not calling a return, must be balanced in currency. The currency merges with wealth in the imagination of the vulgar one, and one would not know to say how much people are dazzled by this importation annual of the currency that one makes them hope. However, since fifty years, this project to enrich a nation by one balance paid with the precious metals, or because one has named the balance commercial, was fought by all best economists, and falseness in was shown. A long time ago that one ceased answering their arguments; the doctrines of Adam Smith on the currency even appear today the only one that one dares to teach, and however confusion which it fought between the currency and wealth, between the currency and the capital, still lasts; it is repro-
duite recently in all the discussions on the banks, and we do not know how to fight it, because we let us know where to reach it; it is not a system, it is only one image of chaos. In a essay on the currency, we will make an effort to better clear up these ideas; here, we will stick to one short exposure of the illusions to which place the trade gives of export. As the goal of any merchant is to sell, like it grows rich all the times that it finds a flow advantageous of its goods, inventors of the mercantile system and balance commercial concluded from it that a nation was in the same case as a merchant, and than more it sold, more it was thriving. But, though competition universal and the usual clogging of the markets returned the operation to sell more difficult than that to buy; though it is at the same time most important, parce that it finishes the transaction started with the purchase, and that it carries out the profit or the loss, makes the trade of it consist in the two joined together operations, to buy to sell, and repurchase again; also there is none merchant who, in the final analysis, does not buy as much as it does not sell, and does not demolish itself of its currency almost at once that it has it boxed. The manufacturie more does not think of accumulating currency; it sells, but to buy matters first and to advance wages; it pays as much as it received. To accumulate currency would be for him the same one thing that to suspend its industry, to cease working or to make work. If its re-entries are stronger than them spent its manufacture, it does not accumulate either difference which forms its profit, it spends it for its maintenance, its pleasures; the money has value for him only as much that it is demolished some; if it buries it, a stone in its place would be worth to him as much; a long time ago that the Fountain us said it. If it slows down only circulation, if it does with much money what it could have done with little, in combining better its payments and its re-entries, it loses it in
téret of all the money which it employs of too, it is impoverished of all the currency which it lets remain too a long time in its case. It is the same for a nation; it does not pile up of currency, and far from growing rich, it would be impoverished if it piled up some. It is advisable to him to make the expenditure of metals invaluable, it formed its currency, in order to to be able to more surely carry out more promptly and its purchases and its sales; it is a value which it sacrifices to stability of the trade; but all the part of this expenditure who is not necessary is a loss for it. In general, it buys as far as it sells; it is not the latter operation which is a profit for it, it is the comparison between the two operations which establishes a difference, in profit or in loss. But the philosophers economists who fought it mercantile system, have advanced moreover that the quantity of national purchases was to always balance exactly quantity of the sales. No balance, have says, cannot neither to be received nor paid a long time out of money, not more by a nation that by a private individual, because in the first case the money would lower value, in the second it disappears: and as however a nation does not send anything for nothing to its neighbors, as a difference balanced out of money is immediately followed purchase made with this same money of one new quantity of goods, it is certain, add, that if one kept a regular account of the imports and exports, by including/understanding smuggling there, one would find their perfectly equal value. We admit as them which if a nation received more of currency that it does not have need to employ some for its circulation, or which it does not worry to melt for the service arts, it would re-export it, each one wanting to avoid the loss caused by a capital sleeping which would not pay to him of interest; that if, on the contrary, it were to have some more as much as its transactions day labourers ask some, it would repurchase some with its goods, or it would make some to reconsider its credit; but we will inférons some by no means
parity of the national purchases with the sales. In their calculation, the economists did not take account nor of what a nation could have, nor of what it could lend to another and to have wanted too much to prove, they failed to persuade. Indeed the governments continue to act the majority according to the mercantile system, like if no reasoning had not still started to shake it. There is much case, while looking at there more closely, in which one must to recognize that the national imports are by no means equal to exports; and these cases, shown officially made more impression than the theories than one opposes to them. If, for example, the landowners go away from their country, this country is in charge of a debt equalizes with their returned towards the country where they were to be established, without having receipt no equivalent for this debt, without there being no displacement of wealthes or capital, but only a displacement of people. This debt discharges each year, not not in currency, but by an export food products or goods, which are sold with the outside, without obtaining return. Thus ground of Ireland pays with the 'Irish absentees' their revenues; but it is as for this cause as their absence always impoverishes more their country. If, a government judges in connection with paying a subsidy with a foreign government, this transaction between the two treasures takes place in currency, however it is not in general of the money which is sent of a country in the other, because generally there would be loss for all both to disturb balance, loss for the country which would be deprived of his, loss for that which would receive some more than its circulation does not require any. Thus, for the ordinary one, the country who pays a subsidy sends to the outside of the goods for which it asks of another return only letters of change in favour of the government to which subsidy is paid. If a loan is contracted in favour of a foreign country, the payment is carried out same manner of it, not not in currency, but in goods, which do not obtain from other return that bill of exchanges. These bill of exchanges
sell at low price when it is offered at the same time of it there much; it is as if the goods which they serve to buy prices dropped; then there is profit to make to come these goods, but this profit is taken on the loss what makes the gunners of bill of exchanges. These two operations, subsidies during the war, the loans during peace, caused a very factitious prosperity for manufactures from England. They required an export of goods proportioned with the immense capital that the nation paid the abroads; they, consequently, encouraged all manufactures, and makes raise them simultaneously wages and profits of the trade. But, after subsidies, the nation was responsible for an enormous debt for all the goods exported during the war, without hope of return. After the loans, the nation was not to have between the hands that credits on States which refused to pay their debts for value of made exports in the same way with the borrowers, without hope of return. Thus them English merchants had grown rich indeed, but it was on the destruction of an English capital that all their benefit had taken. Today the crisis of the trade of America highlights importance of the capital that trade of a nation lend to another nation. Maybe that American merchants bought of the English in the long term, that is to say who they profited credit that offered to them English bankers, who accepted their bill of exchanges, it was actually that one most of the American trade was made on capital English: each year the Americans paid well what they owed by sendings of goods, and as a cotton private individual, but at the same time as they erased one old debt, they contracted a news of it; credit English trade on the American trade, far from to die out by these partial payments, went year crescent by year. When the crisis arrived, when merchants could not succeed in selling the exorbitant quantity of goods of which they had taken care; when cottons have
lowered price, and that the producers could not demolish themselves some: when the bankers finally refused their credit, moment to pay this debt of the trade, which increased unceasingly, finally arrived: to pay without contracting a news of it, paying without transfers, to pay or in currency, or goods, without obtaining return, was however an end with which the debtor was by no means prepared. Already it is put in impossibility of paying in currency by the suspension of the banks; if the English do not advance any more funds, it will undoubtedly find some dispatch not to pay either in goods; of all the solutions, more improbable it is that England withdraws all definitively the capital of which it made the advance in America. We could add to all these causes of inequality enters imports and exports, the considerable number emigrants who leave each year the rich, civilized and industrial countries, to go to be established in poorer countries and later. Though each one of them leaves its country with the intention to make fortune, it is however with this country that it borrows its first advances. It carries with him small capital, sometimes even a considerable capital; it embarks with its shoddy goods, and these shoddy goods, which pass from one country in the other, without hope of return, disturbs in its turn the balance which the economists had claimed to be so exact. One could even notice by this enumeration, that all country which exports more than it does not import, than any country which in goods a value does not receive equalizes with that which it sends to the outside, impoverishes itself. It is not undoubtedly one there great discovery; because it would be difficult to include/understand how it would be different. But this constant result returns however stranger favour than all the governments grant to the export trade. Since any export or is an expenditure, or is an exchange, any export, or is compensated by an importation equalizes, or is one loss. In one and the other assumption, there is no reason to grant to him preferably on the importation. In should it be concluded that the export trade is without
utility? Not undoubtedly: like any other trade, it is founded on a presumedly equal exchange, and in an exchange equal, the two parts find an equal advantage, that to satisfy their own suitabilities. Each region, each area has its own wealthes; it has some more than its inhabitants cannot about it consume, it estimates and wishes that of other regions; the exchange satisfies them both; truth benefit of this exchange, it is the pleasure of the consumer in one and other country; a second benefit, inferior in importance, it is the profit which this same consumer allocates with the tradesman for his sorrow: but to want to give one export trade less for the advantage of the consumer that for that of the tradesman himself; to want to create manufactures to give an export trade, it is to forget the end for the means, it is to forget the man to see only the things, and still for the evil to see. When manufacture exists however, when it is already disproportionate with the needs for the country; when it product infinitely more goods than its inhabitants cannot about it consume; when it offers them the every day with cheaper, and that it consequently always reduces low and profits and wages of those which it occupies; when, using discovered always new, its activity and its means of producing increase with most alarming acceleration, and that at the same time the misery and the dismissal of its workmen are always more afflicting, this manufacture need for the export trade has indeed; it needs to go to seek until the ends of the ground of the purchasers who relieve it of the obstruction under which it is with each moment close choking. But then, which is a relief for it is an evil for the others; it wants to reject on the other countries the burden which overpowers it; it wants, so that its manufacturers do not die of hunger, to charm them livelihood with the manufacturers and the craftsmen who, in all them other countries, prepare goods similar to his; it wants to destroy the industry of the workshops there, that of the mé-
third, that of the families. As should not it be astonished if a feeling national, universal, more extremely as the clean interest good market, more extremely than the reasoning and the systems, awoke, in the countries flooded by products manufactured to push back them. The freedom of the trade was a good thing when the trade was founded on reciprocal needs, on a mutual advantage; when nations, preserving the natural proportion at each society, primarily thought of satisfying their own needs and looked at the foreign markets only like one accessory. But an alarming disproportion enters the classes a country threatens all the others: with the class which increased in addition to measurement, competition comes to repeat each day, of one your threatening, that it is of too, that it must cease existing that the wind, water and steam are enough to make its work, unless it does not succeed in making fall down this sentence of proscription on the class which replaces it in other countries; then it is not any more of the advantages about the good market, of the benefit of the consumer or the merchant; considerations of very an other order must occupies the statesman: it must stop a social disturbance which already too many sufferings caused; it must save its managed, the people whose supervision is entrusted to him, of misery and of death. Indeed, while the theorists decided supremely that the most unlimited freedom of the trade had, in all the cases, being the practice of all the nations, and that they posted a major contempt for those which are opposed to them, and which are shown thus, say they, incompetents of to include/understand, interest of all those which see staggering national industry. at the catches with a so frightening competition, warned against the theory everywhere; and this interest showed itself so obstinate in its resistance, that them statesmen yielded to him everywhere, and that those same which before arriving at the capacity, had been acquired a reputation by their progress in chrematistic science, never dared to carry out what they had a long time contemplated on the removal of all the obstacles in the exchanges of nation to nation.
One cannot without astonishment notice how much, as soon as the interest is interfered, the reasoning yields and adapts to passions, how much the theories which one takes for oneself differ from those which one wants to give to the others. The principle indefinite freedom of the trade, suppression of all the obstacles, is now professed by all the English economists, the writers, in particular, of a Review quarterly, very-brilliant of talents, entitled 'the British and foreign Review'. They seek to wake up the sympathy of English for the Turks, who are wise enough for all to buy them; to excite their animosity against the Russians, who endeavour to prohibit the trade to them. But if there is such an amount of wisdom to buy what the foreigners produce better than us, rather than to be obstinately to do it ourselves, where thus is the advantage of this exuberant production of which they praise so much, of this activity of the industry which puts the English in a position to resell all the foreigners on their clean markets. How two systems to give up its manufactures to rest on those from abroad, and to establish of them on the contrary the every day of news to do all the work from abroad, can be advantageous into same time? We kindly request the reader to keep in its memory our observations on the various causes which can to give a misleading activity to manufactures an activity who, in the final analysis, is very balanced by the sacrifices nation even where manufacture seems to thrive. Undoubtedly it will intend to say that when we spoke about distress of manufactures, work without slackening of workmen, of the poor wretch food of which they are obliged of to be satisfied, then of the sudden suspension their work, famine and disease which decimate them then, us fixed our glances only over times of crisis and of calamity; but that, if we had wanted to look at six months or a year behind, we would have seen same manufactures rewarding, liberally, or at least sufficiently, the work of all. We could with more spoke
its perhaps, to answer that, in the last thirty years, this prosperity was almost always fallacious. And initially it is established well, by statements of customs, that the importation of cottons, that the export of the fabrics which were manufactured, were increasing year by year, or even as all manufactures were unceasingly by redoubling activity; but the activity is not all of which manufactures need, it is necessary still the profit for them: and same statements customs announce that each year the prices dropped, that each annum sale was done in conditions more unfavorable. However, unless the opposite is not also proven by figures, one must conclude from it that in spite of this increasing activity, manufacture enriched always less the nation, that the sale at low price left with each one less revenue on the buildings and the capital fixed, less profit on the working capital, less of wages for work. Then, if one compares, during these thirty years, the times of high industrial prosperity with the political events, it will be found more often than they was the English who, with their characteristic capital, bought their own goods for in to make present the abroad, and as soon as this extraordinary request ceased, the industrial activity slowed down too. Thus the English government bought until the 1815 all goods with which have finally been paid subsidies in Austria, in Prussia, in Russia to make the war in France; that consequently capitalists English bought the goods with which were balanced loans of France itself, of Holland, from Austria, of Naples, of Greece, governments various of Spain and Portugal, and all the governments of America. It is still as well as the English capitalists made the funds of all societies of mines of Mexico and of Peru; it is still as well as the bankers English has just made the funds of this 'in addition to-trade' which flooded the United States of English goods. At these various times there was not undoubtedly, on behalf of the English,
no intention to make present their goods with foreigners: to judge by the returns, they however hardly made another thing, and if one cuts off these times from imprudent liberality of the number of the years when manufactures have thrived, the others will be counted soon. In result, we do not say that a manufacture is always an evil, but although its fast development is always a danger. If it creates a poor population, dubious about the future, worries about its existence, dissatisfied of a current nature, if it finally creates proletarians, which one names his prosperity is on the contrary a national calamity. Before the establishment of such a manufacture, and class which it makes work, the State, as a whole, was richer, more satisfied with its fate, more ensured in the established order. Its population admittedly was fewer, it gross product of its work was less considerable, but starts from each one in this product, the aliquot one which it could consume, was larger, and the proportion between the population and wealth gave to all, for result, more material pleasures; while a population which consumes a poor wretch wages, and which do not have anything beyond that, for a nation an element neither of force is, nor of happiness, nor of stability.
FIFTEENTH ESSAY.

PROTECTION GRANTED FORMERLY TO ARTS USEFUL, AND OF EC WHAT ONE CAN MAKE TODAY FOR THEM.

