Opposing Economic Fallacies, Legal Plunder, and the State: Frédéric Bastiat's Rhetoric of Liberty in the Economic Sophisms (1846-1850).

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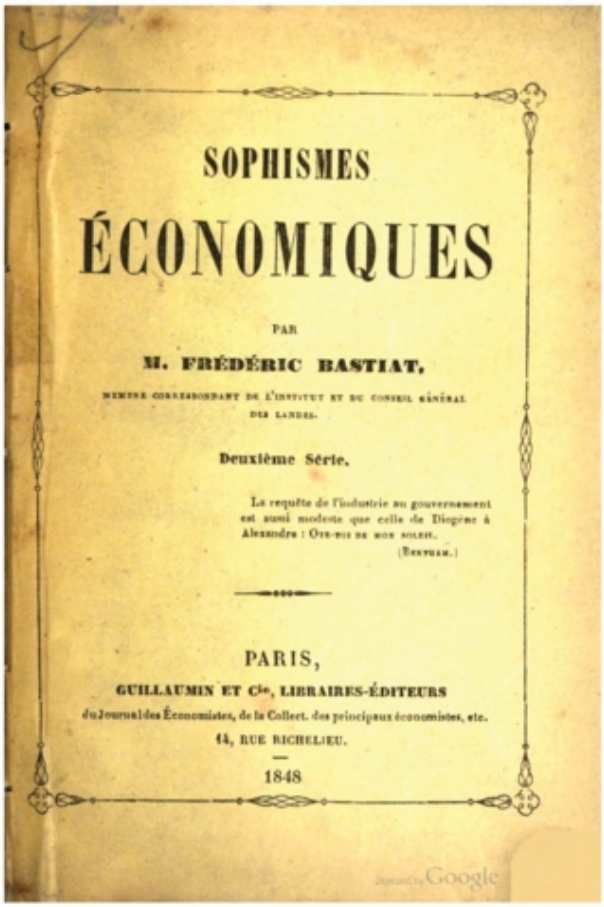

SOPHISMES

ÉCONOMIQUES

PAR

M. FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT,

MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT ET DU CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL DES LANDES.

Deuxième Série.

La requête de l'industrie au gouvernement est aussi modeste que celle de Diogène à Alexandre : Ôte-toi de mon soleil.

(Bentham.)

PARIS,

GUILLAUMIN ET Cie, LIBRAIRES-ÉDITEURS

du Journal des Économistes, de la Collect. des principaux économistes, etc.

14, RUE RICHELIEU.

1848

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Abstract

Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) was best known in his lifetime for his opposition to the French government's policies of trade protection and subsidies in the 1840s and for his opposition to socialism as a Deputy in the Constituent Assembly and then the National Assembly during the 1848 Revolution and Second Republic between 1848 and 1850. His works remained in print throughout the 19th century and were published by that indefatigable classical liberal publishing firm of Guillaumin. He took as his model for achieving economic change the work of Richard Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League in Britain. Hence, Bastiat formed the Bordeaux Free Trade Association and then a national association based in Paris along with their affiliated newspapers and magazines, but his efforts were unsuccessful when the Chamber defeated a free trade motion in 1847.

Part of his tactics during this period was to debunk what he termed "economic fallacies" (or "sophisms") which were widely held by both the public and the political elite concerning the benefits of government protection and subsidies. He published a large number of these "economic sophisms" between 1844 and 1848 in popular newspapers and magazines as well as in more academic journals like the *Journal des Économistes*. These were collected and published in 2 books during his lifetime and the editors of his posthumous *Oeuvres complètes* had material enough for a third volume which was never published separately.

This paper examines the origin, content, and form of Bastiat's *Economic Sophisms* which will comprise volume 3 of Liberty Fund's translation of his *Collected Works* (estimated publication date is 2013). It is argued that in opposing the economic sophisms which he saw around him Bastiat developed a unique "rhetoric of liberty" in order to make his case for economic liberty. For the idea of debunking "fallacies", he drew upon the work of Jeremy Bentham on "political fallacies" and Col. Perronet Thomas on "corn law fallacies"; for his use of informal "conversations" to appeal to less well-informed readers, he drew upon the work of two women popularizers of economic ideas, Jane Marcet and Harriet Martineau.

One of Bastiat's original contributions was the use of "Crusoe economics" where he simplifies the economic choices faced by an individual by describing how Robinson Crusoe might go about ordering his economic priorities and deciding what his opportunity costs are. Another original contribution is Bastiat's clever use of short and witty economic "fables" and fictional letters written to political leaders. In many of these apparently "simple" fables Bastiat's draws upon classical French literature (Molière and La Fontaine) as well as contemporary political songs and poems (written by "goguettiers" like his contemporary Béranger) to make serious economic arguments in a very witty and unique manner. Bastiat's self-declared purpose was to make the study of economics less "dull and dry" and to use "the sting of ridicule" to expose the widespread misunderstanding of economic ideas. The result is what Friedrich Hayek correctly described as an economic "publicist of genius".

INTRODUCTION

Frédéric Bastiat burst onto the Parisian political economy scene in October 1844 with the publication of his first major article "De l'influence des tarifs français et anglais sur l'avenir des deux peuples" (On the Influence of English and French Tariffs on the Future of the Two People) in the *Journal des Économistes*.[1] This proved to be a sensation and he was welcomed with open arms by the Parisian political economists as one of their own. This was followed soon after by Bastiat's first visit to Paris and then England in order to meet Richard Cobden and other leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League. Bastiat's book on *Cobden and the League* appeared in 1845 which was an attempt to explain to the French people the meaning and significance of the Anti-Corn Law League by means of Bastiat's lengthy introduction and his translation of key speeches and newspaper articles by members of the League.[2]

It was in this context that Bastiat wrote a series of articles explicitly called "Economic Sophisms" for the April, July, and October 1845 issues of the *Journal des Économistes*.[3] These became the first half of what was to appear in early 1846 as *Economic Sophisms Series I*. As articles continued to pour from the pen of Bastiat during 1846 and 1847 and were published in his own free trade journal *Le Libre-Échange* (founded 29 November 1846 and closed 16 April 1848) and in the *Journal des Économistes*, he soon amassed enough material to publish a second volume of the *Economic Sophisms*, called naturally enough, *Economic Sophisms Series II* in January 1848. As Bastiat's literary executor and friend Prosper Paillottet noted in a footnote

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1 "De l'influence des tarifs français et anglais sur l'avenir des deux peuples," Journal des Économistes, October 1844, T. 9, pp. 244-71. I am building a chronological list of all of Bastiat's writings which will be published in the 6th and final volume of his *Collected Works*. A partial list of material to date can be found at the OLL website here <http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1562&Itemid=281>.

2 Bastiat's introduction to *Cobden and the League* (1845) will appear in vol. 6 of LF's edition of his *Collected Works*. Bastiat, *Cobden et la ligue, ou l'Agitation anglaise pour la liberté du commerce* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1845). It is also volume 3 of the *Oeuvres complètes*.

3 See the "Note on the Publishing History of the Economic Sophisms" (below) for details.

in the *Oeuvres complètes* which he edited, there was even enough material for a third series compiled from the several shorter pieces which appeared between 1846 and 1848 in various organs such as *Le Libre-Échange,* had Bastiat lived long enough to get them ready for publication.[4] With Liberty Fund's edition of Bastiat's *Collected Works* we have been able to do what he and Paillottet were not able to do, namely gather in one volume all of Bastiat's actual and possible *Economic Sophisms*. The selection criteria is that they were written in a similar style to the other Sophisms (short, witty, sarcastic, sometimes in dialogue form, and having the intention of debunking widely held but false economic ideas (or "fallacies" or "sophisms")). We therefore include in this volume alongside Series I, Series II, and the "Third or New Series" of the *Economic Sophisms,* the longer pamphlet "What is Seen and What is Unseen" (July 1850) which is also very much in the same style and format. We don't think Bastiat would mind us doing so.[5]

1. The Format of the Economic Sophisms

In Liberty Fund's collection of Bastiat's *Economic Sophisms* we include some seventy two individual essays (or seventy four if one includes some of the slighter pieces written for *Jacques Bonhomme* as separate essays) which might fall into the category of refutations of popularly held economic fallacies designed for a general audience. They were written over a period of five years stretching from 1846 (when the free trade newspaper *Le Libre-Échange* was founded) to 1850 (the year in which *What is Seen and What is Not Seen* was published a few months before Bastiat's death).

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4 Page number ??? of this volume.

5 The number of Sophisms include the following: 22 for ES1 (published in January 1846; 17 for ES2 (published in January 1848); the 12 chapters of WSWNS (published in July 1850); and the 21 or 23 (depending on how one counts the smaller pieces which appeared in *Jacques Bonhomme*) which were written and published at various times but which first appeared in Paillottet's edition of his *Oeuvres complètes* in 1854. For statistical purposes in this paper we use the figure of 72 separate Sophisms.

In writing these essays Bastiat used a variety of formats which are listed below according to how frequently they occur in the collection:

- essays written in informal or more conversational prose (36 or 50%)
- essays which were in dialog or constructed conversational form (13 or 18%), including two which used the character Robinson Crusoe for economic thought experiments
- stand alone economic tales or fables (8 or 11%)
- fictional letters or petitions to government officials and other documents (8 or 11%)
- essays written in more formal or academic prose (4 or 5.5%)
- direct appeals to the workers and citizens of France (1 speech and 2 revolutionary wall posters - 3 or 4%)

i. Essays written in Informal or more Conversational Prose

These essays are the dominant type in the collection and make up 50% of the total. Not surprisingly they read like they were originally written for popular newspapers and are quite conversational in tone. Bastiat often quotes from the speeches or writings of his protectionist opponents before attempting to refute their arguments. He also often makes conversational asides to his readers (e.g. the exclamation "What!" or other comments) which gives the impression that Bastiat is sitting next to the reader in a bar or hall and having a vigorous conversation. It is quite possible that the style of these essays is a result of a version of them having been given as speeches in public meetings of the French Free Trade Association before being printed in the Association's journal *Le Libre-Échange*. Some of these essays contain stories about made up characters with snippets of their dialog as Bastiat goes about making his points; others contain brief references to one of Bastiat's favourite characters, Jacque Bonhomme, the French everyman. Because

the dialog or conversation is only a small part of the essay they have been included in this category and not the next.[6]

ii. Essays written in Dialog or Constructed Conversational Form

The second most common format for the *Sophisms* were the essays written expressly in dialogue or conversational form (18% of the total). Some conversations were introduced with a section of prose before the conversation took center stage; others were entirely devoted to the conversation. Bastiat created stock characters to represent different sides in a debate which unfolded over several pages with the inevitable result that the free market advocate won the contest. Bastiat was quite inventive and often amusing in creating names for his characters, such as a "Mister Blockhead" (who was a Tax Collector), "The Utopian" (who was a Minister in the government who fantasized about introducing a radical free market reform program), and "Mister Prohibitionist" and "The Law Factory" (the Chamber of Deputies). His other characters were often fairly prosaic in their names, such as his favourite "Jacques Bonhomme" (the French everyman), John Bull (the British everyman who is used here to advocate postal reform), various "Petitioners" to government officials, "Ironmasters" and "Woodcutters", and the "Economist" and the "Artisan". In some cases the character "Jacques Bonhomme" was described as a "wine producer" which, given the fact that Bastiat was a gentleman farmer who came from a wine producing region, strongly suggests that sometimes the free trade arguments he was placing in Jacques mouth got a bit personal.[7]

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6 The abbreviations used in this section are: *Economic Sophisms Series I* (ES1), *Economic Sophisms Series II* (ES2), *New Series from Libre-Échange* (ESLE), and *What is Seen and What is Not Seen* (WSWNS), with the number following referring to the essay number in that collection. The essays written in informal or conversational prose can be found in ES1 I, II, III, IV, V, VI, IX, XI, XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXII; ES2 IV, V, VIII, XVII; ESLE 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 58, 61; WSWNS II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII.

7 Essays in dialog form can be found in ES1 XIII, XVI, XXI; ES2 IX, X, XI, XII, XV; ESLE 54, 57, 59;
WSWNS VII.

A quite innovative dialog form which Bastiat had much to do with inventing was the use of the characters "Robinson Crusoe" and "Friday" to create what might be called "thought experiments" in economic thinking. In these special dialogs Bastiat would simplify quite complex economic arguments often putting interventionist and protectionist arguments into the mouth of the European Crusoe and the more liberal free market ideas into the mouth of Friday [See below for a discussion of this].[8]

iii. Stand alone Economic Tales or Fables

Given Bastiat's love of literature and his penchant for the fairy tales and fables of La Fontaine and Perrault, it is not surprising that he would turn his hand to writing his own "economic tales" or fables. Another model might have been Voltaire's "philosophic tales" such as *Candide* (1759) although Bastiat does not quote him as he does Fontaine and Perrault. These "economic tales" are coherent stories or tales designed to make an important economic point in a light hearted manner. They are self-contained, usually have no introduction by a narrator (such as Bastiat), and are often very funny and poignant. Bastiat wrote eight of them as *Sophisms* and they are spread out quite evenly over the various collections he had published, suggesting that he regarded them as an essential part of the genre. Some of the more noteworthy tales are the following: "Reciprocity" [ES1 X] which is a fable in which the councillors of two wittily named towns "Stulta" (which could be translated as "Stupidville") and "Puera" ("Childishtown") try to figure out how best to disrupt trade between themselves; "The Chinese Tale" [ES2 VII] in which a free trade minded Emperor of China causes his protectionist-minded Mandarins considerable grief; "Protection, or Three Municipal Magistrates" [ES2 XIII] which is in fact a small, four act play with multiple characters who argue about the pros

8 The dialogs in which Robinson Crusoe appear can be found in ES2 XIV and ESLE 60. In volume two of Liberty Fund's edition there is a discussion of "savages on an island" very much like the discussions elsewhere of Crusoe. See "Property and Plunder", p. 000. There are also multiple references to Robinson Crusoe in *Economic Harmonies*.

and cons of protection and free trade; and probably the best known of Bastiat's tales "The Broken Window" [WSWNS I] where there is a brief prose introduction before a wonderful story about Jacques Bonhomme's broken window is told, along with its impact on the Glazier and the Shoemaker. These "economic tales" are probably Bastiat's best work in making the study of economics less "dry and dull" (as he lamented) and it is a pity he did not write more of them as he seemed to have quite a talent for it.[9]

iv. Fictional Letters or Petitions to Government Officials and Other Documents

On a par with his "economic tales", at least in terms of the number written (8 or 11% of the total) and their originality and creativity, are the fictional letters or petitions to government officials which Bastiat wrote. In most cases they were quite satirical and very funny. These fake letters and petitions were written to members of the Chamber of Deputies, various Cabinet Ministers, the Council of Ministers, and even to the King, usually with requests for preposterous solutions to their economic problems. Bastiat uses the "reductio ad absurdum" method to argue his point, taking a conventional argument used by protectionists, such as a request to keep cheap foreign imports out of the country because it hurts domestic producers, and pushing it to an absurd extreme, the best example being his "Petition of the Candlemakers" [ES1 VII]. In this case, a straight faced group of petitioners who make artificial light (such as candles and lamps) ask the Chamber of Deputies to pass a law forcing all consumers to block out the natural light of the sun during daylight hours in order to boost demand for their products. The ridiculousness of their demand and the logical similarity with the demands of the protectionists is the point Bastiat was trying to make in this clever and witty manner.

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9 Bastiat's economic tales can be found in ES1 VIII, X; ES2 VII, XIII; ESLE 63, 64, 65; WSWNS I.

Another kind of document which Bastiat liked to "invent" was the historical document such as the "Monita secreta" [ESLE 67] based upon a seventeenth century forgery of a manual which purported to show how the Jesuits secretly went about recruiting members to their cause and lobbying governments to get the legislation they wanted. Here, Bastiat "discovers" a secret manual or guide book written to assist the protectionists in their political and intellectual struggle against the free traders. By "exposing" this secret and conspiratorial document for the first time to the French public, Bastiat has a field day.[10]

v. Essays written in more Formal or Academic Prose

There are only four instances of this type of essay in the collection. They are longer pieces and are written in a more academic style in which quite sophisticated and complex theoretical and history ideas are discussed. The first two examples are the opening two essays in *Economic Sophisms Series II* (1848) on "The Physiology of Plunder" and "Two Moralities" and are discussed in more detail below in the section on "Legal and Illegal Plunder." There is no information on any previous publication of these pieces so it is possible that they were written especially for the second series of *Economic Sophisms*. The other two essays were written for the more academic and sophisticated *Journal des Économistes*. "Theft by Subsidy" appeared in the January 1846 issue and is notable for Bastiat's testy reaction to reviews of *Economic Sophisms Series I* for being "too theoretical, scientific, and metaphysical", the defence of his strategy for "calling a spade a spade" in his writings (such as describing government taxation and tariffs as a form of "theft"), and for the appearance of one the wittiest pieces he ever wrote, a parody of Molière's parody, where Bastiat writes (in Latin) an "Oath of Office" for aspiring government officials. The second essay "Disastrous Illusions" appeared in the March 1848 issue of the *Journal des Économistes* and is interesting because it was published at the very

10 Bastiat's invented letters and petitions can be found in ES1 VII; ES2 III, XVI; ESLE 53, 62, 66, 67, 69.

beginning of the 1848 Revolution and shows the growing alarm felt by the political economists at the rise of socialist and interventionist ideas among the revolutionaries.[11]

vi. Direct Appeals to the Workers and Citizens of France

This type of essay is the one most infrequently used by Bastiat. The first occurs in ES1 essay XII and is a direct appeal to the Workers, perhaps modelled on a real speech Bastiat gave on the hustings as he campaigned for the French Free Trade Association. We do not have any information about its original date or place of publication. The other two occurrences are wall posters which originally appeared in Bastiat's and Molinari's revolutionary paper *Jacques Bonhomme* in March 1848. They were designed to appeal to the workers and citizens of Paris at the beginning of the 1848 Revolution. The idea was to post them on walls in the streets of Paris so the passers by could read them.[12] In " A Disastrous Remedy" [ESLE 68b] Bastiat likens the state once again to a quack doctor who tries to cure the patient (the taxpayers of France) by giving him a blood transfusion by taking blood out of one arm and pumping it into the other arm [his parody of Molière appeared that same month in the *Journal des Économistes*]. In "The Immediate Relief of the People" [ESLE 68a] he argues that the state is not like Christ and cannot turn water into wine, or in this case give out more in subsidies than it takes in in taxes. Both were short, emotional appeals to the Parisian crowd to spurn the seductive socialist policies of the new Provisional Government.

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11 ES2 I "The Physiology of Plunder"; ES2 II "Two Moralities," IX "Theft by Subsidy;" ESLE 70 "Disastrous Illusions".

12 Speech to the Workers ES1 XII; wall posters ESLE 68a, 68b.

2. The Origins of Bastiat's Attack on Economic "Sophisms" and "Fallacies"

It is an interesting question to ask oneself where Bastiat got the idea of writing short, pithy essays for a popular audience in which he debunked the misconceptions ("sophisms" or "fallacies") people had about the operations of the free market in general and of free trade in particular. If refuting fallacies was his end, then the use of constructed conversations between two idealised representatives of conflicting points of view was often the means to that end. Both these aspects of Bastiat's *Economic Sophisms* will be explored here briefly.

There are three likely sources which might have inspired Bastiat with the idea of debunking "fallacies" - Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), Perronet Thompson (1783-1869), and Charles Dupin (1784-1873) - and another two who might have shown him how constructed conversations between adversaries might be suitable in appealing to a popular audience - Jane Haldimand Marcet (1769-1858), Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), and Charles Dupin (again).

i. Debunking Fallacies: Jeremy Bentham and Col. Perronet Thompson

Some of Jeremy Bentham's writings appeared first in French as a result of the work of his colleague Étienne Dumont who translated, edited, and published several of Bentham's works in Switzerland before they appeared in English in Bowring's 1843 edition of his works.[13] These works were known to Bastiat who quoted from Bentham's *Théorie des peines et des recompenses* (1811) and even used quotations from it as the opening mottoes for the *Economic Sophisms Series I* and *Series*

13 *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, published under the Superintendence of his Executor, John Bowring (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838-1843). 11 vols. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1920>

II.[14] Bentham's attack on the notion of natural rights during the French Revolution, as expressed in the 1791 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, was eventually titled "Anarchical Fallacies" (it was written in 1795-1796 and had a number of working titles, one which was quite ribald) and was not published in English during his lifetime but was published by Dumont in French in 1816.[15] In this work Bentham rejects the very notion of a natural right to liberty as literally "non-sense" and coined the unforgettable phrase that "*Natural rights* is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense,—nonsense upon *stilts*." The method of analysis he adopted in this essay was to quote each article of the French Declaration and then to refute it methodically using very caustic language. Although Bastiat would not have agreed with Bentham on the content of his critique of natural rights he would have been impressed with Bentham's detailed enumeration of the "fallacies" and his humorous and sarcastic criticism of them, a method which Bastiat used to great effect in many of his own Sophisms.

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14 The motto at the head of *Economic Sophisms Series I* (1846) was "In political economy there is a lot to learn and very little to do" which comes from *Théorie des peines et des recompenses*, p. 270; the motto at the head of *Economic Sophisms Series II* (1848) was the advice Diogenes supposedly gave Alexander about what was his best course of action: "Get out of my sunlight!" which is a variation of the Physiocratic call for "Laissez faire". It comes from *Théorie des peines et des recompenses,* Tome Second, Book IV. "Des encouragements par rapport à l'industrie et au commerce," p. 271. Bentham, *Théorie des peines et des recompenses, ouvrage extrait des manuscrits de M. Jérémie Bentham, jurisconsulte anglais*. Par M. Et. Dumont, Troisième edition. (Paris: Bossange frères, 1826, 1st edition 1811).

15 "Sophismes anarchiques," pp. 271-392 in *Tactique des Assemblées législatives, suivie d'un Traité des Sophismes politiques; Ouvrage extrait des manuscrits de M. Jérémie Bentham, Jusiconsulte anglois*, par Ét. Dumont, Membre du Conseil Représentatif du Canton de Genève, Tome II (Genève: J. J.Paschoud, 1816). The English language edition of "Anarchical Fallacies: Being and Examination of the Declaration of Rights issued during the French Revolution" appeared in vol. 2 of *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, published under the Superintendence of his Executor, John Bowring* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838-1843). 11 vols. < http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1921/114226>. See also *Nonsense upon Stilts: Bentham, Burke and Marx on the Rights of Man*, edited with introductory and concluding essays by Jeremy Waldron (London: Methuen, 1987). Bentham's famous dismissal of natural rights as "nonsense upon stilts" can be found in this volume: "Natural rights is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense,—nonsense upon stilts." < http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1921/114230/2345508>

Bentham followed this work with another one which was more general in its scope: a *Traité des sophismes politiques* which also appeared in 1816 with an English version of the book appearing as the *Handbook of Political Fallacies* in 1824.[16] In the opening paragraph of this work Bentham defines a "fallacy" as follows:

> By the name of *fallacy* it is common to designate any argument employed or topic suggested for the purpose, or with the probability of producing the effect of deception, or of causing some erroneous opinion to be entertained by any person to whose mind such an argument may have been presented.[17]

According to Crane Brinton, Bentham's purpose in categorizing and discussing the varieties of political fallacies which he had identified was to expose "the semantics of persuasion"[18] used by conservative political groups to delay or prevent much needed political reforms. Bentham organized his critique around the main sets of arguments which facilitated "the art of deception"[19] and which caused a "hydra of sophistries" which permitted "pernicious practices and institutions to be retained".[20] "Reason" on the other hand was the "instrument"[21] which would

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16"Traité des Sophismes politiques", pp. 1-267 in *Tactique des Assemblées législatives, suivie d'un Traité des Sophismes politiques; Ouvrage extrait des manuscrits de M. Jérémie Bentham, Jusiconsulte anglois*, par Ét. Dumont, Membre du Conseil Représentatif du Canton de Genève, Tome II (Genève: J. J.Paschoud, 1816). An English version of the book appeared with the editorial assistance of the Benthamite Peregrine Bingham the Younger, the *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, which appeared in 1824. See Jeremy Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, revised and edited by Harold A. Larrabee. Introduction to the Torchbook edition by Crane Brinton (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962); and also *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, published under the Superintendence of his Executor, John Bowring* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838-1843). 11 vols. Vol. 2. THE BOOK OF FALLACIES: FROM UNFINISHED PAPERS OF JEREMY BENTHAM. EDITED BY A FRIEND. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1921/114047>.