We endeavoured to render comprehensible in the essay precedent, how much the career where began the modern nations, by continuing the industrialism, was dangerous; we examined the goal even to which they tended by universal competition; we saw them endeavouring to produce always more, without consulting them needs for consumption; to save, for all the products, human work, without worrying to find an employment for the congédiés workmen; to resell them finally ones others, without calculating that reduction in the profits and of the wages the suffering of all caused, and we have judged that this goal was in itself prejudicial with the human race. Each newspaper, each correspondence in manufacturing provinces, reveals us new deprivations, new sufferings, a greater uncertainty in the resources and the existence of a population always more. Vingt-une years of peace, moderation on behalf of the governments, attention universally directed on the public thing, of progress in all arts studies increasingly more followed political economy, twenty one years finally, which with the first aspect form one time of rare prosperity for Europe, did nothing but unceasingly worsen the position of the poor classes, to bring closer the crises.
the manufacture and of the trade, and to disturb finally
everywhere with the time the safety in which the happy ones
of the century were liked so much to fall asleep. Our
reasoning is thus strongly assisted by the events; and we know
that those which pushed back our warnings a long time,
anxious faintness universal, start to be said to themselves that
there is undoubtedly something of forgery in the social order,
although they do not want to be appropriate that there is some
thing of truth in our principles. We are not astonished by the
difficulty that we have to make us hear; we have to fight the
concepts who, with the first access, seem most natural, the
concepts who were arranged by men of a great talent in the
form of the most specious system. We have with to fight, and
perhaps it is there the largest obstacle, this human
sluggishness of mind, which, arrived at the last results of a
science, refuses to go up with its first principles, to shake the
axioms on which it rests, and of to turn over to some extent to
the school. We have to fight interest and self-esteem of all
those which hold the first ranks in industry, which see thriving
theirs large companies, and which are still accustomed to be
seen to rent as good citizens because they grow rich; we have
to fight the aversion of all the men to carry their glances on
scenes of suffering and discouragement, and this aversion
weakens us ourself, because us did not want to put under the
eyes of the readers the details tearing, on the fate of the
workmen and their children, who with ourself filled us the
heart with bitterness. With so many obstacles to be overcome,
we did only little progress on the opinion; we would not have
done absolutely any of it, if events increasingly more serious,
always more alarming, had not forced the public to subject to
new examination, one after the other, of the questions which it
for a long time believed to have decided. We sense however
that the circumstance which is opposed more with the
diffusion of what we believe truths principles
political economy, it is impossibility where us sums to present for so great evils of the effective remedies, it is the belief in a kind of fate which involves us, and the provision to close the eyes on the chasm towards which one runs, as soon as one believes to be able not to avoid it. Us in let us be appropriate, indeed: with so extreme evils, we cannot to offer that palliatives which must appear quite disproportionate. We never spoke to prohibit or the inventions, or machines; while seeing with pain pushing back of all shares human work, we never have called upon laws which gave obstacles to industry we generally limited ourselves to advising not to make, not to push, not to accelerate a movement already too fast; and when we call upon the legislation, the action that we ask him is so slow, that it could satisfy those which would like to bring to the evils society an immediate relief. We believe however necessary to recall to our readers that the species of suffering to which society is exposed anjourd'hui today is completely new; it is the consequence of fast progress which was made since fifty years in arts; progress which, during first half of this period, constantly appeared advantageous, and which does not have started to make attest obstruction or faintness that since twenty to twenty-five years. This suffering appeared in England, in Switzerland, in Belgium, country highly manufacturers, a long time before being able to be felt in France, where, after the exhaustion of the war, industry had much to make before have satisfied the requests fully country. Other regions are further still attesting this obstruction, which, under a false abundance, let languish the producer in misery. The government from Russia and Poland of its energetic will the advance of manufactures presses; their progress in few years were extraordinary, and nobody envisages yet in these regions that their misleading prosperity is the forerunner of an absolute dénûment. However any industry works
today for the trade of the world; same people who push back the introduction of the foreign goods, by the prohibitory laws most severe, propose to supply these foreigners, from whom they want nothing to receive. It is thus on the market of the world that it is necessary to fix its glances, on this market which necessarily is limited, because for him it export does not have there, and if the trade of the world proposes to produce much and of conbeen little, for it trade, at least, it would not know y to have of doubt that all its efforts tend to the obstruction. More the current system and the evils which it cause are new, more it is advisable to seek lights in what was done formerly. No science more than the political economy has need to be guided by the experience; in the any theory do not mislead more, because, in no, it is so difficult to take account of all the circumstances seemingly independent which reacts the ones on the others, and of to envisage the consequences of the changes which one made an effort to produce. There is undoubtedly today a great suffering for the workmen who, in most of Europe, devote itself to useful arts; but we do not see nothing similar in the other parts of Europe, which do not pass admittedly for progressive; nothing similar in the foreign countries in Europe, except perhaps China and India, where our system wore before reaching us, and to which we make attest per hour even counters them blows of our disproportionate activity. Lastly, there was not of suffering, but, on the contrary, much of guarantees of happiness for the workmen, in the old order which had been calculated so much whole for their advantage, when it was them who gave to the cities their payments, order that us we are perhaps too in a hurry to abolish. All those which exerted useful arts formerly, all those who were to live industry of the cities, were divided, before the French revolution, between corporations of which each one exerted some political power. Society had licence that those which cultivated the same industry could
to join to be prescribed laws, to protect themselves against other members of the State, to protect itself in the centre even of their corporations, against competition that they could be done the ones with the others. Any bond was broken today between those which exert the same trade; they are natural rivals, enemies from/to each other: their old organization had made brothers of them; it had to them fact of jointly directing their efforts against the consumers, or, if one wants, the remainder of society counters. All the organization of the corporations tended to restrict the number of those which exerted useful arts, to push back the countrymen who wanted to enter the trades of the cities, to limit competition, to prevent the obstruction, to divide also between all the masters benefit of the trade, in left that one could not grow rich at the expense of the other; finally, to give a guarantee to the industrialist, so that one time entered its profession. provided that it were led to it well, it could hope to rise there with slow steps but some, and it was not likely to see reversing in its old age the building of its fortune raised by its youths. At the time of the trade associations, any the industrial professions could be exerted only after one training length and expensive, which started only after childhood. This training limited the competition to those which could to make a first sacrifice and time and of money, and it effectively pushed back the majority of the peasants who would have wanted to give up the agricultural work for the city. In even time it decreased also the number of those which city itself could intend for the industrial career: it removed with the professionals the dangerous starter offered with-jourd' today to the manufacturer, the encouragement to be made children, to employ them as of the age of six or eight years with to gain the life of their parents, with the damage of their health and of their moral development. The masters refused to take apprentices when it trade did not thrive, 'did not go' in their locality; and it was a more effective obstacle still brought to a compé-
imprudent titon, with a creation of products which would not be asked. The apprentice entered the family of sound master according to a contract which generally bound it for several years. So sometimes it had to suffer there from coarseness and of the lack of education of its master, other it leaves attested the advantage of forming with him a knowledge close friend in a narrow family, and to gain there this sympathy which is maintained by the equality state between master and the apprentice. In the first times of Rome slavery itself was tolerable, because the slave ate with the table of the agrarian his master. In the 'latifundia', on the contrary, the slave was not any more one human being associated its master, a guest, but a thing. There even, however, he more was not lost in crowd, more not ignored of his master that is not it in the factories a workman enters thousand whose face is not even noticed, of which fate is never known of the master millionaire who pays it. Formerly, when only one apprentice was introduced into the family of its master, when it ate with its table, it was subjected only to one moderated work, with hours and days of relaxation, and almost always with a time allocated for its moral instruction. The finished training, the young industrialist began like companion with a master; he started to live of its work, to gain, but it was not still established: payments of the trades, which especially took care that one only master did not adapt himself, at the expense of his fellow-members, all the profits of its profession, did not allow him to take that one or at most two companions. Some favour, some credit was well ensured that which expressed a higher skill, but it was by this skill, not by a higher capital, than the best master overrode the others; all found work however, all were sure of living, the goods was not ever offered to the reductions, the obstruction never did not destroy the value of that which filled the store, or wealth even of society. During the trade-guild,
the workman travelled from city downtown, and thus created the spirit; he accustomed himself with independence, he learned the proportion between the population and the request for work; it discovered finally the place where it would be ensured of a sufficient work, and where it could be established with advantage. This establishment and the acquisition of the control could not to be obtained that with the approval of the body where it wished to enter. It is then also that it made its 'masterpiece', and that, rising above the routine any mercenary, it cultivated, once at least in its life, its art for art itself. Then also it employed the small capital which it had accumulated to buy tools, to assemble its workshop, to go up also its household and to marry, because its life was from now on ensured, it had entered the port. Previously, when it would have had imprudence to seek a woman, it is probable that it would not have found it, because it did not have anything with him to offer. But consequently its career, whose entry could have been difficult, became independent and happy; each step had it close to a better state, and from now on the vice one only could ruin it; the disease itself did not remove to him its state, that his/her companion and his apprentice exerted for its account. His wife however remained in charge of the care of its household, cleanliness of its interior, and education of his/her children. One can undoubtedly ask if this organization of arts useful would ever have allowed them to benefit, like they made today, of our progress in sciences; one can ask whether the consumers were as well been useful, if they obtained abundance and the good market with a degree which could compare itself, even by far, so that one finds today. But if the purpose of the payments of the trade associations were to develop the independence of character, the intelligence, morality, the happiness of the craftsmen, they had there fully succeeded. The workman who had risen degrees in degrees, which had been informed by the voyages, which had become animated of noble pride for its art while working with its masterpiece, which had married only when it had been able to do it with its
gess, and which consequently had felt what it owed with its
ews dignities of father of family and master, was a being of
one soak more raised than cannot be to it the manufacturer
(1). As much the master a great manufacture, which does not
put at service of art that its money, or at most its vigilance, is
a larger character than these former masters who themselves
worked, as much its workmen are lower in acquired
knowledge, education, morality, independence, with the
former companions, even with the apprentices who worked
formerly for the trades. masters of manufactures hold in the
industry of the cities the same one place that the large land
lords in that of the campaigns. Like them, to raise their great
fortune, they disappear one or two hundred small holders
must make independent; like they, they reduce then, by their
concert, all the men who work for them, in a state
approaching the constraint; like them, by the large ones means
of which they lay out, the use of sciences, division more
complete of work, economy of time and the inspection, they
advance art, but move back the fate of the men; (1) The
organization of the controls is always maintained in the
Empire Austrian, with the modifications which a government
had there to make suspicious. This one, indeed, allotted all the
authority which, in the Middle Ages, belonged to the
corporations. But it had the intention of to maintain in
abundance all those which exert useful arts, and it succeeded
there. One finds in an English Review (the Foreign Quarterly
Review, n° 36, january 1837) a table très-bien makes of the
policy of government, and of the resources of this Empire.
The author, who is in principles of the chrematistic school,
deplores the obstacles which are, by the controls, data with
the trade and industry. “They stop, says it, with an amazing
degree the developments of the national wealth; in addition
they put an almost invincible obstacle at the revolutions, or
even with innovations, because the stirring up spirit hardly
appears that in the cities, and in Austria the cities are too
favoured to nourish the desire of to change anything in their
state. The inhabitants of the cities, in mass, must be
considered, said the author, as hastened to defend a system
which guarantees to them the monopoly of the trade (p. 294).
” Thus the same system causes, according to him, ruin of
industry and the ease of all those which it makes live; the
inhabitants of the cities appear to him to enjoy a too great
happiness material, thanks to the controls, to wish a
revolution, or even improvements.
like they finally, they attest a reaction when those that they employ start to suffer, and they are ruined with their turn by the false operating system which they chose to grow rich. One could be astonished by only one enough organization of society which tends to destroy the small property, in arts as in agriculture, and to substitute to him misery on the one hand, the opulence of the other; a system who creates for some a capacity without terminals, and for others an absolute dependence, a system which tends to fight the idea or rather the dominant passion of the century, equality, was precisely in this century accommodated with as much of favour. And the astonishment redoubles when one realizes that one alliance against nature was formed between the aristocracy of useful arts and those which are said liberal, that industrialism and the zeal for the equality meet under the same flags. Such as we have just represented them, useful arts were practised by trades rather than by manufactures; the consumer ordered the work of which it had need, it made it make under its direction, it paid it at once that it was accomplished. It is still like today the request generally precedes the work by the carpenter, of the metal worker, of the mason, the shoe-maker and the tailor. However there also existed, in the Middle Ages, some manufactures themselves. Such was the art of the wool, which spread so many wealthes during a time in the principal cities from Flanders, of Lombardy and Tuscany; such was the art of silk, which was preserved until our days in the last. There would be undoubtedly as much interest than of instruction studied history of the art of wool at the time of its prosperity; no manufacture left more glorious monuments, none maintained in abundance a population more many. The cathedral of Florence, one of the temples them worthier of admiration of the Middle Ages, was its work, and them consuls of wool did not play a less glorious part in the policy that in arts. But we do not believe that it was possible to gather sufficient information for knowing well how wealth produced by the tra-
vail was distributed with such an amount of equality between all those which took part in this work, how the workman was protected against the masters, how competition was limited enters the latter, and how with a complicated organization and a mutual dependence of the members of a body which formed to some extent a republic in the State, freedom of all had however been spared and the rise of industry had not been slowed down. It is easier to study the art of silk, which is still preserved in Tuscany, such about that it existed in the ancient society, and to see in him how manufacture could consequently be intended very whole for the trade, without being invaded. as it is it today, by large capitalists, and without fate of all those which it made live barrel subjected to a great game of chance. The silkworm, which had been brought of Morée to Sicily, with eighth or ninth century, was introduced in Tuscany two or three centuries later, at the time where republics of this region had strengthened their freedom and started with to extend their trade. Mulberry trees were planted into large numbers in these fertile campaigns, and towards the end of June of each year a harvest of cocoons still not very abundant was delivered to industry. In the two following months, boilers were put in activity in several of small cities, in the center of each district planted in mulberry trees, for to draw silk. Then it was given to slip by and twist with more or less coarse machines; then it passed to dwarves of the manufacturers, who made silk cloths of them and velvet; then these fabrics were gathered by the large ones merchants of ‘the Art of silk’, in Florence and Lucques. Those, in their turn, went themselves or sent their associates with the fairs of Lyon, that of Champagne Troyes, at all the large markets finally of Western Europe, and silk fabrics, in spite of their exorbitant price, y found consumers. Many things deserve to be observed separately at this first origin of a rich person manufactures: the benefit that it brought to the country, the condition men who y
took part, the nature of the capital employed to make it flower, its circulation and the slowness of this circulation, quantity of currency finally that it employed. A manufacture, we sought to render comprehensible it, give a contingent profit sometimes, sometimes a commercial profit, i.e. that which grows rich by it sometimes the substance of its neighbor is adapted, by the chances of the play to which both are delivered, sometimes increases really the pools of society. nature of the products is not enough to distinguish these two manners of continuing fortune. If one judged some by this nature, one would be laid out to conclude that manufacture of silk did not create real wealthes, because the fabric: that it produced were not useful. They replaced wool fabrics which would have made the same office precisely; they flattered the vanity of some rich person, who, before, satisfied just as easily this vanity with already existing products. But at the time where started the silk manufacture, the population which was to offer one to him flow had increased. It was whereas flowered, in the occident of Europe, the feudal system: each village had its castle; each castle contained a small court; each lord, to multiply his defenders, had distributed its grounds with more peasants, and it had thus produced an increase in its revenues. The revenue preexisted thus in the consumers, and it called the luxury; also, though silk was manufactured in a manner infinitely more expensive than it is it today; though one in much less better tightened the education of the worms with silk, it pulling, the spinning mill, weaving and the dyeing, it thrived, i.e. each work was amply remunerated; it was it at least as much, often more than in any other profession, the silk fabrics admittedly were sold with weight of gold. The large lord, who makes tend today in silk all its apartments, then believed to deploy one great luxury when, in the days of official reception, it carried a coat velvet, or perhaps only one belt of
silk; all those with which it wished to inspire by the respect and admiration were as struck its magnificence as they it would be by that of a lord nowadays. For him pleasure was the same one, the expenditure perhaps was the same one too. The silk manufacture thus brought, with thirteenth and with fourteenth century, of the profit to Tuscan; but it is important to solve in its connection one second question: which were those which benefitted from it? The answer is also satisfactory that it can be it. All also. The price of the cocoons was rather high so that most advantageous of the agricultural produce of mulberry tree which was the sheet was paid to the owner, and so that the most lucrative occupation of the farmer was to nourish the silkworm. During two months, each household in the countryside was occupied of its worms: men, women and children, each one took on his sleep, its leisure, time necessary to look after these insects; but also each family saw increasing her ease by this supernumerary product to some extent, and which was added so that it had already. Hardly the cocoons had been carried to the market that, in each village, two or three contractors industrial, after having bought small shoddy goods of it, worked and made work to draw silk from the boilers: their work lasted two months too; often they were done there to assist by some women whom they called of the mountains, because at that time aucuns work did not retain them in the fields. The small profit which they shared with them spread ease in their families during all the year, and helped the mountain dwellers to support the deprivations of the dead season. The spinners bought then silk. One had not still invented the mechanism of the superb mills to slip by, that one built only in the course of fifty last years: all silk was to be spun to the stopper rod or with the wheel; the operation was long, but it was made at time wasted by the women, in all them families of the cities; it was however well remunerated, each young lady always found it in the interior of domestic walls; it was a livelihood which was assured for him
in all the reverses of fortune, and an honest woman was not never, like today, reduced not to find any work that it can make without giving up its household, with its bonds of family, almost with her modesty. The manufacturer bought finally spun silk; he made it dye for his account; he wove it with his trade, with his companion, then he sold with profit to the merchant, who joined together in sound store products of one hundred different manufacturers. Between hands of the merchant, silk became the object of a speculation important; it badly readily entrusted to others one so considerable part of its fortune: generally it itself was going to output it with the principal fairs of the Occident. Thus considerable profit that the luxury of the rich person allowed to make on silk spread ease, by wages superior with common measurement, among the peasants who raised worms with silk, the mountain dwellers who came to draw it with the boilers, ropemaking machines of all the households, dyers and tisserands. At the same time this manufacture also a profit higher than the common rate of the trade offered, in favour of the contractors of boilers, manufacturers fabrics and merchants. The number of the citizens independent that this trade made live in ease was already considerable. For better including/understanding the effect of this manufacture on the general prosperity of the countries, it should be compared, not only so that it is today, but' so that one endeavours to make it become; because in this moment even it is, in Tuscany, in a state of transition. The education of the worms with silk is still in general an industry given up with the peasants; however one makes an effort theirs to remove. Societies of agriculture represented that it silkworm, in the room to be slept of the peasant, did not find neither a sufficient ventilation, nor a temperature enough equalize, nor as well heard care as if workmen who raised them in made their single trade. Consequently, rich, intelligent and generous citizens, but the zeal, we believe it, makes the evil of their country, have
built, with the applause of the public, which one names 'bigattière' (1). They are vast buildings, distributed well, quite ventilated, where million worms with silk is high together by paid workmen. All is heard better in the care, food, the temperature, and change litter; the silkworm saw certainly happier in the bigattière that in the peasant; he is exposed to less diseases, and a greater number of cocoons is product consequently quantity of sheets. In addition, the workman paid at the day has only one poor interest in success of its work: it is enough for him to be free from blame, and one should await from him neither days before nor extraordinary diligence, nor devotion. Its work makes it less happy that the peasant, because its heart is there, it does not attach none to it hope: consequently, it costs more that which rewards it, because every moment of the workman is counted with price of the market. But the immediate effect of the bigattières was the introduction speculations on the market, or, in other words, of one random provision, and of one tendency to obstruction. The peasants undoubtedly did not have any means of knowing the extent of the needs for the mercantile world, or competes with it that made them the other silk producer countries, but they were regulated on a certain routine which put them at there-BIS jolts force. They planted mulberry trees where in had planted their fathers; they increased the number of it, only when they made new clearings, and that all the products increased in the same proportion. The extent of their houses regulated also the quantity of worms with silk which they could raise; it was about always even. The bigattières, on the contrary, gave new dash with the production; the peasants did not give up them old industry, all that of the masters was a quantity news added to old. Plantations très-consi-dérables mulberry trees were ordered simultaneously in

(1) Name of 'bigatti' given to the silkworm.
all plains. The opinion supported the speculation; one expected considerable profits on silk: the factory has redoubled activity, but the price of the cocoons felt fluctuations of the opinion, much faster than those of the needs; it is this year of fifty percent lower than it was not last year (1). Great fortunes were gained or lost on the play which were to produce of too great differences, but of very random fortunes, which N 'made that to pass from a wallet in the other, and who do not benefit the country. However the owners of Bi-gattières have sorrow to pay the workmen whom they employ one moderate wages; and, if it is necessary to believe the general opinion of it. themselves, after having done enough evil to the peasants of which they constituted the rivals, have sorrow to cover theirs expenses. Work to which silk is then subjected is still divided today between three independent industries, silk gunners, spinners and tisserands; but one makes main efforts to join together them in only one, and this meeting could not be distant. The silk gunners are in enough great number in each small town of Tuscany. The boiler in which one makes boil the cocoons, and from where one reels silk, such as the worm slipped by, is a not very expensive establishment, but which spreads much stink, and which probably is unhealthy. A very-small capital fix, and a capital working enough limited, are enough with the gunner of silk to buy cocoons, and to make draw silk by workers whom it calls of the mountains, during both month what lasts this work. The wages of these workers are very-petty; the benefit on the boilers is also, so that one ensure, very-little of thing. The raw silk is then bought by