17 Jeremy Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, revised and edited by Harold A. Larrabee. Introduction to the Torchbook edition by Crane Brinton (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), p. 3.

18 Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, p. xi.

19 Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, p. 5.

20 Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, p. 6.

21 Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, p. 6.

enable the reformer to create this new "good government" by a process of logical analysis and classification. As he stated:

> To give existence to good arguments was the object of the former work (the *Theory of Legislation*); to provide for the exposure of bad ones is the object of the present one - to provide for the exposure of their real nature, and hence for the destruction of their pernicious force. Sophistry is a hydra of which, in all the necks could be exposed, the force would be destroyed. In this work, they have been diligently looked out for, and in the course of it the principal and most active of them have been brought in view.[22]

Bastiat shared Bentham's view of "deception" as an ideological weapon used by powerful vested interests to protect their political and economic privileges. As we will see below in the discussion of Bastiat's notion of "legal plunder", Bastiat saw that his task in writing the Sophisms was to enlighten "the dupes" who had been misled by "la Ruse", or the "trickery, "fraud" and "cunning" of the powerful beneficiaries of tariff protection and state subsidies.

Of all the various "sophistries" (or "sophisms") which allowed pernicious government to protect itself from reform, Bentham believed that they all could be categorized into four classes based upon the purpose or strategy the sophistry was designed to promote: the fallacies of authority, the fallacies of danger, the fallacies of delay, the fallacies of confusion.[23] Arguments from "authority" were designed to intimidate and hence repress the individual from reasoning through things himself; arguments about immanent "danger" were designed to frighten the would-be reformer with the supposed negative consequences of any change; arguments which urged caution and "delay" were designed to postpone discussion of reform until it could be ignored or forgotten; and arguments designed to promote

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22 *Handbook of Political Fallacies* (1962), p. 7.

23 Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, p. 11.

"confusion" in the minds of reformers and their supporters were designed to make it difficult or impossible to form a correct judgement on the matter at hand.[24]

Bastiat on the other hand categorized the types of sophisms he was opposing along the lines of the particular social or political class interests the sophisms were designed to protect, which were categorized as "theocratic sophism," "economic sophism", "political sophism", and "financial sophism" which were designed to protect the interests (the "legal plunder") of the established Church; the Crown, aristocracy, and elected political officials; the economic groups who benefited from protection and subsidies; the bankers and debt holders of the government, respectively.[25]

Thus, it is quite likely that Bastiat took not only the name "sophismes" (which is how Dumont translated Bentham's term "fallacies" for the French edition) from Bentham for the title of his essays and books, but also the purpose as defined by Bentham, namely to debunk "any argument employed which causes some erroneous opinion to be entertained by any person to whose mind such an argument may have been presented." Furthermore, whereas Bentham focussed on "political fallacies" used by opponents of political reforms, Batiat's interest was in exposing "economic fallacies" which were used to prevent reform of the policies of government taxation, subsidies to industry, and most especially protection of domestic industry via tariffs.

Whereas Bentham uses relentless reasoning and classification to make his points, Bastiat uses other methods, such as humour, his reductio ad absurdum approach to his opponents's arguments, and his many references to classical French literature and popular song and poetry. Nevertheless, Bastiat's modification of Bentham's rhetorical strategy seems to describe Bastiat's agenda and method in opposing the ideas of the protectionists in France in the mid-1840s quite nicely, and shows the considerable influence Bentham had on Bastiat's general approach to identifying and debunking "fallacies."

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24 Bentham, *Handbook of Political Fallacies*, p. 9.

25 The Conclusion of *Economic Sophisms I*, p. 198.

A second influence on Bastiat's approach to debunking economic error and myths in popular thinking came from Baron Charles Dupin (1784-1873). In the late 1820s Dupin wrote a seven volume work *Le petit producteur français* (1827) which contained a spirited defence of the free market and those merchants, traders, and entrepreneurs who were engaged in providing goods and services for that market. Dupin was a Deputy, engineer, and lecturer at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, where he taught courses for working people. He is important in the development of Bastiat's ideas for a number of reasons: firstly, he dedicated volume 4 of his work, "Le petit commerçant français", to the "students of the Business schools of Paris, Lyon, and Bordeaux"[26] which brings to mind Bastiat's dedication of his magnum opus, *Economic Harmonies*, "To the Youth of France"; secondly, his stated aim was "refuting the long term and entrenched errors concerning the interests of commerce"[27] which was also Bastiat's aim in writing the Sophisms; thirdly, Dupin's efforts to speak to a popular audience on economic matters was duplicated several times by Bastiat as shown by the formation of several magazines and newspapers, such as the free trade journal *Le Libre-Échange* and the revolutionary broadside *Jacques Bonhomme*; and fourthly, the use of constructed conversations using stock figures to make his theoretical points. Concerning the latter, Bastiat borrows one of these stock figures directly from Dupin, a "M. Prohibant" (Mr. "Prohibiter" or Protectionist), in *What is Seen and What is Unseen* and it provided the model for other characters which Bastiat used, such as "M. Blockhead" which was the name he gave in one of his Sophisms to a particularly abstruse and annoying tax collector.[28]

A third influence came from the exotically named Colonel Thomas Perronet Thompson (1783-1869). During the late 1820s and early 1830s the Benthamite soldier, politician, polymath, pamphleteer, and agitator for the Anti-Corn Law League, Perronet Thompson wrote a series of works which no doubt came to

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26 Charles Dupin, *Le petit producteur français*, in 7 vols. Volume 4: "Le petit commerçant français" (Paris: Bachelier, 1827), p. ix-x.

27 "Le petit commerçant français", p. ix-x.

28 *Economic Sophisms Series II*, X. "The Tax Collector", p. ???

Bastiat's attention. Bastiat followed the activities of the British Anti-Corn Law League very closely and Perronet Thompson was one of its best known writers. In 1827 Perronet Thompson wrote a work very much influenced by the Benthamite methodology, the *Catechism on the Corn Laws; with a List of Fallacies and Answers* (1827) where he methodically listed quotations by advocates of protectionism in one column with their refutation alongside in another column of text.[29] His work was so popular that he wrote other variants such as the *Corn Law Fallacies, with the Answers* (1839)[30] and specifically for the French market the *Contre-Enquête: par l'Homme aux Quarante Ecus* (1834) which was a defense of free trade written in response to a French government inquiry.[31]

ii. Conversations about Liberty: Jane Marcet and Harriet Maritineau

The second aspect of Bastiat's *Economic Sophisms* which deserves exploring is his use of the constructed conversations using stock figures to represent the different sides in the argument about free trade and protection, such as "The Free Trader" vs. "The Protectionist", "The Economist" vs. "The Prohibitionist", "The Economist" vs. "The Artisan", and so on. This was an obvious attempt to appeal to a more popular audience who were repelled by serious theoretical economic analysis of problems such as free trade vs. protectionism. We have already examined the example which Charles Dupin supplied for Bastiat's approach with M. Prohibant but there are two female economists whose work should be mentioned in this context, namely Jane Haldimand Marcet (1769-1858) and Harriet Martineau (1802-1876).

Jane Haldimand Marcet was the daughter of a Swiss businessman who lived in London and married a Swiss doctor who had come to know her through her

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29 *Catechism on the Corn Laws; with a List of Fallacies and Answers* (1st published 1827; 2nd ed. London: James Ridgway, 1827).

30 *Corn Law Fallacies, with the Answers* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1839).

31 *Contre-Enquête: par l'Homme aux Quarante Ecus* (1834).

writings. She wrote introductory works on science and political economy which were designed to be accessible to ordinary working people. In her *Conversations on Political Economy; in which the elements of that science are familiarly explained* (1816) she typically had a family group gathered around the kitchen table or other domestic setting discussing the issues of the day in a "familiar" manner where a strong and outspoken figure would present the free market case to ill-informed and sceptical folk. She was a strong supporter of the free market and free trade and she understood the problems supporters of free trade faced in getting their ideas understood by the general population. Her book book was translated immediately into French by her nephew and published in Switzerland in 1817 so it would have been available to Bastiat in either English or French editions.[32]

At this time it was extraordinary to find one female popularizer of free market ideas, yet we have two when we include Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) who was a close contemporary of Bastiat (who was born in 1801). Martineau was an English writer who was born in Norwich to a family of French Huguenots who had fled religious persecution after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Her father was a textile manufacturer and her poor health (she suffered from deafness) turned her towards reading widely and writing. She was unusual in becoming a professional full-time writer at a time when few women were able to pursue such a career. She was a translator, novelist, speech writer, and journalist who wrote a popular defence of the free market, pioneering travel writing about a trip to America[33], and essays on women's rights. Her multi-volume *Illustrations of Political Economy* (9 vols. 1832-43) was an introduction to economic principles written in narrative form which went far beyond Bastiat's efforts in its length and breadth. Bastiat's friend and colleague Gustave de Molinari said of her in his review of a French translation of her works in the *Journal des Économistes* in April 1849 that "she deserves her double reputation of an ingenious narrator and a l e a r n e d professor of political

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32 *Conversations sur l'économie politique, dans lesquelles on expose d'une manière familière les éléments de cette science, etc* trad. Par G. Prevost, neveu de l'auteur (Geneva and Paris: Paschoud, 1817).

33 Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel in Three Vols* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838). <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1876>

economy." [34] Her influence on Bastiat was to show yet again the power of presenting economic ideas in a simple, popular form via simple, everyday stories or conversations between recognizable stock characters. Where she differed markedly from Bastiat was in the length of the stories and their number (she wrote nine volumes of the *Illustrations*) whereas Bastiat preferred the short and pithy magazine article of which he became a master exponent.

The style which Bastiat had perfected in the mid- and late 1840s, the short and often sarcastic and humorous rebuttal of false but commonly held economic ideas, and the use of constructed conversations between stock characters who held opposing views was continued after his death by other members of the free market school in Paris. His close friend and colleague, Gustave de Molinari (1819-1912), with whom he started the magazine *Jacques Bonhomme* in the early days of the February Revolution, adopted Bastiat's rhetorical style in two books which appeared in the late 1840s and early 1850s, so therefore still very much under the influence of Bastiat. In 1849 Molinari published a path breaking book which pushed the boundaries of the free market position to its very limits, the *Soirées de la rue Saint-Lazare. Entretiens sur les lois économiques et défense de la propriété* (1849).[35] The book was made up of eleven "Soirées" or evening parties where an "Economist" sparred with a "Conservative" and a "Socialist" over the issues which had been raised during the 1848 Revolution concerning the limits of state power to intervene in and regulate the economy, and the rights of individuals to own property and to dispose of it freely on the market. Molinari had elevated the "familiar conversation" to the more sophisticated table of the "soirée" which was far above the working man's dinner table used by Marcet and Martineau, and even above Bastiat's conversations in the streets of Paris and Bordeaux with "artisans" and "Jacques Bohomme," the quintessential ordinary Frenchman. Molinari followed *Les*

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34 *Contes de Miss Harriet Martineau sur l'économie politique*, traduit de l'anglais par M. B. Maurice (Paris: C. Gosselin, 1833-1839). Review by Gustave de Molinari, "Contes sur l'économie politique, par miss Harriet Martineau", in *Journal des Économistes*, No. 97, 15 avril 1849, pp. 77-82.

35 *Soirées de la rue Saint-Lazare. Entretiens sur les lois économiques et défense de la propriété* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1849)

Soirées with another book in 1855 called *Conversations familières sur le commerce des grains* (1855) which comprised a series of conversations on free trade in wheat between a "Rioter", a "Prohibitionist", and an "Economist".[36] By this time the Revolution of 1848 had well and truly entered the picture and a street "rioter" now had to be part of the "familiar conversation", if that were possible.

36 *Conversations familières sur le commerce des grains* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1855) which comprised a series of conversations on free trade in wheat between a "Rioter", a "Prohibitionist", and an "Economist".

3. Bastiat's Distinction between Legal and Illegal Plunder

i. The Unwritten "History of Plunder"

Had Bastiat lived longer there are at least two more books he would have written: the first would have been to complete his main theoretical work on political economy, the *Economic Harmonies* (1850), which he left incomplete at his death; the second would have been to write "A History of Plunder". The latter was mentioned by Paillottet as something that was very much on Bastiat's mind in his last days in Rome on the eve of his death. Paillottet quotes Bastiat:

> A very important task to be done for political economy is to write the history of Plunder (la Spoliation). It is a long history in which, from the outset, there appeared conquests, the migrations of peoples, invasions and all the disastrous excesses of force in conflict with justice. Living traces of all this still remain today and cause great difficulty for the solution of the questions raised in our century. We will not reach this solution as long as we have not clearly noted in what and how injustice, when making a place for itself amongst us, has gained a foothold in our customs and our laws.[37]

The most likely origin for Bastiat's thinking on plunder and the development of societies based upon different forms of seizing the property of their productive citizens is the work of two political economists and lawyers whose writings were well known to Bastiat, namely Charles Comte (1782-1837) and Charles Dunoyer (1786-1862). Comte's book *Traité de législation* (1827) in particular was much

37 Conclusion of *Economic Sophisms I*, p. 199.

admired by Bastiat.[38] Although Bastiat never wrote his "History of Plunder" his ideas did inspire others to attempt such a task. Ambroise Clément (1805-86) who, after Bastiat's death was one of the editors of *Dictionniare de l'économie politique* (1852), wrote an article for the *Journal des Économistes* in July 1848 on "Legal Plunder" in which he developed some of his ideas further with a more detailed categorization of the kinds of legal state theft or plunder.[39] Gustave de Molinari (1819-1912), who was one of Bastiat's collaborators in founding two newspapers in February and then June of 1848, wrote several book-length works using his theoretical framework in which he chronicled the rise of the state since medieval times and the way in which the ruling elites organized the plundering of their subject peoples.[40]

Paillottet also tells us that a significant part of the *Economic Harmonies,* which was left half-finished, was supposed to cover in more detail the problem of the "Disturbing Factors", by which he meant war and other forms of plunder (such as Slavery, Theocracy, Monopoly, Government Exploitation, and Communism),

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38 See the many references to Comte and Dunoyer in Bastiat's correspondence in Vol. 1 of *Works*. See Charles Comte, *Traité de législation, ou exposition des lois générales suivant lesquelles les peuples prospèrent, dépérissent ou restent stationnaire*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. Sautelet et Cie, 1827); *Traité de la propriété*, 2 vols. (Paris: Chamerot, Ducollet, 1834). And Charles Dunoyer, *L'Industrie et la morale considérées dans leurs rapports avec la liberté* (Paris: A. Sautelet et Cie, 1825); *Nouveau traité d'économie sociale, ou simple exposition des causes sous l'influence desquelles les hommes parviennent à user de leurs forces avec le plus de LIBERTÉ, c'est-à-dire avec le plus FACILITÉ et de PUISSANCE* (Paris: Sautelet et Mesnier, 1830), 2 vols.; *De la liberté du travail, ou simple exposé des conditions dans lesquelles les force humaines s'exercent avec le plus de puissance* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1845).

39 Clément's main contribution was to begin categorizing the various kinds of "legal theft" ("vols") which had existed in French history up to the present (1848), which included aristocratic theft during the Old Regime, monarchical theft, theft by regulation ("vols réglementaires"), industrial theft, theft under the guise of philanthropy ("vols à prétensions philanthropiques"), administrative theft. "De la spoliation légale," *Journal des Économistes*, No. 84, 15 juillet, 1848, pp. 363-374.

40 Gustave de Molinari, *L'évolution économique du XIXe siècle: théorie du progrès* (Paris: C. Reinwald 1880); *L'évolution politique et la révolution* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1884); *Économie de l'histoire: Théorie de l'Évolution* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1908).

which prevented the full and harmonious operation of the free market.[41] In this volume of his works, the key essays where Bastiat explores his theory of plunder are the following:

- The "Conclusion" to *Economic Sophisms* I (1845)
- "The Working Class and the Bourgeoisie" 22 May 1847, *Sophisms from Le Libre-Échange*
- "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms* II (January 1848)
- "II. Two Moralities" in *Economic Sophisms* II (January 1848)
- "III. Taxes", in *What is Seen and What is Not Seen* (1850)[42]

ii. Thou Shalt Not Steal

As a supporter of the idea of natural law and natural rights, Bastiat believed that there were universal moral principles which could be identified and elaborated by human beings and which had a universal application. In other words, there were not two moral principles in operation, one for the sovereign power and government officials and another for the rest of mankind. One of these universal principles was the notion of an individual's right to own property, along with the corresponding injunction not to violate an individual's right to property by means of force or fraud. In the Christian world the injunction was expressed in the Ten Commandments, particularly "Thou shalt not steal"[43] and, since there was no codicil attached to Moses' tablets exempting monarchs, aristocrats, or government

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41 In a proposed section of *Economic Harmonies* on "Disturbing Factors" Bastiat had planned the following chapters: 16. Plunder, 17. War, 18. Slavery, 19. Theocracy, 20. Monopoly, 21. Government Exploitation, 22. False Brotherhood or Communism. Aside from the first two chapters there were no notes or drafts found among Bastiat's papers at the time of his death.

42 In vol. 1 of Bastiat's *Works* one should also note his letter to Mme. Cheuvreux of 23 June, 1850; and in vol. 2 the essays "Property and Plunder" and "Plunder and the Law" for additional thoughts on this topic. In vol. 5 (forthcoming) there is Paillottet's footnote at the end of chapter 10 of *Economic Harmonies* in which he relates Bastiat's plans for further work on the theory and history of plunder.

43 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 8

employees, Bastiat was prepared to argue that this moral commandment had universal applicability.

According to Bastiat there were two ways in which wealth could be acquired, either by voluntary production and exchange or by coercion:

> There are only two ways of acquiring the things that are necessary for the preservation, embellishing and amelioration of life: PRODUCTION and PLUNDER.[44]

And a bit further into the essay he elaborates as follows, with his definition of plunder (in bold):

- The genuine and equitable law governing man is "*The freely negotiated exchange of one service for another*." **Plunder consists in banishing by deception or force the freedom to negotiate in order to receive a service without receiving another in return**.
- Plunder by force is exercised as follows: People wait for a man to produce something and then seize it from him with weapons.
- This is formally condemned by the Ten Commandments: *Thou shalt not steal*.
- When it takes place between individuals, it is called *theft* and leads to prison; when it takes place between nations, it is called *conquest* and leads to glory.

It is not certain when these words were written as neither Bastiat nor Paillottet provide that information. It is most likely that they were written specifically for the the Second Series of the *Economic Sophisms* which were published in January 1848. In an earlier article published in January 1846, "Theft by Subsidy", Bastiat responded to criticism of his First Series of *Economic Sophisms* which had just appeared in print that they were "too theoretical, scientific, and metaphysical." His response was to make sure that his future writings could not be accused of this again, which he did by peppering their pages with an "explosion of plain speaking." By this he meant that he would use very blunt, direct, even "brutal" language, such as "theft", "pillage", "plunder," and "parasitism," when describing

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44 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 2. One should also note the similarity of FB's views to those of the sociologist Franz Oppenheimer who wrote *The State: Its History and Development viewed Sociologically,* authorized translation by John M. Gitterman (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1922). <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1662>.

the activities undertaken by the State which were accepted by most people as perfectly normal and "legal".[45] So, in many of the essays written in 1846 and 1847 which were to end up in future editions of the *Economic Sophisms* Bastiat wanted to make it perfectly clear what he thought the state was doing by regulating and taxing French citizens and to call these activities by their "real name", namely theft and plunder. As he notes in an aside:

> Frankly, my good people, *you are being robbed*. That is plain speaking but at least it is clear.
>
> The words, *theft, to steal* and *thief* seem to many people to be in bad taste. Echoing the words of Harpagon to Elise, I ask them: Is it the word or the thing that makes you afraid?[46]

He cites the Ten Commandments, the French Penal Code, and the Dictionary of the French Academy to define what theft is as clearly as he can and to note its universal prohibition. According to these definitions, in Bastiat's mind, the policies of the French government were nothing more than "theft by subsidy", "theft by Customs duties", "mutual theft" of all Frenchmen via subsidies and protective duties, and so on. Altogether they made up an entire system of "plunder" which had been evolving for centuries and which he had wanted to make the topic of his book on "A History of Plunder".

Therefore, because of the ubiquity of plunder in human history it was essential for political economy to take it into account when discussing the operation of the market and its "disturbing factors":

> Some people say: "PLUNDER is an accident, a local and transitory abuse, stigmatized by the moral order, reproved by law and unworthy of the attentions of *Political Economy."*
>
> But whatever the benevolence and optimism of one's heart one is obliged to acknowledge that PLUNDER is exercised on a vast scale in this world and is too universally woven into all the

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45 ""Le vol à la prime", *Journal des économistes*, January 1846, T. XIII, pp. 115-120; this also appeared in SE2 IX, pp. ???

46 "Theft by Subsidy", p. 104.

> major events in the annals of humanity for any moral science, and above all *Political Economy*, to feel justified in disregarding it.[47]

iii. "La Ruse" and Legal Plunder

A key feature of plunder which distinguishes it from the acquisition of wealth by voluntary exchange is the use of violence or what he called "la Ruse" (fraud or trickery) fraud. Within the category of "plunder" there are two main types which interested Bastiat: "illegal plunder" which was undertaken by thieves, robbers, and highway men and which was prohibited by law - hence the title "illegal plunder"; the second type of plunder was what Bastiat called "legal plunder" which was usually undertaken by the state under the protection of the legal system which exempted sovereigns and government officials from the usual prohibition of taking other people's property by force. Illegal plunder was less interesting to Bastiat as it was universally condemned and quite well understood by legal theorists and economists. Instead, Bastiat concentrated in his scattered writings on the latter form, legal plunder, as it was hardly recognized at all by economists as a problem in spite of the fact that it had existed on a "vast scale"[48] throughout history and was one its driving forces. As he noted in his "final and important aperçu" which ended the "Conclusion" to *Economic Sophisms* I:

> Force applied to spoliation is the backdrop of the annals of the human race. Retracing its history would be to reproduce almost entirely the history of every nation: the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Goths, the Francs, the Huns, the Turks, the Arabs, the Mongols and the Tartars, not to mention

47 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 2

48 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 2.