(1) The fall in the price of the cocoons made feel with all, this year, the difference between the two systems: the masters like the peasants, who did not speculate, which was satisfied to make eat their own sheet by their clean towards, gained less than habit, but they did not lose anything; those on the contrary which bought sheet, which wanted to make a trade, exposed their capital to the play, and they lost half of it.
owners of the mills to be slipped by; the latter are the beautiful ones and very-large establishments which require a capital fix very-considerable. Their mechanism is extremely clever, but it is extremely expensive: each day the new ones there are brought improvements, and those which adopted them make a destructive competition with old. The number of the mills to be slipped by necessarily strong is restricted; each one occupies much women, ones in the interior, and others, moreover great number, which carry at them the work to be made, especially the unwinding of the hanks on the reels: their wages is rather high still today. Benefit of spinners pass for considerable; however we saw bankruptcies to follow one another quickly among them. In this moment also, one introduced in Tuscany a new mechanism who carries out in the mill to slip by, using a water fall, all the work of unwinding which the women made formerly each one at it, and the majority of those were con-gédiées. Finally the silk fabric tisserands are joined together with Florence, and some of them raised the large ones fortunes, all compromised today by the play to which trade has been just subjected in America. At the same time a Russian, whose colossal fortune just like ostentation has astonished Europe a long time, proposed to create, in palate which his/her father had raised for his residence near Florence, the most extraordinary silk manufacture which still has existed. All various industries of the gunners, of spinners, of the reelers, of the tisserands, will be brought together there; all will be carried out in the same enclosure, without nothing being carried with the outside: the vapor will be substituted, to put them moving, with the fall of water. All the works will be paid, all will be directed by inspectors with its pledges; profit or the loss will be from now on for him only, bus or does not estimate not that no other can support its competition: workshops existing will have to be closed, demolished, or to be devoted to some another industry. Its gigantic intention excites today admiration. It is ensured that, by the power of its capital, by the perfection of its machines, the saving in its
centralisation, it will produce higher fabrics in quality, lower in price than those of Lombardy, of Piedmont, of Lyon. It will be, as long as its capacity will last, the only representative, or about, of all the industry of silks of Tuscany, the only one which collects benefit of them. But if it is ruined, or if, discouraged by losses, it gives up its society, it will leave on the paving stone all the workmen whom it will have brought together, after their having removed any other resource that in him. Thus, the silk manufacture in Tuscany, compared with it that it was during its first introduction, is infinitely wider; its products are perhaps forty times more considerable, but their value is hardly but four times larger, and numbers it workmen whom it maintains is pains doubled. Disproportion between this progress is the consequence necessary of their nature; one succeeded in returning all more economic processes and to lower all the prices; however, one there could not arrive that while making make the work using the water falls, not of the man power. The fabrics are more flexible, more varied, but less strong, less durable and, with all to take, less beautiful. In the country, consumption in is extended a little, in so far as it replaced the wool and hemp; it would be difficult to say if it is resulted any increase from pleasures; this advantage, if there exists, will be with the remainder especially collected by the foreigners, since of much most of the products exports itself. As for the producers, the silk manufacture spreads more its benefit on a class with much meadows as many as formerly, and it limited them to the wages ordinary of work; the number of the chiefs, those which enjoyed of an independent position, which worked without to need to be called by a master, infinitely has decreased; the fate of all finally became more precarious, and one foresees already the term fatal and close to their career. We will benefit from exposed from the facts which precedes for to consider the silk manufacture under a third influence, that of the capital which is engaged there, and of its nature. In
first beginnings of this manufacture, one does not notice not
its capital. The farmer, the gunner of silk, the spinner,
Tisserand, make of it the advance by so small parts, that they
do not know themselves that they have it. The farmer makes
the advance of the sheet which it makes eat with the insects,
and of its own work; if, to establish them, it is obliged
sometimes to buy some lattices, its expenditure does not go up
that with some under it took on its food, and it does not see
any. It does not spend anything; generally, it does not leave
not currency of its pocket. However and its work, and its
subsistence, and the sheet which it makes eat, have a price.
The owner of a 'bigattiere' realizes some well, when he wants
to continue this industry for his own account. spent to buy the
sheet, and to pay the wages of its workmen, rise to two thirds,
often with four fifths of the money which it then withdraws
from cocoons. Thus the first capital working, advanced at the
origin of manufacture, was not money, but time and of the
sorrow, which was not even appreciated; today it is not more
of the money, still one appears it, but of the time and the
sorrow, which only are appreciated. The owner of the
bigattière started by building it, not not with money, because
it did not have a full case of it, but with some immaterial
capital, some credit that it realized while being made pay, or,
on the contrary, that it created in favour of an other, while
borrowing. This capital did not exist between its hands, in the
form of ecus, that during small a number of days, often during
a small number of hours. As for its working capital, if he
wants to make his account well, he will have to pass to the
flow of his cocoons, the value of the sheet that it collects
itself, the rent which its bigat-tière should be worth. the food
of its servants and its workmen, and their pledges. The latter
are the only ones that it pays out of money, with ecus which it
had often received the day before. However totality of its
advances takes the name of ecus, and must be to him refunded
with benefit; in ecus, by that which buys its
cocoons: generally, in its turn, it demolishes these ecus as of the following day. The silk gunner begins its operation with ecus; it spends about it a small number to build its boiler, others to buy the cocoons, others to buy it fuel and to pay the pledges of its workers. It is not not there however all its capital; it must count among its advances its own work, its own inspection: this price incorporated will have to be refunded to him by that to which it will sell its silk. But the operation of the silk gunner hardly lasts but two months; it would make a considerable loss if it were to hold idlers its ecus, since the end of August that it sells its silks, juice-qu' at the beginning of July that it repurchases cocoons; also it never does it. Maybe that it borrowed the money which it employs with its boilers, or which it lends that that it withdraws, while selling, for example, its silk with credit, its capital, during ten months, are immaterial; there exists only in the form of credits. For two months, on the contrary, it revêt with speed and successively the shape of money, cocoons, of fuel, of food for the workmen, cooked silk, and finally, again, of money; the ecus circulate, but they do nothing but quickly pass between the hands of the gunner of silk. The silk spinner buys with ecus the silk of the gunner, it Tisserand buys spun silk, the wholesale dealer buys them fabrics, outputting it buys them of the merchant to resell them with the consumer, who, in last analysis, must refund all advances, all wages, all benefit with the same ecus as itself received little time before like wages of its work, profit of its industry, or revenue of its real estates. The capital which circulates in these various stages of manufacture already considerable, and is called that we were to give an idea of its movement, us believed to have to benefit from it to fix the attention on the role that y exploited the currency, and the nature of this modification wealth, so often confused with him, that one names working capital. Already we can recognize that that
Ci is an immaterial quantity, a value that imagination appreciate, and which is found in always new forms in the goods, as production develop. In another essay, we will follow this analysis, and will draw we from the consequences; but here we want to only benefit from what the mutual relationship between the branches silk manufacture is still fresh in the memory, to make well understand that transformations various of the working capital take place admittedly using the money, but that the ecus form however only one of them very-small part. In the beginnings of the silk manufacture, when each operation was accomplished in an independent way, with tools still coarse, and adapted to the forces of only one man, each workman made the advance well of its capital in currency, but it was for a strong time short, so as to repeat the operation several times in the year. Thus the spinner bought silk delivers by book, or even ounce per ounce, and it resold it with Tisserand at once that it had slipped by, often at the end of the same week. Perhaps it never had at the same time that only one ecu, and this ecu was enough for him to buy successively for 50 ecus of silk raw in the year, while it resold for 100 ecus of spun silk. Tisserand acted in the same way, it did not have in the same way that few funds; it bought silk necessary to do one roll of material, then it sold it to the merchant before beginning one second of it. The merchant needed a capital, as also of a more considerable sum of ecus, because its stores filled of rolls of material which waited there the flow of the fairs. But though each roll of material had been bought with money, it was lacking of much that the merchant had ever had in his trunks one quantity of money equalizes with the value of the goods that it had in its store, because it had not been supplied all at the same time, but it sold to repurchase at once, and it never let the money sleep in its safe. Let us return however to the principal object of this essay. That
can one make for the happiness of those which exert arts useful? If somebody answered: To put at their range more working capital or more currency, we would ask him to wait, to draw its conclusions, which we have better definite the nature of these two modifications of wealth. If some other proposed to return to the organization antique of arts and trades, under which it appears certain to us that the craftsmen enjoyed much more ease, of safety and consideration that do not do them today manufacturers, we would answer that the world never does not begin again the obstacles which it deposited: all privileges of corporations were abolished with cries of triumph, like if it were a victory which the poor classes gained on the rich person, while of effect they all had been invented for the protection of the poor, and they benefitted only them. However the poor themselves would never agree with a retrograde movement, and perhaps they would be right; the practices are taken, manners are changed, of new interests developed, and a great suffering would threaten those which would suddenly be seen closing the entry professions now free. Since the cries of distress of the manufacturers started to render comprehensible that all was not progress in the development if admired manufactures, one also started to propose to remunerate the workmen by a participation in profits of a manufacturing society. We would accommodate with joy very average of again associating the proletarians the property, to make them go up condition of agents mechanics with that of beings thinking and endowed with will. But we acknowledge it, we do not have any confidence in this dispatch. It would cure largest by no means of the plagues who weigh today on industry, the obstruction, and competition of all to produce always more and with better market. It would leave the exposed trade and manufacture with this large and terrible play, which ruins so often today the merchants, and who would carry moreover the all poor savings of the workmen associated with society. Finally and they is
there our principal reason, we do not have any confidence in those which exert deputy powers. We believe that any corporation will make its deals more badly than those which are animated by an individual interest; that there will be share directors, negligence, ostentation, dilapidation, favouritism, fear to compromise itself, all defects finally that one notice in the administration of public fortune, by opposition to that of a private fortune. We believe more although, in an assembly of shareholders, one will not find that negligence, carelessness, whim, and that a society mercantile would constantly be compromised and soon ruined, if it were to depend on a deliberating assembly and not on a tradesman. What can one make however to remedy so serious evils in the present, and which seem to us with ourself more frightening still gifts future? We have it known as, let us know we only palliatives there. The first, it more important, it is to clarify the opinion: the second, of to give more encouragement to the new inventions; third, to draw aside the large capital of the industrial companies. If these three palliatives, because we agree that it is not necessary to see another thing there, were managed with constancy and intelligence, we do not believe that they remained without effective. There is in the human character a power of practices, or, if one wants, an inertia which, very often, was the anchor of safety of society. This inertia pushed back a long time the commercial play, the play of manufactures, like any species of play: each one followed the routine of its trade, improved it, increased it slowly, but without trying revolutions in industry. In fact the governments, for one half-century especially, have believed not to have not more important business than to support arts, trade and manufactures: it is them which repeated unceasingly on their subjects, that it was a shame to remain tributaries from abroad, who pushed them with export trade, which made consist prosperity
states to be produced much and consume little, to export much, and nothing to reimport. They were not satisfied exhortations nor even of rewards offered to all inventions, with all the imports of processes to accelerate work; they put in each State industry in hot greenhouse, they forced its development premature; all their system of customs, all their treaties of trade, and most of their diplomatic relations tend to the same goal. This very day that the suffering of their subjects should make them reflect, they become animated always more in the same career; the Pasha who would like to civilize Egypt, or the Tsar who would like bar-bariser Europe take same manner there: each year they increase the number of their manufactures by the most direct action of the capacity; and at the same time, England and France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland redouble efforts to extend always further their markets in the foreign countries. Mercantile cupidity is undoubtedly not foreign with the crisis which aujour-d attests' today Europe; but if it had been left with its only forces it would have been perhaps calmed; at least obstruction under which we choke would not have appeared of a long time. If it once were recognized, shown well that consumption can increase only with the increase in revenue; that any effort to resell rivals, to found the prosperity of a new manufacture on the ruin of one old, is also unjust and immoral, that is to say that one proposes the desolation of foreign or national rivals; that this ill deed is still necessarily punished with long, by the increase in the obstruction, the fall prices, wages, profits, and by the misery of all; that the saving of work does not produce a national benefit that as much as all saved work finds to get busy as profitably as before. If, finally, it were well recognized that the goal of the political economy and the action of government, it is the happiness of the men and all them
men, not the accumulation of the things, one can be flattered that this disastrous action of the government, to push with the industrialism would cease; then also all academies, all societies of agriculture and industry would cease offering prices to whoever would disturb more balance necessary between the production and consumption, with whoever would make more useless human, more supernumerary work the workman who has only his work to live; then, finally, them generous citizens, the patriots, would not believe any more to serve them country by renonçant themselves with a life of developments moral and of intellectual pleasures, to create the alleged ones wealthes, which cease being such as soon as their value exchangeable decrease with the increase in their quantity. We entrust in the capacity of the truth and of reason, to remedy the current evils; we do not call upon it however not only. One could notice that the jolts force what attests manufacturing industry today hold with the speed with which discoveries scientists follow one another, and with the lucrative application which is made by it with arts, on the greatest scale. The astonishment which has caused the ceaseless succession of the useful inventions, reacts today on consumption itself: nobody satisfy with what is, in waiting with what will come; nobody does not want to supply things produced by last discovery, because the consumer does not doubt not that before two years, six months perhaps, a news discovered something or moreover will substitute to him convenient or of more economic. Each purchaser can observe in itself this change in its provisions; but when one carries his glances on the salesman, one is astonished by the convulsions that one calls uneasiness on public fortune. Non-seulement the value of all the already produced goods find decreased by half by the invention which decreases by half work, but all the experience of the workmen, all the fruit of their training is destroyed; all fixed assets, all machines become each day more expensive, are made useless; the plots of land can be to him-même
sacrificed in its turn. We are delighted by the invention by beet sugar, like having shaken the system of slavery; but let us disregard this ashamed and criminal means of exploitation which was not necessary to the colonies, and let us measure the ruin that such an innovation brings to last industry. European sugar, by destroying the culture from the Antilles, destroyed all the mills with sugar, refineries, factories of any kind, which exploited in the islands the juice of the cane, all the capital engaged in this factory; it destroys territorial value of all the plantations, it makes useless all the population cultivatrice, it puts an end to all the trade of carriage on these goods. Who knows if, front that it is little, an invention which will not be more surprising, will not learn how to us to make the wine without the juice of the bunch, in any climate, any season? if this invention will not ruin not all vineyards and all vine growers? Who knows which will be the last result of the invention of the machines of transport with will vapor, which effect be able then to have on agriculture the suppression of most of the beasts of burden? Who can measure the consequences for the human society of so many of other revolutionary inventions to some extent. to which at the same time all the heads work? However, we by no means propose to stop, circumscribe genius of the man, occupied controlling nature, but we believe that the moment passed where there was some favour to excite it by rewards. We look at it patent, the monopoly of a discovery, like a dangerous encouragement given to a false direction sciences. It is not to earn money, it is not not especially to gain it at the expense of the men undue money-trieux it causes the ruin, that the scientist seeks to surprise secrécies of nature. That it continues its research, that it obtains the glory reserved to the philosopher, but that no cupidty comes to divert it its direction natural; that no monopoly is guaranteed to him for one application of science to arts, which we do not push back not, if it arrives slowly and without jolt, but which,
armed with the privilege, such as it today is granted, shakes in turn each part of the industrial building, and can to upset the social order itself. Lastly, great revolutions operated in the industrial world, the creation of a new industry to the damage the old ones, unexpected production of a mass of goods which condemns the former producers to idleness, the construction of machines of an extraordinary force, who drive out per thousands the workmen of the workshops, the spirit random finally, the spirit of the play introduced into all the branches commercial, the speculation on the raw materials, in the search for new markets, the effort of invention to wake up new imaginations, in all parts of this over-excited trade, that the English call 'overtrading'; all these accidents of our current industry are due to the use of disproportionate capital, joined together for only one society. Bankruptcies brought by the crisis from America taught us that it was often on funds of a million, or a million and half sterling, which the large English commercial firms worked. Undoubtedly, with a sum as extraordinary as thirty or forty million frank, one must acquire on the majority of the markets a rather great empire, to be able to ruin at will all most modest industries. This dependence of small with regard to large the east a political misfortune, too although economic. The sterling million is not less disastrous with the trade that the 'latifundia' Roman with agriculture. In one as in the other career, one cannot to raise the fortune of a large lord that by the sacrifice of hundred, of thousand small independent fortunes. In one as in the other career, the destruction of the modest one ease of the great number does not ensure the prosperity of the opulent merchant, of the opulent owner: negligence, the dissipation, defects attached to a capacity without terminals, make more than to compensate for all the advantages of the monopoly, and the bankruptcies are not rarer among Crésus of the trade that among the humble traders.
We believe that the State can make much to divert immense capitalists of a career where they do not bring that disorder and dangers, for themselves and for others. We believe that the sovereigns, instead of rewarding by titles and dignities the traders, the manufacturers, who have the merit to be enormously rich, would employ more usefully their cords to make them leave businesses. We believe that instead of allowing that tax favours in the customs, in all the administrations financial, are attached to the high opulence, they aves justice could, and they should make so that one sterling million, which represents the capital of thousand families, paid less with the tax department than the sterling million which forms the capital of only one. We believe finally that the law of the heritages and the equal division between wire and the girls can cure with this alarming accumulation of property, and that this goal must never be lost sight of the fact by the legislator. But it is not always with the fortune of an individual only the large commercial or industrial companies are founded. Art to have foreign capital was carried extremely far in our century; art to mobilize, like one says, fortunes, is one of the inventions of which the chrematistic one modern is pleased. If the public opinion recognizes one well time all the danger attached to this great play of the capital, if it take care the speculations of the capitalists with at least as much of distrust that monopolizations of grounds of the large lords, it will become easy to put terminals at the action of these fictitious capitalists, of these capitalists given birth to by association; because these are creatures of the law, and they are governed by it. Thus the nature and guarantees of the mixed liability companies, conditions of the limited companies shareholders, creation of the banks, and all the facilities which they give for the use of the largest capital, are as many questions who were treated by the economists, in their reports/ratios with the legislation, like if the great goal of the man of State was to be to accumulate the capital, and to return freer the play of which they are the object. While, under our
point of view, the legislator must be especially guided by the desire to prevent, to destroy any random provision, in society; by the desire to multiply small fortunes with costs of large, and to make prevail everywhere economy of the father of family on the speculations of association sea-cantile. We will not continue the application today of these principles; it is felt that they would involve us towards completely new matters, and discussions to which us did not prepare our readers. It is enough for us to have shown that the evils to which are exposed those which exert useful arts, do not appear to us without remedies, and that the remedies which we propose have anything illegal, nothing of strange, nothing revolutionist, nothing visionary not more, or which requires a new organization of society. It is enough for us especially to penetrate our readers of the idea that what is essential with the advance in knowledge, it is to know with the truth melts, never not to fear to contemplate it in all its nudity, because it is afflicting; that what is essential, it is to really know which good or which made evil industrialism with the industrial man: because the organization of the human society is our work; we are always masters to stop his action when it causes great sufferings, and it is not allowed to us to resign ourselves to to cause the misfortune of others, by rejecting the responsibility for our actions on an untrue fate.
SIXTEENTH ESSAY.
CURRENCY, CAPITAL WORKING AND OF BANKS.

It is not strange that the Greeks allotted to gods or with the heroes wire of the gods, the invention of the institutions on which the human society rests. The majority require, indeed, a so precise and so major knowledge of essence of the things, an at the same time acquired knowledge before these same things existed, that one cannot prevent oneself to allot it to beings of a higher nature, or to see a kind of revelation there. One feels impossibility of arriving there by a progressive walk; it always seems that the thing even as it acted to create, was necessary so that one could create it. How to explain, before the language, was convention from which born the language? How, without signs for the thought, to arrive at this so subtle analysis of the operations of the human spirit, on which does rest grammar? How to explain this admirable decomposition of the sounds, which has licence to represent them by letters, before letters had given to the men the means of helping itself of thought from/to each other, and while each thinker was tiny room to its individual efforts? How to include/understand research metals, before no metal was of use? extraordinary work of the mines without the assistance of any instrument of metal; research, in the entrails of the ground, of China blues, before no experience had learned how this ore, seemingly useless, could be
converted, by the power of fire, out of malleable babbit metal? how with iron and the copper, which one had never yet seen in kind, one would make instruments of which nothing of what the man saw on the ground could not give him in advance the idea? The research of the precious metals, gold and the money, is more extraordinary still: on the one hand, as they are infinitely rarer, they were also to be much more difficult to discover; their reduction required the widest metallurgy knowledge, while their utility was limited much than that of iron. If one did not have in making that brilliant ornaments, this use did not seem not a sufficient reason to undertake surprising them work without which it was impossible to get them. But what is more marvellous still than the extraction precious metals out of the mine which contained them, it is the social use that one proposed to make, and which, today, only gives them their price. This use, or the invention of the currency, requires to conceive it the most admirable appreciation future relationship between the men. This use, we have continued to do it since three or four thousand years, without to still understand per hour that it is. As of the moment when the trade was introduced between men, where the professions were divided, and where each one worked, not for oneself, but for society, waiting in return, of society, the compensation of its work, the concept of utility in the appreciation of the things made place to that of goes them exchangeable. The utility was the appreciation of the things, by each individual, in the assumption that it would make use of it itself; the value was the appreciation which should make society, by comparing the desire that the purchasers had some, with their means to get them. The value was moreover the comparative appreciation of evaluated thing, not not with a thing in particular, but with any thing. The value is thus a social idea put at the place of an individual idea; it is, moreover, one abstract idea put at the place of a positive idea. It is one compared
its between unknown quantities, for which the spirit seems to have had to proceed by the algebraic method rather than arithmetic, but which was contemplated at one time when neither the algebra nor the arithmetic one still existed. At the same time with the idea of the value, had to be born that currency, which was the complement. The practice of to work, not for oneself, but to await purchasers unknown, had obliged to consider each purchasable thing under two different aspects, to recognize two values to him that it was necessary to melt in only one. On the one hand, indeed, it was necessary to measure the price of production or the whole compensation work, and of all the advances that the object cost to produce, with the legitimate benefit that any industry must to get; in addition, it was necessary to estimate the price of the market, or the compensation which the consumer is been willing to give to get this same thing. Sometimes these prices leave between them a very-large difference, that is to say that production that is to say too expensive to be sold with advantage, or, with opposite, that the consumers have too pressing needs, that having sorrow to get the thing that they ask, they increase the ones on the others, and pay the more produced thing than it did not cost. The fixing of these two prices, ask of the salesman, the offer of the purchaser, is perhaps consequence of the trade which most directly obliged with to introduce into the exchanges a currency, or numeration aliquot parts of what the men regard as having value. The value, or the relationship between the request for all and production of all, was likely of comparison only as much that the spirit seized an ideal unit, and that, comparing the objects the ones with the others, it could be answered how much once each compared object contained this unit. This abstract operation was the image of that which one had made on material quantities, when one had compared gravities. One in the same way had chosen an ideal unit, deliver weight, using which one measured one of the properties of the matter, commune between different bodies,
The analogy between the two ideas was so well sensed, that it even name in general indicated the two units intended for to count, one gravity, the other the value of any thing. The talent, the drachma, the ace, the sum of money, delivers it, the ounce, are names of measurements of weight just like of measurements of goes them. A piece of iron or stone was used to represent the book of weight; a piece of gold, money or copper delivers it value was used in the same way to represent. But the idea weight, the idea of the value was former to that of the lower metal, or the stone which was used to measure one of properties of the matter, as with the idea of the noble metal who was used to measure the other. The abstraction had been returned present at the directions by an image, it existed however independent of the image. The value was not created by the money book which gravity was not created by the book of weight which was used to count them. Such object weighed hundred books, i.e. in weight it was equal to hundred times the piece of iron which was used to count gravity; such other was worth hundred books, i.e. the producer considered it like equal to hundred times the compensation of work necessary to get a money book; and that the consumer would give, to get it, hundred times the compensation that it would give to get a money book; and while combining these appreciations, by rectifying them one by the other, statement that such object was worth hundred books, it was to say that its property exchangeable was equal to hundred times that of the piece of money who was used to count the books of value. We feel how much it is difficult to seize this abstracted idea, but we also know that this difficulty is increased still by the ambiguity of the language, and the practice that it gave to our spirit to consider the currency as really understood in the things that it is used to count; we always suppose the ecus like preexistent for creation of the goods, the fixed assets, the funds of ground, of the credits which we evaluate by them, while with opposite the value of all these things preexists before ecus, and that those did not create it than the geometry.
did not create surfaces. But before following the progress of the ideas according to which the currency was selected like measures values, we should again be stopped on the double evaluation of the values themselves, on this balance of the price of the salesman with the price of the purchaser, who we come from to mention incidentally, and from which the price of the market results. We sought to render comprehensible it in our xiie essay (p. 160), the trade makes disappear the character main part of wealthes, utility, to let only remain their accidental character, their exchangeable value. Front the introduction of the trade, and when each one did not think that to supply him-même, increase in quantity produced things was a direct increase in wealthes. It then did not matter the quantity of work at the price of which this useful thing had been acquired. The father of family sensed itself twice richer when its attics were twice fuller, nevertheless good harvest did not have to him not cost more work than had not made the bad one; its housewife sensed herself twice richer when it was seen in possession of twice more fabric, without stopping with it that this fabric had been made, using an improved trade, twice less time. After all, the desired thing nothing of its utility loses, at the time same as, to get it, one needed no work; the corn and the fabric would not be less useful to their owners, nevertheless they them would have found on their way, nevertheless they would be to them fallen from the sky. It is there, undoubtedly, the true appreciation wealth, utility and pleasure. But as of the moment when the men gave up compensating each one by itself with their own needs, and where they made depend their subsistence of the exchanges which they could make, or of trade, they were obliged to stick to another appreciation, with that of the exchangeable value, with the value resultant either of the utility, but of the relationship between the need for all society, and the quantity of work which was enough for to satisfy this need, or even with that which will be able to satisfy there in the future. This exchangeable price, this price of the market, east
with the number of the most abstract ideas which science presents economic, so rich in abstractions. In the evaluation of the values which one sought to measure by the institution of the currency, the concept of utility was put absolutely on side. It is work, it is the effort necessary to get the two exchanged things one against the other which was only considered. It is on this basis that calculate is calculated the demand of the salesman as well as of the purchaser. Perhaps first will affirm that the thing cost him ten working days; but if the other recognizes that it can from now on to achieve itself with eight working days, if A competes with in the demonstration brings to the two contractors, it will be at eight days only that the value will be reduced and that the price of the market will be established. One and the other contracting has well admittedly concept that the thing is useful, that it is wished, that without desire there would be sale; but fixing of the price does not preserve any relationship with the utility. To measure gravity, it was not difficult to find a standard which had always identical gravity; it was a considerable quantity by the directions. But, to measure the values, it was necessary to find a standard whose value was also fixes; and the value however was a quantity abstracted, a quantity which the directions could not to appreciate. There was thus analogy between the invention of books of weight and that of the books of value, but it y did not have complete parity; before wondering how much corn pounds one could obtain for a pound of money, it was necessary to go reason of the value of a money book, and the answer was not easy to give. However, us have just seen it, the mercantile value is always fixed, in last analysis, on the quantity of work necessary for to get the evaluated thing; it is not that which it currently cost, but that which it would cost from now on, with perhaps improved means, and this quantity, what-qu' it is difficult to appreciate, is always established with enough of fixity by competition. Thus the value of deliver money was found, and that it was used to measure all
other values. The money book represented the number of working days, with the help of which one could extract it mine, and to bring it in the place where it was exchanged: numbers unknown with each one of those which stipulate, and which society appreciates however according to the reciprocal effort of financial backers and of the applicants. One held no account of utility of the money, and indeed, except like currency, this utility is very little of thing; one not does not hold any more account more of the work by which the money was previously drawn perhaps mine (because it circulates since hundred or two hundred years), but only of the work which it would be necessary for in to draw an equal quantity today. Any discovery of more abundant mines, or of more economic processes for the reduction of the ore, does not make only better market money lately produced, but at the same time it makes lose part of its value to all the money preexistent. However the experience learned that this quantity poured, each year, by the mines in the trade, do not vary appreciably. and hardly that exceeds which is each year consumed by arts; that discoveries in the metallurgy were so fast or so important, only to appreciably decrease the quantity of work required to produce the noble metal; that finally delivers it of money, without being absolutely identical in value, approach however enough of this identity, to be a good standard values, and to represent with imagination a quantity of production work always the same one. A measuring rod for the weights, surfaces, for the capacities, can extremely well be useful for a whole people; and indeed, in several town halls, one formerly preserved the banal measurement to which each one had recourse, before the use had been established to preserve one of them each one at home. There would not have been absolute impossibility so that only one money book was also used as banal measurement of values for a whole people; it would then only have represented with the directions this ideal unit of the values to which one that of the goods would have paid; but those
stripe transmitted hand in hand, and exchanged, without, the intermediary of the precious metals: one can even say that it is something of analogue which arrives in the countries where exist a bank of circulation. All relative transactions with the values achieve themselves using rags of paper, which is only used to simplify the accounts, while the standard of the values, which presents at the directions this abstracted appreciation, is preserved in a public deposit, to which one can always resort using these same rags of paper. The trade can, with the rigour, to be practised after only fixing of this abstract unit of the values, in which is solved the value of all the things which one wants to compare, without same presenting the image of it at the directions, without giving one name which represents a thing whose value is known. It is ensured that there are still some people half-savages who practise the trade without another currency that one ideal currency, proving to us as well as the capacity to include/understand abstract quantities precedes all progress by civilization. The trade is seldom the simple exchange of a thing wished by one against a thing wished by the other; generally the two contractors do not have the intention to apply the thing to the use of that which makes the exchange, but rather to carry it in a place where, by one new exchange, it will satisfy desires or needs more pressing. The merchants of the pastoral people arrive on border of the agricultural people, with the intention to give horses, camels, fur skins, dairy produces that their compatriots produced beyond their needs, against the grains, salts and some products of the workshops of cities. that they will distribute to their return among their compatriots. At the time same as they do not employ precious metals for this exchange, they need however a currency, i.e. of an ideal unit of value which they piss to count, in order to compare what they give and what they receive, to haggle over and recognize at the moment if they gain or if they lose in the continuation of their negotiations.
Such object divides in their eyes into ten aliquot parts; eight of these parts are equivalent to the value of such other object, twelve with those from a third, four with those of a fourth: these aliquot parts are for them the means of numeration. 'nummi', the ideal currency. That there are or not ecus which represent, whether these ecus abound or that they disappear entirely, the value of the things which are compared in will not be changed than their weight would not be changed by absolute disappearance of the balances and the balances. However the manufacture of the precious metals in ecus. each one is really equal in value to one of these parts aliquot between which one divided the value of each thing, made it possible to give to the trade a facility moreover. The operation of the merchants of the Pasteur people, who came to trade with the agricultural people, had by no means for object to buy precious metals or to sell some, but to gain in their country of the foreign goods which as many ideal pounds was worth were worth those which they had exported; to sell them to with it for larger summon these same ideal currencies, so as to to put in a position to buy, with a part only of theirs re-entries, as many national goods they had some exported the previous year, and to employ the remainder of the ideal currencies of which they would be creditor towards theirs fellow-citizens, or to get pleasures, consumption annual, or to raise their fortune. The merchants of the agricultural people, who adulterated with they, precisely made on their side the same account; much more, it is precisely the same one as they still make with-jourd' today, since the introduction of the monnayées pounds. The exchange goods of a country with those of another country, or at least with those of all the other countries, is almost always done on an equal footing: it is exceptional circumstances only which make that one countries remain debtor different, and the more exceptional still which makes that one of the countries pays with the other a balance count in species. As for the profit of the trade, it réa-
read by the sale which makes the reimporting merchant, with the consumer its compatriot. It is only by this sale that it can recognize if it really served suitabilities this consumer, if it brought the thing to him that this barge is laid out to pay more than it did not cost the merchant. The trade is thus an exchange of goods against another goods; the invention of the currency ideal only exempted to always find objects of the same value, to exchange them. One of the merchants delivers thirty or forty objects of which each one has a different value; perhaps the other delivers hundred in return of them, which all is the same evaluated with precision, independently one of the other. Among these exchanged objects are often credits of Pasteur on another Pasteur just like of Pasteur on a farmer, and 'vice versa', and all these purchases and these sales are balanced by a payment general of account. But it was more convenient still not to be concerned with this payment of account, of not to wonder what one would take in exchange of it that one gave, not to seek which were those which receivables or liabilities had, to employ them to make balances; not to make all these operations at the same time and with a kind of publicity. However, it fully was obtained drank, by forging the currency of the precious metals, and in spreading in rather great abundance in society, for that each one could, to some extent to share its exchange in two and to achieve its sale before thinking of its new purchase: in this manner, during one moment at least, value of the exchanged thing is in ecus between its hands. It gives its goods, which it estimated at a certain number ideal pounds, counters the same number of books in ecus: it is what is invited to sell; then it employs these books in ecus to get the goods which it needed: it is what is invited to buy. In the exchange, it was necessary to determine at the same time the value of two unknown factors, the two goods who gave each other one against the other; in the sale followed new purchase, determination of the value of these
two unknown factors is done by two different operations and completely independent one of the other. To determine each one of these unknown factors, it is necessary that money or gold currency which is given against it in exchange, is recognized for absolutely invariable in its value; indeed, true likely national wealth of to increase in value, it is the goods; it is it which, bought at a certain price, must resell itself at a higher price to give profit, while the money must be returned precisely at the price to which it was received. The part of cloth which was sold against thirty silver coins representing as many aliquot parts of the universal wealth can, in better circumstances, to be sold against thirty-five, forty or fifty of these same parts, and of these same aliquot parts; but the silver coins will be always equal to the same number of aliquot parts. Thus in any sale, that which gives the money gives some, that which gives the goods gives the dubious one. It results from it that one often grows rich by keeping goods until it increases by price, but that one never grows rich while keeping by the money, because its price cannot to change. Whoever thus dream to be gained, whoever thinks to put forward its capital, hastens to demolish its parts of money, which never gains, and to exchange them against the goods which present only the chances to him of trade. However we start to see being born beside the currency, in its shade to some extent, this working capital, which is only another expression to indicate the whole of national wealth, this capital which is only the sum of all ideal pounds, of all the values which represents it currency. Such object, we have say, were worth eight of these books ideal, such other twelve, such other twenty. The book ideal for each one aliquot given is of their total value, the twelfth eighth, it, twentieth; but considered compared to the national wealth, these are units, of which the sum is unknown. However the sum of all these
units is the national capital. This capital is named circulating, when the sum of these ideal units, which forms fortune of an industrialist, is invested in turn in things always news, and which exchanges the ones against the others; he is named fixes, when part of these ideal units assumes a form which does not vary any more, and is used to increase value of the forms which vary. No operation of our spirit requires more effort, more tiredness, than that which should be done to include/understand nature of the capital, true Protée, which changes form unceasingly and of essence, which disappears at the time when you believe to stop it, and who, after having accumulated gold heaps, leave that smoke with the hands of those which are thrown on them. The capital is identical with wealth, and however it is posterior for him in existence; it is an appreciation of this wealth, born from the trade and counted to him; it is the abstract image of all the values of which trade lay out. Since the capital is a commercial idea, it is with the trade that it is necessary to be addressed to have some, not a definition, but a practical knowledge. Open the accounts books of a trader, seek his assessment, examine its to have, this to have, he will say it to you itself, is his capital. You will find there initially that the account of goods general a certain sum owes him. It is the value of all the products Q' it buys to resell them, and which are the special object of its trade. It evaluated them in books ideal, according to what they cost him to produce or to get, and it looks them like its debtors, until the moment where their debt will be discharged by the sale, and where the new ones objects repurchased or reproduced at once will represent its ideal pounds. You will find then that his mill, or its factory, him a certain sum must: it is the part of the commercial wealth that it prepared in the shape of instruments to help its industry; it was named the fixed assets, and under this name one includes/understands all that is not the object of his traffic,
but which helps it to adulterate, since the tool simplest juice-
qu' with the most complicated machine, until these immense
workshops, these so expensive wheels, these furnaces which
impose with the steam a so extraordinary human work. more
often the fixed assets are a building, it takes part thus of the
nature of the territorial wealth, except that it is consumed
slowly by the use that or in fact. If the trader has plots of land,
it also counts them among its debtors, for a sum equalizes
with that for which it bought them, or for which it could sell
them. This value of the buildings, in ideal pounds, forms part
of its capital indeed, but it does not circulate, it does not give
any impulse to its trade. You will find then that the trader
counts in sound to have, its credits, or all that is owe him by
private individuals, companies, the public funds. It is one left
wealth which we indicated by the name of immaterial capital,
and whose economists have in general too much little held
account. We will return there in the nearest essay, and we will
show how all the whole of credits is a right on the property of
others, which it embraces the property present and future,
revenue that work has created, and that which one hopes for
that it will create in the future. Finally the trader counts in his
assessment, like part its to have, the ecus which it has in case.
Its case owes him one certain portion, a tiny portion however
of its capital, for the ecus which are deposited there. Thus, the
working capital is not the same thing as currency; quite to the
contrary, it is exchanged unceasingly against currency, and its
circulation is activated by the currency just as it is not
identical with the currency, it is not commensuré either with
him. Two circulations go admittedly in opposite direction,
balancing itself in each transaction, but not not with a speed
equal. The capital, or the public fortune taken as one together,
a revenue pays, which is known under the name 'of interest'.
This revenue results, for the working capital, of
the increase in price of the goods, while they are made, or put at the range of the consumers; for the fixed assets, increase in value which it gives with these same goods; for the buildings, fruits ground; for the credits, of a participation in revenue of the debtors. The currency account alone does not pay absolutely nothing: as long as the money remains in kind in case, it is completely sterile. It results from it that all the parts of wealth follow, in their circulation, one different walk, and are subjected to a degree more or less large of acceleration. The movement of the goods is slowed down to give them time to produce a profit, that is to say by the work which makes them, that is to say by that which transports them and distributes them. It is not necessary to sell nor fixed assets, nor buildings to derive a profit from it; if thus they circulate sometimes, it is according to suitabilities particular. In the same way, the credits carry an interest without it being necessary to make them circulate; but ones are in the long term, and their payment is other thing only them exchange against currency; the others are indefinite, but they can be bought and be sold in currency like goods. In exchange of all these various nature wealthes, it is always currency or that one gives or that one is supposed to give (1); but like this one, so much that it is kept, does not bring back any profit, the trader who it holds in case is always in a hurry to demolish itself some, to hasten some circulation, to make him change hands, much more often that with the working capital; with stronger reason, much more often that with any other nature of wealthes. Thus, there always exists in society two circulations in direction one of the other reverses. The currency passes successively to the hands of all those which need some to achieve their exchanges. A purchaser gives it to a salesman,