> the Spanish in America, the English in India, the French in Africa, the Russians in Asia, etc., etc.[49]

In the essay "The Physiology of Plunder" which opened *Economic Sophisms II* Bastiat sketches out the main types of plunder which had emerged in history: war, slavery, theocracy, and monopoly. Historically, societies and their ruling elites which lived from plunder had evolved through alternating periods of conflict, where the elites fought for control of the state, and periods of "truce", where plunder became regularized until another rivalrous group of plunderers sought control of the state. In a letter to Mme Cheuvreux (23 June 1850) Bastiat observes that:

> ... our history will be seen as having only two phases, the periods of conflict as to who will take control of the State and the periods of truce, which will be the transitory reign of a triumphant oppression, the harbinger of a fresh conflict.[50]

The immediate historical origins of the modern French state were the aristocratic and theological elites which rose to dominance in the Old Regime and which were challenged for control of the state first by socialist-minded reformers under Robespierre during the Terror and then by the military elites under Napoleon. The defeat of Napoleon had led to a temporary return of the aristocratic and theological elites until they were again overthrown in another Revolution, this time one in which Bastiat played an active role as elected politician, journalist, and economic theoretician. Bastiat examines in some detail the part played by the aristocracy in the essay "The Working Class and the Bourgeoisie" (22 May 1847), *Sophisms from Le Libre-Échange*, and he devotes a surprising amount of space to analyzing "theocratic plunder" in "The Physiology of Plunder". On the rise of the aristocracy he states:

> Between a nation and its aristocracy, we clearly see a deep dividing line, an undeniable hostility of interests, which sooner or later can only lead to strife. The aristocracy has come from outside; it has conquered its place by the sword and dominates

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49 "Conclusion" to *Economic Sophisms I* , p. 197.

50 Vol 1 *Works*, Letter 176 to Mme Cheuvreux, 23 June 1850. p. 252.

> through force. Its aim is to turn the work done by the vanquished to its own advantage. It seizes land, has armies at its disposal and arrogates to itself the power to make laws and expedite justice. In order to master all the channels of influence, it has not even disdained the functions, or at least the dignities, of the church. In order not to weaken the esprit de corps that is its lifeblood, it transmits the privileges it has usurped from father to son by way of primogeniture. The aristocracy does not recruit from outside its ranks, or if it does so, it is because it is already on the slippery slope.[51]

In the period in which he was living, the modern state had evolved to the point where a large, permanent, professional class of bureaucrats carried out the will of the sovereign power (which was King Louis Philippe during the July Monarchy 1830-1848, and then the "People" in the Second Republic following the Revolution of February 1848) to tax, regulate, and subsidize a growing part of the French economy. Three aspects of the growth of the state on which Bastiat had focussed his opposition in the mid- and late 1840s were protectionist tariffs on imported goods, taxation, and the government subsidization of the unemployed in the National Workshops during 1848. As the state expanded in size and the scope of its activities it began supplying an ever larger number of "pubic services" which were funded by the taxpayers. Bastiat had a stern view of these developments and viewed any "public service" which went beyond the bare minimum of police and legal services as "a disastrous form of parasitism".[52] Using his favourite stock figure of Jacques Bonhomme in order to make his points Bastiat compares the "forced sale" of "public services" - or "legal parasitism" of the French bureaucracy - to the actions of the petty thief who indulges in mere "illegal (or extralegal) parasitism" when he takes Jacques' property by breaking into his house.[53]

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51 "The Working Class and the Bourgeoisie" 22 May 1847, *Sophisms from Le Libre-Échange*, pp. 11-12.

52 "The Middlemen" in *What is Seen and What is Not Seen*, p. 33.

53 "III. Taxes", in *What is Seen and What is Not Seen*, pp. 15-16.

iv. The "Malthusian" Limits to State Plunder

Although the plundering elites were voracious in their appetite for the taxpayers' property, Bastiat believed there was an upper limit to how much they could take because countervailing forces came into operation to check their growth. Firstly, widespread plunder and regulation of the economy hampered productive growth and made society less productive and prosperous than it might otherwise have been. A good example of this Bastiat thought was evidenced by slave societies where the productivity of slave labour was considerably less than that of free labour. By locking themselves into a slave-based economy the slave owners deprived themselves of further economic gains.

> This invariable constraint is a marvelous thing. In its absence, provided that there were a stable balance of power between the oppressors and the oppressed, Plunder would have no end. When the constraint obtains, this balance always tends to be broken, either because the Despoilers become aware of the loss of wealth in question, or, where this awareness is lacking, because the ill constantly grows worse and it is in the nature of things that constantly deteriorate to come to an end.
>
> In fact, there comes a time when, in its gradual acceleration, the loss of wealth is so great that Despoilers are less rich than they would have been if they had remained honest.[54]

Secondly, Bastiat thought that a "Malthusian Law" operated to fatally restrict the expansion of the plundering class. The Malthusian pressures on the plundering class were twofold: their plunder provoked opposition on the part of those who were being plundered who would eventually resist (such as tax revolts, smuggling, or outright revolution); and the "Despoilers" (of wealth) would gradually realize that their plunder and regulation created economic inefficiencies and absolute limits on the amount of wealth they could extract from any given society. Bastiat

54 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 5-6.

developed his ideas on a Malthusian limit of the scale of plunder first in a discussion of "theocratic plunder" and then in a section on the State in general:

> Plunder using this procedure and the clear-sightedness of a people are always in inverse proportion one to the other, for it is in the nature of abuse to proceed wherever it finds a path. Not that pure and devoted priests are not to be found within the most ignorant population, but how do you prevent a rogue from putting on a cassock and an ambitious adventurer from assuming a miter? Despoilers obey Malthus's law: they multiply in line with the means of existence, and the means of existence of rogues is the credulity of their dupes. It is no good searching; you always find that opinion needs to be enlightened. There is no other panacea... (p. 21)
>
> The State is also subject to Malthus's Law. It tends to exceed the level of its means of existence, it expands in line with these means and what keeps it in existence is the people's substance. Woe betide those peoples who cannot limit the sphere of action of the State. Freedom, private activity, wealth, well-being, independence and dignity will all disappear there. (p. 24).[55]

In the earliest forms of the plundering state, such as the warrior and slave state of the Roman Empire, the role played by outright violence and coercion in maintaining the flow of plunder to privileged groups was very important. However, as populations grew and economies advanced alternative methods were needed by the elites to protect the continued flow of plunder. It was at this moment in human history, Bastiat thought (developing Bentham's idea of "deceptions" and "political fallacies" to prevent political reform), that ruing elites began to use what he called "la Ruse" (trickery or cunning) and "les Sophismes" (fallacies, sophisms, and other forms of ideological deception and confusion) so that they could trick or "dupe" the citizens into complying with the demands of the elite to hand over their property. Of course, it was in order to defeat this stage in the evolution of societies

55 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, pp. 21, 24.

based upon plundering that Bastiat wrote his series of *Economic Sophisms* between 1845 and 1850.

As he stated in the "Conclusion" of *Economic Sophisms I* (which served more like an introduction to his first collection of *Economic Sophisms* than its conclusion) Bastiat explains the connection between his rebuttal of commonly held economic sophisms and the system of plunder he opposed so vigorously:

> For them (the plundering classes) to rob the public, the latter have to be misled. To mislead them is to persuade them that they are being robbed for their own good; it is to make them accept fictitious services and often worse in exchange for their possessions. This gives rise to *Sophism*. Theocratic Sophism, economic Sophism, political Sophism and financial Sophism. Therefore, since the time when force has been held in check, *Sophism* is not only an evil, it is the very genius of evil. It must in its turn be held in check. And to do this the public must be made more *shrewd* than the shrewd, just as it has become *stronger* than the strong.
>
> Good public, it is under the patronage of this thought that I am addressing this first essay to you, although the Preface has been strangely transposed and the Dedication is somewhat belated.[56]

v. Theological Plunder

A case study of how trickery and sophistic arguments can be used to ensure compliance with the demands of the plundering class is provided by Bastiat in his lengthy discussion about the rule of the Church in European history which he believed had practised deception and trickery "on a grand scale".[57] The Church had developed an elaborate system of "theological plunder" through its tithing of

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56 The Conclusion of *Economic Sophisms I*, p. 198. The last paragraph of this quotation suggests that Bastiat's first collection of *Economic Sophisms* was assembled and printed in some haste, thus not allowing him to get the Dedication and Preface in the right order.

57 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, pp. 16ff.

income and production and on top of this it created a system of "theological trickery" based upon the notion that only members of the church could ensure the peoples' passage to an afterlife. This and other "theological sophisms" created "dupes" of the ordinary people who duly handed over their property to the Church. Bastiat had no squabble with a church in which the priests were the instrument of the religion, but for hundreds of years religion had become instead "the instrument of its priest":

> If, on the other hand, *Religion is the instrument of its priest*, he will treat it as some people treat an instrument that is altered, bent and turned in many ways so as to draw the greatest benefit for themselves. He will increase the number of questions that are *taboo*; his moral code will bend according to the climate, men and circumstances. He will seek to impose it through studied gestures and attitudes; he will mutter words whose meaning has disappeared, a hundred times a day, words which are nothing other than vain *conventionalism*. He will peddle holy things, but just enough to avoid undermining faith in their sanctity and he will take care to see that this trade is less obviously active where the people are more keen-sighted. He will involve himself in terrestrial intrigue and always be on the side of the powerful, on the sole condition that those in power ally themselves with him. In a word, in all his actions, it will be seen that he does not want to advance Religion through the clergy but the clergy through Religion, and as so much effort implies an aim and as this aim, in these hypothetical circumstances, cannot be anything other than power and wealth, the definitive sign that the people have been misled is when priests are rich and powerful.[58]

The challenge to this "theocratic plundering" came through the invention of the printing press which enabled the transmission of ideas critical of the power and intellectual claims of the Church and gradually led to the weakening of this form of organised, legal plunder. The Reformation, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment gradually exposed the "theological sophisms" for what they really

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58 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, pp. 20-21.

were - so many tricks, deceptions, lies, and contradictions - and many people were thus no longer willing to be the dupes of the Church.

In a similar manner, Bastiat thought, the modern bureaucratic and regulatory state of his day was, like the Church, based upon a mixture of outright violence and coercion on the one hand, and trickery and fallacies (Sophisms) on the other. The violence and coercion came from the taxes, tariffs, and regulations which were imposed on taxpayers, traders, and producers; the ideological dimension which maintained the current class of plunderers came from a new set of "political" and "economic sophisms" which confused, mislead, and tricked a new generation of "dupes" into supporting the system. The science of political economy, according to Bastiat, was to be the means by which the economic sophisms of the present would be exposed, rebutted and finally overturned, thus depriving the current plundering class of their livelihood and power: "I have said enough to show that Political Economy has an obvious practical use. It is the flame that destroys this social disorder, Plunder, by unveiling Trickery and dissipating Error."[59] And in the following essay on "The Two Moralities" Bastiat contrasts the role of "religious morality" and "economic morality" in bringing about this change in thinking: "Let religious morality therefore touch the hearts of the Tartuffes, the Caesars, the colonists, sinecurists and monopolists, etc. if it can. The task of political economy is to enlighten their dupes."[60] Bastiat was skeptical that religious morality would be successful in changing the views of those who held power because, as he pointed out on several occasions, how many times in history have ruling elites ever voluntarily given up their power and privileges? His preference was to strike at power from below by opening the eyes of the duped and tricked with the truths which political economy provided, to encourage doubt and mistrust in the justice of the rulers' actions, and to mock the follies of the political elite by using sarcasm and the "sting of ridicule". Bastiat summed up the job of the political economists as "opening the eyes of the Orgons, uprooting preconceived ideas, stimulating just

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59 "1. The Physiology of Plunder" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 7

60 "II. The Two Moralities" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 43

and essential mistrust and studying and exposing the true nature of things and actions."[61]

61 "II. The Two Moralities" in *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 45. In Molière's play *Tartuffe, or the Imposter* (1664) Tartuffe is a scheming hypocrite and Orgon is a well-meaning dupe.

THE EVOLUTION OF BASTIAT'S THEORY OF "THE STATE": FROM WALL POSTER TO ECONOMIC ORTHODOXY

i. Bastiat's Pre-Revolutionary Notions of the State

When the editors of the *Dictionnaire d'économie politique* (1852) began contemplating writing an article on "The State" they did not commission a new article from among their stable of contributors, but could think of nothing better than to reuse large sections of Bastiat's pamphlet 1848 "The State." This pamphlet had appeared in late 1848 after several months of polemical writing by Bastiat against proposals for a greatly expanded role for the state being put forward by members of the Provisional Government and then the Constituent Assembly (to which Bastiat had been elected on 23 April 1848) and its supporters on the Left. Such was the high regard for Bastiat's views on the matter that the *Dictionnaire*'s editors elevated it to a position as the orthodox view of the State among the French free market political economists in the Guillaumin circle. How this came to be the case will be explored in the discussion below.

Some of the essays from this volume as well as from volume two of Liberty Fund's translation of his works, give the reader the opportunity to track the development of Bastiat's ideas on the state as they developed out of some sketches he published in *Le Libre-Échange* in December 1846 and January 1847, through the first essay which had the name "The State" which appeared as a statement in Bastiat's revolutionary magazine *Jacques Bonhomme* in March 1848,[62] through the more developed version of the essay which appeared in near final form in the *Journal des Débats*, 25 September 1848, and then as a pamphlet published by Guillaumin shortly thereafter. It seems that Bastiat's ideas came to a head during the first months of the Revolution and that the ideas he expressed in these early statements need to be interpreted as a response to the specific political and economic events of that hectic period.

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62 "The State (rough draft)" essay no. 8 in LF vol. 2 pp. ???.

The culmination of his thinking about the state resulted in a "definition" on which he had been working since at least March 1848 when he, no doubt tongue-in-cheek, offered a F50,000 prize "to be given to anyone who provides a good definition of the word STATE, for he will be the saviour of finance, industry, trade and work."[63] In the 1848 Guillaumin pamphlet edition of the work he provided his own definition since, unsurprisingly, no other suitable one was forthcoming from amongst the readers of his *Jacques Bonhomme* magazine: "THE STATE *is the great fiction by which* EVERYONE *endeavors to live at the expense of* EVERYONE ELSE."[64]

There are several hints in earlier writings that this is what Bastiat was moving towards in his understanding of the state. In a sophism he wrote for *Le Libre-Échange* in 27 December 1846 entitled "Recipes for Protectionism",[65] he continues an earlier satire he had written of a fictitious report to the king recommending that everybody's right hands be tied behind their backs in order to increase the amount of work done in the nation (and hence increase national prosperity according to the protectionist doctrine). This time he has an advisor to the king recommend firstly the burning of the city of Paris which some protectionists, following the historical example of the Great Fire of London in 1666, thought would create a great stimulus to economic activity as the city was rebuilt, and then secondly, what he calls a "new method of protection", namely a doubling of taxes which would provide the state with enough funds to give every worthy industry all the direct economic protection they could possibly want in order to be competitive with foreign producers. In the course of the ensuing discussion over this proposal, Bastiat gives us an early version of his definition of the state:

> Just a moment, Minsters, I agree that I am suggesting nothing new. My system (direct protection of industry) and yours (indirect protection) are identical. It is still the work done by

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63 "The State", *Jacques Bohomme*, 11 March, 1848. Vol.2 of LF's edition, *"The Law," "The State," and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850*, pp. ???.

64 "The State", essay no. 7 in LF's ed. vol. 2 *"The Law," "The State," and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850*, pp. ???

65 "Recipes for Protectionism" in *Le Libre-Échange* 27 December 1846 SLE , pp. ???

> everyone that subsidizes the work of each person, a pure illusion ("illusion" in the French original), or the work of a few, which is brazen injustice.[66]

A month later, and just one month before revolution was about to break out in Paris in February, Bastiat published another article in *Le Libre-Échange* which he called "The Utopian" (presumably a reference to the utopian hope of seeing any government in France at that time adopting a radical free market and limited government program).[67] The Utopian dreams of being one of His Majesty's Ministers and being able to implement the reforms proposed by the economists like Bastiat, even if he did not have a majority in the Chamber of Deputies to form a working government. The reforms he prosed to reduce the size and scope of the state include the following:

- reduce the postage tax to 10 centimes
- reduce the salt tax to F10
- the abolition of city tolls
- all imported goods to pay a tax of 5% by value
- all exported goods to pay a tax of 5% by value
- the disbanding of the entire army except for some "specialised divisions" which are to be based on voluntary recruitment, i.e. he was advocating the abolition of conscription
- the creation of a citizen militia based upon four years of training from 21-25 (or equivalent)
- the freedom of religion (ending the privileged status of the Catholic Church in France)
- the freedom of education
- the nationalisation of the railways (which Bastiat thought had been corrupted by speculation and state subsidies)
- repayment of the national debt
- the state to concentrate on eliminating fraud and providing prompt and fair justice for all

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66 p. ???

67 "The Utopian" originally appeared in *Le Libre-Échange* in 17 January 1847 and was incorporated as essay XI in the *Economic Sophisms Series II* which was published in 1848.

Bastiat concludes his utopian fantasising with the Minister recognizing the hopelessness of seeing implemented the changes he had just proposed:

> *The Utopian becomes excited*: "Thank heavens; my budget has been reduced by 200 million! I will abolish city tolls, I will reform indirect contributions, I …"
>
> "Just a minute Mr. Utopian!"
>
> *The Utopian becomes increasingly excited*: "I will proclaim the freedom of religion and freedom of education. New resources. I will purchase the railways, I will reimburse the debt, and I will put a stop to rigging the market."
>
> "Mr. Utopian!"
>
> "Freed from excessive cares, I will concentrate all of the forces of government on repressing fraud and distribute prompt and fair justice to all, I …"
>
> "Mr. Utopian, you are taking on too much, the nation will not follow you!"
>
> "You have given me a majority."
>
> "I withdraw it."
>
> "About time, too! So I am no longer a Minister, and my plans remain what they are, just so many UTOPIAS."[68]

ii. Revolution and Jacques Bonhomme

Two months later, after revolution had broken out in Paris in February, Bastiat and two younger colleagues Molinari and Coquelin started their first revolutionary magazine *La République française* and then another in June, *Jacques Bonhomme*. In the latter publication especially Bastiat returned to the subject of the powers of the state and the attitudes of the common people towards it in a series of articles and posters designed to be put up in the streets of Paris. What Bastiat was attempting to

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68 p. ???

do was to lessen the very high expectations the people had of what the new Provisional Government could and should do. To achieve this Bastiat wanted to show that the state was in no financial position to pay for any of these new measures and that if it did try to acquire additional resources via increased taxation then these burdens would inevitably fall on all French citizens and that therefore the people would be no better off because of this. Hence, for them to expect the new state to "square the circle" was impossible, an "illusion" or a "fiction".

In the very first issue of *Jacques Bonhomme* (11 March 1848) Bastiat published a short article called "The State"[69] in which he appealed to the people that no financial expert could provide what they were demanding and that they would have to accept the hard fact that "since the State has nothing it has not taken from the people, it cannot distribute largess to the people." After listing over a dozen new and expensive demands that the people were placing on the government Bastiat offers the reward of F50,000 for a "good definition of the word STATE" which was mentioned above. It was clear to Bastiat, if not to the people of Paris protesting in the street, that no conception of the state could enable it to "do something with nothing". Of course it is clear from other writings of Bastiat, especially his scattered writings on "plunder", that he understood that a state which favored one class over another could provide clear benefits to one group but only at the expense of less politically powerful groups. The economic problem posed by the eruption of "democracy" in France in 1848 was how all the people could enjoy benefits from the state if all the people were paying taxes to the state in what he called in the final pamphlet version of *The State,* "reciprocal plunder".

The day after the publication of "The State" Bastiat published two more articles in a similar vein, "The Immediate Relief of the People" and "A Disastrous Remedy".70 The difference with these essays was that they were designed as small posters which could be pasted on walls around the city, as the editor Paillottet stated

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69 "The State" *Jacques Bonhomme* 11 March 1848, SLE, p. ???. Referred to as the "rough draft" in Liberty Fund's edition of his works.

70 "The Immediate Relief of the People" and "A Disastrous Remedy" in *Jacques Bonhomme*, 12 March 1848 in LF's ed. pp. ???

in a footnote, in order to "enlighten the people" by "putting them free of charge before the eyes of passers-by".71 It is hard to imagine passers by, in the middle of a revolution sweeping Paris, stopping to read these posters and taking in Bastiat's arguments. Nevertheless, Bastiat repeats his argument in "The Immediate Relief of the People" that the state cannot step in to provide for all the unmet needs of the people as was being proposed in a system of "National Workshops" which were set up by the revolutionary government to provide work relief for the unemployed of Paris. Bastiat had opposed the establishment of these welfare measures and correctly predicted that they would bankrupt the new government. When they were eventually closed down in June it provoked rioting in the streets of Paris. Bastiat courageoulsy took to the streets himself during the "June Days" in order to help the injured and drag the dead off the streets, to persuade the troops to stop shooting the protesters, and to persuade the protesters that their dreams of a welfare state were false and misguided. He argues in one of these essays that "the tax collector's coffers are not the wine pitcher of Cana" - a reference to the Gospel of John which related the first public miracle of Jesus where he is reputed to have turned water into wine for a wedding party.72 According to Bastiat the state is not a miracle worker but rather a middle man who takes a cut of all money which passes through his hands. A far better proposal according to Bastiat was for the state to drastically cut the taxes it levies on the people - by abolishing city tolls, the salt tax, the tax on cattle and wheat - thereby reducing the cost of living for ordinary people. France should model itself on the minimal state in the American Republic where the policy was, as Bastiat saw it, "give the State what is strictly necessary and keep the rest for yourself."

In the second poster which Bastiat planned to stick on walls all over Paris, "A Disastrous Remedy", he turned to his tried and true strategy of using sarcastic

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71 Paillottet notes in a footnote in *Oeuvres complètes*, T. II, p. 459 that the following two articles were written for Bastiat's revolutionary journal *Jacques Bonhomme* and were designed to be affixed to walls as posters in order to "enlighten the people" by "putting them free of charge before the eyes of passers-by"

72 John 2: 1-11.

humor to appeal to his readers. In this case he uses the device of "the seen and the unseen" as he relates the story of a quack doctor who has two methods of curing the sick who come to him. The first is to take a loaf of bread from the sick man each morning and to give him back three quarters of the same loaf later in the day so he has something to eat. The doctor, like the state, becomes a middle man who gets, literally, a cut of 25%. The doctor's second plan is to give the sick man a blood transfusion by inserting a tube into his right arm and transferring the blood into his left arm, of course spilling some in the process.[73]

In a previous reference to the "disastrous" consequences of socialist legislation in March 1848 Bastiat had published an article in the Journal des Économistes called "Disastrous Illusions" which was was written to appeal to the more sophisticated readers of that economics journal. The subtitle of the article was "Citizens give the State life. The State cannot give its citizens life." Bastiat begins by apologizing to his readers for using humour and ridicule in his campaign to "combat Privilege" but he excuses himself by saying that "it is totally permissible to inflict the sting of ridicule on the minority that exploits and the majority that is exploited."74 Now that revolution had broken out and the people were demanding socialist policies of redistribution and public subsidies to the poor and the unemployed he was faced with another, potentially more dangerous "illusion" which might well be "the rock on which our beloved Republic will founder" - "it is no longer a question of particular privileges, but of transforming privilege into a common right." Bastiat then reminds his readers what the policy agenda is for the Economists in France:

> The school of thought known as the *Economist School* proposes that all privileges and monopolies be abolished immediately, all pointless state functionaries be dismissed immediately, all excessive salaries be reduced immediately. There should be deep cuts in public expenditure and reorganization of taxes, to

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73 This reminds one of the scene in Mike Nichols film of *Catch-22* (1970) where two nurses distractedly treat a severely injured airman encased in a full body plaster cast.

74 "Disastrous Illusions" *JDE* March 1848 in vol. 2 SLE, p. ???

> remove all those that bear hard on the things that the people consume, which hamper their movement and paralyze work. For example, this school asks for city tolls, the salt tax, the duties on the import of subsistence items and working tools to be abolished on the spot.
>
> It asks for the word *Liberty*, which floats on all our banners and which is engraved on all our buildings, to become the truth at last.
>
> It asks that, after paying the government what is essential for maintaining internal and external security, repressing fraud, misdemeanors and crime and subsidizing the major works of national utility, THE PEOPLE SHOULD KEEP THE REST FOR ITSELF.[75]

Bastiat concludes for his audience of Economists by summing up the situation of France at the start of the Revolution and the pressing need for security and freedom so that capital could be built up, production and employment increased, and the general prosperity of the people improved:

> In our view, increasing salaries does not depend on either benevolent intentions or philanthropic decrees. It depends and depends solely on an increase in capital. In a country such as the United States, when capital is built up quickly, salaries rise and the nation is happy.
>
> Now, in order for capital to be built up, two things are needed: security and freedom. In addition, it must not be pillaged by taxation as it grows.
>
> This, we think, is where the rules of conduct and the duties of the government lie.

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75 p. 238 draft translation. The new addition in this passage compared to his earlier list of cuts is the immediate abolition of taxes on workman's tools. Towards the end of the article Bastiat also refers to reorganizing the tax on wines and spirits (something he had advocated for a long time as a representative of the wine growing region of Les Landes) and the introduction of a new "sumptuary tax" which he does not describe in any detail.

> New schemes, agreements, organizations and associations ought to have been left to the common sense, experience and initiative of the citizens. Such things are not accomplished by taxes and decrees.
>
> Providing for universal security by reassuring peaceful civil servants and, through an enlightened choice of new civil servants, basing true freedom on the abolition of privileges and monopolies, allowing items of prime necessity and those most essential for work to enter the country freely, creating the resources needed at no charge by means of a reduction of excessive duties and the abolition of prohibition, simplifying all administrative procedures, cutting out whole layers of bureaucracy, abolishing parasitic civil service functions, reducing excessive remuneration, negotiating immediately with foreign powers to reduce armed forces, removing city tolls and the salt tax and fundamentally reorganizing the tax on wines and spirits and creating a sumptuary tax: all these form the mission of a popular government in my view, and this is the mission of our republic.
>
> Under a regime of order, security and freedom like this, we would see capital being built up and giving life to all branches of production, trade expanding, farming progressing, work actively being encouraged, labor sought after and well paid, earnings benefiting from the competition of increasingly abundant capital projects and all the living forces of the nation, currently absorbed by-superfluous or harmful administrative bodies, turned towards furthering the physical, intellectual and moral well-being of the entire nation.

iii. The Essay on "The State": the Democratization of Plunder

Sometime between March and September 1848 Bastiat worked on his theory of the state which appeared in its most polished form in the 25 September issue of the

Journal des Débats[76] and which was soon reissued by Guillaumin as a stand alone pamphlet. This has become one of Bastiat's best known essays and has been in print in English since the Foundation for Economic Education translated it in 1964 as part of the *Selected Essays on Political Economy*.[77] In this version of "The State" Bastiat has increased the prize money for a good definition of the State from F50,000 to F1 million along with a suitable array of ribbons and medals for the lucky winner. As in his previous versions, he lists the large number of new tasks the people are demanding that the state carry out, he lists the taxes and regulations he would like to see abolished immediately, he describes it as a "most bizarre illusion" that the people expect to be able to live at the expense of others if all are engaged in the same activity of political rent seeking, and he sees the state as a middle man who insists on taking his cut of any resources which are transferred through his hands. But unlike his previous version, Bastiat now provides his own definition of the state, which as we saw above, is "THE STATE *is the great fiction by which* EVERYONE *endeavors to live at the expense of* EVERYONE ELSE."

Other new additions to his theory of state which appeared in the Guillaumin edition of *The State* include the notion, derived from his theory of the nature of plunder, that the modern democratic and socialist state which was emerging before his eyes in 1848 was a system of "reciprocal plunder"[78] where each organised group within the democratic polity was actively engaged in plundering other groups for their own special advantage. What Bastiat could not see clearly at the beginning of the Revolution in March 1848 but which did appear in the new French Constitution[79] which, in its Preamble he believed, had explicitly created a "personification of the STATE" in the form of a super mother or father figure whose task it now was to provide for all the needs of the people. The specific phrase he quoted from Article I of the Preamble states "France has been constituted as a

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76 "The State" in *Journal des Débats*, 25 September 1848. Republished in LF's edition vol. 2 p. ???

77 "The State" in *Selected Essays on Political Economy*, (FEE 1964), pp. 140-151.

78 p. ???

79 The new Constitution of the Second Republic was approved by the National Assembly in a vote on 4 November 1848.

Republic ... (and has as its aim) ... to assist all its citizens in reaching ... an ever higher level of morality, enlightenment, and well-being".[80] In contrast to this Bastiat thought the Preamble to the American Constitution of 1787 was far closer to his ideal of limited government in which the State did not treat its people as children who had to be cared for: "We the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."[81]

Another interesting difference between his earlier essays and the final Guillaumin pamphlet was the specific political opponent he was now able to identify. Those advocating a new and enhanced role for the government immediately following the outbreak of the Revolution in February and March were not identified by Bastiat other than the general population who expected big things of the new regime, especially the National Workshops. By September Bastiat had identified the Montagnard Manifesto of the Socialist Democratic Party within the National Assembly as the main opposition the liberal free market groups now had to face and Bastiat dutifully spent several paragraphs outlining the threat they posed. He concluded his pamphlet with the observation that France, and possibly Europe as a whole, had entered a new phase of political struggle in which three identifiable political systems were contending for dominance - a view of the state where the state undertook many functions but which funded these activities with a very high level of taxation (perhaps Bastiat is imagining the form the modern

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80 I. - La France s'est constituée en République. En adoptant cette forme définitive de gouvernement, elle s'est proposée pour but de marcher plus librement dans la voie du progrès et de la civilisation, d'assurer une répartition de plus en plus équitable des charges et des avantages de la société, d'augmenter l'aisance de chacun par la réduction graduée des dépenses publiques et des impôts, et de faire parvenir tous les citoyens, sans nouvelle commotion, par l'action successive et constante des institutions et des lois, à un degré toujours plus élevé de moralité, de lumières et de bien-être.

81 James McClellan, *Liberty, Order, and Justice: An Introduction to the Constitutional Principles of American Government* (3rd ed.) (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2000). APPENDIX C: Constitution of the United States of America (1787). <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/679/68449>

welfare state would take in the 20th century); a second view of the state where the state had very few functions and consequently placed a very small tax burden on its citizens (Bastiat's position); and a new third theory of the state which had emerged during the course of the 1848 Revolution and which was a hybrid of the first two, where the state undertook many functions (or "did everything") but the people made no financial contribution to fund its activities. This latter theory of the state Bastiat denounced as "illusionary, absurd, puerile, contradictory and dangerous":

> Fellow citizens, since time immemorial two political systems have confronted one another and both have good arguments to support them. According to one, the State has to do a great deal, but it also has to take a great deal. According to the other, its twin action should be little felt. A choice has to be made between these two systems. But as for the third system, which takes from the two others and which consists in demanding everything from the State while giving it nothing, this is illusionary, absurd, puerile, contradictory and dangerous. Those who advocate it to give themselves the pleasure of accusing all forms of government of impotence, and of thus exposing them to your blows, those people are flattering and deceiving you, or at the very least they are deceiving themselves.
>
> As for us, we consider that the State is not, nor should it be, anything other than a common (police) force, instituted not to be an instrument of mutual oppression and plunder between all of its citizens, but on the contrary to guarantee to each person his own property and ensure the reign of justice and security.[82]

The person who put his name to the article on "The State" in the *Dictionnaire d'économie politique* (1852),[83] the aim of which was to provide a summation of the state of political economy in mid-19th century France with its immensely detailed essays on key economic concepts and numerous biographical and bibliographical articles, was the leading editor Charles Coquelin. It was Coquelin, who along with

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82 last 2 paragraphs of "The State", p. ???

83 *DEP*, vol. 1, pp. 733-36.

Gustave de Molinari, joined Bastiat in founding the revolutionary magazine *La République française* in which an early draft of the essay on "The State" was published in February-March 1848. The majority of the five column, closely printed article was devoted to long quotes from Bastiat's pamphlet - Bastiat's offer of a million france prize for the best definition of the state, his list of the demands for increased state functions, the list of taxes he wanted to abolish immediately, his lengthy critique of the Manifesto of the Montagnards, and his concluding remarks about the three competing theories of the state which now faced France. However, somewhat surprisingly, Coquelin did not quote Bastiat's famous definition of the State in spite of mentioning his offer of considerable prize money. In spite of some tut-tutting about Bastiat's use of "the sting of ridicule" Coquelin was effusive in his praise for Bastiat's theory of the state with its limited powers and low taxes[84] and it was Bastiat's view which was to remain the orthodox position of the political economists for the next decade or two.

84 Coquelin mentioned that a more sober assessment of how limited state functions should be and how they would be carried out in a free market was reserved to another article on "Gouvernement" written by one of Bastiat's intellectual mentors Charles Dunoyer. *DEP*, vol. 1, pp. 833-41.

5. Bastiat and the Invention of "Crusoe Economics"

Modern readers of economics do not find it strange when an economist uses "thought experiments" to help simplify and clarify complex economic arguments. Members of the Austrian school resort to this process as a matter of course because it helps them establish the logic of "human action" which every economic actor must face when making decisions about what to produce or what to exchange. Bastiat, too, found it helpful to make use of the fictional figure of Robinson Crusoe shipwrecked on his Island of Despair in his thought experiments to show the obstacles which need to be overcome in order for Crusoe to achieve some level of prosperity, the opportunity costs of using one's time on one task rather than another, the need to deprive himself of some comforts in order to accumulate some savings, and (when Friday and visitors from other islands appear on the scene) the benefits of the division of labor and the nature of comparative advantage in trade. We have come across two instances in the *Economic Sophisms* where Bastiat uses Crusoe to make his points, one in the essay "Property and Plunder" (in vol. 2), and multiple references in *Economic Harmonies* (in vol. 5).

In an unpublished outline or sketch most likely written in early 1847 Bastiat uses Robinson Crusoe for the first time to simplify the economic arguments for free trade.[85] Crusoe is a character introduced in the essay "Midi à quatorze heures" by the defender of free trade who is in the middle of a long argument with a protectionist. The context of the discussion is the impact of the Treaty of Methuen which was a commercial treaty between England and Portugal signed in 1703 during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). It allowed for the free entry of English textiles into Portugal and was accused by protectionists of having caused a decline in the Portuguese economy. Bastiat uses Crusoe as a stand in for "Portugal" in an argument with a French protectionist to show how Crusoe would benefit from trade, just as Portugal did after its economy was exposed to British competition after the signing of the Treaty. Bastiat begins by giving a concise explanation of

85 "Midi à quatorze heures," ESLE 60, our translation pp. 115ff.

how he plans to use the Crusoe character to make his economic points, which suggests that this outline was the first one to use the Crusoe character in the elaboration of "Crusoe economics":

> Let us run off to the island to see the poor shipwrecked sailor. Let us see him in action. Let us examine the motives, the purpose, and the consequences of his actions. We will not learn everything there, in particular not those things that relate to the distribution of wealth in a society of many people, but we will glimpse the basic facts. We will observe general laws in their simplest form of action, and political economy is there in essence.
>
> Let us apply this method to just a few problems.[86]

This explanation shows some of the benefits using of "Crusoe economics" to explain economic ideas. It is useful for simplifying an examination of an individual's motives and purposes in taking certain actions, and then in assessing the consequences of those actions. By abstracting the single individual economic actor away from the crowd the observer can begin to figure out "general laws in their simplest form of action, and political economy is there in essence." Once this thought process has taken place and the method applied to just enough simple problems so the principles can be understood, they then can be applied to more complex economic arrangements where many people are involved.

Bastiat begins his discussion of Crusoe by looking at his attempts to catch fish, grow vegetables, and clothe himself alone on the island. Being a good European he expands his production by making a net (a "machine") which he does successfully by sacrificing his leisure time. A prohibitionist who is also part of the discussion fears that if visitors come to the island wanting to trade clothes Crusoe would be made worse off. In the Crusoe "thought experiment" the visitors take the place of "the English" who were permitted to trade their cheaper clothing in the Portuguese market under the Treaty of Methuen. Bastiat outlines Crusoe's thinking in agreeing to trade his vegetables for "foreign" clothes:

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86 "Midi à quatorze heures", ESLE 60, our translation p. 115.

> "Would we also be able to study the Treaty of Methuen on the Island of Despair?"
>
> "Why not? Let us take a walk there… Do you see, Robinson Crusoe is busy making clothes to protect himself from the rain and cold. He is regretting the time he has to spend on this as he also needs to eat and his garden takes up all his time. But here is a canoe that has come to the island. The stranger that disembarks shows Robinson Crusoe some warm clothes, offers to trade them to him for a few vegetables and offers to continue this exchange in the future. Robinson Crusoe first looks to see whether the stranger is armed. Seeing that he has neither arrows nor a tomahawk, he says to himself: "After all, he cannot lay claim to anything that I do not agree to; let us have a look." He examines the clothes, calculates the number of hours he would spend making them himself and compares this with the number of hours he would have to add to his gardening work to satisfy the stranger. If he finds that the trade, while leaving him just as well fed and clothed, makes a few extra hours of his time a*vailable*, he will accept, knowing full well that these hours saved are a net gain, whether he devotes them to work or leisure. If, on the other hand, he thinks that the bargain is not advantageous, he will refuse it. What need is there in this case for an external force to forbid it to him? He is able to refuse it himself.[87]

After several pages of going back and forth the free trader armed with his Crusoe arguments is not able to fully convince the protectionist of his position and the discussion ends unsatisfactorily. This lack of resolution perhaps explains why Bastiat never finished the essay and never published it his usual journals.

The second occasion for Bastiat's use of Robinson Crusoe can be found in one of the *Economic Sophisms Series II*, "Something Else", which originally appeared in *Le Libre-Échange* on March 21, 1847. Bastiat, as he often does, has created a conversation between two intellectual opponents (in this case a Protectionist and a

87 ESLE 60, pp. 120-21. For Bastiat the freedom to refuse to enter into a trade was just as important as the freedom to negotiate one.

Free Trader) where the Protectionist asks the Free Trader to explain the effects of protectionism. The Free Trader replies "(t)hat is not so easy. Before considering the more complicated cases, one should study the simpler ones," before launching into a discussion of how Crusoe made a plank of wood without a saw.[88] After two weeks of intense labor chipping away at a log with an axe Crusoe finally has his plank (and a blunt axe). He then sees that the tide has washed ashore a proper saw-cut plank and wonders what he should do next (the new plank is an obvious reference to a cheaper overseas import which the protectionists believed would harm the national French economy). Bastiat puts some protectionist notions in Crusoe's head and Crusoe now concludes that he can make more labor for himself (and therefore be better off according to the protectionists) if he pushed the plank back out to sea. The Free Trader exposes this economic fallacy by saying that there is something that is "not seen" by the Protectionist at first glance, namely "Did he not see that he could devote the time he could have saved to making *something else*?" (p. 244).

Bastiat then raises the level of complexity in his economic arguments by introducing a second and then a third person on Crusoe's island. By introducing a second person, Friday, Crusoe now has someone with whom he can cooperate and trade. They can pool their resources, plan their economic activities, develop a simple form of the division of labor, and even trade with each other. When a third person arrives from another island and proposes a trading relationship whereby Crusoe and Friday trade their vegetables for the visitor's game Bastiat now can explore the benefits of international comparative advantage in trade. Bastiat uses this three way conversation to make his points: interestingly, he gives Crusoe the protectionist arguments; Friday is given the domestic free trade arguments, and the visitor becomes an advocate of international free trade.

Another example can be found in the essay "Property and Plunder" [July 1848].[89] The context was a debate in the National Assembly on the question of "the right to work" legislation which Bastiat and the free market liberals strenuously

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88 "Something Else" ES2 XIV [*Libre-Échange* March 21, 1847] [FEE ed. p. 243 ff.]

89 Essay 10 in vol. 2 *"The Law," "The State," and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850*.

opposed. The socialist supporters of the legislation believed that the state should provide work and wages for those who could not get any on the free market. Furthermore, wages should be raised if the state felt that workers were not being paid their "just" wage. Here Bastiat again introduces Crusoe and Friday to help explain why voluntary exchanges between individuals are both just and more productive than "exchanges" brought about by state imposed controls. On their island Crusoe hunts birds and Friday fishes in the sea. Their division of labor means that they can both benefit from exchanging with each other. In this essay Bastiat gives socialist arguments to Crusoe who believes the value of his birds are intrinsically worth more than the value of Friday's fish and that Friday should be forced to give him more fish than he would have if a free bargain had been made between them. Bastiat argues that in a freely made bargain there is an exchange of "service for service" which leaves both parties better off. Friday tells Crusoe that if he insists on being paid a premium for his birds then he, Friday, will take up his own hunting when he needs a bird to eat, and that no trading will take place, thus leaving them both worse off compared to what would have happened if they had engaged in free trade.

Many of these arguments were to come together in Bastiat's major theoretical treatise, *Economic Harmonies*, which appeared half finished just before he died in 1850 and in a more complete form (though not fully) soon after. This work contains at least six major uses of "Crusoe economics" as Bastiat makes his case for the free market in chapters on "Exchange", "Capital", and "Private Property and Common Wealth".

Bastiat is one of the first (perhaps even the first) economist to make extensive use of "Crusoe economics" in his elaboration of the fundamentals of free market economics. In a search of the economic works on the *Online Library of Liberty* for references to "Robinson Crusoe" in works written before Bastiat in 1847 we find that there are no references at all in the works of Adam Smith, in J.B. Say's *Treatise on Political Economy*, or the works of David Ricardo. There are only single references scattered across the writings of economists who were writing in the 1810s, 1820s

and 1830s, such as Jeremy Bentham, Jane Marcet, Thomas Babbington Macaulay, Richard Whately, and Thomas Hodgskin and none of them uses the Robinson Crusoe analogy to express serious economic ideas. In the case of Richard Whately (1831), he firmly rejected the use of Crusoe in any discussion of the nature of political economy because in his view the study of economics was the study of "exchanges" and, since Crusoe did not engage in any exchanges, he was "in a situation of which Political-Economy takes no cognizance."[90] As we have seen in the examples from Bastiat's works, issues of economizing and opportunity costs are amenable to discussion using Crusoe "thought experiments" and of course exchange does enter the picture when Friday is introduced.

Another economist who made considerable use of "Crusoe economics" in his writing was the American economist Henry C. Carey (1793-1879) who was well known to Bastiat. Carey charged him with plagiarizing his (Carey's) work on "the harmony of interests" which appeared in 1851 (and which Bastiat had seen in manuscript) in his (Bastiat's) *Economic Harmonies* which appeared in 1850.[91] A study of Carey's writings shows that in his early work *Principles of Political Economy* (1837-1840) there are no references to Crusoe at all, but in his later *Principles of Social Science* (1858-1860) there are over a dozen significant references where Carey does employ "Crusoe economics" to make his points.[92] Perhaps here a case might be made that Carey has plagiarized Bastiat. Whatever the merits of the case might be, Bastiat's extensive use of "Crusoe economics" between 1847 and 1850 may well be an original contribution to economic reasoning.

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90 Richard Whately, *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy, delivered in Easter Term 1831* (London: B. Fellowes, 2nd and enlarged ed. 1832). Chapter: Lecture I. "A man, for instance, in a desert island, like Alex. Selkirke, or the personage his adventures are supposed to have suggested, Robinson Crusoe, is in a situation of which Political-Economy takes no cognizance ". <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1377/35830/1403616>

91 Henry C. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial* (Philadelphia: J. S. Skinner, 1851).

92 *Principles of Political Economy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1837-1840); *Principles of Social Science*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1858-1860).

6. Bastiat's Rhetoric of Liberty: Satire, Song, and the "Sting of Ridicule"

i. The Purpose of Political Economy

In an important essay called "Two Moralities"[93] which was the second essay in the Second Series of *Economic Sophisms* which appeared in January 1848, Bastiat reflects on what he is trying to achieve in writing the *Economic Sophisms* and how he can best achieve this aim. He calls the system of legal plunder which he wants to eliminate "malevolent action" and sums up the two pronged task he thinks is necessary to achieve this in the following way:

> There are therefore two opportunities for a malevolent action to be eliminated: the voluntary abstention of the *active* being [those doing the plundering] and the resistance of the *passive* being [those being plundered].[94]

The first of the two moralities, "religious morality", has a role to play in the former, i.e. to persuade those carrying out the plundering to see the immorality of what they are doing and to cease doing it. Bastiat is extremely sceptical that this has ever worked in history, pointing out that no ruling class has ever voluntarily given up their privileges because of any moral qualms they might have had about them.[95] Instead, he thinks it should be the task of political economy, or "economic morality", to assist those being plundered to resist their oppressors "actively". In another passage he states:

> It (political economy) shows them the effects of human actions and, by this simple demonstration, stimulates them to react against the actions that hurt them and honor those that are useful to them. It endeavors to disseminate enough good sense, enlightenment and justified mistrust in the oppressed masses to

93 II. Two Moralities" *Economic Sophisms II*, pp. 34-46.

94 "II. Two Moralities" *Economic Sophisms II,* p. 38.

95 "II. Two Moralities" *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 43.

> make oppression increasingly difficult and dangerous... The sum of evil always outweighs the good, and this has to be so, since the very fact of oppression leads to a depletion of force, creates dangers, triggers retaliation and requires costly precautions. A simple revelation of these effects is thus not limited to triggering a reaction in those oppressed, it rallies to the flag of justice all those whose hearts have not been corrupted and undermines the security of the oppressors themselves.[96]

There is room for cooperation between the "two moralities" which could be more effective if it were organized into a "pincer movement" in the war against vice and legal plunder:

> Let these *two moralities*, therefore, work hand in hand instead of mutually decrying one another, and attack vice in a pincer movement. While economists are doing their job, opening the eyes of the Orgons, uprooting preconceived ideas, stimulating just and essential mistrust and studying and exposing the true nature of things and actions, let religious moralists for their part carry out their more attractive but difficult work. Let them engage iniquity in hand-to-hand combat. Let them pursue it right into the deepest fibers of the heart. Let them paint the charms of benevolent action, abnegation and self-sacrifice. Let them open the source of virtues where we can only turn off the source of vice: that is their task, and one that is noble and fine.[97]

Bastiat's particular political goals in organizing a French free trade movement, engaging in popular economic journalism, and standing for election can be summarized as follows: to expose the bad effects of government intervention in the economy; to uproot preconceived and incorrect economic ideas; to arouse a sense of injustice at the immoral actions of the government and its favoured elites; to create "justified mistrust among the oppressed masses" of the beneficiaries of government privilege; and to open the eyes and stiffen the resistance of "the dupes" of government policies. The problem he faced was to discover the best way to

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96 "II. Two Moralities" *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 39.