(1) We say 'or that one is supposed to give', because, as we will further see it, instead of currency, one often gives credits which one looks like equal to the currency, because one can at will, and without profit nor loss, to exchange them against money.
who becomes purchaser in his turn, and so on, as long as he has an object whose property must pass from a hand to one other. At the same time, the working capital is transmitted in ideal pounds, by a succession of markets, of the producer to the consumer. The manufacturer has advanced this capital, in food products, out of raw materials, with the workman, who returned it to him with increase in goods; it delivered it, with a new increase, with the wholesale dealer, who distributed it to the merchant in detail, and this one with the consumer. This last balance all the increases, all the profits which form it returned of all those which contribute to the circulation of this capital in ideal pounds. The circulation of the currency is made all the more fast that society is civilized, that the property is there guaranteed better, and that each one arrived there at larger agreement of the businesses; because each one is more accustomed also there to find a revenue in any other species of property, and recognizes better than as long as it keeps currency in its case it does not draw any interest from it. In the countries half-bar-bares, on the contrary, each one feels that the currency, always equal to itself in value, to exchange always good against all which one needs, is best condoms against unknown dangers. Each one feels, by accumulating it, that it is capacity which it holds in reserve in its safe: however, more the state of society is stormy, plus each one wishes capacity, preferably with pleasures. The owner feels that in the middle of the disorders, it is this capacity condensed under form of currency which will defend it and will save it best with need; it also knows that it is wealth which is concealed best in all the eyes, which excites less desire, and which escapes most easily with plundering. Though in the overpowered countries by anarchy or the despotism, the capital working in trade often brings back a considerable profit, more great number of those which have something do not want to run the alarming chances of the trade, and they like to better bury their money than to lend it to interest or it to change into working capital. Indeed, a loan doubles theirs
chances to attest some affront or some plundering. With risks which the creditor runs, it is necessary to add those which runs the debtor; that the rich person says his secrecy, all is still needed at least with a person, the borrower, and if he wants to take safeties, it is necessary that it still says it to the witnesses or to the notary. In Turkey, in Persia, in the Indies, any man, without exception, thésaurise as soon as it can it, It locks up, it hides, it buries all the coins of currency which it can reach; it never lets any leave one with its hands without saying itself but it one of its guarantees loses. In the most civilized countries, with opposite, any man became trader in this, all with less, that he does not want that its capital remains dormant between its hands. even for the shortest time. In England, the rich men most foreign with the trade, a whole have an open account in their banker; they pay all that they owe or that they buys, by assignments on him, and they keep money very little on their premises. Consequently, in the cruel and oppressed countries, there is very-little of working capital, and comparatively much currency, who admittedly remains almost always hidden. With opposite, in the civilized countries, and where the property is well guarantee, there is a very-considerable capital working and proportionally very-little of currency. As the working capital is an abstract quantity and imperceptible, as it is always transmitted using the currency (it in what, with the remainder, it does not differ from all another nature of wealth), and as it is never indicated that by the number of ecus which it represents, it, is usually confused with the currency, even by those which are most versed in the businesses. Almost all sentences usual by the trade increase this confusion, parce that they are unsuitable. The money is rare, says one, the money is abundant, and these expressions refer to the working capital, with the immaterial capital. not with the precious metals. It is said that the money is rare when there are many debts to pay; that the money is abundant when there is much of people who offer themselves to form a credit. In one or the other
case, it does not matter that the transaction is achieved with ecus. Transmission of the immaterial capital by a transfer of account, an assignment or a bill of exchange is all also effective; it depends by no means on the scarcity or on the abundance of the ecus. This continual confusion of the capital working with currency is however the cause which engaged the private individuals and governments in a succession of often contradictory efforts, to increase what appeared the engine to them universal of any industry, the currency which they took for the capital; they increased however, not not wealth, but the means of counting it. The ones wanted to give birth to a greater quantity from precious metals; others to import them in the country, others to deteriorate them by an alloy, and to give them course for more than they were not worth; others finally to replace them by less expensive minus sign, paper rags, which they then believed to be able to multiply at will. It is about like if, to increase gravity of all the traficables objects, they had attested to in turn multiply the balances which one uses for balances, then to replace them by lighter balances. The precious metals cost to produce, like all another goods; they cost even more or less, according to that the mines are more or less abundant and that their work is more or less easy. But as this work is always extremely expensive, that their value is consequently always extremely raised, proportionally with their weight and with their volume; that finally, they all the more easily are transported, all the more surely, they are almost indestruc-tibles, and that no accident deteriorates their essence, their value equilibrized itself in all the universe. This balance, this perfect equality of price from one country to another and year to another, is the essential quality of a measurement. If it were necessary to appreciate at the same time what the goods are worth and it what is worth the money which one gives against, it would not be any more one sale but an exchange; the price would not indicate any more delivers it ideal, the number of the aliquot parts which are in influence
with the universal wealth; the merchant would never know if it gained or lost. If balances intended to measure gravity, while carrying them of a country with another, increased or decreased by weight; if ells intended to measure them fabrics lengthened by heat, were shortened by cold of a significant quantity, weighing, measuring, would be more than useless, they would become a disappointment: of even if the relationship between what the money is worth on the place and what it costs to produce varied, if money delivers it represented sometimes more, sometimes less than delivers it ideal, of one enough significant manner to throw uncertainty in trade, the idea even of the value could not be more seizure; all those which had believed to start from an unquestionable quantity in the exchanges would see themselves misled; all contracts, all the transactions, would be denatured. All these disastrous consequences would result, for the trade world, of all great variation in work of mines, which would change the quantity of metals appreciably invaluable having course at the same time. If this quantity were decreased, each one of those which would have pledged in the long term would see itself invited to pay more than it had not promised; if this quantity were increased, each one of those which would have to receive would receive less; so finally this quantity was subjected to fast alternatives, like the east today the price of almost all the goods produced by arts, the concept itself of value would be destroyed, and it trade would be nothing any more but one disastrous game of chance. However all the encouragement which one gives to the exploitation mines of precious metals cannot have of other effect to destroy this so important proportion. changers, the bankers, in general gave each other the mission to maintain it. Making money their study, and the object of their trade, they take care the differences in value of one countries with the other, which appear by the state of the exchanges, and they hasten to make pass the currency of the place where it overflow with that where it misses; finding, because of speed of this operation, their benefit in a mid-agio
nime, and whose current commercial can be exempted to hold account. But if quantities of currency thrown to times on the market became much more considerable, so at the same time, because of this abundance money enough price dropped so that the transport charges became too much expensive, this continual work of the bankers to maintain the balance of the values between various countries would become impotent, and the expression of the silver values would cease to be a common language between all the people. For any other production that that of the precious metals, the market demand and the expenses of production dispute with about equal forces, and the price establishes some. But when it is about the standard of all the values, the market demand conforms exactly to the production. All that one requests from the money to form this standard, it is the fixity of the price; remainder, a sum of money is too clean that one ounce to represent the digital unit. All the money in circulation in the world has a value perfectly determined and independent of its quantity. All it currency multiplied by the number of times that each ecu has paid been, in the course of the year, is equal in value to all the mass of the things which were sold in the year, multiplied in the same way by the number of times as each one of these things passed with hands in hands, and was paid in ecus. Remainder, this mass of currency, which it weighs thousand books, or a million books, or a billion books, has precisely the same value. At the time thus that a mine is discovered more abundant, or a more advantageous process for in to extract metal, its owner does not grow rich, but the value of the money is proportioned at once at the expenses of its production; and indeed, of all the mines, those which enrich less their owners are those of metals invaluable. However the discovery of very-abundant mines a very-notable damage at society would cause, while misleading all those which contract, on the price to which they buy or sell any thing. The alchemists who continued the transformation of
metals proposed a goal similar to that of the minors. Today that one does not think any more of achieving the philosopher's stone, it is very-possible that one is able there without to have sought it. Some indications of science already seem to make envisage that one is on the way to discover the secrecy of nature, in formation of metals, using electricity. If one succeeds, the consequences of this discovery will be very-badly-happy for the trade of the world. Gold and becoming money infinitely more abundant, and dropping consequently much price, their weight and their volume, to represent the same value, will be much more inconvenient with to transport. One will be in any country, with, the regard of the currencies, as one is today in Russia or Sweden, where regulating metal is the copper, and where it is impossible with one man to carry in currency the value of one hundred frank on him. But inconvenience of the weight, in the domestic transactions, would be yet only one small disadvantage, if it did not involve not with him impossibility of returning the value of precious metals uniform in all the universe. Today the port of the precious metals is an object of if little importance, that their value is always equilibrized between all commercial countries, because they flow at once where they are worth more than their price. But one would not transport quintals of gold, as books are transported: in kind that if the standard of the values were once multiplied with speed by the advance in knowledge, it would lose any unit the advantage of remaining always the same one and of being estimated everywhere in the same way; to give an idea specifies values in various times, and not less precise in the various places. But after endeavour having endeavoured to multiply without measurement metals invaluable, one fell on another dispatch, that to make them useless, or to replace them by paper. The species of gold and money achieve, like currency, two functions at the same time: they are used of standard, or measurement digital unit of the values, and they are also used for to transmit these values of a hand to another. There is much means of replacing them to achieve this DER
nière function, it has none of it there to discharge first. No other production of human industry approaches only advantages which metals have invaluable, to preserve an identical value, and to be useful of complete pledge to those which have them, that they will find always in them, and proportionally in each one of their parts, this value for which they received them. In numeration, it is essential that two halves, that four quarters, are equal to the whole; but that one counts the objects in nature which can divide thus or to join together without their value being deteriorated, that one counts those who can preserve themselves at the air, in the ground, under water, through fire, and to reappear always identical; those which can be transported easily, hide, so as to be withdrawn from violence and tyranny, and to find themselves then, after twenty years, hundred years, always preserving with their owner same command on any thing; it will be sensed soon that, if one were obliged to give up precious metals, if one could not make a truth of it any more currency, a pledge, as well as a sign of the values, one would not find anything to substitute to them. But as for the exchange of the values which the men make between them, it can take place just as easily, and much more economically, in one hundred other manners. It can take place by barter, which one can regard as two sales and two purchases, combined in only one act. It can take place by delivere of common account, where the various traders have each one an opened account, and where transmissions of property of one with the other are achieved by two lines of writing, as the sales are transmitted in the large book of national debt; it can take place finally by the bill of exchanges by the assignments, bearer bonds and tickets of bank, which all is only modifications of the primitive idea bill of exchange. In, of Paris, a credit has of 1.000 ecus on B, of London; it draws on him a letter from change for this sum, and it sends it to C, of Amsterdam which it owed the same amount or beyond that; this one in
sees with D, of Hamburg, to which it also had, which sends with E, of Frankfurt; and the bill of exchange can continue to circulate thus, in payment of as many debts, between hands of twelve or fifteen endorsers, without there being one ecu of spent, until it returned between the hands of creor, without no payment in currency being done in all this circulation. It is true that when the bill of exchange is yielded in the same city, by a merchant with another merchant, it in general is bought and paid out of money. It is not that of a city to another which it transmits usually them values without the intermediary of the currency. In addition, the assignment is a bill of exchange drawn from one house to another in the same city; and as it often circulates with hands in hands, it discharges or can discharge a great number debts with only one payment. The bearer bond is with the assignment, in the same city, which the promissory note is with bill of exchange from one city to another: it is a promise of to pay, instead of an order to pay, also transmissible, also passing in payment, of hands in hands, without spending of money. For these operations made in the same city, as it is supposed that the carriers know each other reciprocally, formality of endorsing was exempted, transfer written on the body of the transmitted effect. Lastly, of the good with the carrier was born the banknote, which is itself one good with the carrier emitted by a publicly-owned establishment which in met in circulation a great number at the same time. The bank promises to pay in currency with presentation value of any banknote which it emitted: each carrier can thus immediately change it into currency; but it is precisely because it can do it at any hour that it does not do it. If it requires to have currency at its disposal, it keeps its banknote, that it finds less weighing, apparent, less exposed to being stolen than it currency. If it has on the contrary a payment to make, it delivers its banknote instead of ecus, leaving with that to which it the care transmits to go to withdraw it at the bank. This one has the same reasons precisely as the first carrier, for
not to withdraw it, and as long as safety is complete, the ticket can be employed in hundred, two hundred successive payments, instead of currency. If this proportion were invariable, if this safety were always maintained the same one, it would be enough to keep one ecu to represent a circulation of 100 or of 200 ecus out of banknotes. All others not being more necessary to make the function of currency, which would be achieved by paper, could be reduced in ingots and sold like goods. The banker, currency on confidence and the nonchalance public, would attract in its trunks, exchanges some against its paper, almost all the currency who belongs to the community, and could about it make its profit. Up to now this operation presents a profit limited for banker, and a simple convenience for the public. The banker giving its promises to pay for payments, on them the same interest perceives that if it had paid indeed. Its benefit is precisely equal to the interest of its circulation out of paper, less interest of the money which it keeps in case to face there. The public only gains with this substitution to avoid the sorrow carrying money of a place to another, and to count it. As the interest of society is composed of the meeting of the individual interests, the benefit which makes it banker on the interest of his tickets, fact, in so far as it is worth, left the social benefit. But this tiny reason would not have not been enough to determine the public to encourage the banks; because each one of those which resort to it does not delay with to feel that it loses in safety much more than it does not gain in convenience, when instead of the pledge of the value it does not hold any any more that the sign; also the small convenience which it gets of to carry all its money in wallet, instead of locking up it in its case, would not have prevailed a long time on fear of a commercial crisis. However, another more universal kind of convenience has been the result of the institution of the banks, and it has interested all the most adventurous trade, and especially most active and between the tradesmen, to support them: banks
are presented like universal pawnshops; they said to the trade: All times that you have needs, you address to us, and if you offer the maid to us safety measures, we will always advance you per hour even all the money which you will need. Each trader, even it more opulent, a temporary embarrassment fault can attest of currency, and it is well ease of knowing where to resort; without to even attest of embarrassment, it is generally well ease of to be able to increase its operations using the capital which him is offerd all the more liberally as it is considered richer. At the same time most adventurous, the least rich, have usually need for funds, and they seize greedily the occasion to also extend their credit far which it can go; all finally are flattered of this creation of capital which seems to make with their door, and a pawnshop which offers its credit everyone is ensured to enjoy a general favour. There is between the trade of bank and that of manufactures this influence, that, in one as in the other, the end seem contrary with the means. The goal of the public, while supporting the establishment of manufactures, it is to get work with poor, and the means which manufacture employs, it is to do the same work with much less hands that before; the goal that the public proposes while supporting the establishment of the banks, it is to spread money in circulation, and the means which the bank employs, it is to export money out of the country or to melt it. The result of both is the same one also, and such as one was to await it of this contradiction: they flatter both some time by the appearance of a disappointing prosperity; then, as of that one moment of crisis arrives, they increase some inordinately convulsions. The bank proposes to replace the currency with its tickets, to achieve with paper the same circulation which was done before with ecus. It thus withdraws, with the means of its tickets, or more often it is cause than others withdraw precious metals of circulation; it melts them or it exports them. At the same time it gets the provision
of this part of the public fortune which was invested in currency, and of which it makes make the economy at society: it is this part, evaluated in ideal pounds, which it lends to who wants to borrow. There is here creation of wealth by the credit, there is only one change of destination. One given quantity of the public wealth was unfruitful, like employee in currency. It was the currency account who owed a precise number of million at society, it is it numbers precise which can only being employed by the house of loan. However it should be noticed initially that this number of million of which can lay out the bank is not the total sum of national currency. We said that a ticket can pass in two hundred hands before being converted into money; but the bankers can count on a credit only the whim of any individual can shorten: they must expect so that their ticket is converted into money, initially, all times that the holder will need to divide it into smaller parts, to pay less sums; then, all times that it will attest some fear on the stability of the establishment. The first cause circumscribes the circulation of tickets in the most peaceful times; the second does it to cease in times of crisis. There is in the great merchants a certain number of money bags which are never untied. These are these that in peaceful times tickets of 500 FR. or of 1,000 FR. can replace without significant disadvantage. They pass from the case of a rich person negotiating to that of another negotiating rich person, in payment of the great transactions of which a sum of 1,000 FR. can be looked like the unit. But the bag of thousand franc which from the banker passes to the shareholder, with the manufacturer, the farmer, the contractor of work of all kinds, must immediately untie themselves, distribute themselves by gold coins, ecus, by under, with as many different takers, to pay, in all the shops, all the pleasures, the food products, subsistence, which are never bought by large sums; any ticket of 1,000 FR. which, by the banker, with that which will be paid does not make great deals,
but which wants to spend, which wants to enjoy, which wants to live, will be immediately deferred to the bank to be converted into money. That one will be able to try well to convert it into tickets smaller; but these tickets go down well transfered towards the consumer, towards the poor one, and as soon as they reach it, were not they that of 5 FR., they must be converted into currency. Thus a wise bank must propose to know with precision quantity of money which is employed in the transactions great merchants; quantity that considerable houses usually hold in case, the value of circulation whose bags, of thousand frank are the units. These bags are the only ones that it can replace with advantage by its tickets. If it attests contrary to making enter its tickets in circulations where the sums divide and recompose themselves unceasingly, they will infallibly be pushed back by it. One announced land, mortage, industrial banks; and their name alone indicates the ignorance of the principles of the bank. The owner, the farmer, the manufacturer, who receives a ticket of thousand frank, must immediately divide it enters hundred, perhaps between thousand recipients, to pay wages which, generally, do not pass frank by day, and the employee must in his turn change his frank into centimes to satisfy its various needs. All tickets of these banks, or must return immediately to them for to be converted into money, or must pass between the hands of great merchants, which receives them as it would do those of one case of discount. Any emission of tickets of this kind, of tickets which cannot not to remain in circulation, or which is supernumerary with the quantity of the money bags which one never unties, ebbs towards the bank, and can cause an artificial crisis; and of other leaves, any agitation, any concern on the businesses or public or commercial, any need for unexpected money, also urge all the carriers of tickets to carry them out. The crisis then is not the effect of the misconduct of the bank, but of the same dangers of the institution, engagement that it took to pay with presentation, a money which it does not have
not, that it should not have kept. In these sudden requests and
general, any hesitation to pay, any delay, would increase
terror, and would immediately make present at the bank all
the tickets which it put in circulation. Like the least accident,
the untruest noise, can suddenly to cause one of these panic
fears, any led bank with prudence must be always held in a
position to resist the first alarm; it must preserve in reserve, in
its case, third with the fifth of the currency representing paper
that it has in circulation, though the interest of all the currency
which it keeps in case is profit as much than it loses. While at
the time of a crisis the bank pays without stopping the
currency which it holds in case, it works, by immense
sacrifices, to borrow some, to buy some, with in to make
arrive from abroad. In the truth, it promised it that it could not
be able well to hold, in the hope that one would never ask him
to achieve its promise: it has promised to hold any loan, at the
disposal of its creditors, all the money that its tickets
represent, and if it did it, instead of a benefit at the bank, there
could be only one unquestionable loss. At the time of a crisis,
each one is not satisfied to more find in banknotes a means of
regulating its accounts, quite as convenient as the ecus, he
wants to keep between its hands an unquestionable pledge of
the values of which it was deprived. If it had in store of the
goods, it would feel that it in them a wealth, more or less
difficult has to realize, it is true, but which would not entirely
escape to him. banknote; on the contrary, is only one paper
sheet, who can be without value at the time when it will have
it more need. The solvency of the bank, the real estates which
he are used as guarantee, are not enough to support sound
credit, because, in times of crisis, it is at the moment even as
one can need money, and than the chance of to wait, this was
only fifteen days, can cost you fortune or life. Moreover, if
discredit lasts some time, there is bank which necessarily does
not have to fail, unless it does not take the desperate party to
withdraw
all its paper, and to close are counter. Indeed, all the various operations which it can make to get of currency, are always reduced to that to buy money, against its paper which it gives at a loss, then to return this money against its paper which it receives with the par. If this operation is frequently repeated, as it is it in one time of crisis, there is no capital, some considerable that it is, that it should not destroy. In general, banks restore their credit by the speed of their payments; and when they held head two or three days with the crowd which besieged, to refund their tickets, they count that this crowd will disperse; but two or three days of more than same discredit would necessarily lead them to make bankruptcy. We supposed the crisis completely independent bank, which attests the consequence of it; we have supposed that it was the result of an invasion, an insurrection, a revolution, or only of some great upheaval in the trade, of some considerable bankruptcies, of some obstruction of the market, which prevents a great number of traders at the same time to return in theirs advances. But whatever the cause of the embarrassment or of terror of the public, the convulsions of the bank worsen it singularly. If circulation were done only out of money, the natural effect of this movement of terror would be one simple suspension of the businesses; the barge would not be presented more in the merchant, this one perhaps would lock up or would hide its goods, that which would have money would not like to deprive itself some. The only loss universally attested would be that of the product of work during these days alarms, and, up to a certain point, it would be compensated by a reduction in consumption. But the existence of a bank on the contrary everyone in one calls moment of alarm to a disordered activity. Each holder of a ticket runs at the same time to the bank for to be made pay, each banker negotiates with all the holders ecus to repurchase them: the same thought occupies
all the heads, overheats all imaginations, the attrou-pements succeed the assemblies; they always listen less the reason, they take a character increasingly more dangerous, and they become cause in their turn of the evil which has them excited. However the need for capital was one of the causes crisis, and this need is singularly increased by sudden disappearance for an enormous capital. All the paper which made the office of currency leaves circulation at the same time to go in mass towards the bank; all currency is aspired at the same time by the bank, which repurchases it with any price, and as it pays it, that which receives it locks up carefully; because a panic fear makes pass instantaneously society of the state civilized in a wild state, where each one thésaurise, where each one wants to have capacity digest in its safe. Lastly, the total capital bank is paralysed and cut off from the authorized capital, precisely because this authorized capital was insufficient for the present need. At the price which the actions are worth of the Bank of France, its capital is equivalent today to hundred sixty two million. That one considers how much any crisis political or commercial would be increased, if the effect even of this crisis was to cut off, temporarily at least, this a hundred and sixty two million circulation. Whatever the thus wisdom of a bank and its solidity, it is an institution which one cannot see introducing into one country that with a great distrust, because it is in its nature to admittedly help the movement of the trade in calm times, but to enlarge for him all the storms, to offer resources with prosperity, and to withdraw them violently all at the same time as soon as the adversity arrives. But these dangers system of the banks are infinitely increased by false ideas spread in their connection among those same who pass to hear the businesses, and by the efforts that do several of them to accredit these errors in order to to serve their own cupidty. Thus we intend to speak each day of the creative capacity of the credit, the importance to mobilize national fortune, of the assistance that the round of applause
ques could give to industry, agriculture, with overpowered owners of debts, with the trade, when it attest embarrassment; however the credit does not create anything, it borrows only and moves an already existing capital. Industry need for the capacity has to order and maintain it work, capacity which is transmitted with currency, but that the currency does not create. With this illusion on their to be able, little of banks have wisdom to limit their operations with their true career of utility; they believe to create capital by throwing in circulation a superabundant mass of paper that circulation pushes back, and which returns at once with the banker to be exchanged against species. This return of paper is enough to spread alarm; the part even paper which could have been employed usefully, is rejected in its turn of circulation. The banker goes bankrupt, he ruins all those which had given him their guarantee: all those which held in hand somebody of its tickets, are deprived suddenly of their currency, and especially society whole a disorder, a fear, an interruption attests of all the mercantile transactions which can involve ruin of much of the fortunes, just like most dangerous political commotions. The creation of the banks increases, as long as calms lasts, mass of the capital working in the country, to animate industry, of a considerable sum; it changes the third, half perhaps of the precious metals which were employed like currency, and which cost society by bringing back anything to him, against an equal value of ideal pounds, which nothing costs him, and which pays to him: it is there highest favour to which the banks can claim. But let us be us at one time to which increase in the immaterial capital that is to say a desirable advantage? society does not have any it not, not only rather, but infinitely too? schemers, contractors bottomless, adventurers trade will answer without any doubt that not; they will find that there does not exist enough of capital, because they themselves do not have any; that the money is rare, like one
express yourself, because they cannot get some; but perhaps, which there is of more desirable for society, it is that they do not find any indeed. We saw that cause greater sufferings of our time, it was the morbid or exaggerated excitation that the English name 'overtrading', in addition to-trade; it was, for manufacture, the eagerness to prepare more goods than one in can consume; for the merchant, to import some more than it cannot about it sell; it was for all the continuation of a contingent profit and not not mercantile; it was to base its hopes, not on the service rendered to the barges, but on ruin others going. However this plenitude, this obstruction of the trade, is the work of the adventurous merchants, those which want to enter where it does not have there for them not place; those which want to make where no work is not asked to them. Legitimate trade, trade thriving, prepares the things as the need for to consume is felt; but the random trade, the trade which tends to the obstruction, very often prepares them to employ capital which remained idle. Several causes, indeed, can determine to undertake a work that one intends to be purchasable: the invention of the clever men, the application for a job of the poor, the application capital, and finally the request of the thing even by the consumer; but the three first are generally disappointing, the last alone ensures success the contractor. The modern societies accumulated an extraordinary mass capital, they is embarrassed by it, they are overpowered by it, and it is this superabundance which pushes them unceasingly towards the random trade. Since the universal war, this large consumer of the capital, is finished, one saw the richest nations throwing with a kind of fury the million on the million, initially in the loans of America and the majority of the continental nations, then in societies of mines of the colonies above Spanish, then in the hundreds of industrial alleged companies, who were formed simultaneously in England,
and that one compared there with soap bubbles, by seeing them all bursting and to disappear at the same time; from there the name that one gave them (the bubbles); finally in societies railroads. The capital of these various speculations exceeds perhaps more than one hundred times all that which banks can put at the service of the public: most of this capital was dissipated, destroyed; the successive bankruptcy of the governments, the mines, societies of shareholders, with caused the ruin of thousands and thousands of families, and spread of all shares desolation; but it is not easy to calculate what would have arrived if these bankruptcies had not taken place, if of so large capital had not been destroyed, if the plethoric state of society had always been increasing. Fifty years ago, the majority of the commercial firms half on their own funds, half worked on those that they had borrowed in the long run, or what one named by deposit. They engaged under signature deprived to restore in four, in six years; the sum which was lent to them, and to pay of it until this time the interest to the four or the five percent. This manner of borrowing was completely. given up since; it was replaced by the current accounts and the discounts: by the accounts - currents, the capitalists to the merchants their capital for one entrusts indefinite term, reserving itself to withdraw them by part when they want, and charging the interest of the number of days of which the merchant enjoyed on each part; by the discount, the capitalist gives money counters bill of exchanges to length term, deducing the interest from time that they have to run. But in the countries where the banks are established, merchants refuses the every day more with these transactions, they do not want to more pay interest on their accounts - currents, and they prefer to be addressed to the bank to discount their letters of change. It is because the money of the capitalists is thus pushed back always more of the trade that we saw them recently to precipitate with such an amount of imprudence in Si great number of dangerous companies. The evil that the capitalists attest is a social evil,
convenience what finds the contractors with asresser with banks is perhaps a social evil too. If society suffers from the imprudent companies, of societies made in competition from/to each other to resell itself reciprocally, it must wish that the borrower does not find the too large ones facilitated to get capital, that it senses a little under the control of the lender, which it has need to persuade it of his prudence before obtaining his money. But where there exists banks, there especially where the trade of bank is free and in competition with itself, it is the lender who will seek the borrower, who endeavours to allure it by the facilities that it offers to him; it is the lender who is especially hastened to lend, because a bank is ruined if it does not place its paper. last crisis of America, which shook the trade of world, made known also with how much insistence them English bankers pressed the Americans to benefit from their credit; as their travellers were going to the envi to offer them goods (and these goods they was the thousands and the ten thousands of pounds sterling); with which imprudence finally they entrusted to the adventurous merchants a fortune ten times higher than that whose these merchants could answer. It is there all the history of the crisis: with a credit that they did not deserve, the American merchants gave orders disproportionate with their chances of flow, manufactures redoubled activity to carry out these orders, and appeared to be in a high state of prosperity: the goods arrived finally on the market and in quantity extremely higher than what America could about it never consume, they arrived, but not the consumers; the moment to pay came before the goods were from sold half, the merchants requested new credit, which was refused to them; the bankers gave up themselves with a terror proportioned with the imprudence of their confidence, and the bankruptcies followed one another with an alarming speed, while the not sold goods lowered price with a more alarming speed still, more despairing especially for the workman.
The multiplication of the banks is thus the principal cause the
EC what the English call 'overtrading' (in addition to-trade),
of this morbid state of the industry, which, like the fever,
revê the appearance of strength and the activity, while it
carries in itself a fire which consumes it; and however one is
sure, in seeking to restrict them, to excite a universal clamour,
to have against oneself the bankers and all their shareholders,
and all those which think of becoming it; to have against
oneself all those which borrow bank, which make him
discount their bill of exchanges, or which think that they will
make him discount them one day; to have against oneself,
finally, all interests adventurers, because it is these which are
always more avid of innovations and which are always
expressed highest. The solid trader would find to borrow of
the capitalist from as good terms as of the bank; a stockbroker
he would make discount its silver foil, also easily that it
discounts it in tickets. In Geneva, where this discount is done
out of money, it seldom rises with the 4 percent. But the
capitalist advances his money only with reflexion, prudence,
and after having examined the value of the signatures. This
examination, who pushes back the adventurer, is villein even
to that which has any nothing to fear; however it is the true
guarantee of public fortune, and for the safety of the capital,
and well more still for safety of industry, against a disordered
activity. Such are the advantages, such are the dangers of the
banks. It is wise, for such light advantages, to let run at
society of the so serious dangers? There is no proportion
between the small convenience offered to all in times
peaceful, and the disorder of all fortunes, the upheaval which
threatens the law and order itself in these crises to which
England and the United States are periodically exposed, and
that one knows only by consequence in doesn't country where
it have a bank there? We do not hesitate to say it, where no
bank exists yet, it is an act of wisdom on behalf of the
government to let some establish none; it is an act of wisdom
not to authorize the for-
mation of a society of shareholders to establish one of them, of not to allow or the private individuals, or associations, to issue bearer orders, promises to pay transmissible without the formality of endorsing. In general the political economy stops with the research of principles, and leaves their application to the science of the legislation; this one, to proceed to it, must study the facts and the circumstances. Also we will not state here any opinion on already established banks. We however believe to have to tackle in their connection the question of the monopoly. Several publicity agents in England, being based on the example of America, asked that the trade of bank was free for everyone, and represented like an injustice it privilege exclusive reserved with some companies. They forget that the banker, who issues tickets of confidence, does not speculate not on what is with him, but on what is with the public, and it does not have the right to be allotted clandestinely the use. The credit that the banker asks that with which it a banknote gives, is so short, that that with which it draft gives itself hardly time to examine whether it of it is worthy. Moreover, generally, it is him which requires credit instead of granting some, because the transaction has that of strange, that each one is presented to it in the form of a debtor, and especially thinks of making to receive its paper, one its bill of exchange, other its banknote, like goods. The taker of the ticket, instead of to show difficult on its acceptance, finds its account better to demolish itself some at once that it received it. In such a transaction, the government, guard of the public property, and called in particular to guarantee for the advantage of all the currency who is part of this property, utilizes well to take care in the name of a public which does not take care itself. Thus it takes care for the maintenance of the way public; because, though each one of those which cross it is interested so that it is not blocked, the passenger does not fight with obstinacy against that which usurps a part of it. But the currency is a public highway, and that which, with the assistance of a paper circulation, borrows it it to export,
dig under this public highway an underground in which it can damage itself. If the private interest took care to restrict circulation banknotes, the government could rest some on him. Thus it does not have no need to deal with circulation for the bill of exchanges, because that which takes or which endorse a bill of exchange has the always opened eyes; it knows that it becomes responsible about it until its entirety payment, that one will be able to always go up until' him, just like him will be able to go up until the first which accepted it, and him to ask for account of a credit too slightly granted. If whoever receives and gives a banknote was obliged of to endorse, one would not take place any more to fear that no bank usurped the public currency, without giving the sufficient ones guarantees; but when the ticket is with the carrier, that which it receives has a so fugitive interest, if stripped of any responsibility to refuse an abusive credit, that the public, for which this interest is of first line, cannot delegate to him all its vigilance; it must be held in guard by itself or rather by its usual representatives, forming the government, and it is on this necessary vigilance that is founded the justice and the suitability of the monopoly of the banks. By granting the charter without which it should not allow at any bank to exert its functions, the government can several manners still of restricting an activity exaggerated. It must initially prevent any competition, any competition between the banks; it must prevent that bankers, businesses the ones with the others will be removed, to seek the borrowers, while is with those to seek lenders and to show them that they deserve their confidence. The competition enters the bankers, to England and in America, their fact of deploying an activity which is because opposite of their wealth and their means; to be removed reciprocally practices, they saturate with their paper all ways of the trade. The government still must to refuse a charter at any bank mortage holder, any bank territorial, since the name even as they take
indicate that their founders do not have any idea of the trade that they want to undertake. With their paper they claim to advance with the borrowers, not working capital, but this part of the capital which will not circulate any more, which will change in fixed assets. The man who borrows tickets to make to be worth its grounds, when it spent them once, is not any more intended to re-examine them its life. Perhaps these tickets will be receipts by the circulation of some other trade; but more probably they will be allocated at once to the banker to be exchanged against currency. The government still be able and must require that none ticket is not put in circulation that for considerable sums. Banknotes of France, of which more small are of 500 frank, and the greatest number of 1,000 frank, are hardly employed but with the discount of the letters of change or with the payments of the Treasury: tickets of 100 frank would go down in the small trade; tickets of 25 frank would pass in the wallets of all the private individuals, and would make disappear absolutely the gold commercial; tickets of 5 frank would arrive to the farmer, to the manouvrier, and would make disappear too money, as it had disappeared from France, of England, from Austria, of Russia and even of the States of the pope, during the existence, in all these States, of a system of paper-money. With such limitations, one can collect the advantages banks without feeling the most serious disadvantages of them: one saw, indeed, the Bank France to cross times them more critical without giving in excesses by which of such establishments shook the trade elsewhere. One can still, better than one did it in France, to limit them left that they do not lead to the hazardous companies and with the risky speculations; but the step is slipping, one as one will be still besieged was, as one is to it today by those which require that the bank give more of assistance to the trade, more impulse with industry, and one will not erect an invincible obstacle to such claims,
that when one appreciates with accuracy the plague of the obstruction, and when one determines oneself to bring by the limitation system of the banks, a powerful obstacle with the exuberance manufacturing work.
SEVENTEENTH ESSAY.