97 "II. Two Moralities" *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 44.

achieve this for a popular audience which was gullible about the government's professed motives in regulating the economy and who were largely ignorant of economic theory.

A major problem Bastiat is acutely aware of is that political economy had a justified reputation for being "dry and dull"[98] and it was this reputation that Bastiat wanted to overcome with the style he adopted in the *Sophisms*. The issue was how to be appealing to popular readers whom he believed had become "the dupes" of those benefitting from the system of legal plunder. The means Bastiat adopted to achieve his political goals was to write in a style which ordinary people would find appealing, amusing, and convincing and an analysis of the devices he used in composing his *Sophisms* reveals the great efforts Bastiat took in trying to do this.

ii. Style and Rhetoric

Before discussing the numerous rhetorical devices Bastiat used in his *Sophisms* it is instructive to also examine the variety of formats in which he published his material. He did not stick to any hard or fast approach to his writing. Sometimes he would write just an ephemeral article on a local issue which had no further use or purpose. At other times he would write an article for a small journal and then adapt it for inclusion in a printed collection such as *Economic Sophisms* I (1846) and *Economic Sophisms* II (1848). Each article therefore needs to be understood in the light of the original place of publication and the audience for whom it was written. We have indicated wherever possible in a footnote this contextual information in order to help the reader. The following are the different publishing formats he used for his writings:

- articles in newspapers and journals aimed at a popular audience, e.g. *Le Libre-Échange* which was the organ of the French Free Trade Association)
- articles in highbrow magazines aimed at an educated audience, e.g. the *Journal des Débats*

98 "II. Two Moralities" *Economic Sophisms II*, p. 40.

- articles in academic journals aimed at a specialized readership, e.g. the *Journal des Économistes* published by Guillaumin
- articles written for revolutionary newspapers to be handed out on the streets of Paris during the Revolution of February and March 1848, e.g. the short lived newspaper *Jacques Bonhomme*
- some articles were written expressly to be used as wall posters (affiches) which were stuck up on the streets of Paris during the Revolution
- many of his longer essays and *Sophisms* were reprinted as stand alone pamphlets by the Guillaumin publishing firm after they first appeared in the journals and then sold to the public.

The style and the rhetorical devices Bastiat used in the individual *Sophisms* show considerable variety and skill in their construction. Bastiat has been justly recognized for his excellent style by economists such as Friedrich Hayek and the historian of economic thought Joseph Schumpeter, but this has not been studied in any detail. Schumpeter described Bastiat in very mixed terms as a brilliant economic journalist but as "no theorist" at all:

> Admired by sympathizers, reviled by opponents, his name might have gone down to posterity as the most brilliant economic journalist who ever lived... I do not hold that Bastiat was a bad theorist. I hold that he was no theorist.[99]

Friedrich Hayek seems to agree with Schumpeter that Bastiat was not a major theorist but that he was "a publicist of genius" who did pioneering work in exposing economic fallacies held by the general public.[100] Nevertheless, Schumpeter did acknowledge a key aspect of Bastiat's style noting that "(a) series of *Sophismes économiques* followed, whose pleasant wit... has ever since been the delight of many."

A fuller list of the rhetorical devices used by Bastiat in the *Sophisms* shows the breadth and complexity of what one might call his "rhetoric of liberty" which he formulated to expose the follies of the policies of the ruling elite and their system of

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99 Joseph A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, edited from a manuscript by Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 500.

100 F. A. Hayek, "Introduction", *Selected Essays on Political Economy,* trans. Seymour Cain, ed. George B. de Huszar (Irvington-on -Hudsnon: Foundation for Economic Education, 1975), p. ix.

"legal plunder," and to undermine their authority and legitimacy with "the sting of ridicule":

- a standard prose format which one would normally encounter in a newspaper
- the single authorial voice in the form of a personal conversation with the reader
- a serious constructed dialogue between stock figures who represented different viewpoints (in this Bastiat was influenced by Jane Marcet and Harriet Martineau; Gustave de Molinari continued Bastiat's format in some of his writings in the late 1840s and 1850s)
- satirical "official" letters or petitions to government officials or ministers, and other fabricated documents written by Bastiat (in these Bastiat would usually use a reductio ad absurdum argument to mock his opponents' arguments)
- the use of Robinson Crusoe "thought experiments" to make serious economic points or arguments in a more easily understandable format
- "economic tales" modelled on classic French authors such as La Fontaine's fables, and Andrieux's short stories
- parodies of well-known scenes from French literature, such as Molière's plays
- quoting scenes of plays were the playwright mocks the pretensions of aspiring bourgeois who want to act like the nobles who disdain commerce (e.g., Moliere, Beaumarchais)
- quoting poems with political content, e.g. Horace's Ode on the transience of tyrants
- quoting satirical songs about the foolish or criminal behaviour of kings or emperors (such as Napoleon) (Bastiat seems to be familiar with the world of the "goguettiers" (political song writers) and their interesting sociological world of drinking and singing clubs
- the use of jokes and puns (such as the names gave to characters in his dialogs (Mr. Blockhead), or place names (Stulta and Puera), and puns on words such as Highville, and gaucherie)

iii. Bastiat's Use of Classic French Literature

Our study of Bastiat's *Sophisms* reveals a well read man who was familiar with classic French literature, contemporary songs and poems, and opera. The sheer number and range of material which Bastiat was able to draw upon in his writings

is very impressive. It not only includes the classics of political economy in the French, Spanish, Italian, and English languages but also a very wide collection of modern French literature which includes the following: fables and fairy tales by La Fontaine and Perrault; plays by Molière, Beaumarchais, Victor Hugo, Regnard, Désaugiers, Collin d'Harleville; songs and poems by Béranger and Depraux, short stories by Andrieux, odes by Horace, operas by Rossini, poems by Boileau-Despréaux and Viennet, and satires by Courier de Méré. The plays of Molière were Bastiat's favourite literary source to quote and he used *Tartuffe, or the Imposter* (1664), *The Misanthrope* (1666), *L'Avare* (The Miser) (1668), *Le Bourgeois gentihomme* (The Would-Be Gentleman) (1670), and *Le malade imaginaire* (The Imaginary Invalid, or the Hypocondriac) (1673).

Sometimes Bastiat quotes from memory and gets the lines wrong or confused. This suggests that he had memorized a large repertoire of poems, songs, stories, and scenes of plays from his youth but in his considerable haste to get a large amount of material ready for publication in a very short time (most of his writing was composed between 1845-1850) he occasionally got some details incorrect. His interest in more contemporary French literature was a result of the innovative education he received at the College of Saint-Sever and then the Benedictine École de Sorèze (1814-1818) where the school encouraged the study of modern subjects and languages such as English, Italian, Spanish and not the Greek and Roman classics which he came to despise as the culture of a society which engaged in conquest, slavery, and plunder. The school also allowed him to learn the cello which began a life-long love of music, especially opera.

The significance of Bastiat's interest in modern literature is that he is able to use it to illustrate his potentially "dry and dull" economic and political arguments in a form of speech and to use social situations which were much more familiar to his readers than quoting ancient Greek and Latin authors would have permitted. For example, he quotes many times from Molière's plays in order to show the follies of members of the bourgeois class who attempted to ape the manners and speech of the nobility who are universally hostile to having careers in the free market and to

bourgeois values in general. A sampling of Bastiat's use of modern French literature is quite instructive.

The fables of Jean de la Fontaine (1621-1695) provide a rich source of material which can be used as political or economic fables or parables to criticise and mock political figures. The story about "The Weasel that got caught in the Storeroom" (La belette entrée dans un grenier) is about a weasel which was able to squeeze through a small hole in the wall in order to get into a farmer's grain storage room so it could steal his provisions.[101] It is a clear reference by Bastiat to the predatory behaviour of politicians, government employees, and their favourites who wish to take tax-payers' money in order to fund their projects. In this case Bastiat draws on Fontaine's fable in a discussion of the bloated "great standing armies and the powerful navies" which have grown fat on heavy taxes. Once inside the store room the weasel (a politician or the military) ate so much food that it got too big to get back out through the same hole in the wall. A rat, on seeing its predicament, says that after five or six days of not eating "you would have then a belly which is much less full. You were thin to get in, you'll have to be thin to get out." Perhaps the moral of this tale according to Bastiat is that politicians and other tax-consuming vested interests like the military who "grow fat" on taxes will have to drastically change their behaviour if they wish to escape their predicament when the tax paying "dupes" wise up to what is going on.

Bastiat usually avoided quoting ancient Roman authors because of his contempt for their moral and political philosophy. He saw them as members of a warrior and slave owning elite who had little of value to say to modern readers living in a commercial society. The exception here is Bastiat's quoting of a French poet LeBrun who wrote an imitation of one of Horace's Odes (1834) in which the

101 It is quoted in "V. Our products are weighed down with taxes" in SE1, p. 78. See the *Fables de La Fontaine, illustréees par J.J. Grandeville. Nouvelle edition*, Tome 1 (Paris: H. Fournier ainé, 1838), Book III, Fable XVII, p. 121.

author claims his poetry will outlast the memory of the tyrants of his day, in a work which recalls to mind Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem "Ozymandias" (1818):[102]

> Thanks to the Muse who inspires me,
> this monument is finished
> which neither sword nor flood will ever destroy.
> Even the sky, armed with lightning,
> will not be able to reduce it to ashes:
> The centuries will also try in vain.
> It will defy the grasping tyrants,
> hardier than the pyramids
> and more lasting than bronze.

In this poem the author suggests that works of art and culture were more valuable and longer lasting than the reigns of tyrants and emperors who rose and fell with monotonous regularity in human history. Of course, the most recent example of this was Napoleon under whose reign Bastiat lived during the first fourteen years of his life and whose legacy so appalled classical liberals such as Benjamin Constant, Jean-Baptiste Say, and all the other political economists Bastiat was associated with in his day. Bastiat cites this poem in the "Conclusion" to *Economic Sophisms* Series I as he reflects on the importance of economic laws in explaining how wealth is created and how societies prosper or decline according to how well they follow these laws. The "monument" Bastiat has in mind is the book which best provides an exposition of these economic laws and thus can "destroy all sophisms at a stroke", most likely a book such as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) or Jean-Baptiste Say's *Treatise of Political Economy* (1803). Perhaps Bastiat thought he could write such a book as he worked on his magnum opus on economic theory, the *Economic Harmonies,* in the hope that it would become such "an imposing and durable edifice".

Speaking truth to those who do not want to hear it is also a theme Bastiat turned to on more than one occasion. In "Theft by Subsidy" SE2 IX he quotes a

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102 Quoted in the Conclusion, SE1, p. 190. See "Imitations en vers français. Ode XXX – Livre III," in *Oeuvres complètes d'Horace. Éditions polyglotte publiée sous la direction de J.B. Monfalcon* (Paris: Cormon et Blanc, 1834), p. 229.

scene from Molière's play *The Misanthrope* (1666) where Alceste, a misanthrope, is trying to tell Oronte, a foolish nobleman, that his verse is poorly written and worthless.[103] Because of the power of the nobleman he has to be very careful what he says. To offend him by telling him the truth might incur his wrath and bring down punishment on Alceste. After many attempts at avoiding the answer with circumlocutions Alceste finally says that the nobleman's attempt at writing poetry is hopeless and that "Franchement, il est bon à metre au cabinet" (frankly, it is only good to be thrown into the toilet).[104] Bastiat quotes this scene in the course of explaining to an audience of sympathetic political economists in the *Journal des Économistes* that the time for high theoretical and "the politest circumlocutions" is over and that advocates of free trade need to use a more "brutal style" when trying to convince their opponents. Their protectionist opponents needed to be "shouted out" in "an explosion of plain speaking" where protectionism is described in the bluntest terms possible as "theft" and "plunder."

Another group who do not like to hear the truth spoken to them are the kings, emperors, and other tyrants who rule the world. This example comes from our volume two where Bastiat quotes a story by the contemporary poet and playwright François Andrieux (1759-1833).[105] Andrieux had been a member of the liberal Girondin group during the Revolution before taking up a number of academic positions under Napoléon. Bastiat was particularly interested in Andrieux's tale "The Miller of Sans-Souci," which was read at a public meeting of the Institute on 15 Germinal an 5 (4 April 1797). The story is about an ordinary German mill owner who had the courage to speak the truth to power, namely, to King Frederick the Great. One might note that Bastiat is the Frenchman of his day who had the courage to speak some unpalatable truths to power, in his case the socialists and interventionists who had come to power during the revolution of 1848. Bastiat

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103 Quoted in "Theft by Subsidy" SE2 IX, p. 104 from Molière, *The Misanthrope* (1666), Act I Scene II.

104 *Théatre complet de J.-B. Poquelin de Molière*, publié par D. Jouast en huit volumes avec la preface de 1682, annotée par G. Monval, vol. 4 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1882), p. 86.

105 See "Property and Plunder," in vol. 2 pp. 000–00. Our trans. p. 28.

refers to this tale several times in his writings, and it is not hard to see why it became one of his favorite anecdotes.

The liberal republican Andrieux depicts an entrepreneurial mill owner who is determined to keep his property when ordered to hand it over to the state in order to satisfy the whim of Frederick the Great in expanding the size of his palace. Not only does Frederick take the name of the mill, "Sans-Souci," as the name for his palace, but he also wants to tear down the mill and its large rotating blades in order to have a clear view of the countryside. The mill owner refuses, saying that he does not want to sell the mill to anybody, that his father is buried there, that his son was born there, and that the mill is as valuable to him as Potsdam is to the Prussian emperor.

Frederick slyly replies that if he wanted to he could seize the miller's property, as he was the "master." The resolute and fearless miller says to Frederick's face, "You? Take my mill? Yes, (you might) if we didn't have judges in Berlin." Frederick smiles at the naive thought that his subjects really believed that justice of this kind actually existed under his reign and tells his courtiers to leave the miller alone as an act of noblesse oblige. Andrieux concludes his tale with a reflection on the nature of the power of emperors, reminding his readers that the warrior Frederick had seized Silesia and put Europe to the torch: "These are the games princes play. They respect a miller but steal a province."[106]

Bastiat quotes Andrieux's tale about the Miller and Frederick the Great in the "Third Letter" published as a series of Five Letters in the *Journal des Débats* in July 1848 and addressed to the socialist Victor Considérant on the nature of private property. In this Letter Bastiat reflects on how individuals in a state of nature have the right to claim land as their own property in a very Lockeian manner. He uses a "thought experiment" much like his stories about Robinson Crusoe but does not use the "Crusoe" figure by name, instead talking about "savages on an island" who peacefully go about creating private property in land, trading their produce, and

106 "The Miller and Sans-Souci" first appeared in *Contes et opuscules en vers et en prose* (1800) and was reprinted in *Œuvres de François-Guillaume-Jean-Stanislas Andrieux*, vol. 3, pp. 205-8.

renting pieces of it to each other. When voluntary trades between individuals cannot be made because of disagreements over price each party has the right to refuse to enter into the exchange and can walk away without penalty. Bastiat thought this was a much more satisfactory solution to the problem of property ownership and the settlement of disputes than the Miller's naive faith in the honesty and dependability of judges in Frederick the Great's Prussia.

Sometimes Bastiat goes beyond quoting a famous scene from a well-known classic work and adapts it for his own purposes by rewriting it as a parody. A good example of this is Molière's parody of the granting of a degree of doctor of medicine in the last play he wrote *Le malade imaginaire* (The Imaginary Invalid, or the Hypocondriac) (1673) which Bastiat quotes in "Theft by Subsidy" (JDE January 1846).[107] Molière is suggesting that doctors in the seventeenth century were quacks who did more harm to their patients than good, as this translation clearly suggests:

> I give and grant you
> Power and authority to Practice medicine,
> Purge,
> Bleed,
> Stab,
> Hack,
> Slash,
> and Kill
> With impunity
> Throughout the whole world.[108]

Bastiat's takes Molière's Latin and writes his own pseudo-Latin, this time with the purpose of mocking French tax collectors. In his parody Bastiat is suggesting that government officials, tax collectors, and customs officials were thieves who did

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107 Quoted in "Theft by Subsidy" SE2 IX, p. 112 from Molière, *Le malade imaginaire* (The Imaginary Invalid, or the Hypocondriac) (1673). See *Théatre complet de J.-B. Poquelin de Molière*, publié par D. Jouast en huit volumes avec la preface de 1682, annotée par G. Monval, vol. 8 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1883), Third Interlude, p. 286.

108 Thanks to Arthur Goddard's excellent translation in the FEE edition, *Economic Sophisms*, p. 194.

more harm to the economy than good, so Bastiat writes a mock "swearing in" oath which he thinks they should use to induct new officials into government service:

> I give to you and I grant
> virtue and power
> to steal
> to plunder
> to filch
> to swindle
> to defraud
> At will, along this whole road

The behaviour of kings to take what they like when they like from their subjects is another theme which attracted Bastiat for obvious reasons. In Charles Perrault's fairy tale "Donkeyskin" (1694) the morale of the story is that sometimes ordinary people have to go to considerable lengths to prevent a king from exercising his arbitrary power. Perrault worked as an administrator serving under Jean-Baptiste Colbert during the reign of Louis XIV. After Colbert's death in 1683 he lost his position and turned to writing children's stories. The fairy tale "Donkeyskin" is about a princess who was desired by her own father, the king, to be his next wife after his first wife, the princess' mother, died. The princess' fairy godmother told her to wear the skin of a donkey as a disguise in order to avoid her father's attentions.[109]

Bastiat no doubt enjoyed the story because it showed how those who were without power could deceive and outwit those who wielded absolute and irresponsible power. He mentions the fairy story in the Sophism "The Mayor of Enios" who was a dictatorial mayor of a small town on the banks of a river.[110] Bastiat describes the mayor as "a pasha" and an arch Napoleonist who used conscript labour supplied by the local inhabitants to carry out public works and who eventually became corrupted by his extreme political powers. After reading

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109 See *Oeuvres choisies de Ch. Perrault, de l'Académie française, avec les memoires de l'auteur, et des recherches sur les contes des fees,* par M. Collin de Plancy (Paris: Brissot-Thivars, 1826).

110 Quoted in "63. The Mayor of Enios," ESLE,6 February 1848, p. 144.

protectionist ideas in *Le Moniteur* he decided to impose high tariffs on the only bridge across the river in order to "increase communal wealth" even if it meant disrupting trade in the greater Département and impoverishing the town's inhabitants. The fairy godmother in Bastiat's tale was the local Prefect who believed in free trade within the country but not internationally. He therefore refused to allow a tyrannical local mayor to have his way, thus allowing the local people to return to the normal trading relationships they had enjoyed with the region before the mayor abused his powers. Bastiat's point of course is that the local mayor was only using the same logic as the national protectionists like the Prefect. If restricting trade locally was harmful, then so too was restricting trade internationally - and for exactly the same economic reasons.

iv. Goguettiers and Singing for Liberty

Another story in a similar vein comes from a poem or song written by a "goguettier" who was a member of a social club (une goguette) where political, patriotic and drinking songs were sung. The members of these clubs were ordinary people, often from the lower or middle class, who would gather to talk politics when other forms of political association were forbidden or strictly limited. Bastiat quotes a number of Goguettiers (Paul Émile Debraux, P.J. Béranger) and this suggests that he knew their works quite well, perhaps even knowing some of their works by heart which raises the intriguing possibility that he had attended meetings of the clubs in person. One song Bastiat refers to is a satirical song by Pierre-Jean Béranger (1780-1857) who made a name for himself mocking Emperor Napoleon and then all the monarchs of the Restoration period in turn. Bastiat mentions the song "Le Roi d'Yvetot" (The King of Yvetot) (May 1813) which is a thinly disguised criticism of Napoleon.[111] The minor Seigneur Yvetot behaved in his district as if he were a king and tormented the local populace accordingly, taxing them heavily and pursuing the young girls to his heart's content. Verse IV goes:

111 Quoted in "XIII. Protection or the Three Provincial Magistrates", SE2, p. 178.

So well he pleased the damsels all,
The folks could understand
A hundred reasons him to call
The Father of his Land.
His troops levied in his park
But twice a year - to hit a mark,
And lark!
Ha! ha! ha! ha! Ho! Ho! Ho! Ho!
A kingdom match with Yvetot!
Ho! Ho!"

Another verse in particular might have caught Bastiat's eye as it deals with the burdens of taxation; from verse III:

No costly regal tastes had he,
Save thirstiness alone;
But ere a people blest can be,
We must support the throne!
So from each cask new tapp'd he got,
(His own tax-gath'rer), on the spot,
A pot!
Ha! ha! ha! ha! Ho! Ho! Ho! Ho!
A kingdom match with Yvetot!
Ho! Ho!"[112]

In his correspondence Bastiat mentions Béranger several times which shows how close his personal relationship was to the poet and song writer as well as how closely connected some artists like Béranger were to the political economists like Bastiat. In a letter to his friend Felix Coudroy (Bayonne 5 August 1830) Bastiat relates his activities in the 1830 Revolution (27-29 July) when the garrison in Bayonne was split over whether or not to side with the revolution or the sitting monarch Charles X. Bastiat visited the garrison in order to speak to some of the officers in order to swing them over the revolutionary cause. In a midnight addition

112 *Oeuvres completes de Béranger. Nouvelle edition illustrée par J.J. Grandville* (Paris: H. Fournier, 1839), vol. 1, pp. 1 ff. (for "The King Yvetot"); for the English translation of "The King Yvetot" see *Béranger's Songs of the Empire, the Peace, and the Restoration*, trans. Robert B. Brough (London: Addey and Co., 1854), pp. 21-24.

to his letter Bastiat relates how some good wine and the songs of Béranger helped him persuade the officers that night:

> The 5th at midnight
>
> I was expecting blood but it was only wine that was spilt. The citadel has displayed the tricolor flag. The military containment of the Midi and Toulouse has decided that of Bayonne; the regiments down there have displayed the flag. The traitor J…… thus saw that the plan had failed, especially as the troops were defecting on all sides; he then decided to hand over the orders he had had in his pocket for three days. Thus, it is all over. I plan to leave immediately. I will embrace you tomorrow.
>
> This evening we fraternized with the garrison officers. Punch, wine, liqueurs and above all, Béranger contributed largely to the festivities. Perfect cordiality reigned in this truly patriotic gathering. The officers were warmer than we were, in the same way as horses which have escaped are more joyful than those that are free.[113]

In the Sophism "Protection or the Three Municipal Magistrates" Bastiat again quotes Béranger. This Sophism has the distinction of being the only one he wrote as a small play with numerous actors in four "scenes." The play opens with three municipal magistrates scheming about how they can use protection to increase the local butter industry by keeping out "foreign" butter from Normandy. In scene three, some twenty years later, a father and his son are reflecting on their need to leave Paris because the policies of the magistrates had ruined the city's economy and forced many industries to close down. In scene four Jacques Bonhomme has become an agitator urging the overthrow of the protectionist policies of the city and the restoration of freedom. His exchanges with "The People" as he debates the

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113 *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 30. In a second letter to Coudroy dated Paris May 1845 Bastiat relates his first meeting with the political economists in Paris at a formal dinner hosted by the publisher Guillaumin. Béranger was part of the circle of Parisian political economists and had been invited to attend the welcoming dinner for Bastiat but declined because he had another engagement. [*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 59]. In a third letter to Coudroy dated Paris 22 March 1846 Bastiat tells him that "our good Béranger" had joined the French Free Trade Association [*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 95].

protectionist "Pierre" are very funny as the fickle People change their demands depending on whoever had spoken last, perhaps reflecting Bastiat's own frustrations and difficulties in appealing to ordinary people on the issue of free trade.