IMMATERIAL CAPITAL, OR CREDITS.

By continuing our research on the commercial wealth, we see of all shares the credits reproducing, like if they made a great part of it. National fortune very whole, with the eyes the commercial, is itself a credit; it is the exchangeable value of any thing, considered abstractedly, which forms the capital of each private individual, like also the capital of the nation. Trade, who taught to put the exchangeable value at place useful value, also taught to consider sometimes things, sometimes men, as being debtor of this exchangeable value; it separated thus to some extent shade of with the body, and it introduced the possibility of having them separately. All the mass of the simultaneously existing goods contains the working capital of society. These goods, in the language of the accounts books, are debtor of their value to that which has them, and that one even can owe this value with another; in it even language, plots of land, buildings, the capital fix, owe their value to the owner, but they can also owe it in all or partly, by mortgages, with third. The currency itself owes its value with that which it holds in case, but this value can also be separated from substance, by banknote. All these wealthes were born from human work; and these
wealthes assisting in their turn this work, give birth to some revenue of society, or a constant increase in these wealthes which can be consumed, without society being impoverished. This increase, like all those which trade consider, must be in the exchangeable values, not in the quantities. Society thrives when this increase is considerable, it suffers when it decreases, not not in quantity, but in value; it would suffer when even the quantity would increase, if the value decreased. As the property contributes very whole to this increase, who results more immediately from human work, a universal influence is established by competition between all property and revenue, between any capital and the interest. The interest is this part of the revenue, in exchangeable value, in ideal pounds, which reappears each year of the exchangeable value, also in ideal pounds, of wealth of society or of its capital. The usual relationship between the capital and the interest makes that everywhere where a capital is seen, an interest is awaited; that everywhere also where an interest is met, one supposes a capital, and an imaginary capital often thus is created who enters the trade, just as easily that the capital more real. We are unaware of if this first exposure of a subject if abstracted, will be able to appear sufficiently clear; but even it was immediately included/understood, we feel the need to develop it for examples, because darkness and the lack of property of the language constantly confused the capital working with the currency; also, at the time even as the distinction was temporarily seized, the practice and a certain sluggishness of mind, always makes us to run the risk to fall down in same confusion. The value of all the existing purchasable goods in society is regarded as component its capital circulating, and circulation that one allots to him is the change continual of the shapes of the things which contain this value, or the different substances with through which pass the capital of the tradesman who gives birth to the merchandise,
or which makes it arrive at its destination. It is remarkable that, in this circulation, the capital of the tradesman is presented at least as often like a credit as under no material form. When it is announced that the contractor of a new manufacture intends 100,000 franc to put moving this industry, this sum expresses its working capital, or the exchangeable value in ideal pounds, of all wealth that it intends to exchange annually in its trade. However the spirit, misled by the language, is represented at once a sum of ecus equal to the capital which he wants to employ. This sum almost never exists. Any industry asking the spent successive ones, which must to about also repeat in all the course of the year, that which, to undertake it, would bring the 100,000 FR. in ecus, would lose the interest of most of its capital. It is advisable to him rather to divide it in fifty equal shares, and to touch only 2,000 FR. per week. If while starting its society it sold a real estate, it borrowed, it finally got the 100,000 FR. all at the same time, its first operation must be to change them against credits, to currency get, if it can, 2,000 FR., and forty-nine tickets of 2,000 FR. payable of week in week; if it succeeds in making division such an exact its to have, all its circulation in currency will be never but of 2,000 franc, it will never handle but for 2,000 FR. of monnayées species of society, although its working capital amounts to 100,000. More probably funds of the new manufacturer existed already for him, in the form of credits: it was one wallet furnished with bill of exchanges on the trade; those are credits in the long term some and brought closer; or it was one compte courant in a banker, credit on trade, realizable at the moment when the creditor requires it; they was mortgages, credits on the real estates, which are realizable that in the fixed and distant term; they was actions on the channels, the mines, on the bank, credits
on companies which do themselves of societies mercantile, and which is not realizable, but that the carrier can yield or sell with another carrier; it was, finally, public funds, credit on the government of a country unspecified, which in general is not more realizable than them actions of societies, but that the creditor yields to another creditor to withdraw his capital thus from it. Sometimes still admittedly the contractor of a manufacture, a trade, an unspecified industry, made its setting of funds in goods: he provides wools, them hemp or cotton to be woven, or it is committed nourishing them workmen with the products of his farm; but those which know the trade know that this money paid in advance in nature is almost always extremely limited; that great advance is in credits, and that it is always these which are implied, when one speaks about money currency. Thus, in societies of trade, the credits form the most considerable part of the capital which is there engaged. They reproduce each year in the wallet of the trader, to distribute his re-entries regularly in all the course of the year. Often, moreover, the manufacturer work on its credit; it must with the another capital circulating that it employs in its society; or it does not pay its contractors of works, its matter suppliers first, that by tickets in the long term three months or six month. Often, in addition, it is him which sells in the long term, it is for him that a credit is exerted, because it receives in payment of its goods bill of exchanges and promissory notes of its barges. But the credits still make a part much greater fortune of those which are not in the trade. That each one makes its account besides oneself, and it will be astonished by to see how much the currency makes a small part of its fortune, how much the credits makes a considerable part of it. The first article in the inventory of a rich man will probably contain the grounds that it, has; then all the other buildings which take part more or less of goes
their of the grounds, mines, houses, factories, and all it fixed assets intended for industry. The need to compare dissimilar things has accustomed to estimate the buildings at the price which one could obtain in currency, and same time to regard them as representative an equal sum of capital. However the buildings are not subjected to commercial circulation; the manner of benefitting from it, it is to keep them, and not to sell them: their true value, it is their revenue; it is only by exception that they are sold. If one offered them all to sell at the same time, their value purchasable would drop inordinately, without owners, or without the nation really becoming about it more the poor. Their actual value is affected only by the events which make from there the use more or less advantageous. Of other leaves, when the circulating interest on capital drops, when it do not give any more the same profit to industry, the price of the buildings rise in the common appreciation; without them ground owners really became about it more rich person. Instead of evaluating them with twenty times their revenue, or with five percent, one evaluate them twenty-five times, thirty times, forty time same revenue, or one calculates the revenue to both and half percent, without none the pleasures of these alleged nouveau riches is increased, without same as it was possible for them to demolish their buildings at this price more raised, if several of them attested at the same time. After the buildings, the most important article of the inventory of any rich man will be almost always the credits; sometimes one includes/understands them under the name of movable fortune. More often one designates the capitalist millionaires like money rich person currency. In England, where one would have to get along there, one appoints the capitalists whose fortune is in credits under the name of 'moneyed interest'; themselves appear that, as these are ecus that one owes them, it is ecus which form their property. However if one put together all the currency, all the ecus which they really have, it would be seen that they go up to well little thing; that if one only of them wanted to carry out all its credits at the same time,
all the others would not find any more currency. The more these capitalists hold of close with the trade, the more they hear them businesses, plus their case is empty, while their wallet is full. The currency even which is necessary for them for circulation of their capital, they leave it in their banker, it is thus nothing any more but one credit; the majority leave at even banking that which they need for their expenditure day labourer, and they discharge all their accounts with assignments. Many capitalist rich person, far from having at they it half, the quarter of their silver fortune, do not have there even it twelfth of their revenue. In the inventory of the rich person, we will make enter then them furnishings, crews, libraries, collections, all the other movable things with which it was provided for its pleasure. These furnishings can be rich, can be sumptuous, they can give a high idea opulence of their owner; however they do not make, in its estimate with itself, properly part of its fortune. When it counts this one per thousands of ecus, it them count for nothing, because indeed it does not expect any revenue from it, and that the revenue alone gives him the feeling of ease and of perpetuity. In the same way, all this part of its wealth is not generally subjected to the taxes, and should never be it: the taxes should not be indeed that a participation of the public in the personal revenue, and all these furnishings are other thing only one part revenue already taxed when it was transformed into pleasure, and which currently undergoes its consumption. Among the rich person, those which are engaged in the trade will make enter the inventory of the goods that they have in store, in the account of their fortune, and for some, indeed, it of it is the most considerable part. The merchant fact a double function compared to the consumer, it in concerning him all holds of which this one will probably be able to need in a space given for time. It seek at the same time to match, to offer the choice to him enters a variety of goods, to be sure to meet its
tastes or its imaginations. To succeed in one or the other function, it is necessary for him to have its stores filled, and thus it delays itself the circulation of capital, that it leaves to some extent stationary goods, while the currency always circulates. But in addition this slowness becomes easily for him a cause of loss. The interest runs unceasingly against the total value of its goods; and if, fault of being matched, it loses practices, to be it too richly, it loses revenues. From there one constant effort of the merchant so that its stores are furnished well, with less advances possible; it renews as often as it can, by year, its set, in making make successive sendings by manufactures; and if those were suspended for six months, 'the article', as, it calls it would miss it absolutely. It endeavours well to offer variety to the purchasers, but it is rather that of samples that that of the goods, and among those which one he ask, there is of them always some one which it precisely comes to finish. or that it waits under eight days. It is an important observation however, and which us does not seem to be made before us, that this funds furniture society, this funds of wealths of goods, decrease instead of increasing, as the nation becomes more active and more industrial. Each one hears better loss which it would have to make on a capital that it would hold dead; each one, in spite of the desire to dazzle the purchasers by the display abundance, counts the advances more closely that it can to make, endeavours to more often renew them, and is shown more hastened to demolish itself of all that ages in its stores. Moreover, we improved so well all our correspondence and means of transport which we do not attest more deadlines, the delays to which our fathers were exposed. Formerly, the goods which left with the hands from the manufacturer passed in the wholesale dealer, and languished in its stores until its travellers had obtained commissions in the provincial towns. Then them carriers undertook to transport them slowly. They
spent the months on their tanks or in the customs; then, again, they waited in the shops of the merchants in detail imaginations of the purchasers. Often it passed two or three years before the cloth left a manufacture had become the dress of the consumer. Today one saw, in the twenty-four hours course, the fleece of a ewe mowed, washed, dyed, woven, the finest cloth who was the product, half-compartment, bent, and the dress put on by that for which it was intended. This wonder of speed is without doubt a rare example, but the acceleration of the movement production until consumption is the universal result of the efforts of all. If the average of this space of intermediate time was three years formerly, it will be six months today. The existence of the goods will be six times more short, and consequently there will be of them simultaneously one much less quantity in existence. Their value like their quantity will be decreased in the assessment general of the nation. We sought to make us an idea of what constitutes the fortune of the rich person, the owners of ground, of capitalists, of the merchants. The fortune of the poor entered also formerly for a considerable value in the assessment national, when each farmer, each peasant had its small melt of agriculture, each craftsman his workshop, each industrial household accumulated capital small sound. More the nations advanced in the current career of industrialisme, and more all these small fortunes disappeared. It can remain in the apartments of poor industrial furnishings of more or less of value; but it is one started consumption, which, either that of the rich person does not form already any more part of the national capital. As for the poor industry, it does not belong to him any more, it works universally on funds foreigner, and his economies which, formerly, each year the funds grew bigger on which it worked, if it does not dissipate them, cannot find employment that in the savings bank. Another part of wealth the poor one vanished at the same time, it is the skill
acquisition of the workmen. The training had made them able, often at the price of a rather great expenditure, to achieve in a time given much more than one certain work, and many better than the man majority. The training is fixed assets, attached by the commercial wealth with the man and not on the ground. But the progress of industry has brought this singular result, to ask address like force with the things, and patience only with the men. It is the machine which achieves all that there is the marvellous one in arts, while the share of the man, in the work which it makes in liaison with the machine, is reduced to so simple processes, that a workman, after a few weeks to preparation, often a woman, a child is enough to carry out it. But after having thus reviewed the assessment of opulent nation, one cannot be prevented from wondering with astonishment: Where thus is its wealth? Its plots of land do not have not been able to extend, they are always the same ones, and though they return a product more considerable Net, it is at least doubtful that they were not worth more when they were divided into properties much smaller, on which well more capital was fixed; goods, because of one faster consumption, seem to have decreased in quantity and in value; the acquired skill of the workmen does not have any more run, and is asked to them more; the currency is exported of at the opulent nations, while it is kept and that one buries it at the oppressed nations. Between all them nations, English is announced especially by its opulence. numbers rich person, in England, surprises almost as much that hugeness of fortunes; and in all the countries of the world English rich person are found; often they are more numerous that rich person of the countries which they visit. It is not with them however which the mass of the goods belongs English available to the trade, and as for wealth territorial, it is neither by the extent, neither by the fertility, nor by the climate, nor even by the purchasable price that real estates in England could override those of all the con
tinent. Where thus is wealth of these people, indisputably, richest of the universe? The English rich person, the rich person of all the mercantile nations and industrial, will answer you by opening his wallet to you. You will find bill of exchanges there that the rich person discounted, i.e. it received under the reduction of the interest, because they had still a few months to run, and of which it awaits the expiry; you will find titles there mortgage claims on real estate; actions in mixed liability society in trade undertakings; actions in the anonymous companies, of bank, discount, of insurance, channels, mines, ways of iron; then finally of the certificates of entry of revenues in melt of all the governments of Europe and America, and probably these funds will only be worth as much as all other titles put together. It is a quite strange result of the current movement of chrematistic, to have changed most of wealth of the nations rich in an immaterial property; it is still a quite strange result of this movement, that the first question which arises compared to this wealth, it is to know if it has any real existence. Us we are endeavoured to take stock of a nation; how will we be able to make there enter its credits on itself? It is not not obvious that it is also impoverished by the debt of the one, what it is enriched by the credit by the other? One does not see that these are two equal quantities, positive and negative, which compensate themselves? By examining the credits better, one recognizes there soon another circumstance, which redoubles our astonishment, and us still makes more difficult to include/understand how they belong to the national wealth: it is that it often arrives that the negative quantity remains, while the positive quantity is destroyed, so that the credit, instead of being some thing moreover, is something of less, something to deduce from the national wealth. The contract by which one form a credit, is like the majority of the contracts, like
that of sale in particular, an exchange between two values presumably equal, but which both is appropriate better for that which acquires them that with that which is demolished some. In the exchange, they are two goods applicable to the immediate use contractors, who are given one against the other; in the sale, it is goods which are given against the means by which any goods can be acquired, coulter money; in the credit sale, it is the goods which are given against the promise only that the money will be given later; in the loan, it is the money which is given against promise which an equal money sum will be later returned. The credit sale and the loan constitute two kinds of credits, whose common character is to be the exchange of one reality counters a hope. The loan of which we speak, that which the Romans named 'mutuum', does not imply, as that which they named 'commodum', obligation to return the thing even which was lent, but only another natural thing in the same way, another thing which the borrower does not have with moment when it pledges this. Two quantities, positive and negative, once separated, become entirely independent one of the other. The lent capital can to be employed usefully, fruitfully, and to contribute with the increase in the national wealth; it can also have been dissipated in the false speculations, the luxury and extravagance: the credit which it formed does not remain less intact about it; it is not on this sum even as one counted to return it, it is on some other wealth taken elsewhere. For the nation, there is however a difference between these two assumptions. In the first case, the lender had a credit equal to the capital which it had alienated, the borrower had it working capital itself, and the value had about it: it is two quantities positive and negative which are compensated; in kind that the nation neither had lost nor gained. In the second case, the lender preserves his credit equal to the capital which it has transmitted; it thus neither lost nor gained; the borrower does not have more its working capital, and there remains in charge of its debt; it is
thus of all this poorer quantity, and the nation remains also poorer of all the quantity which was lent unprofitably. Which is thus wealth, other than the lent capital, which must be used as pledge to the lender? where this value is which equal the exchange of a real capital made against a credit? Here we start to recognize what there is really creator in the capacity of the credit: it has the future, and it gives in exchange against the past. What it exchanges against the national capital, it is a participation in the national revenue, created by the human work, it is extremely made have. But this participation is only one revenue; it is for it only that the quantities positive and negative are compensated. Revenue one will separate the interest from the debt; this interest, it will be the creditor who will enjoy it, and not the debtor; remainder, this revenue neither will be increased by it nor decreased, and society, indifferent between the people, is not affected by this transaction. At the same time, according to the practices that the spirit contracted by the trade, any interest supposes a capital: a revenue made up in the future appears to leave a capital also hidden in the future; of a capital which supports, with the future product of work, the same relation as the capital mercantile support with the interest which comes from it. If the rate of the trade is the sum of money twenty or the five for hundred, the credit create an immaterial capital of twenty times promised revenue, and gives it to the capitalist lender in exchange against its money. It is this capitalization of the future, this anticipation on products which were not still born, who perhaps will never be born, in whom most of wealth of the opulent nations changed. Let us try to render comprehensible to us while going down to more details. When a trader who negociates a made loan goes bankrupt, the credit formed against him is extinct with its capital, and national fortune does not remain charged with one negative quantity, to which no positive quantity corresponds
any longer. But, in general, the collateral that borrowers offer to the lenders are precisely intended to guarantee to them that they will not have anything to lose, although the lent capital that is to say lost. All the mortgages are of this nature; real estates belonging to the borrower are given for guarantors currency or working capital that the lender him transmits. The borrower by mortgage can sometimes propose allowances, more often it refunds old debts, it repairs an extraordinary failure, it makes finally an expenditure, and not a placement. Do not import, it is not capital paid out of money which the credit projects, like the shade projects body, they are plots of land which was mortgaged. They is this plots of land which has two owners: one has the credit, the other the funds minus the credit, and the two quantities positive and negative compensate for or vanish one the other. A great number of anonymous companies which need of credit, rather than of real capital, such as societies of insurance, the banks, get this credit by mortgages; they offer the guarantee of their real estates, for the case where some 'sinister' would carry off their capital circulating. All those which hurt their business leave after them of many credits, or negative quantities who are not covered by the positive quantities which has received the lender; because this one dissipated, but they must be cut off from the value of the real estates which them lent substance. Lastly, all the loans of the governments, without exception, are perhaps intended for expenditure, not with placements. The money which was delivered by the lenders, is brought out from the cases of the treasure, as it was there entered; but the working capital that it was used to transmit has dissipated been. It was spent with the war, it fed from public works which do not give any revenue, it was distributed like wages with public civils servant, who believed to touch their revenue by receiving it, and which spent it like such, while it was really a working capital which they dissipated.
That are however these credits on the public, on the private individuals, who continue to exist, after wealth which founded was dissipated? One cannot doubt that they do not have a quite real value, because it is it which forms wealth of all that one names vulgarly the capitalists, and it is even this wealth which most commonly is employed to found all the useful companies. It is a phenomenon strange that a quantity which, in the inventory general of a nation could count only like one negative quantity appears to have, to activate industry, all the effects of a positive quantity. It should not be astonished if this phenomenon made a great number of economists talk nonsense. To understand it, it is necessary well to be penetrated of the idea that a credit, or this intangible asset that a creditor receives from its debtor, in exchange of his money, is not another thing than an assignment on the products of a work future. Each year human work produces an increase wealthes which forms the revenue of society: the borrower promises to annually give to its lender a part from this revenue which was not yet born, in exchange of capital which it receives. Sometimes it is committed restoring, in addition to the interest, a portion of the capital, which it will take annually on the future revenue. It is what one names to borrow thoroughly lost, though it is on the contrary the only case where the capital that is to say really restored. But more often the borrower only commits himself providing a perpetual revenue. The capital is really lost forever; only, according to the interest that the capital commonly reports in the trade, one supposes a hypothetical capital, between the hands of the payer, to make some proceed the revenue. If this revenue is been useful regularly, it is always some capitalist hastened to acquire it, who agree to put himself at place of the preceding lender. In this manner it extinguishes its credit, without however the nation being never released. What is this however that this assignment on a revenue who doesn't exist yet? a hope only, which is regarded as a real wealth, a hope which, if
some calamity reaches the nation and prevents it from working, will never be carried out: and the capital which one supposes to represent this perpetual assignment on the future, it is the value for which one finds to sell this hope. One said that the grounds were mobilized when one provided the means of to sell in advance a share in the products which the ground could to return in the future, and which one mobilized the funds public when one got for the government more facility to sell this share in the future product of social work, that it would take by the taxes. This mobilization is however other thing only the alienation made by a society of its future, that dissipation by advance of what will produce with perpetuity work of the future generations. It is an extremely convenient property to undoubtedly have for capitalists; it is, moreover, one goods which are bought and is sold with advantage: also intermediaries, brokers, and all those which make trade of it, look at the funds public like the source of their wealthes. But beside these private advantages, it is a great national calamity, it is a great injustice made by the nation which borrows, and which dissipates, at the expense of the future generations who will pay; it is a great cause, finally, embarrassment which goes growing with apparent opulence. It is necessary, indeed, to ask count with the enormous mass debts of which all them nations are charged, of the gradual reduction in the wages, profits, interest of the money, revenue of the grounds, all the revenues finally; because these revenues were alienated front to be born, and those which work today, those which will work in the future, do not have only to create them subsistence, they must still pay the madnesses and the debts of their predecessors. The real function of the credit, it is only to transmit with provision of what belonged to the other; but, with the way in which we use about it, the credit transmits to us provision of what belongs to those which are not yet born, of what could belong with justice only to them, of their work. On this basis, the credit created fortunes
colossal which does not add anything to real prosperity of one nation, which is even often for it a great cause of ruin, but which très-réellement makes swim in abundance those which have them, and which put into same time in the trade of the values double those which really exist. It would be said that each body projected its shade in the future, and that this shade became purchasable just as easily that the body. This fantastic creation is the consequence of the practice of our spirit to pay very returned with a capital. That which lent thousand ecus is been appropriate with the borrower that, for the pleasure of these thousand ecus, it would pay him fifty ecus per year. It first market has accustomed to believe that everywhere where one a revenue of fifty ecus sees, there is some share a capital of thousand ecus from where it comes. A ground returning fifty ecus is estimated to be worth thousand ecus; a house, one machine returning fifty ecus, are estimated thousand ecus; one perpetual pension on the government, of fifty ecus, is estimated in the same way. However, that are the revenues of the public funds, another thing that perpetual and transmissible pensions? they were created admittedly by the delivery of an amount of money; but a government lavishes which would register on its ledger of the revenues in favour of those that he would like to enrich, without to have received anything them, would create as many capital of thousand ecus in the funds, than it would register of fifty ecus on its ledger. It would enrich thus the nation? not, undoubtedly; however it would multiply the assets liquid to the purse, it would give an activity news with the trade of the stockbrokers and the bankers, and it would offer to the capitalists new money placements. There are thus a creation, but a fantastic creation attached to the credit: that which enjoys it does not assign properly that a revenue, it yields properly only one certain share detached from its future revenue or that of its heirs, and however it creates and it throws in the trade a capital immaterial corresponding to this future revenue. Much more, it immaterial capital has really a value equalizes with that
for which it circulates in the trade; it will pay fruits as regularly, more, perhaps, as one of the same ground value, though it contributes by no means to give birth to them. These fruits are other thing only the share promised by the borrower with the lender, in those which his work future will give birth to, and when it is about a public loan, it is the share of the revenue of each taxpayer who the force public will succeed in removing to him to give it to the lender: however, all this immaterial wealth is mortgaged on the positive wealth. Suppose an abolition of the debts, fortune of the one will have passed to the other, but society, in its unit, neither will have lost nor gained. Taxpayers will cease paying the lenders, a share of their revenue; the grounds and work will be free, and if one is obstinately to seek which capital the last represents, the nation in sound together, the nation capable of work will really be worth, moreover than before, a sum equalizes with that of the capital immaterial which will have disappeared, because it is part of its personal freedom which had been alienated with perpetuity with its price. One extremely récrié oneself on what there was the admirable one in the invention of the credit, which may be found within a nation of extraordinary capital, be it at the time of its greater needs, maybe, more still, within its opulence, when it wanted to undertake work, or to get pleasures who even exceeded this opulence. But, except probity, it would be an extremely lucrative speculation which to give the pleasure of all the fortune of others, and the credit does not make another thing. The credit allots to the men our days the provision of the future and a perpetual future: the credit sells work, or a share in work, of our children, and of the children of our children, to the last generation. The borrower makes about like the colonist of Carolines or Georgia, which sells in slavery the children that it had of a Negress; only, it does not go not, like him, reason of its crime. For the satisfaction of its present needs, of its pleasures, or its whims, it of
guarantee so that beings which were not born yet from the beings who should be expensive to him, and of which he is the only guard, will work no longer for themselves but for others. And the government which borrows which spends what is not not with him same manner the arms, the life mortgage future generations, of which he is not the representative, for which it should not have the right to contract, and that it sells to some extent in slavery to the lenders, for a price that it hastens to dissipate and of which these generations future will never enjoy. In the current state of the public and deprived credits and, one very-large share of the product of work is mortgaged of advance to the payment of debts contracted before. taxes take in liked the share of the countries of Europe the fifth, and more probably the quarter of the revenues of society; the payment of all the other interests which had by all them perhaps debtors with all the creditors, removes another fifth or another quarter of the social revenues. It does not remain perhaps that half, at most two thirds of the profits common work, to distribute between all those which contribute to it, owners, contractors of work, tradesmen, farmers and days laborer; one thus should not be astonished if, in spite of the disproportionate increase in human work and in its power, all those which contribute to it are more badly rewarded than they were not formerly. Often, in the relations voyages, we meet descriptions of manners, of easygoing cheerfulness of the common peoples, in countries that we regard as barbarians, who make a contrast strange with the concerned misery of the inhabitants of an industrialized country. When one attended the merry pastimes of these half-savages, when their hospitality was received, when one the abundance noticed which reigns in their houses or on their tables, one makes a painful return on the poor industrious countries which praise oneself to have done such an amount of progress, one would be tempted to wonder whether the order, justice, freedom, the lights would be only dreams misleading, if in social sciences one would have continued only the vain
names. That one does not give up the search however for what is good, and of what is right, that one does not lose courage: these are not our real progress that the people suffer in the progressive countries, they is our errors and more often still of our injustices. The poor one which preserves its native cheerfulness and which lives in abundance, a country lives where the credit is not known, and where its government could not sell in advance fruit of its sweats. But we by no means arrived at the end where it system of the public credit can lead us. Once the powerful ones discovered this manner of adapting it well of their children, and to enjoy what is not with them, it is not probable that they stop. The debts of the governments are in general contracted during the war and for the war; but nothing is so rare to see them then discharged during peace. Before the public was accustomed in the system of the perpetual loans, one had believed oneself obliged to flatter it of a hope of refunding, and to this end sinking fund was created. Soon, one in made an instrument to support the price of the government stock, while making appear with the purse a purchaser who, each day, made a new request, and thus determined raise funds. But the public was not long in realizing disappointment of a damping which repurchased into same time that the State borrowed again, and since it has started to see more clearly, the governments started also to give up this juggling. Since last peace the English Government worked with zeal and good faith to decrease its expenditure, to discharge some of its debts; but it cannot maintain any hope to compensate for by its economy prodigalities of the past; all the others did not even think of it; loans exceeded much refundings, and the mass of the government stock was extremely increased. One used to say that only free governments could borrow, and that there was credit available only for those that showed their financial situation openly. But the negotiation of
loans became a so advantageous trade for bankers, they are besides so indifferent to what can occur of the loan of which they took care, after they in all the coupons placed, which they do not refuse their goods offices with anybody, not more with the despotic governments who hide their deficit, which with the revolutionary governments who proclaim their disorder. Majority of the governments borrowers walk obviously to a bankruptcy next, and however they always find to place their loans in somebody of both or three countries where capital abounds; and it is not the fault of the bankers if the Turkish government did not agree to open a loan in its turn. If, of the time of Napoleon, the operations by which the loans are placed had been as sophisticated as they are it today, if it had been presented so accredited intermediaries, to allure reciprocally the borrowers and the lenders, they would have made him, without none doubt, to devour, in the fight for its existence, all it capital of the posterity. So today a new war erupts, it is quite probable that all that can be committed would be committed; that the taxes would take then, with the place quarter, half, three quarters of the production, and that the profits of agriculture, the trade and work would decrease in the same proportion. Against a danger if threatening, it is in the constitution even of the State which would have to be found a guarantee; unfortunately all the modifications that have been scrutinized these days the governments, tend to decrease always more this guarantee, or even to destroy it entirely, rather that to increase it. Of old obstinately defended abuses have everywhere excited a burning desire of reform, everywhere also it liberal movement of the spirits tended to make prevail them thoughts of the day on those of the day before. One sought of all manners to increase the capacity of the opinion; but one does not have been able to reinforce the feeling of the present without proportionally decreasing the love of the past, the precaution of the future; and the conquests made for freedom have the majority turned
against the economy. One systematically endeavoured to exclude from the capacity the representatives of the ideas and the interests which were not this century; however, national prosperity and justice require that the voice of another century, the voice of posterity, is made hear with the legislation. There is in a government only too much provision to be let involve by the interests of the moment present, it is necessary to associate one to him body, an institution, which have a deep feeling, deep love of the duration and perpetuity, to give him sinks to resist the day spend. Formerly the republics had sought these guards of permanent interests, these defenders of the posterity, in their aristocratic senates; monarchies, but with good less successes, had rested, to protect their future, on the feeling of perpetuity which one supposed with the reigning dynasty. In the senates of Venice or Bern, in those of the cities of antiquity, the posterity was present at the thought of all like the day of today; in directed monarchies or by a large king, or a large minister, who had writ of summons in front of him, Frederic II, Sully, Colbert, could sometimes to feel scruple to be rejected on the posterity of the difficulties which they wanted to escape themselves. But today all seems combined to teach with each one with to live from day to day. The monarchs were disengaged from all pecuniary concerns by their Congresses: it did not perturb them any more to know if the nation could pay, but only if their deputies would agree to promise it could. On their side deputies, invested capacity for seven years, five years, or less times still, are always in a hurry by the circumstance, always they consider each question separately, always they feel released any responsibility, because them vote, at the time same as it would not be secret, is lost in press. Also they have only one thought, that to find the resource which will realize the least to shout today, some consequence that it can have as a tomorrow. Frederic II sought with to be enough with what it had; a constitutional minister seeks to be only made give what it asks. and it is not
less hastened than the deputy to reject on the posterity all that of which it can exempt its contemporary. To the remainder, nevertheless one would have entrusted the interests of posterity with a body much more dedicated, much more constant to defend them, it is still doubtful that it had been able to resist the moment spend, this irresistible importance of the national interests and contemporaries who always present like if the existence even of society was attached to the victory. Moreover, in any loan, as well private as public, it is not on the prudence of the borrower who should be counted; when it is with the catches with the need, it passes by all the conditions that the lender will want to make him. Unfortunately, inventions of the last times succeeded in returning prudence and the thoughts of future as useless to the lenders as with the borrowers. When a government attests some urgent need, it introduces at him men who undertake to lend to him what they do not have, provided that the government engages to make them refund by its subjects who will not have received it. Large capitalists, i.e. men who have a great mass of credits or assignments on the future, take the loan. One indicates their engagement thus of to pay in the various term, but with brought closer terms, summon which the government needs. They could, in return, to require a large interest, an interest proportioned with danger that they run and with the service which they render: instead of five they could require that the six were promised to them, it eight, the ten percent; but they prefer to be made recognize for a moderate advance a large capital; their loan fact with the five percent, but for fifty books that they pay, they obtain a recognition of one hundred books. Of this manner, they leave in the shade the usurious price to which the loan was contracted; they remove with the borrower it means of refunding it at once that the circumstances will become better; they relieve the contemporaries somewhat, and they charge the posterity with restoring a capital which not only was not spent for its use, but
that those same which engage for it ever received. The lenders are well far from having the sum that they are engaged to pay; not only do they not have it in ecus, but it is lacking of much that they have it in credits of any kind. They however hasten to carry out these credits for to carry out the first payment at least, is out of monetized money, that is to say in bill of exchanges, and banknotes. The ecus which they carry one day to the treasure arise from it as of following day for the public expenditure; they are not withdrawn from circulation, and do not leave behind them any vacuum; but the banker must get them again to make its second payment, and to this end it sells to all the capitalists the coupons of the loan or the portions of the revenue that it has just bought, as it had sold them before other credits which it had. It is its business from now on to persuade the public of the safety of the placement which it comes from to make; it is given the responsibility to defend the character of its debtor to put forward and its probity and its resources; and when one think which are the States which borrow, how much their situation appears sometimes desperate, and which are enormous their were entrusted, at extremely bad prices admittedly, one is forced to recognize, and the skill of the banker to make the easily deceived ones, and the great provision of the public to become it. The coupons of the loan are sold however successively; the ecus of the capitalists pass to the banker then with the treasure, then with all those which the treasure pays, then has capitalist, to start again same circulation at once, until the last payment promised by the bauquier that is to say achieved, and also until the last coupon of the loan was alienated by him. Then the government borrower can hold his promise or there to miss, it can ruin or its creditors by making bankruptcy, or its subjects in forcing to pay what it dissipated: the banker is from now on satisfied in the party which the government will take; it carried out its benefit, and while the capitalists begin their hazardous navigation, it is itself safely harboired.
Such important speculations cannot be tried that by men who already raised, an immense fortune; it is necessary indeed that they at least appear to take all society on their own shoulders, which they are in state to advance the first payment, and which they do not let see too much clearly with the public absolute dependence where they are of he; but, in addition, it is known that it is there the industry by which one quickly accumulates today the million on the million. While all the other trade do not present that limited and not very sure benefit, precarious financial exchange is the only one which raises colossal fortunes; and of all the most hazardous plays, but also, for the skilful millionaires, most lucrative is that of the public funds. With those which are enough rich to take themselves the loans, this trade presents hardly annoying chances, governments not having guard to press the bankers of to keep to their commitments if they could do it only in ruining. Thus we find here what we recognized on several occasions, that colossal fortunes disturb the balance of society, and that one can allot the calamities to them loans, like those of 'over-trading'. We find there also a reason so that the legislation puts obstacles, either with accumulation, or with the agglomeration of the capital; but how to await government a vigilance salutary, when it is against him, as well as against those which would contract with him, that it is necessary that society holds in guard? The governments are the only borrowers who do not have nothing themselves, which can claim with nothing to produce, and which however finds credit. As long as one sees them to pay with regularity the interests of which they took care, one appears oneself that they will continue in the same way in the future, that they will be able to always force their subjects to pay for them; but there are a number of governments whose subjects are obviously in no state to pay, and they are not the least eager to borrow. Like a squanderer who ruins himself, a State resorts to the usurer that because its revenue is not enough any more with
its expenditure; and the war, which dissipates wealthes so quickly, at the same time as it is opposed to their reproduction, often give a legitimate reason to this search for resources despaired. At least the government of England, wise in its prodigality even, always created with each loan a new revenue using new taxes, to ensure the interests of them; but in the countries that the war devastate, the revenues decreasing instead of increasing, one would have beautiful to establish new taxes there, one would not get for it not new resources, because where there is nothing, the tax can nothing take. The bankers who negotiated loans for Greece, the new States of America, for Spain or Portugal, with the defect of the guarantee of one revenue proportioned with the interests, imagined another of them, that to preserve between their hands, on the funds even as they advanced with the government, a sufficient portion of the capital to pay the first two years of interest. They gave to hear that after the crisis which it was a question of passing, the State would find new resources; but they counted well rather than the regularity of these first payments would make illusion with the mass of the capitalists, and than those would advance to buy, while themselves would sell all the coupons with which they were charged. They were not mistaken: two years which the interests were assured were enough for them for this operation, and the bankers carried out immense profits indeed, in spite of the imminent bankruptcy of those they made the deals. They then admittedly offered to those a means of saving this bankruptcy, it was of to negotiate a new loan with the means of which one would have continued to pay the interests of the precedent, and one would have thus rejected on the posterity interest like the capital of the sums already wasted. Between the expedients of the bad faith, among which were to choose the new States of America, bankruptcy, for which they were determined, was not perhaps neither most immoral, nor most disastrous. The civil war continued in the Iberian peninsula and in its possessions of the New-World, and the same bankers
presented themselves to be the backers of revolutions and of the counter-revolutions: it is by their mediation, and with the capital of easily deceived which they allure, in England, in France, Holland and Switzerland, that two parties maintain their existence, and that the continuous civil war since a quarter century to afflict these beautiful areas. This intervention of the capitalists in the businesses of another people is not less powerful or less disastrous than that of the kings. However, when one or the other party declared that it did not intend to pay debts of the contrary party, the debts contracted for to persecute or control it, bankers, capitalists and the journalists, moaned about what they called a partial bankruptcy, with the language of virtuous indignation; their clamours resounded in all the purses, and they declared that they would not dimension any more the funds of those who had thus dishonoured themselves. In the middle of so much of injustice and insincerely, it is difficult to say what probity require; it is more difficult to understand how the subjects can be engaged by a government which they do not recognize and which makes them violence. Perhaps is necessary it to congratulate a nation which lost any credit, because consequently its masters cannot any more sell it, and of the foreign bankers cannot any more buy it. But some illegitimate that us the debts contracted by this continuation of contracts appear fraudulent, the bankruptcy probably would not cure with nothing, because the bankrupt government, freed from its old debts, would all the more find credit of it; it would borrow again, and its subjects would soon be as burdened as they are today. It is not by these scandalous markets only the debt of England was contracted, and if the money which it got for the government were used to him to save British independence, the generations to come take part in these advantages, as they support the burden of it. But one should not to believe that this burden is light. A skilful English economist, who took with task to prove that the national debt
is hardly felt by the people, showed, by calculation, that the payment of the interests of the English debt, also distributed between all the British individuals of any age and of any sex, goes up annually only to 25 shillings a person, and it supposes that the poorest day laborer, employed in agriculture, does not pay for its part more than 15 shillings (1). Let us admit this calculation, it does not appear only one to us such load is little of thing. The average of a family of days laborer is above and not below five people; it is its chief only who gains, and who must pay the share of his old father, of his wife and her children; it is thus 125 shillings, or more than 156 frank for each head of household indistinctly of Great Britain: or by admitting that the minimum on behalf of poor is 15 shillings; these is 75 schillings or 94 frank that each day laborer must produce by his work, in addition to his subsistence, to pay prodigalities of his fathers. In half of continent of Europe, this annual sum would only be enough with its subsistence. Some heavy that that is to say the burden rejected thus on posterity, we hope little that reasoning, that considerations morals stop the governments on the point to negociate a loan, when the danger is felt, when the existence even of the State appears compromised. loans will continue as much as it will introduce lenders as long as those will find to make their profit of the distress public, and to skilfully withdraw themselves from ruin that they will have attracted on the others. It is however useful, we believe it, to make known well the nature of immaterial capital, to announce well the disappointment and the injustice of the loans which sacrifice the generations to come to present, to dissipate any illusion, any confidence in the capacities creators of the credit, and to prevent any man thus of honest State to resort to one dispatch also ruinous, except in the cases of absolute need. It is useful to penetrate

well public of the thought that the prosperity of the nations
them more opulent, of those to which one carries the most
desire, hiding place a great disappointment; that generally,
beside the increase in fortunes, is a real reduction material
wealthes, and that this contrast holds so that our fathers
regarded as their wealthes only what they currently had
themselves, while we consider also future. They said rich
made work, we claim ourselves rich of work to make. They
were looked at, with their contemporaries and their ancestors,
like only craftsmen of their fortune; us, instead of enriching
our posterity, we devoured in advance the fruit of its labours.
Our wealth consists in our children, that us subjected before
their birth to a capitation of which us made an object of trade;
these children, the ones have them sold, the others bought
them, while we have declared in advance that they were not
belonged any more to themselves. A direct application of our
principles to the legislation perhaps pass our hopes, but the
knowledge of true nature of the immaterial capital can,
however, us to hold in guard against sophisms of those which
claimed to enrich the nations by the trade by the government
stock, against seductions of those which offer their credit to
the governments, against the same councils of those which, in
the name of trade, protection which it is necessary to give to
the credit, of the guarantee that it is necessary to ensure the
lenders, seek without cease, in the private transactions, to
support a contract which has more disadvantages than
advantages. Undoubtedly us let us not ask that one force the
man embarrassed in its fortune to be sold rather than to
borrow, but we ask that the law does not surround the sale of
discredit, and the loan of facility; we ask that the privileges
that one will believe duty to grant to the mortgages, the
commercial drafts, or, if one believes oneself obliged to
maintain it, the right of arrest for debts, proceed only of the
intention of to give guarantees to probity and equity, not of
the desire
to facilitate the credit. Lastly, at the same time as we do not think not in an immediate application, we believe that it is essence to know thoroughly the nature of the things, and that, without a full intelligence with what are the credits, of what is the immaterial capital, one will be able to never seize the whole of the political economy.
TENTH ESSAY.

Condition of the farmers in the Countryside of Rome. ........1
Why we still reconsider the condition of the farmers. ........ 1
We reduced our adversaries to admit some of our principles, not to apply them. .................................................. 2
The chrematistic one, science of the means, by disregarding goal, is a disappointing science................................. 3
Application of our principles to a new country; Countryside of Rome. ...... 4 The majority of the travellers like to see Rome carrying the mourning of mankind. 5 They like that the ground which is not cultivated any more by consular hands remain sterile. .................................................................
6 Deep impression of sadness which we receive in Rome of misery present. .................................................................
7 Any rural population disappeared from the four provinces which surround Rome. 7 Table which makes of 'Agro Romano' eloquent Giuseppe Barbieri. ........ 8 The population parasitizes of Rome accroît, while its resources decrease. ...........................................................................
9 Must one allot to the sacerdotal government the misery of Rome and of its Countryside. .................................................................
10 It is a government of men announced by their virtues or their intelligence . .................................................................
11 Cependant dissatisfaction is general; which are its causes. .... 12 The desolation of Agro Romano is an economic and nonpolitical fact; 'Latifundia'. ............................................................................
13 History of the rural population of the Roman State and the property layer. ...........................................................................
14 13 Pennies the kings of Rome, the fields were cultivated by the inhabitants of cities. .................................................................
15 Roman Colonies, small rural properties given free to colonists. ..............................................................................
16
2 page All small heritages around Rome sold to the rich person. Those give up with tilling. ................................................................. 17

Opulence of the senators under the Empire; their mollesse; single people; extinction families. .............................................................

...... 18 Invasion of the barbarians; Ostrogoths, Lombards; first concessions feudal. .................................................................

............... 19 latifundia preserved in the duchy of Rome; Albéric de Tusculum. 20 At the tenth century, all the heights are crowned by fortresses baroniales. .................................................................

.............. the 21 barons ensured their peasants of ease to make soldiers of them. .................................................................

.............. 21 various Contracts of the barons with the peasants; the 'quinta' and long lease. 22 The useful field of the latifundia divided in the hills; population multiplies there. .................................................................

...... 23 again destroyed population, when the military career is closed again. 25 The barons renew the rural population in the hills, and them free cities in the plains. ................................................................. 25 the plain of Rome remains deserted, because it remains without military protection. .................................................................

............... 26 Culture of the plain by the townsmen, during the great schism. II finishes at the fifteenth century. .................................................................

27 Sixth IV tries to oblige with tilling. The sovereign is entitled to regulate the use property. .................................................................

. 28 Efforts of the popes to maintain abundance; the price of the bread made invariable. .................................................................

............... 30 the condition of the agrarian worsens; bankruptcy of the 'broke annonaria'. ............. 31 Official calculations on bakery. Magpie VI orders to sow the quarter agro Romano. .................................................................

. 32 official Accounts of one hundred rubbi sown out of corn, and of a sheep-fold of 2,500 sheep. .................................................................

............. 32 the sheep-fold, about ten square miles, speaks to twenty-four people, and give a profit of 1,900 ecus. ................................................................. 34 Poor wretch food and clothing of these twenty-four shepherds; they
do not have nor houses, nor pieces of furniture. .................................................................
35 Tilling on 5/6 of thousand, pays to more the 30 ecus; a number of workmen that it calls. ..............................................................................................................................
 ...... 35 Division of the labour; mode of the days laborer; their profits and their diseases. .................................................................................................................................
....................... 36 In spite of large wages, the workmen are badly compensated for their deprivations and their dangers. ..........................................................................................
The tilling of the latifundia causes a loss with the farmer, without profit for the State. .................................................................................................................................
........... 38 the farmer gives up the intelligence of his workmen, and employs only them force physical. .................................................................................................................................
 ...... 39 It is deprived of the co-operation of the nature, which multiplies fixed work on the ground. .................................................................................................................................
........ 40 3 page The bad air would not be enough to prevent the culture of the Agro one Romano. .................................................................................................................................
.................. 41 Agro Romano would lend themselves to the small culture, and the improvements. 42 The sovereign does not have it anything any more to see where owners and them farmers content? .................................................................................................................................
the pastoral state destroys the 11/12 of the gross products and the wages; it cause the misery of the cities. .................................................................................................................................
44 Where there are countrymen, half of the trades of the cities become useless. .................................................................................................................................
 45 Where the products of the professions are not required, one cannot found manufactures. .................................................................................................................................
........... 45 the population of the campaigns perished of misery only after being expelled of its houses. .................................................................................................................................
...... 46 Magpie VII, in a 'motu landlord', reproach with the owners their hardness towards the colonists. .................................................................................................................................
...... 47 Its wise project to extend the culture in concentric circles around of each city. .................................................................................................................................
49 Its means of execution miss energy. Abandonment of very seen improvement. .................................................................
Today, the spirit of centralization dominates the policy, like the economy. Centralization improves the things, and destroys the men; example from ancient Rome. Disastrous effects of modern centralization, in policy and economy. Centralization must produce, in all the large farms, the same effects that in Rome. France alone escapes this tendency by the compartmental sales. The example of Rome makes us redouble efforts to resist the torrent who involves us.

ELEVENTH ESSAY. - How to point out the population and the culture in Countryside of Rome? The fate of the inhabitants of the campaigns is an essential part of the economy policy. Oppression to which the peasant is sometimes subjected; happiness that him nature intended. Disadvantage to which that is subjected which proposes projects of reform. But one is used humanity only while passing of the rules for the applications. Social sciences admit of another experience only the study of accomplished facts.

The example of Rome can be used for all the countries ruined by the latifundia. It is necessary to think of progress those which were born on the ground, not of changing inhabitants. One deviated from this rule in the colonies, object of the following essay. The State of Rome must be repopulated by Romans, and be enriched by Ca pitaux Romans.

The project of Magpie VII, to benefit from the already existing centers of population, is only equitable. Agro Romano itself; its extent and its owners. Entours of Rome, 'city' of the Princes; horticulture; workmen mercenaries in Rome. There is much more industry around the small cities of Agro Romano. Culture of Ostie; culture of the small cities on the croups of Assembles Al-
67 But the owners allow the culture only one small part of these slopes.

69 Around each city a small space is only cultivated, and under which conditions.

69 the 'miglioramento', property of the farmers, are worth up to twelve times the ground which carries it.

70 They are the poor, not the rich person, who advance the capital for clearings.

71 Wood of olive-trees of Tivoli, property of the Roman barons; what they cost to plant.

72 the plantation is the savings bank to the peasant. Olive-trees withdrawn with peasant of Tivoli.

73 the harvest of the olive-trees given to the bidding; misery of the inhabitants.

74 Pushed back proletarians of the countryside in the small cities of the Roman State.

75 the rich person, misled by his greed, created the proletarians and pauperism who threaten it.