Béranger was a particular favourite of Bastiat who referred to his satirical poems and songs several times. The song "Mandement des vicaires généraux de Paris" (Pastoral from the vicars general of Paris) (1817) is a satirical song which mocks the ruling elites of the early Restoration who blamed every problem of the day on the influence of the ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire. A typical verse is the following: "In order to teach children that they were born to be slaves, shackles were fitted when they first learned to move. If mankind is free in the cradle it is the fault of Rousseau; if reason enlightens them then it is the fault of Voltaire."[114] This suggests that conservative critics of any reform in a liberal direction are out of touch with the needs of ordinary people who no doubt never read Rousseau or Voltaire, but who nevertheless knew they wanted to be free.

Bastiat quotes this song in the context of a discussion about the losses which are incurred when any protectionist tariff is imposed on a transaction. He had been particularly impressed by the arguments of the English free trader and Anti-Corn Law League supporter, Colonel Perronet Thompson, who had developed an algebraic formula for describing these losses which he called "the double incidence of loss". Thompson's formula had proven to be so influential in the ensuing debate about the merits of free trade in England that his name had been bandied about so often by the opposition in their efforts to refute him that the underlying arguments on which his formula had depended had been forgotten. Thus Perronet Thompson's name had been misused much like Rousseau's and Voltaire's in Béranger's song as a scapegoat for every ill the protectionists identified in the free trade cause. Because of this Bastiat wanted to NOT mention his name and return to the underlying reasons and arguments that lay behind Thompson's formula.[115]

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114 *Chansons de Béranger. Nouvelle édition* (Bruxelles: A. Wahlen, 1832), pp. 442-447.

115 Quoted in "57. One profit against Two Losses", SELE, 9 May 1847, p. 67.

v. Humour and the Promotion of Liberty

If a pattern emerges from the examples cited above it is that Bastiat likes to use literary references to show his readers that economic issues need not be "dull and dry" and to help him expose the nature of politicians and the political and economic power they wield. Thus in a witty and clever way he induces the reader to see things the way they are and to share his disdain for those who misuse their power and to encourage them to no longer think like "dupes".

The Sophisms also reveal a man who has a very good sense of humour and an understanding of how humour can be used for political purposes as well as to make political economy less "dry and dull" for average readers. Sprinkled throughout the Sophisms are Bastiat's own jokes, plays on words, and puns. For example, in "The Tax Collector"[116] Bastiat creates a dialogue between Jacques Bonhomme (a wine producer like Bastiat himself) and a Tax Collector, a M. "Lasouche". Lasouche is a made up name which Bastiat creates to poke fun at his adversaries. The FEE translator translated "M. Lasouche" as "Mr. Clodpate." Since "la souche" means a tree stump, log, or plant stock, we thought "Mr. Blockhead" might be appropriate in our new translation.

This play on words requires some knowledge of Latin. In "Reciprocity"[117] Bastiat creates two fictitious towns which he calls "Stulta" and "Puera" as part of a fable about how towns create artificial obstacles to trade in order to boost their own local economies. The names of the towns "Stulta" and "Puera" are plays on the Latin words "stultus" for foolish, and "puer/puera" for young boy or girl; thus one might translate them as "Stupidville" and "Childishtown". There are also puns on French words such as "haut" (high or tall) and "gauche" (left). In "High Prices, Low Prices"[118] Bastiat discusses how protectionists usually prefer "high prices" while free traders prefer "low prices". In the course of his argument he makes a play on the

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116 "X. The Tax Collector," *Ec Soph II*, p. 118.

117 "X. Reciprocity", *Ec Soph I*, p. 105.

118 "V. High Prices, Low Prices," *Ec Soph II*, p. 62.

word "haut" (high) in the passage "Would it not be amusing to see *low prices* becoming the watchword in Rue Hauteville ("Highville") and *high ones* lauded in the Rue Choiseul" The joke is that the Rue Hauteville was the headquarters of the Odier Committee and the Association for the Defense of National Work (a protectionist organization) and the Rue Choiseul was the headquarters of the Association for Free Trade which Bastiat lead at one time. In "The Right Hand and the Left Hand"[119] Bastiat continues his strategy of making reductio ad absurdum arguments in order to ridicule his opponents. In this case he is showing that by rejecting free trade, the protectionists are just making extra work for themselves by making it harder to buy goods more cheaply elsewhere. In this Sophism Bastiat suggests that in order to make more work for themselves they should think about passing a law to make everybody tie their right hand behind their back and only use their left (gauche) hand to work with. He wittily refers to this practice as a form of "gaucherie" or clumsiness.

Sometimes Bastiat is able to laugh at himself as well at as his adversaries. In "The Fear of a Word"[120] a discussion takes place between an Economist and an Artisan and the conversation comes to the problem of the meaning of words and how some people fear the words more than they do their meaning. It probably happened on occasion to Bastiat when he was campaigning for the Free Trade Association that discussion would get bogged down in the different meanings of key phrases such as "free trade" (libre-échange) and "freedom to trade" (échange libre). The phrase "free trade" was frightening to the Artisan because of its politically charged meaning in the free trade movement both in France and in Britain. The Artisan however is more comfortable with the less threatening phrase "freedom to trade". The Economist points out to him that although the two phrases have a different word order in French they in fact mean exactly the same thing. In the Sophism the Artisan says literally, "So free trade and trade free is the same as white bonnet and bonnet white" and both sides laugh at the silliness of it all.

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119 "XVI. The Right Hand and the Left Hand," *Ec Soph II*, p. 231.

120 "59. The Fear of a Word," *Soph LE*, p. 92.

Another example of his self-deprecating humour is in "A Little Manual for Consumers, in other words for everyone"[121] where Bastiat makes fun of the problems he and others faced in coming to terms with technical economic expressions, in this case "to consume," "the consumer", and "consumption." Here Bastiat likens these difficult and ugly words to so many barflies that one cannot get rid of, perhaps expressing some frustration at the difficult task he had set himself in trying to make them understandable to the general public. No doubt he had to "consume" a few glasses in the course of his agitation for free trade and, coming from a wine producing region like Les Landes, Bastiat probably knew what he was talking about here:

> Consume – Consumer – Consumption; these are ugly words that represent people as so many barflies, constantly with a coffee cup or a wine glass in front of them. But political economy is obliged to use them. (I am referring to the three words, not the wine glass.)

It is interesting to speculate whether the strategy of using irony, sarcasm, parody, mockery, puns, and other forms of humour in his writing was an explicit and deliberate one, or one that just naturally arose out of his jovial personality. A clue comes from an article he wrote in early 1846 soon after the appearance of the First Series of *Economic Harmonies*. In an article in the *Journal des Économistes* of January 1846, "Theft by Subsidy" ES2 IX, he opens with the following testy remarks:

> People find my small volume of Sophisms too theoretical, scientific and metaphysical. So be it. Let us try a superficial, banal and, if necessary, brutal style. Since I am convinced that the general public are easily taken in as far as protection is concerned, I wanted to prove it to them. They prefer to be shouted at. So let us shout:
>
> Midas, King Midas has ass's ears!
>
> An explosion of plain speaking often has more effect than the politest circumlocutions. Do you remember Oronte and the

121 "61. A Little Manual for Consumers, in other words for everyone" SLE, p. 126.

> difficulty that the Misanthropist, as misanthropic as he is, has in convincing him of his folly?[122]

It is seems that he was stung by some critical reviews of *Economic Sophisms Series I* for being "too theoretical, scientific and metaphysical" and thus failing to achieve his major aim, which was to appeal to a broader popular audience. As a result he may well have decided deliberately to use more sarcasm, humour, and parody in future Sophisms. An analysis of the format of ES1 suggests that this might have been the case: of the 22 essays 14 (or 68%) were in formal prose (although often quite conversational) and 6 (or 27%) were in the form of the often amusing and clever dialogs, economic tales, and fictional letters and other documents. The "Theft by Subsidy" article was unusually angry and bitter for Bastiat as it contained some strong words about the need to call "a spade a spade" regardless of the sensitivities of common opinion; in this case he wanted to call most government policies a form of theft and the protectionist system in France a form of "mutual theft" (p. 113):

> Frankly, my good people, *you are being robbed*. That is plain speaking but at least it is clear.
>
> The words, *theft, to steal* and *thief* seem to many people to be in bad taste. Echoing the words of Harpagon to Elise, I ask them: Is it the word or the thing that makes you afraid?[123]

It was in the course of this angry tirade against the government and his critical reviewers that Bast wrote one of his sharpest, wittiest, and bitterest pieces of humour - his parody of Molière's parody of quack doctors in *Le malade imaginaire* (The Imaginary Invalid, or the Hypocondriac) which is quoted at length above[124] in which Bastiat writes an "Swearing In" Oath for government employees.

This experience may have convinced Bastiat to alter the balance of his *Sophisms* in the next series to be published two years later, just before the outbreak of the

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122 "Theft by Subsidy" ES2 IX, originally published in the *Journal des Économistes* of January 1846.

123 p. 104.

124 Page ??? of this volume.

Revolution. In that collection which had five fewer essays than the first (17 rather than 22) the number of essays in standard prose dropped from 15 (68%) to 4 (24%) and the number of more humorous dialogs, tales, and fictional documents was increased from 6 (27%) to 9 (41%). Bastiat seemed more determined than ever to reach the people and to avoid making economic arguments "dry and dull".

It is possible that after the appearance of the more humorous Second Series of *Economic Sophisms* Bastiat thought he might have gone too far in the opposite direction. In the article "Disastrous Illusions" which appeared in the *Journal des économistes* shortly after the outbreak of Revolution in February 1848 he expressed his very serious worries about where the revolution was heading, seeing the rise of socialist and protectionist ideas among the revolutionaries as very dangerous and perhaps presaging the "rock on which our beloved Republic will founder". If this were true, then it was no time for his joking, punning, parodying:

> I would keep quiet if it were a matter only of temporary measures that were required and to some extent justified by the upheaval of the great revolution that we have just accomplished, but what people are demanding are not exceptional remedies but the application of a system. Forgetting that citizens' purses fill that of the State, they want the State's purse to fill those of the citizens.
>
> I do have to make it clear that it is not by using irony and sarcasm that I will be striving to dispel this disastrous illusion. In my view at least, it casts a somber shadow over the future, which I very much fear will be the rock on which our beloved Republic will founder. [125]

Bastiat spent much time between February 1848 and Christmas 1850 working hard to prevent the rapid increase in the power of the state both in a socialist and in a protectionist direction in the Constituent and then the National Assembly, in which he served as vice president of the Finance Committee. He also struggled to complete his theoretical work *Economic Harmonies* as his health continued to fail

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125 "Disastrous Illusions" *JDE* March 1848 [ESLE 70], p. 233.

making it very difficult to work for long periods of time during the last two years of his life. When his last work was published in July 1850, *What is Seen and What is Not Seen* (which we are including in this volume as part of his *Economic Sophisms*), the balance of serious essays and more humorous ones had shifted back closer to what they had been in the First Series - of the 12 essays only 2 (or 17%) were humorous dialogs and tales, while 10 (or a very large 83%) were in more formal prose. Paillottet says in a fascinating footnote that the pamphlet *What is Seen and What is Not Seen* was a year overdue in appearing in print as Bastiat had lost the manuscript in a house move and was forced to rewrite it. Since he was struggling in his own mind over the right balance to have between serious and humorous sophisms he decided that the second version was far too serious and he threw it into the fire in anger and frustration. He was happier with the third version of his manuscript which is the version that appeared in print in July 1850.[126]

Thus one could conclude from this that Bastiat could not settle on the right balance of serious and humorous sophisms in his collections and fluctuated from one extreme to the other as circumstances changed in the tumultuous years between 1846 and 1850. In spite of this indecision one can still say that Bastiat succeeded in his aim of making the study of political economy less "dry and dull" in the Sophisms than in most other forms in which economic ideas had appeared in print up to that time. Quite sophisticated and sometimes complex economic ideas were made lively, amusing, contemporary, and interesting, perhaps even persuasive, which was of course his real purpose in resorting to these rhetorical devices in the first place.

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126 A similar analysis of the balance of serious and humorous essays in what Paillottet called the "New Series of Sophisms" which he included in the *Oeuvres Complètes* but which Bastiat never put into print produces the following results: of the 22 essays in this collection 6 (or 27%) were standard prose, 2 (or 9%) were academic prose, 12 (or 55%) were invented or satirical documents and letters, economic tales, or conversations, and 2 (or 9%) were revolutionary posters. This shows an even higher proportion of humorous material than that in the *Second Series of Economic Sophisms*. This may explain why he did not put together a Third Series in the less congenial environment of post-February 1848 France.

CONCLUSION

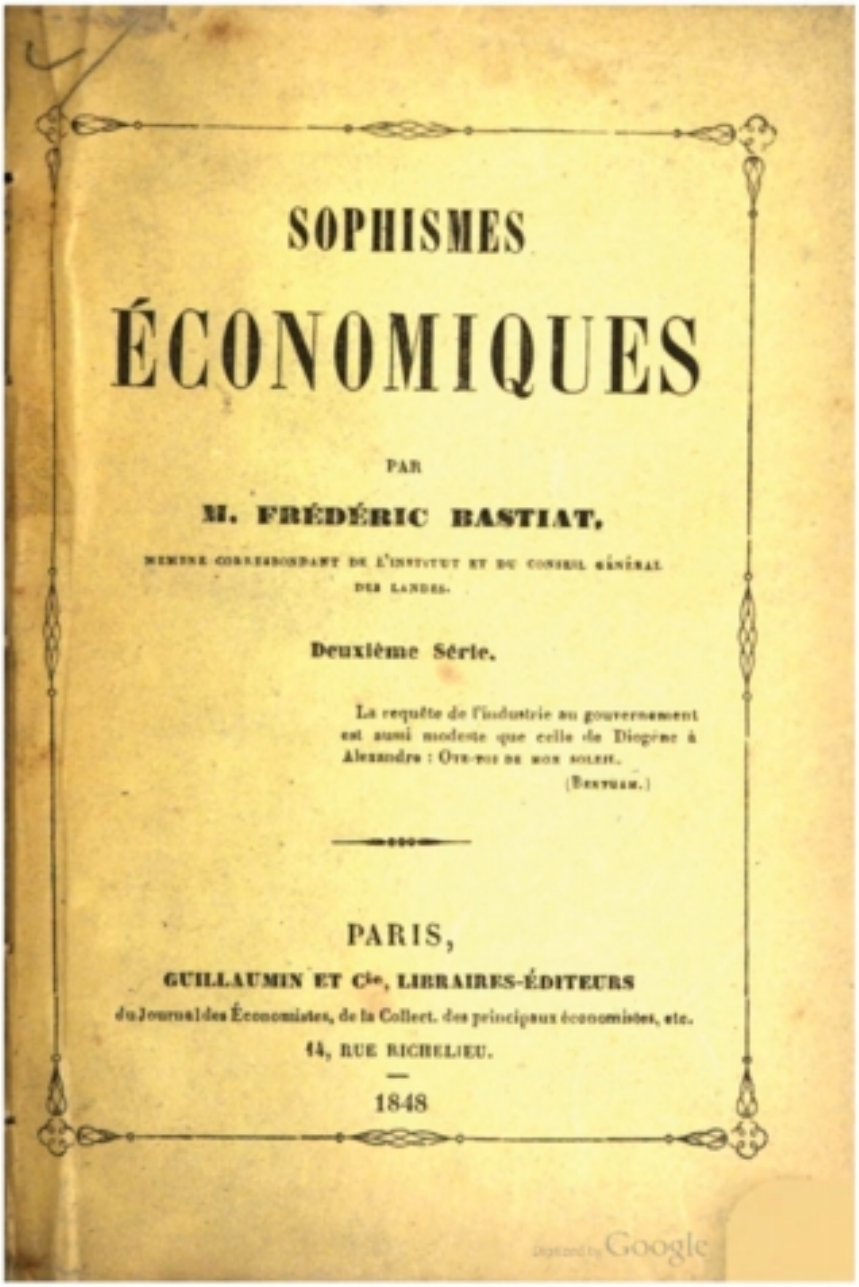
This introduction to the collection of Bastiat's essays which he called "Economic Sophisms" has focused on a number of issues:

- the idea that the state and the vested interests which benefited from state activity cloaked their activities from the public with "sophisms" in order to confuse and deceive the public, and that it was the role of the political economist to expose these sophisms
- his radical notion of "legal plunder" and the idea that so much of state activity would be regarded as "theft" if it had been carried out by ordinary individuals
- his theory of the State which evolved during the Revolution, an event in which he played a active role as journalist and elected politician
- the wide variety of formats and styles he used in presenting his ideas
- his innovative use of formats such as the constructed dialog and the "economic tale" which he refined or perhaps even invented
- his use of "Crusoe economics" as a device to simplify and clarify complex economic ideas
- his use of literature, poetry, songs, and plays to help him make economic notions more approachable to a broad audience
- his use of humour, sarcasm, parody, and puns in order to make the articulation of economic ideas less "dull and dry"
- the development of a very unique and effective style for the articulation of his ideas about liberty (which we have termed here a "rhetoric of liberty") in which Bastiat made considerable use of what he called "the sting of ridicule" to achieve his ends.

If nothing else, the publication of Bastiat's collected *Economic Sophisms* in this volume demonstrates that Bastiat deserves his reputation as one of the most gifted writers on economic matters. His skill at mixing serious and amusing ways of making his arguments is unsurpassed; the quality of his insights into profound economic issues are often exceptional; his ability to combine his political lobbying for the Free Trade Movement, his journalism, his political activities during the Revolution, and his scholarly activities is most unusual; and his humour, wit, and literary knowledge which he scatters throughout his writings is a constant joy to read and appreciate. He truly was and continues to be one of a kind.

Appendix 1: The Publishing History of the *Economic Sophisms* and *What is Seen and What is Not Seen*

Draft Date: Sunday, September 25, 2011



SOPHISMES

ÉCONOMIQUES

PAR

M. FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT,

MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT ET DU CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL DES LANDES.

Deuxième Série.

La requête de l'industrie au gouvernement est aussi modeste que celle de Diogène à Alexandre : Ôte-toi de mon soleil.

(Bentham.)

PARIS,

GUILLAUMIN ET Cie, LIBRAIRES-ÉDITEURS

du Journal des Économistes, de la Collect. des principaux économistes, etc.

14, RUE RICHELIEU.

1848

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INTRODUCTION

Establishing the publishing history of what were to become the *Economic Sophisms* is somewhat tricky as there are three levels of publication that the researcher must explore (possibly four if one counts later editions and translations). The first is that many of the *Sophisms* first appeared as short articles in various journals and newspapers which published Frédéric Bastiat's material, such as his free trade journal *Le Libre-Echange* (November 1846 to April 1848) and the main organ of the Parisian free market political economists, the *Journal des Économistes*. The second level is that some of the material was also published as stand alone books or pamphlets, such as the *Economic Sophisms* First and Second Series which appeared in book form in early 1846 and 1848 respectively, in slightly reworked form. The third level is that after Bastiat's death in December 1850 his friend and literary executor, Prosper Paillottet, had access to Bastiat's papers and from this and the previously mentioned published sources was able to edit and publish the first edition of Bastiat's *Oeuvres complètes* in 6 volumes in 1854-55, and in seven volumes in 1862-64 (with a supplementary volume of additional letters and essays which were not

included in the first edition).[127] Paillottet indicated in footnotes in most cases the place and date of the original publication of the essays, but in some cases he did not. Sometimes he wrote that the piece was an "unpublished draft" (presumably one he found in Bastiat's papers) and at other times he simply said nothing, thus complicating the task of the researcher as we no longer have access to Bastiat's original papers. We have taken Paillottet's word in every case as he is the best and sometimes only source we have for this information, although at all times it must be recognized that he was a close friend and strong supporter of Bastiat which surely must color his judgment. That being said, we have not found any instance where Paillottet has been wrong;[128] our main frustration is that his information is not as complete as we would like it to be.

THE FIRST SERIES OF *ECONOMIC SOPHISMS* (JANUARY 1846)

The First Series of *Economic Sophisms* (henceforth abbreviated as ES1) was completed in November 1845 (Bastiat signed the introduction "Mugron, 2 November, 1845") and was probably printed in late 1845 or early 1846. The Bibliothèque nationale de France does not show an edition published in 1845 but there are two listed for 1846, one of which is called the second edition. Presumably the other is the true first edition which appeared in early (possibly January) 1846.[129]

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127 *Oevres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat, mises en ordre, revues et annotées d'après les manuscrits de l'auteur.* Ed. Prosper Paillottet and biographical essay by Roger de Fontenay. (Paris: Guillaumin, 1st ed. 1854-55, 6 vols; 2nd ed. 1862-64, 7 vols). *The Economic Sophisms Series I and II* appeared in volume 4: *Sophismes économiques. Petits pamphlets I* (1854 1st edition of *Oeuvres complètes*; 1863 2nd edition of *Oeuvres complètes*).

128 We have checked Paillottet's claims against the sources to which we do have access, in particular the *Journal des Économistes* (henceforth JDE).

129 Frédéric Bastiat, *Sophismes économiques* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1846), 166 pp.; Frédéric Bastiat, *Sophismes économiques* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1846. 2nd ed.), 188 pp. The Biblithèque nationale de France also lists a 4th edition of Series I published in 1851: Frédéric Bastiat, *Sophismes économiques* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1851), 188 pp.

The first eleven chapters (of an eventual twenty two) of this "first series" of economic sophisms had originally appeared as a series of three articles in the *Journal des économistes* in April, July, and October 1845 under the name of "Sophismes économiques".[130] If chapters twelve to twenty two were also published elsewhere the place and date of original publication was not given by Paillottet:

- Introduction
- I. Abondance, disette [Abundance, Scarcity] [*JDE*, avril 1845, T. 11, p. 1].
- II. Obstacle, cause [Obstacle, Cause] [*JDE*, avril 1845, T. 11, p. 8].
- III. Effort, résultat [Effort, Result] [*JDE*, avril 1845, T. 11, p. 10].
- IV. Égaliser les conditions de production [Equalizing the conditions of production] [*JDE*, juillet 1845, T. 11, p. 345].
- V. Nos produits sont grevés de taxes [Our products are weighed down with taxes] [*JDE*, juillet 1845, T. 11, p. 356].
- VI. Balance du commerce [The Balance of Trade] [*JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, p. 201].
- VII. Pétition des fabricants de chandelles, etc [Petition by the manufacturers of tallow candles, wax candles, lamps, candlesticks, street lamps, snuffers, extinguishers and producers of tallow, oil, resin, alcohol and in general everything that relates to lighting.] [*JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, p. 204].
- VIII. Droits différentiels [Differential duties] [*JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, p. 207].
- IX. Immense découverte!!! [An immense discovery!!!] [*JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, p. 208].
- X. Réciprocité [Reciprocity] [*JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, p. 211].
- XI. Prix absolus [Absolute prices] [*JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, p. 213 (this chapter was originally numbered XII in the JDE but became chapter 11 in the book version of *Economic Sophisms* and incorporated chapter XI. "Stulta et Puera", from the JDE version p. 211)].
- XII. La protection élève-t-elle le taux des salaires? [Does protection increase the rate of pay?]
- XIII. Théorie, Pratique [Theory and practice]
- XIV. Conflit de principes [A conflict of principles]
- XV. Encore la réciprocité [More reciprocity]

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130 "Sophismes économiques," *JDE*, avril 1845, T. 11, pp. 1-16; "Sophismes économiques (suite)," *JDE*, juillet 1845, T. 11, pp. 345-360; "Sophismes économiques (suite)," *JDE*, octobre 1845, T. 12, pp. 201-215.

- XVI. Les fleuves obstrués plaidant pour les prohibitionistes [Blocked rivers pleading in favor of the prohibitionists]
- XVII. Un chemin de fer négatif [A negative railway]
- XVIII. Il n'y a pas de principes absolus [There are no absolute principles]
- XIX. Indépendance nationale [National independence]
- XX. Travail humain, travail national [Human labor, national labor]
- XXI. Matières premières [Raw materials]
- XXII. Métaphores [Metaphors]
- Conclusion.

THE SECOND SERIES OF *ECONOMIC SOPHISMS* (JANUARY 1848)

The Second Series of *Economic Sophisms* (henceforth abbreviated as ES2) was published at the end of January 1848 and included seventeen sophisms.[131] Paillottet tells us that "several" chapters had already appeared in other publications, such as seven in the newspaper *Le Libre échange*, two in the JDE, and 1one in *Le Courrier français*, and for seven no previous publication details were given. What details we have are provided below:

- Physiologie de la Spoliation [The physiology of Plunder] [no details given].
- Deux morales [Two Moralities] [no details given].
- Les deux haches [The two axes] [no details given].
- Conseil inférieur du travail [The Lower Council for Work] [no details given].
- Cherté, bon marché [High prices, low prices] [*Le Libre échange* 25 July, 1847 with supplement from 1 August 1847].
- Aux artisans et ouvriers [To Artisans and Workers] [*Le Courrier français*, 18 September 1846].
- Conte chinois [A Chinese Tale] [no details given].
- Post hoc, propter hoc [Post hoc, ergo propter hoc] [*Le Libre échange*, 6 December 1846].
- Le vol à la prime [Theft by Subsidy] [*Journal des Économistes*, January 1846, T. XIII, pp. 115-120].
- Le percepteur [The Tax Collector] [no details given].

131 Frédéric Bastiat, *Sophismes économiques. 2e série* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1848), 190 pp.

- L'utopiste [The Utopian] [*Le Libre échange,* 17 January 1847].
- Le sel, la poste et la douane [Salt, the Mail, and the Customs Service] *[Journal des Économistes*, May 1846, T. XIV, pp. 142-152].
- Les trois Échevins [Protextion , or the Three Municipal Magistrates] [no details given].
- Autre chose [Something Else] [*Le Libre échange,* 21 March 1847].
- Le petit arsenal du libre-échangiste [The Free Trader's Little Arsenal] [*Le Libre échange,* 26 April 1847].
- La main droite et la main gauche [The Right Hand and the Left Hand] [*Le Libre échange,* 13 December 1846].
- Domination par le travail [Domination through Work] [*Le Libre échange,* 14 February 1847].

A New Series of *Economic Sophisms* published in *Le Libre-Échange* and other Journals (1846-1848)

We have collected together in this volume a number of other writings by Bastiat which might well have been drawn upon had he lived long enough to compile a "Third Series" of his *Economic Sophisms* (henceforth abbreviated as ESLE). This was also the thinking of the original French editor Paillottet who collected twenty two pieces of what he called a "nouvelle série de sophismes économiques" (a new series of economic sophisms) for volume two of the *Oeuvres complètes*.[132] We decided to include them as well in this volume. They come primarily from Bastiat's free trade journal *Le Libre-échange* and include the following (in the order established by Paillottet with his numbering):

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132 Vol. 2 "Le Libre-Échange" of the *Oeuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat, mises en ordre, revues et annotées d'après les manuscrits de l'auteur.* Ed. Prosper Paillottet and biographical essay by Roger de Fontenay. (Paris: Guillaumin, 1st ed. 1854-55). In a footnote on p. 1 Paillottet explains his selection criteria for the volume: "In putting together this volume from articles almost exclusively drawn from a weekly journal, which the author himself did not plan to do, we have attempted to classify them in the following order: 1) exposition of the aims, principles, and operation of the free trade association, 2) articles on the subsistence question, 3) polemical pieces against other journals, and other diverse topics, 4) public speeches, 5) various other matters and a new series of economic sophisms."

- (50.) La modération des partisans de la réforme douanière [On Moderation] [22 May 1847, *Le Libre-échange*]
- (51.) Peuple et Bourgeoisie [The Working Class and the Bourgeoisie] [22 May 1847]
- (52.) L'économie politique des généraux [Political Economy of the Generals] [20 June 1847]
- (53.) Recettes protectionnistes: L'incendie, etc [Recipies for Protectionism] [27 December 1846]
- (54.) Deux principes: le but du travail et de la production [Two Principles] [7 February 1847]
- (55.) La logique de M. Cunin-Gridaine [Mr. Cunin-Gridaine's Logic] [2 May 1847]
- (56.) Les hommes spéciaux [Specialized people] [28 November 1847]
- (57.) Un profit contre deux pertes: - effet de la protection [One profit against Two Losses] [9 May 1847]
- (58.) Deux pertes contre un profit [Two Losses against One Profit] [30 May 1847]
- (59.) La peur d'un mot [The Fear of a Word] [no date; included in Paillottet's edition of *Oeuvres complètes*, T. II (1855)]
- (60.) Midi à quatorze heures (au lieu des faits les plus simples) [Midi à quatorze heures] [an unpublished outline from 1847; included in Paillottet's edition of *Oeuvres complètes*, T. II (1855)]
- (61.) Le petit manuel du consommateur [A Little Manual for Consumers, in other words, for everyone] [an unpublished outline from 1847; included in Paillottet's edition of *Oeuvres complètes*, T. II (1855)]
- (62.) Remontrance (l'isolement) [A Remonstrance] [Auch, 30 August 1847]
- (63.) Le maire d'Énios (les restrictions communales) [The mayor of Enios] [6 February 1848]
- (64.) Association espagnole pour la défense du travail national: - le pont de la Bidassoa [The Spanish Association for the Defense of National Employment] [7 November 1847]
- (65.) L'indiscret. - Questions sur les effets des restrictions [The Man who asked Embarrassing Questions] [12 December 1847]
- (66.) Le sucre antédiluvien. - Travail libre et travail esclave. - Industrie naturelle et industrie artificielle [Antidiluvian Sugar] [13 February 1848]
- (67.) Monita secreta (morale du protectionnisme) [Monita secreta] [20 February 1848]

- (68.) Petites affiches de Jacques Bonhomme [Small posters by Jacques Bonhomme] [12 March 1848, *Jacques Bonhomme*][133]
- Soulagement immédiat du peuple [The Immediate Relief of the People]
- Funeste remède [A Disastrous Remedy]
- (69.) Circulaires d'un ministère introuvable (les citoyens font vivre l'État : l'État ne peut faire vivre les citoyens) [Circulars from a Government that is nowhere to be found] [19 March 1848]
- (70.) Funestes illusions [Disastrous Illusions] [*Journal des Economistes*, March 1848]

What is Seen and What is Not Seen, or Political Economy in One Lesson

There is also another pamphlet which we think deserves to be included in our expanded collection of *Economic Sophisms* because of its similarities of style and content, namely *What is Seen and What is Not Seen, or Political Economy in One Lesson* (1850) (henceforth abbreviated as WSWNS).[134] This is the last work (other than letters) which Bastiat wrote before he died on December 24, 1850 after a long and painful illness of the throat. In a footnote, the original French editor of Bastiat's *Oeuvres complètes*, Paillottet, provides us with these fascinating details that:

This pamphlet, published in July 1850 was the last one written by Bastiat. It had been promised to the public for more than a year. The following is the reason for its delayed publication. The author lost the manuscript when he moved house from the Rue de Choiseul to the Rue d'Alger. After a long and fruitless search he decided to rewrite the work completely, and selected as the principal basis for his arguments, speeches recently made in the National Assembly. Once he had

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133 Paillottet notes in a footnote in *Oeuvres complètes*, T. II, p. 459 that the following two articles were written for Bastiat's revolutionary journal *Jacques Bonhomme* and were designed to be affixed to walls as posters in order to "enlighten the people" by "putting them free of charge before the eyes of passers-by".

134 *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas, ou l'Économie politique en une leçon* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1850).

completed this task, he reproached himself for being too serious, threw the second manuscript into the fire and wrote the one we are publishing here.

The importance which Bastiat must have placed on getting this work published is revealed by the enormous effort he expended in rewriting it from scratch twice at a time when his health was rapidly failing and when he was under considerable pressure to complete his magnum opus, the *Economic Harmonies* which he left incomplete at his death. *What is Seen and What is Not Seen* was eventually published as a stand alone pamphlet in July 1850 and was then included in Bastiat's *Oeuvres complètes* which was first published in 1854 by Paillottet and Fontenay.

Like his other Sophisms, this pamphlet consists of largely unrelated chapter length essays using his typical style and method:

- I. The Broken Pane
- II. Dismissing Public Employees
- III. Taxes
- IV. Theatres and the Fine Arts
- V. Public Works
- VI. The Middlemen
- VII. A Policy of Restriction
- VIII. Machines
- IX. Credit
- X. Algeria
- XI. Thrift and Luxury
- XII. The Right to Work and the Right to Benefits

The Post-1850 Publishing and Translation History of *Economic Sophisms* and *What is Seen and What is Not Seen*

In French, the *Economic Sophisms* and *What is Seen and What is Unseen* remained in print throughout the 19th century as part of Bastiat's *Oeuvres complètes* which the Guillaumin publishing firm kept in print with the following re-issues: 1st ed. 1854-55, 6 vols; 2nd ed. 1862-64, 7 vols; 3rd ed. 1870-73; 4th ed. 1878-79; 5th ed.

1881-84; 6th ed. 1907. Once the *Oeuvres complètes* appeared in 1854 it does not seem that the *Economic Sophisms* were ever printed again in French as a separate title. The same is not true for *What is Seen and What is Unseen* which was printed as a separate book by Guillaumin multiple times (3rd ed. 1862; 4th ed. 1869; and the last edition which was the 5th ed. 1879[135]) and by other publishers as well. In Paris, Henri Belllaire issued an edition with a biographical introduction and numerous notes.[136] In Belgium an edition even appeared (which also included the essay "The State") on the eve of the outbreak of the First World War.[137]

The international interest in Bastiat's work can be partially gauged by the speed with which his work was translated and the variety of languages into which it was translated. For example, an English translation of *Economic Sophisms* appeared in 1846 under the title "Popular fallacies regarding general interests";[138] in 1847 German, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian translations appeared;[139] in 1848 a Danish edition[140] was published and an American edition appeared with an introduction by Francis Lieber with the title "Sophisms of the protective policy."[141]

When the debate about protective tariffs resurfaced in Britain and America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries Bastiat's essays were again used in the

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135 *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas, ou L'économie politique en une leçon,* 5e édition (Paris : Guillaumin, 1879).

136 *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas, ou l'Économie politique en une leçon, 5e édition précédée d'une notice biographique et augmentée de nombreuses notes par H. Bellaire* (Paris: H. Bellaire, (1873).

137 *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas: ou l'économie politique en une leçon. L'Etat* (Bruxelles: J. Lebègue, 1914).

138 *Popular fallacies regarding general interests: being a translation of the "Sophismes économiques," by Frederic Bastiat, with notes by George Richardson Porter* (London: J. Murray, 1846).

139 *Die trugschlüsse der schutzzöllner gegenüber der gesunden handels-politik*, trans. Carl August Noback (Berlin: A. von Schröter, 1847); *Staatshuishoudkundige drogredenen*, trans Willem Richard Boer (Utrecht: C. van der Post Jr., 1847-48); *Sofismas económicos* (Madrid: Colegio de sordos mudos y ciegos, 1847); *Sofismi economici,* trans Antonio Contrucci and Antonio Scialoja (Firenze: C.P. Onesti, 1847).

140 *Falske Sætninger i Statshusholdningslæren: Række 1-2*, trans. A V Laessøe (Kjöbenhavn: C. A. Reitzel, 1848)

141 *Sophisms of the protective policy*, trans. Mrs. D.J. McCord, with an introductory letter by Dr. Francis Lieber (New York, George P. Putnam; Charleston, S.C., John Russell, 1848).

intellectual battle with several reissues being made by groups such as the Cobden Club which used titles which made it very clear on what side of the fence they stood - "Economic Sophisms; or, Fallacies of Protection" and "Free Trade, Peace and Goodwill: being selections from Bastiat's Fallacies of Protection".[142] A similar battle was being waged in North America where the American Free Trade League issued two editions in 1870 and 1873 with the title "Sophisms of the Protectionists"[143] while an "adaptation designed for the American reader" appeared in 1867 and 1874 under the title of "What is Free Trade?"[144]

Until the Foundation for Economic Education published new translations of some of Bastiat's major works in the mid-1960s, there was very little interest in Bastiat's free trade ideas after the First World War. In the interwar period we have been able to find only two editions of his *Economic Sophisms*, a 1921 reprint of an English edition from 1909[145] and an American edition which appeared towards the close of World War Two in 1944. The latter is noteworthy because of the introduction by the American libertarian author Rose Wilder Lane.[146]

In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, Bastiat's ideas found an American supporter with the economic journalist Henry Hazlitt (1894-1993) who wrote for the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. In 1946

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142 *Popular fallacies regarding trade and foreign duties: being the "Sophismes économiques" of Frédéric Bastiat ; adapted to the present time by Edward Robert Pearce Edgcumbe*, (London: Cassell, Petter Galpin for the Cobden Club, 1882); *Economic sophisms; or, Fallacies of protection* (London, Published for the Cobden Club by T.F. Unwin, 1909); *Free trade, peace and goodwill: being selections from Bastiat's 'Fallacies of protection'* (London : Cobden Club, 1915).

143 *Sophisms of the protectionists. By the late M. Frederic Bastiat. Part I. Sophisms of protection--First series. Part II. Sophisms of protection--Second series. Part III. Spoliation and law. Part IV. Capital and interest,* Trans. from the Paris ed. of 1863 by Horace White and Mrs. L. S. McCord (New-York: American Free Trade League, 1870).

144 *What is free trade? An adaptation of Frederick Bastiat's "Sophismes économiques." Designed for the American reader. By Emile Walter, a worker* [Alexander Del Mar] (New York: G. P. Putnam & son, 1867).

145 *Economic sophisms by Frédéric Bastiat, translated by Patrick James Stirling with an introduction by H. H. Asquith* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1921, reprint of 1909 ed.).

146 *Social fallacies by Frederic Bastiat, translated from the 5th ed. of the French by Patrick James Stirling, with a foreword by Rose Wilder Lane* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Register Publishing Co., 1944).

Hazlitt published a popular defence of free market ideas with the title *Economics in One Lesson* in which he acknowledged the influence of Bastiat. He noted in his introduction that, like Bastiat, he wanted to debunk the economic sophisms he saw around him and even borrowed the subtitle of Bastiat's 1850 pamphlet as the title of his book:

> My greatest debt, with respect to the kind of expository framework on which the present argument is being hung, is to Frédéric Bastiat's essay *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas*, now nearly a century old. The present work may, in fact, be regarded as a modernization, extension, and generalization of the approach found in Bastiat's pamphlet.[147]

The translation history of *What is Seen and What is Unseen* is similar to that of *Economic Sophisms*. It was translated very quickly in other languages soon after it appeared in French in 1850 with a Dutch translation appearing in 1850, an English one in 1852 (or possibly 1853), Danish in 1852, and German in 1853.[148]

In post-war America Bastiat's works were given a new English-language speaking audience with new translations of his key works published by the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE) in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York under the direction of Leonard Reed. The project began with the translation and publication of Bastiat's pamphlet "The Law" in 1950, exactly one hundred years after its first appearance in June 1850.[149] Other works were translated with the assistance of the William Volker Fund and these appeared in 1964 along with a

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147 Henry Hazlitt, *Economics in One Lesson* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946), p. 9.

148 *Wat men ziet en wat men niet ziet* (Dordrecht: P.K. Braat, 1850); *What is Seen and What is not Seen: or, Political Economy in one lesson*, Translated by W. B. Hodgson (W. H. Smith & Son: London, 1859. Reprinted from the "Manchester Examiner and Times.") (1852); *Hvad man ser og hvad man ikke ser, kortfattet Statshusholdningslære* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 1852); *Was man sieht und was man nicht sieht, oder die politische Oekonomie in Einer Lection*; *Frieden und Freiheit oder das Budget*; *Der Krieg gegen die Lehrstühle der politischen Oekonomie* (Leipzig, 1853).

149 *The Law* (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1950).

new biography of Bastiat written by Dean Russell in 1965.[150] The trilogy of works which FEE published in 1964 - *Selected Essays on Political Economy* (including "What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen"), *Economic Sophisms*, and *Economic Harmonies* - have remained the backbone of Bastiat studies in America ever since.[151]

With regard to French language editions of Bastiat's work, after a hiatus of seventy years since the appearance of the Belgian edition of *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas* in 1914, a revival of interest in Bastiat in the early 1980s led to the reprinting of a number of his works, beginning in 1983 with the Institut économique de Paris' edition of two pamphlets and Florin Aftalion's collection (which included some Economic Sophisms).[152] This was followed ten years later by the reissue of *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas* by Alain Madelin[153] and another ten years after that with editions by Jacques Garello and Michel Leter.[154]

To commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Frédéric Bastiat an international conference was held in Bayonne in June 2001 under the

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150 Dean Russell, *Frédéric Bastiat: Ideas and Influence* (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1965). This began as a doctoral thesis which Russell wrote under Wilhelm Röpke at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva.

151 "What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen" in *Selected Essays on Political Economy*, translated from the French by Seymour Cain. Edited by George B. de Huszar (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1968) (1st edition D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1964. Copyright William Volker Fund), pp. 1-50; *Economic Sophisms (First and Second Series)*, trans from the French and Edited by Arthur Goddard (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1968) (1st edition D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1964. Copyright William Volker Fund); *Economic Harmonies*, translated from the French by W. Hayden Boyers. Edited by George B. de Huszar (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1964) (1st edition D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1964. Copyright William Volker Fund).

152 *Propriété et loi. L'État* (Paris: Institut économique de Paris, 1983); *Oeuvres économiques, textes présentés par Florin Aftalion* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1983).

153 *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas, précédé d'une table ronde présidée par Alain Madelin, le 22 novembre 1993, Paris* (Paris : Romillat, 1994).

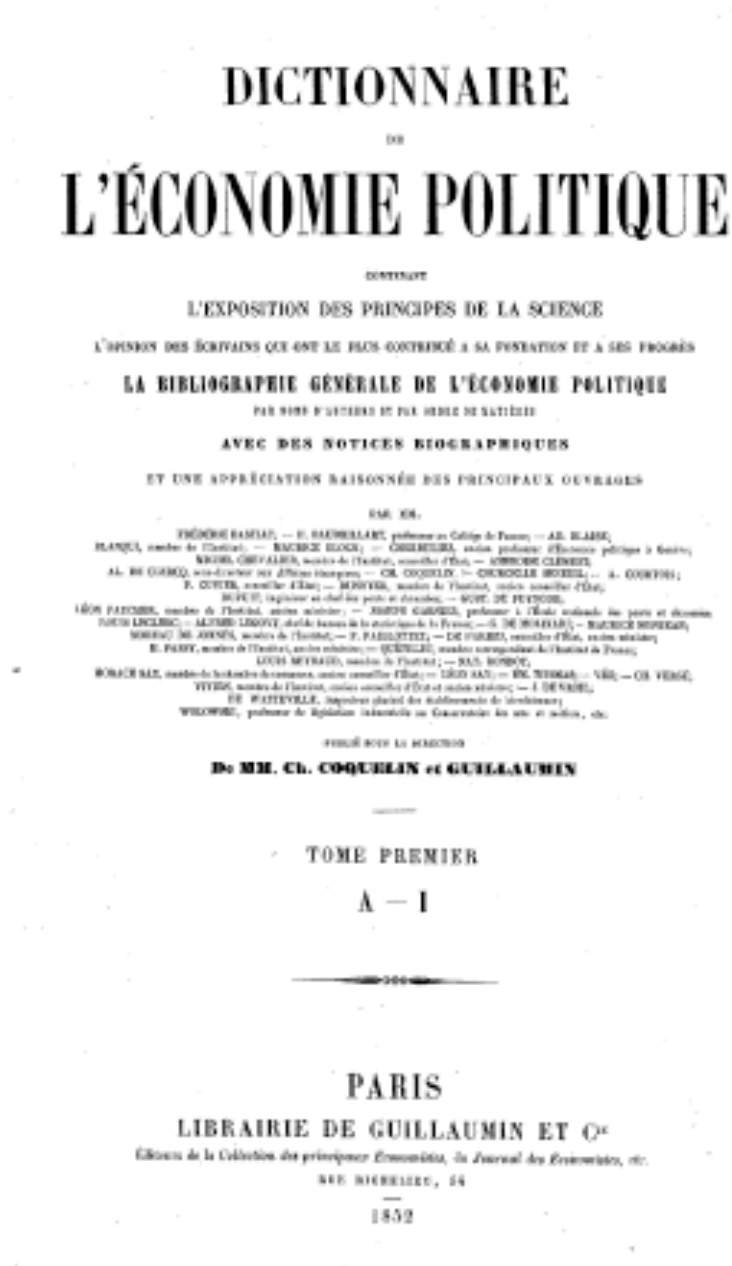
154 *Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas: choix de sophismes et de pamphlets économiques, préf. Jacques Garello, 3e éd. augm.* (Paris: Romillat, 2004); *Sophismes économiques; préf. de Michel Leter* (Paris: les Belles lettres, 2004); and another edition *Sophismes économiques; suivis de Ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on ne voit pas* (Paris: Arctic, 2006).

auspices of the Cercle Frédéric Bastiat and M. Jacques de Guenin. It was here that the Liberty Fund's project of translating the collected works of Bastiat was conceived. Concurrent with Liberty Fund's publishing project, Jacques de Guenin and the Institut Charles Coquelin are publishing a seven volume French language edition, the first volume of which appeared in late 2009.[155]

155 Frédéric Bastiat, *Oeuvres complètes. Édition en 7 volumes, sous la direction de Jacques de Guenin.* Volume 1: *L'homme, Introduction de Jacques de Guenin, Éloge funèbre par Gustave de Molinari, Notes, Chronologie et Glossaire de Jean-Claude Paul-Dejean* (Paris: Institut Charles Coquelin, 2009).