76 the heart becomes hardened on the sufferings of the beggars; why does the beggar become lazy? One raises the character of poor only by deferring his glances towards the writ of summons.

78 Danger of the orders beggars, since the begging multiplied. The farmers of Agro Romano can live today only in cities.

80 Costumes of each city, and their advantages; they almost are given up everywhere.

81 Food of poor in the small cities; fraternity what maintained the costume.

82 All improvements of land due to long divisions facts with the Middle Ages.

82 long Divisions granted in 1800 to Zagarolo, by prince Rospiglioni.

83 These poor inhabitants already succeeded
in tripling the value of the funds by their economies. .................................................................

...... 85 complete social Successes of this experience; but the prince is not content, and why? .................................................................

86 It is a great misfortune for the State when a province has an owner. 86 Advantages at feudal times, for the village, of the usual residence of the lord. ..................................................................................

...... 87 5 page The aristocracy, by uprooting campaigns, condemned itself to perish. ..................................................................................

............... 88 It is necessary to support the long division, and to reform the property of Provinces. .................................................................

............... 88 the activity must extend from the city on grounds divided between its inhabitants. .................................................................

............... 89 agrarian Law. We ask for any unit the division of the grounds, and it respect for the acquired rights. .................................................. 90 Rome already dedicated to the culture. How to defer its population towards fields? .................................................................

............... 92 To initially concede the ecclesiastical grounds in the ray of one thousand around the walls. .................................................................

93 Need for limiting the extent of the concessions so that the peasant can to cultivate itself. .................................................................

93 society has the right to force the owners with concessions from which its existence depends. .................................................. 94

How this same system must extend then in all the Roman State. .... 95 It is necessary that the sovereign authority intervenes to impose conditions with the division. .................................................................

96 How new hearths will be able to be formed then in the countryside. 97 The experience teaches us the remedy; it misses only the will to apply it. .................................................................

............... 99 TWELFTH ESSAY. - Colonies. ................................................................. 100 We propose, in this work, to only develop some badly thorough questions. ................................................................. 100 The limits of the territorial wealth inside had to make think with the colonies. .................................................................
Cependant the colonies must be a means of civilization, not of wealth. The colonization of the coasts of the Mediterranean gave to Europe its civilized nation. the first civilized between the people, the Egyptians, teach their arts with the remainder of the ground. Colonies of the Egyptians in Greece; they make leave Pélasges cruelty. the Egyptians and Phéniciens, by three centuries of instruction, made Greeks a nation. the Greeks, in their turn, carried their colonies on all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Rome, girl of a Greek colony, gives to its own colonies a character new. Our more powerful colonies still than those of old, but less beneficial.

The modern ones destroyed the age of the countries which they colonized; themselves retrogressed. The only pilgrims of New England wanted to found a fatherland; all the others seek the profit. The colonists seek to be made like only when they feel weak between the natives. colonists of antiquity fixed in the cities; their bond was more close friend. the colonists are independent spirits, which need a social bond vigorous. wild Character of the 'back woodsman', opposed to the Greek colonist whom contained the public opinion. In the old colony, each batch of ground was small, close to city, and cultivated well. In the modern one, the batches, too vast, make move back
agriculture towards cruelty. ..............................................................................................

............. 113 the Greek colonist worked with his hands, and gave all his leisures to fatherland. ..................................................................................................................

............. 114 Equality in the Greek colonies, community of the interests, capacity of intelligence. .................................................................................................................................

............. the 115 well born men, by their influence, informed and raised all the colony. .................................................................................................................................

........... the 117 All colonists in their turn were in a position to inform the aboriginals and they did it. .................................................................................................................................

117 One does not choose the modern colonists for the good of the new society, but to push back them of the old woman. .......................................................... 118 Arrived at the colony, instead of joining closely, they are fled. 119 Penal colonies, appalling inoculation of vice at young companies. 119 It is calculated today that the indigenous race must disappear in front of white race. .................................................................................................................................

..... 121 ancient Civilization of the red race, in Mexico and Peru; abundance subsistence. .................................................................................................................................

....... 121 Variety of the productions, progress in arts, knowledge. ............... 122 The destruction of the red race by the Spaniards is the fixed price more terrible of the history. .................................................................................................................................

............... the 123 farmers of Mexico are still all of red race, but them higher rows disappeared. .................................................................................................................................

124 It is the modern system of colonization which is the cause of these horrors. 124 The adventurers left the old colonies for the news, and y continue their cruelties. .................................................................................................................................

125 The Spaniards go to the hunting of the 'Indios cheers'; state of the 'Indios Re-ducidos' in the missions. .................................................................................................................................

126 The new republics, by destroying the missions, extended hunting with the men. .................................................................................................................................

127 Wild become again white at the same time as pastors in America Southerner. .................................................................................................................................

....... 128 Odious control of the Portuguese in Brazil, and in their colonies of Africa. 129 In the Indies the Portuguese made move back civilization, and destroyed them legitimate capacities. .................................................................................................................................
The Dutchmen in the Indies did not bring any progress of which they were themselves in possession.

They destroyed the civilization of Java, they destroyed the population with Cape of Good Hope.

Hottentot cultivated the ground, the Dutch boor is gone down again to the state of shepherd.

the 132 Greeks would have civilized Hottentots, the Dutchmen exterminated them.

133 The Dutch boors then lit a war with the Kaffirs, that the English continue.

134 The cupidity of the colonists varies according to the character of the Spaniards, the Dutchmen, and of the English.

135 In the continent of the Indies, the direct domination of the English is one benefit for the inhabitants.

136 English, and the Anglo-American ones in their relationship with the hunters of red race.

Their contact made lose with the indigènes all arts and all the virtues that they had.

Crime of Europeans, by abrutissant the indigènes by intoxication, in all their colonies.

137 English penal Colonies of Australasia; English missionaries.

138 The French, more than other Europeans, knew to reconcile the friendship savages.

139 The violin joined together the two races for the pleasure, better than the trade.

140 The 140 colonists of Canada were farmers and benevolent, those of the Antilles tradesmen and covetous.

141 The French will not be able to civilize Africa, as well as them Phenicians, Romans and Arabs?
natives. ................................................................. 143

'Postscript'. Happy results until one can wait of the treaty of
Tafna. 144 SECOND SECTION. Commercial wealth and
men whom it makes live. THIRTEENTH ESSAY. -
Economic organization of the human
society. ......................................................................................

................................................................. The 149 other economists wanted to
accelerate the movement, we seek to delay
it. ......................................................................................... 149

The history does not show us that the man benefitted from the
improvement
things. ................................................................. 150

8 page Manufactures; admirable development of the
human power, but which is that which enjoys
it? ................................................................. 151 They are not
the workmen: their sufferings in the cotton manufacture in
England. ...................................................................................

.. 152 They are not the masters: their small number and their
frequent ruin. ........ 153 If they are the consumers, it is to
better buy that to produce oneself-même.154 The poor one
does not benefit from its economies; the less the life costs
him, the less it is
paid. ......................................................................................

......... 155 modern inventions judged by the question: Where
are the happy ones what do they
make? ..................................................................................

....... 155 Wonders of the banks and wealthes created by the
credit; disasters that they
cause. ..................................................................................

. 156 to include/understand the social organization, we stuck
initially
with
agriculture. ................................................................. 158 the industrialism penetrated in agriculture in
England; the fields return more than the
factories. ................................................................. 159
Prosperity of the things, suffering for the men, days laborer,
farmers
and
owners. ..................................................................................

... 160 Abstractions which should finally be approached; value
former to the exchanges, goes them
exchangeable. .................................................................

......... 161 The trade does not take account of the utility, but
only from its goes them
exchangeable. .................................................................

......... 162 When all the products are delivered to the trade,
they can grow in quantity without growing in
The value of any goods fixed by its only flow.

All the trade of which the goal is 'to resell', random and is produced obstruction.

The current suffering results from the increase in quantities, while the values decrease.

Disappointment of chrematistic which proposes to produce much with little of expenses.

Current suffering results from the increase in quantities, while the values decrease.

Disappointment of chrematistic which proposes to produce much with little of expenses.

The political economy is always solved in councils given to the capacity: which are ours?

Conserver the proportion enters the professions; society rests on that farmers.

Utility of the country aristocracy, in which proportion it is necessary to maintain.

Of the experts: the trades were initially exerted in the families rural.

the 171 experts carry out only the work which is to them ordered.

manufacturers or those which prepare the goods without knowing which will buy it.

How the trade changes into factory to establish the likely objects of transport.

All economy on the manufacturer's price given up with the consumer by the manufacturer in a hurry to sell.

Sufferings of the manufacturer when it attests a delay in the sale.

Each effort of the manufacturer tends to produce the obstruction and the ruin which follows.

Plus manufacture grows, plus it is exposed there; often it redoubles then of activity.

Workmen of the intelligence, staff of society divided into hundred professions any other business.

Benefits spread on all society by the men of the
intelligence. 179 But the men of the intelligence can also attest the obstruction. 179 The careers which are open for them cannot with much close receiving them all. .................................................................

..... the 180 men of the intelligence suffer more than of others from poverty. 181 The instruction must be given to all to improve them, with small numbers like makeshift solution. ......................................................... 182 Society cannot remain if the rows of the farmers and the men of sorrow are not filled. ................................................................. 182 If the unskilled labourer were exempted manual work, any other work would become useless. .................................................................

183 is to mislead the poor which to invite them to leave the plough for benches of the school. .................................................................

. 184 Organization of society and participation of all its members in the advantages materials. .................................................................

........ 185 Malthus showed that this participation supposes the influence of the population with the subsistence. .................................................................

..... 187 the population always increases as soon as a new livelihood is to him offer.187 The economists feel the need for the proportion, and they increase disproportion. .................................................................

......... 188 the social capacity must take care on all the classes so that they increase that proportionally. ................................................................. 188 It must take care that the rural products do not undergo all them chances of the trade. ................................................................. 189

With a which aim it must take care on the owners, the professionals and manufacturers. .................................................................

.......... the 189 workmen of the intelligence, them also, belong to wealth commercial. .................................................................

.......... 191 the always useful use of human work for the ease of all is true wealth of society. ................................................................. 192

FOURTEENTH ESSAY. - How manufactures contribute they to national happiness? .................................................................

.... 193

Our first attention claimed by manufactures, because their
products all are intended for the trade. .......................................................... 193 10 page

Analyze reasons to encourage manufactures, and to lead to the undue mone-
trialisme. ..............................................................................................................

194 Great triumph of the intelligence and the human power in manufacture. .............................................................. 194

194 the political economy is mislaid by continuing the large one rather than the useful one. 196 The human weakness borrowed force from all the blind agents to serve arts. .............................................................. 197

197 How the extraordinary progress of arts it did not change it more leaves the man? .............................................................. 198

198 the capacity of our ancestors on the matter left much more monuments that ours. .........................................................................................................................

198 We limit ourselves to useful arts, but those really add to happiness? .............................................................. 199

199 Is this in the manufacturing countries which one finds at poor abundance and the leisure? .............................................................. 200

200 The useful arts exerted by the trades are not exposed to the obstruction manufactures. .............................................................. 201

201 Arts are caused by the requests of society, of which the authority is not the same one. .............................................................. 201

201 pressing Requests for the first needs, hardly stated for pleasures. .............................................................. 202

202 But the workman is subjected to the same constraint for frivolous arts and for the necessary ones. .............................................................. 203

203 It is subjected to greater sacrifices in manufacture than in agriculture. .............................................................. 204

204 Society wanted before all its subsistence, then she wants that all work is rewarded. .............................................................. 205

205 One celebrates manufactures like offering the reward to a new work. .............................................................. 206

206 Foundation of the cotton factories of Lancurrencyre; prosperity which they spread around them. .............................................................. 206

206 But their competition ruined old manufactures and especially industry domestic. ..............................................................
.... 207 the steam engine gives to manufacture cotton of new developments. .................................................................

.......... 210 Each new invention comes to resell the old ones, and to drive out them market. .................................................................
...... 210 Fifteen hundred and thousand cotton workmen; their competition reduces the wages and profits of all. .................................................................
211 All the mercantile tendency of England represented by two words: 'overtrade' and 'undersell'. .................................................................
211 We refuse to make the table of the current sufferings of the factories. .................................................................

.......... 213 Alternatives of excessive work and idleness in this manufacture that one envies England. .................................................................
214 Other manufactures resemble that of cotton: their size and their decline rapids. .................................................................
214 11 page Abstract reasons that one gives us to encourage manufactures. 215 What means fear to make our industry tributary from abroad? 217 The nation should want industry only that which rewards the industrialist. 218 It pays pledges, and not a tribute, with those which take care of functions painful. .................................................................
.... 218 the increase in the productions does not get for all more pleasure. 219 The extent of the market could not be unlimited. Reasoning of a philosopher Scottish. .................................................................
..... 220 the extent of the market is limited by the need for the purchasers, and by their means of paying. .................................................................
. 221 It is the poor one, not the rich person who is the large consumer of the objects manufactured. .................................................................
.......... 222 When a manufacture makes fast progress, it is at the expense of one rival industry. .................................................................
.... 222 Error of those which wait begins export a balance paid in currency. .................................................................
.......... 223 the trade does not consist in only selling, but selling to repurchase. .................................................................
.......... 224 Ni a tradesman, nor a nation, would not pile up currency without y to lose. .................................................................
.......... 225 But the imports being able not to balance exports
without it currency increases. .................................................................

225 Exports to pay the revenues of absent, subsidies, the loans public. .........................................................................................

............... 226 Crisis of the trade of America; because England withdraws the loans to him that it made him. ..........................................................

227 Shoddy goods of the emigrants: any country which exports more than it does not import impoverishes itself. ..........................................................

.. 228 When the export trade is useful: in an equal exchange there is equal advantage. .................................................................

........ 229 Manufacture forced to stick to export not to perish. .... 229 To save itself, it ruins the country which it floods of its products. 230 Then, in spite of the theory, the national feeling pushes back the importation. 230 Very often English manufacture thrived only by the sacrifice of English capital. ............................................................................

232 manufacture is not always an evil, but its fast development is always a danger. ................................................................................

FIFTEENTH ESSAY. - Protection granted formerly to useful arts, and the EC what one can do today for them. .................................................. 234 The state of the poor classes became increasingly more critical within one apparent prosperity. .......................................................... 234 Prejudices which are opposed to progress of new doctrines. .............. 235 We have to offer only palliatives to a new evil, but growing. 235

Let us start by studying the ancient organization of those which exerted them useful arts. ........................................................................

....... 237 12 page The trade associations established a fraternity between those which are with-jourd' today enemies. ..........................................................

237 Competition was restricted in each trade by the training. 238 Later by the trade-guild: masterpiece, controls and establishment. 239 The large manufacturers answer the large land lords today. ........................................................................

............... 241 How manufactures also entered the ancient organization. Art wool. ..................................................................................

....... 242 Art of silk. The advantage of this manufacture is not due to the utility silk. ..............................................................................
243 silk, formerly, distributed abundant profits to all those which contributed to produce it. 245 How each family saw increasing her ease by this industry. 245 How it offered a lucrative work to the women of any condition. 246 Changes which one endeavours to introduce there; bigattières, obstruction. 246 The silk gunner, the spinner and the manufacturer, one wants to join together them in only one. 248 A millionaire wants to monopolize all the trade of silk today. 249 Neither the number of the workmen, nor the value of the products, followed the increase quantity. 250 The advanced capital working to produce silk, it is time and of the sorrow. 251 This capital takes the name of ecus, at the time same as that which advances it does not have not ecus. 251 The 251 ecus do nothing but facilitate the successive exchanges of a value which preexist already. 250 The 251 ecus do nothing but facilitate the successive exchanges of a value which preexist already. 252 None has in ecus a sum equal to the capital it has. 252 One should not think of retrogressing towards the ancient organization of industry. 253 We do not hope that one can make take part the workmen in the profits of a manufacture. 254 We only propose three things: 1° average: To clarify the opinion. 255 To thus suspend the efforts of the governments to accelerate industry. 256 The inventions follow one another with a speed which ruins with measurement those that it replaces. 257 2° average: Not to give more of reward to the inventions, or monopoly with the inventors. 258 The random spirit is especially excited by the hugeness of the capital dedicated to trade. 259 3° average: More not to grant decoration to the industrial rich person, and to support divisions. 260 Empêcher also that the fictitious or associated capital does not drive out trade others. 260 SIXTEENTH ESSAY. - Currency, working capital, and of the banks. 262 Fundamental institutions of society, such as the language, etc, exceed the genius of the
To invent the currency, it was necessary to appreciate the future reports/ ratios. It enters men. To appreciate the future reports/ratios, it was necessary to appreciate the future exchangeable value of any thing. To compare the values, one needs an ideal unit of values. Analogy with the weight. The intended currency has to count the exchangeable value of any thing. To compare the values, one needs an ideal unit of values. Analogy with the weight. The intended currency has to count the exchangeable value of any thing. To compare the values, one needs an ideal unit of values. Analogy with the weight. The intended currency has to count the exchangeable value of any thing. To compare the values, one needs an ideal unit of values. Analogy with the weight.

The useful value is independent of work; the exchangeable value is measured on him. The salesman asks for compensation of consumed work; the purchaser does not offer that necessary work. Difficulty of finding a standard of the values; why the money was selected. It represents with enough fixity the quantity of work necessary for to produce.

An abstract unit of the values, without exchange of the currency, is enough with the trade. Primitive Trade enters the pastoral people and farmers. Numeration values. Deliver It ideal is used to count the aliquot parts of value in the exchange. The invention of the money shared the exchange in a purchase and one sale. The value of the goods is suitable for increase; that of the currency invariable. The capital is the abstract image of all the values of which trade lay out.

The capital of a trader, it is to have it of its assessment; of which parts it is composed. Its capital is owe him by its goods, its factories, its credits and its case. The capital is not the currency; it carries an interest; currency do not bring back anything. Two circulations in opposite direction, of the silver currency, the capital in ideal pounds.
Each one keeps at home of as much less currency than it is sensed more in safety in society. 

There is much currency and little capital in the cruel countries; the reverse in the civilized countries.

Confusion of the capital with the currency; distort measurements which are resulted from it.

A doubled production of precious metals would upset the trade. While leading to the work of the mines, one tends to destroy the utility of metals invaluable.

Whole the currency of the world has a given value independent of sound weight.

If the alchemists succeeded, they would still make more evil with the trade that minors.

One cannot replace metals like pledges, but well like signs values.

14 page Bill of exchange come the assignment, the promissory note, it good with the carrier and banknote.

The banker hopes on the public nonchalance to attract with oneself the money against its paper.

At the same time it offers to lend to whoever asks credit. The bank, as manufacture, employs an average opposite at the end that it proposes.

The bank, should replace only the bags of the great merchants, which are not untied never.

The name alone of a land bank indicates that it makes false operation.

Any bank is committed paying with presentation a money which it does not owe not to have in case.

Effect of a terror 'panic' on a bank; its reserve, its efforts for to repurchase currency.

Whatever the cause of terror, convulsions of the bank increase.

It redoubles the research of the currency, and removes suddenly
capital. ...........................................................................................

290 Dangers of the wisest bank; false theories increase it danger. .................................................................

290 is a desirable advantage for society that the increase in its capital? .............................................................

291 Evidence of the superabundance of the capital in the recent companies, and their disasters. .................................................................

292 Loans of the trade to the capitalists, by the deposits, the account-neck-rants, discounts. .................................................................

293 It is a social evil which facility that the borrowers find auprès banks. .................................................................

293 Why the banks which excite 'in addition to-trade' are however expensive with the trade. .................................................................

294 Where there is no bank, of not to establish; to give the monopoly to concealment them who exist. .................................................................

295 the private interest takes care well better on the bill of exchanges than on bearer bonds. .................................................................

297 To prevent the competition of the banks; the circulation of too small tickets. 297 One can collect the advantage of the banks without feeling the disadvantages of them, but the step is slipping. .................................................................

300 With the eyes the commercial, very whole national fortune is a credit. 300 Material relationship between the property and the revenue; abstracted influence enters the capital and interest. .................................................................

301 the working capital, it is the value of all the purchasable goods existing in society. .................................................................

302 a merchant makes his setting in funds, credits or goods. 302 Assessment of a nation: 1° Its real estates and its fixed assets. .................................................................

303 2°. Its capital, which is credits and not currency. .............. 304 3°. Its furnishings, or its started consumption; it does not make not left of its capital. .................................................................

305 4°. Its goods; a merchant endeavours to be matched
without too many advances. .................................................................

............... The 305 funds of goods decreases as the trade becomes more rapid. .................................................................

........ 306 5°. The fortune of poor, in capital and acquired skill, decreases too. 307 The material wealth of the rich nations decreases; where thus is their opulence? .................................................................

............... 308 This opulence is in their immaterial capital; it has an existence real? .................................................................

......... 309 Quelquefois the negative value of the credits only remains when suits them positive is dissipated. ................................................................. 309

The credit is not a creator that as much as it gives the future in exchange against past. .................................................................

...... 311 One offers for safety to the lender a material wealth other that that it transmitted in loans. ................................................................. 311 the value of the credits remains after the capital which founded them is dissipated. .................................................................

............... 313 the credit is only one assignment on the product of a future work. 313 The revenue is a hope, and its capital the price for which is sold this hope. .................................................................

the 313 public loans are a great injustice made at the expense of future generations. .................................................................

... 314 This fortune which is based in the future does not enrich a nation. ..... 315 By abolishing the public funds, the nation would be neither richer more nor poor. .................................................................

......... 316 the credit sell the work of our children with perpetuity. ......................... 316 An immense share of the future revenue of society is already mortgaged of advance. .................................................................

............... 317 Ease and merry existence of poor, at the people that do not overpower not national debts. ................................................................. the 317 despotic governments and the revolutionists found credit like the others. .................................................................

318 same progress of freedom decreased the guarantees against temptation loans. .................................................................
319 The aristocratic senates believed the defenders of the interests of posterity. ..............................................................

320 How the contractors of loans allure the governments by their offers. ..............................................................

321 Skill of the contracteurs of loan to make the easily deceived ones, and provision of public to become it. .......................................................... 322 16 page Their trade is the only one which even today quickly with wealth. 323 Reserve two years of interest between the hands of the lending banker. 323 Intervention of the bankers in the civil war of Spain. The people are it bound towards them? ..............................................................

324 the English independence defended by the loans: what they cost each one. ..............................................................

325 Why we announced the disappointment which mask the immaterial capital. 326 It is with the legislation to make profitable this knowledge. ....................... 327 END OF THE TABLE.