Appendix 2: A Glossary of French and English Political Economists and Political Economy

Draft Date: Sunday, September 25, 2011



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TOME PREMIER

A — I

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE DE GUILLAUMIN ET C^ie^

RUE RICHELIEU, 14

1852

INTRODUCTION

These glossary entires were originally written for the Liberty Fund edition of the *Collected Works of Frédéric Bastiat* (2011) volumes 1 and 2 (additional material from volume 3 will added later). They should give some idea of the world of political economy in which Bastiat moved in the 1830s and 1840s. A summation of the state of political economy in mid-19th century France can be found in the *Dictionnaire de l'Économie Politique, ed.* MM. Charles Coquelin et Guillaumin (Paris: Librairie de Guillaumin et Cie, 1852-1853), 2 vols.[156]

Some Key People

156 *Dictionnaire de l'Économie Politique, contenant l'expostion des principes de la science, l'opinion des écrivains qui ont le plus contribué à sa fondation et à ses progrès, la Bibliographie générale de l'économie politique par noms d'auteurs et par ordre de matières, avec des notices biographiques et une appréciation raisonnée des principaux ouvrages, publié sous la direction de MM. Charles Coquelin et Guillaumin* (Paris: Librairie de Guillaumin et Cie, 1852-1853), 2 vols.

Some Key Organisations

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Zollverein

THE GLOSSARY

Anti-Corn Law League. The Anti-Corn Law League, "Corn League," or "League," was founded in 1838 by Richard Cobden and John Bright in Manchester. Their initial aim was to repeal the law restricting the import of grain ("corn laws"), but they soon called for the unilateral ending of all agricultural and industrial restrictions on the free movement of goods between Britain and the rest of the world. For seven years they organized rallies, meetings, public lectures, and debates from one end of Britain to the other and managed to have proponents of free trade elected to Parliament. The Tory government resisted for many years but eventually yielded on 25 June 1846, when unilateral free trade became the law of Great Britain.

Arrivabene, Giovanni, count (1787–1881). Italian aristocrat. He was forced to flee the Piedmont revolution of 1821 and was condemned to death in absentia for his role in the uprising. He settled in Belgium and wrote extensively on the conditions of the working class in such books as *Sur la condition des laboureurs et des ouvriers belges* (1845). He also translated works by James Mill and Nassau Senior into French.

Baines, Edward (1774-1848). A leading radical journalist who owned the *Leeds Mercury* newspaper. He was active in numerous reform issues, such as antislavery, Catholic emancipation, the disestablishment of the church, and the removal of the corn laws. Although he was a close ally of Richard Cobden over the corn laws, he split with him over the question of compulsory education. Baines was a strict voluntaryist on the matter.

Blaise, Adolphe Gustave (1811-86). A regular contributor to the *Journal des économistes* and other periodicals. With Joseph Garnier he edited a series of lectures given by Blanqui, *Cours d'économie industrielle* (1837-39), which he had given at the Consevatoire des arts et métiers.

Blanqui, Jérôme Adolphe (1798-1854). Liberal economist; brother of the revolutionary socialist Auguste Blanqui. He became director of the prestigious École supérieure de commerce de Paris and succeeded Jean-Baptiste Say to the chair of political economy at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers. He was elected deputy representing the Gironde from 1846 to 1848. Among his many works on political economy and sociology are the *Encyclopédie du commerçant* (1839-41), *Précis élementaire d'économie politique* (1842), and *Les classes ouvrières en France* (1848).

Boyer-Fonfrède, Henri (1788-1841). Liberal publicist, economic journalist, and supporter of the July Monarchy. He founded the *L'Indicateur* and wrote *Questions d'économie politique* (1846).

Bright, John (1811-89). Manufacturer from Lancashire and leading member of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Elected to the Commons in 1843, he pleaded for the equality of religions under the law, criticized the privileges of the Church of England, supported the separation of church and state, and asked for the right for Jews and atheists to swear a non-Christian oath and to be allowed to be elected to Parliament. Later, in 1869, he became minister of the Board of Trade in the Gladstone Cabinet.

Brissot de Warville, Jacques Pierre (1754-93). Brissot was a member of the Girondin faction in the French Revolution and one of many Girondins who were executed during the Terror.[See Girondins]. He studied law and became a writer and journalist, becoming active in a number of liberal reformist groups, such as the abolitionist organization the Société des Amis des Noirs (which he founded). During the Revolution he was elected to the Legislative Assembly and then the National Convention. He opposed the execution of the king.

Buchanan, David (1779-1848). Buchanan was a journalist, economist, and editor of Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, in Three Volumes. With notes, and an Additional Volume, by David Buchanan* (1814).

Buchanan,s notes on Smith were included in the French translation of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* published by Guillaumin in 1843.

Carey, Henry C. (1793-1879). American economist who argued that national economic development should be promoted by extensive government subsidies and high tariff protection. The proofs of his book *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial* (1851) were sent to Bastiat in November 1850, before it appeared in print. After the publication of Bastiat's *Economic Harmonies* (1851), Carey accused him of plagiarism and a bitter debate in the *Journal des économistes* ensued.

***Le Censeur* and *Le Censeur européen*.** A journal founded by Charles Comte and Charles Dunoyer. From 1814 to 1815 its full name was *Le Censeur, ou examen des actes et des ouvrages qui tendent à détruire ou à consolider la constitution de l'État*; later, from 1817 to 1819, it was called *Le Censeur européen ou Examen de diverses questions de droit public et de divers ouverages littéraires et scientifiques, considérés dans leurs rapports avec les progrès de la civilization*. The journal was devoted to political and economic matters and was a constant thorn in the side of first Napoleon's empire and then the restored monarchy. It was threatened by closure by the authorities on several occasions and finally was forced to close in 1815. During this period of enforced leisure Comte and Dunoyer discovered the economic writings of Jean-Baptiste Say and when the journal reopened it tilted toward economic and social matters as a result. It was one of the most important journals of liberal thought in the early nineteenth century.

Chevalier, Michel (1806-87). Liberal economist and alumnus of the École polytechnique. Minister of Napoleon III. Initially a Saint-Simonist, he was imprisoned for two years (1832-33). After a trip to the United States, he published *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord* (1836), *Histoire et description des voies de communications aux Etats-Unis et des travaux d'art qui en dependent* (1840-41), and *Cours d'économie politique* (1845–55).> He was appointed to the chair of political economy at the Collège de France in 1840 and became senator in 1860. He was an admirer of Bastiat and Cobden and played a decisive role in the treaty on free trade of 1860, between

France and England (Chevalier was the signatory for France, while Cobden was the signatory for England).

Clarkson, Thomas (1760-1846). With William Wilberforce was one of the leading figures in the campaign to abolish the slave trade (1807) and slavery itself (1833).

Clément, Ambroise (1805-86). Economist and secretary to the mayor of Saint-Étienne for many years. Clément was able to travel to Paris frequently to participate in political economy circles. In the mid 1840s he began writing on economic matters and so impressed Guillaumin that the latter asked him to assume the task of directing the publication of the important and influential *Dictionniare de l'économie politique*, in 1850. Clément was a member of the Société d'économie politique from 1848, a regular writer and reviewer for the *Journal des économistes*, and was made a corresponding member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1872. He wrote the following works: *Recherches sur les causes de l'indigence* (1846); *Des nouvelles Idées de réforme industrielle et en particulier du projet d'organisation du travail de M. Louis Blanc* (1846); *La crise économique et sociale en France et en Europe* (1886); as well as an early review of Bastiat's *Economic Harmonies* for the *Journal des économistes* (1850), in which he praised Bastiat's style but criticized his position on population and the theory of value.

Cobden, Richard (1804-65). Founder of the Anti-Corn Law League. Born of a poor farmer's family, he was trained by an uncle to become a clerk in his warehouse. At twenty-one, he became a travelling salesman, and was so successful that he was able to set up his own business by acquiring a factory making printed cloth. Thanks to his vision of the market and his sense of organization, his company became very prosperous. Nevertheless, at the age of thirty, he left the management of the company to his brother in order to travel. He wrote some remarkable articles in which he defended two great causes: pacifism, in the form of non intervention in foreign affairs, and free exchange. From 1839, he devoted himself exclusively to the Anti-Corn Law League and was elected as MP for Stockport in 1841. Toward the end of the 1850s, he was asked by the government

to negotiate a freedom of exchange treaty with France. His French counterpart was Michel Chevalier, a minister of Napoleon III and a friend and admirer of Bastiat. The treaty was signed by Cobden and Chevalier in 1860.

***Cobden and the League* (*OC*, vol. 3: *Cobden et la ligue: ou, L'agitation anglaise pour la liberté du commerce*).** First published in 1845 by Guillaumin as a separate book before it was reissued in his *Oeuvres complètes*. Bastiat was so impressed with the organization and tactics of the Anti-Corn-Law League in Britain that he wished to emulate it in France. He was ultimately largely unsuccessful. As part of his efforts to inspire the French people to pressure the government for tariff reform he put together this collection of translations of many of the League's pubic speeches, newspaper reports of their meetings, and other documents of the campaign. He prefaced the book with a long introduction in which he outlined the League's goals and beliefs (see *OC*, vol. 3, p. 1, "Introduction.").

Comte, Charles (1782-1837). Lawyer, liberal critic of Napoleon and then the restored monarchy, and son-in-law of Jean-Baptiste Say. One of the leading liberal theorists before the 1848 revolution, he founded, with Charles Dunoyer, the journal *Le Censeur* in 1814 and *Le Censeur européen* in 1817 and was prosecuted many times for challenging the press censorship laws and criticizing the government. He came across the ideas of Say in 1817 and discussed them at length in *Le Censeur européen*. After having spent some time in prison he escaped to Switzerland, where he was offered the Chair of Natural Law at the University of Lausanne before he was obliged to move to England. In 1826 he published the first part of his magnum opus, the four-volume *Traité de législation*, which very much influenced the thought of Bastiat, and the second part, *Traité de la propriété* in 1834. Comte was secretary of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques and was elected a deputy representing La Sarthe after the 1830 revolution.

Condillac, Étienne Bonnot, abbé de (1714-80). Condillac was a priest, philosopher, economist, and member of the Académie française; He was an advocate of the ideas of John Locke and a friend of the encyclopedist Denis

Diderot. In his *Traité des sensations* (Treatise on Sensations) (1754), Condillac claims that all attributes of the mind, such as judgment, reason, and even will, derive from sensations. His work *Le Commerce et le gouvernement, considérés relativement l'un a l'autre* (Commerce and Government Considered in Their Mutual Relationship) (1776) appeared in the same year as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

Constant, Benjamin (1767-1830). Novelist, politician, and political theorist. Born in Lausanne, Constant was a close friend of Germaine de Staël and accompanied her to Paris in 1795. He was a supporter of the Directory and a member of the Tribunat but came to oppose the loss of political liberty under Napoleon. He became a staunch opponent of Napoleon, but in spite of this he was approached by him during the "Hundred Days" (period between Napoleon's return from exile on Elba to Paris on 20 March 1815 and the restoration of King Louis XVIII on 8 July 1815) to draw up a constitution for a more liberal, constitutional empire. Constant became a deputy in 1819 and continued to defend constitutional freedoms until his death. He is best known for his novel *Adolphe* (1807), *Principes de politique applicables à tous les gouvernements* (1815) (published in English by Liberty Fund), *De l'esprit de conquête et de l'usurpation, dans leurs rapports à la civilization européen* (1814), and *Cours de politique constitutionelle* (1820).

Corn Laws. The "corn laws" were legislation introduced by Parliament in the seventeenth century to maintain a high price for "corn" (in the British context this meant grain, especially wheat) by preventing the importation of cheaper foreign grain altogether or by imposing a duty on it in order to protect domestic producers from competition. The laws were revised in 1815 following the collapse of wheat prices at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The artificially high prices which resulted led to rioting in London and Manchester. The laws were again amended in 1828 and 1842 to introduce a more flexible sliding scale of duties which would be imposed when the domestic price of wheat fell below a set amount. The high price caused by protection led to the formation of opposition groups, such as the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838, and to the founding of the magazine *The Economist* in 1843. Pressure for repeal came from within Parliament by members of Parliament,

such as Richard Cobden (elected 1841), and from without by a number of factors: the well-organized public campaigning by the Anti-Corn-Law League; the writings of classical economists who were nearly universally in favor of free trade; the writings of popular authors such as Harriet Martineau, Jane Marcet, and Thomas Hodgskin; and the pressure of crop failures in Ireland in 1845. The Conservative prime minister Sir Robert Peel announced the repeal of the corn laws on 27 January 1846, to take effect on 1 February 1849 after a period of gradual reduction in the level of the duty. The Act was passed by the House of Commons on 15 May and approved by The House of Lords on 25 June, thus bringing to an end centuries of agricultural protection in England.

Daire, Eugene (1798-1847). Daire was of all things a tax collector who revived interest in the heritage of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century free-market economics. He came to Paris in 1839, met Guillaumin, discovered the works of Jean-Baptiste Say, and began editing the fifteen-volume work, *Collection des principaux economists* (1840-48). It included works on eighteenth-century finance, the physiocrats, Turgot, Adam Smith, Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say, and Ricardo.

Destutt de Tracy, Antoine (1754-1836). Tracy was one of the leading intellectuals of the 1790s and early 1800s and a member of the ideologues (a philosophical movement not unlike the objectivists, who professed that the origin of ideas was material–not spiritual). In his writings on Montesquieu, Tracy defended the institutions of the American Republic, and in his writings on political economy he defended laissez-faire. During the French Revolution he joined the third estate and renounced his aristocratic title. During the Terror he was arrested and nearly executed. Tracy continued agitating for liberal reforms as a senator during Napoleon's regime. One of his most influential works was the four-volume *Éléments d'idéologie* (first published in 1801-15) (Tracy coined the term "ideology"). He also wrote *Commentaire sur l'ésprit des lois* (1819), which Thomas Jefferson translated and brought to the United States. In 1822 he published his *Traité d'économie politique* (1823), much admired by Jefferson and Bastiat.

Doctrinaires. The Doctrinaires were the group of liberal constitutional monarchists who emerged during the restoration of the French monarchy, between 1815 and 1830. They included such people as Pierre Paul Royer-Collard, François Guizot, Élie Decazes, and Maine de Biran, and the journals in which they wrote included the *Le Constitutionnel* and the *Le Journal des débats*. The aim of the Doctrinaires was to steer a middle course between an outright return to the pre-1789 status quo (supported by the Legitimists) and a republic based on full adult suffrage (supported by the socialists and the radical liberals). The Doctrinaires supported King Louis XVIII, the constitution of 1814, and a severely restricted electorate of wealthy property owners and tax payers who numbered barely 100,000 people. Their main principles were articulated by François Guizot in *Du gouvernement représentatif et de l'état actuel de la France* (1816).

Droz, Joseph (1773-1850). Moral philosopher, economist, literary critic, and father-in-law of Michel Chevalier. Some of his notable publications include *Lois relatives au progrès de l'industrie* (1801); *Économie politique, ou, Principes de la science des richesses* (1829); and *Applications de la morale a la politique* (1825). He was appointed to the Académie française in 1813 and to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1833.

Dunoyer, Barthélémy-Pierre-Joseph-Charles (1786-1862). Dunoyer was a journalist; academic (a professor of political economy); politician; author of numerous works on politics, political economy, and history; a founding member of the Société d' économie politique (1842); and a key figure in the French classical liberal movement of the first half of the nineteenth century, along with Jean-Baptiste Say, Benjamin Constant, Charles Comte, Augustin Thierry, and Alexis de Tocqueville. He collaborated with Comte on the journal *Le Censeur* and *Le Censeur européen* during the end of the Napoleonic empire and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. Dunoyer (and Comte), combined the political liberalism of Constant (constitutional limits on the power of the state, representative government), the economic liberalism of Say (laissez-faire, free trade), and the sociological approach to history of Thierry, Constant, and Say (class analysis, and a

theory of historical evolution of society through stages culminating in the laissez-faire market society of "industry." His major works include *L'Industrie et la morale considérées dans leurs rapports avec la liberté* (1825), *Nouveau traité d'économie sociale* (1830), and his three-volume magnum opus, *De la liberté du travail* (1845). After the revolution of 1830 Dunoyer was appointed a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, worked as a government official (he was prefect of L'Allier and La Somme), and eventually became a member of the Council of State in 1837. He resigned his government posts in protest against the coup d'état of Louis Napoléon in 1851. He died while writing a critique of the authoritarian Second Empire, which was completed and published by his son Anatole in 1864.

Dupin, Charles (1784-1873). Deputy. He was an alumnus of the École polytechnique, a naval engineer, and a professor of mechanics at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, where he taught courses for working people. He is one of the founders of mathematical economics and the statistical office (Bureau de France).

Dussard, Hyppolite (1791-1879). Journalist, essayist, and economist, he was manager of *Le Journal des économistes* from 1843 to 1845, a collaborator of the *Revue encyclopédique,* and prefect of la Seine-Inférieure after the 1848 revolution.

The Economists (*les Économistes*). The liberal, free-trade political economists referred to themselves, perhaps somewhat arrogantly, as "the" economists. Bastiat and his colleagues believed that, because their doctrine was founded on natural law and a scientific study of the way markets and economies worked in reality, there could be only one school of economics (just as there could be only one school of mechanics or optics). On the other hand, the opponents of free markets (such as the followers of Fourier, Robert Owen, Etienne Cabet, Louis Blanc, Peirre Proudhon, and Pierre Leroux) had as many schools of socialist thought as they could imagine different ways in which society might be restructured or reorganized according to their utopian visions. the followers of Fourier and Owen, MM. Cabet, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux.

Elliot, Ebenezer (1781-1849). Elliot was known as the "free-trade rhymer." He played an important role in the propaganda efforts of the Anti-Corn-Law League. His ideas are reflected in his *Corn Law Rhymes* (1830) and *The Splendid Village* (1844). The following comes from "The Ranter" (1830). The "bread tax" is a reference to the corn laws:

In haste she turns, and climbs the narrow stair,
To wake her eldest born, but, pausing, stands
Bent o'er his bed; for on his forehead bare,
Like jewels ring'd on sleeping beauty's hands,
Tired labour's gems are set in beaded bands;
And none, none, none, like bread-tax'd labour know'th
How more than grateful are his slumbers brief.
Thou dost not know, thou pamper'd son of sloth!
Thou canst not tell, thou bread-tax-eating thief!
How sweet is rest to bread-tax'd toil and grief!

Evans, William [dates unknown]. Chairman of the Emancipation Society and one of the pall bearers at Richard Cobden's funeral.

Faucher, Léon (1803-54). Faucher was a journalist, writer, and deputy for the Marne who was twice appointed minister of the interior. He became an active journalist during the July Monarchy writing for *Le Constituionnel*, and L*e Courrier français* and was one of the editors of the *Revue des deux mondes* and the *Journal des économistes*. Faucher was appointed to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1849 and was active in L'Association pour la liberté des échanges. He wrote on prison reform, gold and silver currency, socialism, and taxation. One of his better-known works was *Études sur l'Angleterre* (1856).

Fix, Theodore (1800-46). Fix was born in Switzerland and came to France to work as a land surveyor. He soon moved to Paris to work as a translator of German texts. After becoming interested in economics, he and Sismondi began in 1833 a short-lived journal, the *Revue mensuelle d'économie politique*, which lasted only three

years. One of the notable aspects of Fix's works was his fluency in both German and English, which allowed him to write with authority for a French-speaking audience on the economics works published in those languages. In the course of his work Fix met many well-respected French political economists, such as Rossi and Blanqui; wrote several articles for the *Journal des économistes*; and became the chief economics writer for the periodical *Le Constitutionnel*. Before he died, very young from heart disease, he published one book, *Observations sur l'état des classes ouvrières* (1846).

Fontenay, Roger-Anne-Paul-Gabriel de (1809-1891). Little is known about Fontenay's early life. He comes to prominence as a member of the Société d'Économie Politique in 1850 and as an ally of Bastiat in their debates in the Society on the nature of rent. In a work published soon after Bastiat's death in 1850, Du Revenu foncière (Paris: Guillaumin, 1854), Fontenay decribes himself and Bastiat as forming a distinct "French School of Political Economy" tracing its roots back to Jean-Baptiste Say and including Destutt deTracy, Charles Comte, and especially Charles Dunoyer; in contrast to the "English School" of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Ricardo. The sticking point was the issue of rent from land, with Bastiat and Fontenay denying that there was any special "gift of nature" which made up the rents from land, instead arguing that all returns on investments (whether capital, interest, or rent) were the result of services provided by producers to consumers. Fontenay worked with Prosper Paillottet in editing the works of Bastiat which appeared in 1854-55 in 6 volumes. He was a regular contributor to the Journal des Économistes right up to his death, penning many book reviews as well as articles on topics such as Malthus and Marx. He also served on the editorial board of the Journal des Économistes. Another work by Fontenay was Les Congrégations et la loi à faire (Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion, 1882).

Fonteyraud, Henri Alcide (1822-49). Fonteyraud was born in Mauritius and became professor of history, geography, and political economy at the École supérieure de commerce de Paris. He was a member of the Société d'économie politique and one of the founders of the Association pour la liberté des échanges.

Because of his knowledge of English he went to England in 1845 to study at first hand the progress of the Anti-Corn-Law League. During the 1848 revolution he campaigned against socialist ideas with his activity in Le Club de la liberté du travail and, along with Bastiat, Coquelin, and Molinari, by writing and handing out in the streets of Paris copies of the broadside pamphlet *Jacques Bonhomme*. Sadly, he died very young during the cholera epidemic of 1849. He wrote articles in *La Revue britannique* and *Le Journal des économistes*, and he edited and annotated the works of Ricardo in the multivolume *Collection des principaux économistes*. His collected works were published posthumously as *Mélanges d'économie politique*, edited by J. Garnier (1853).

Fould, Achille (1800-1867). Fould was a banker and a deputy who represented the *département*s of Les Hautes-Pyrénées in 1842 and La Sein in 1849. He was close to Louis-Napoléon, lending him money before he became emperor, and then serving as minister of finance, first during the Second Republic and then under the Second Empire (1849-67). Fould was an important part of the imperial household, serving as an adviser to the emperor, especially on economic matters. He was as ardent free trader but was close to the Saint-Simonians on matters of banking. (For the Saint-Simonians, see the entry for Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon.).

Free Trade Association (Association pour la liberté des échanges). Founded in February 1846 in Bordeaux. Bastiat was the secretary of the Board, presided over by François d'Harcourt, and having among its members Michel Chevalier, Auguste Blanqui, Joseph Garnier, Gustave de Molinari, and Horace Say.

Garnier, Joseph (1813-81). Garnier was a professor, journalist, politician, and activist for free trade and peace. He came to Paris in 1830 and came under the influence of Adolphe Blanqui, who introduced him to economics and eventually became his father-in-law. Garnier was a pupil, professor, and then director of the École supérieure de commerce de Paris, before being appointed the first professor of political economy at the École des ponts et chaussées in 1846. Garnier played a central role in the burgeoning free-market school of thought in the 1840s in Paris.

He was one of the founders of L'Association pour la liberté des échanges (Free Trade Association) and the chief editor of its journal, *Libre échange*; he was active in the Congrès de la paix; he was one of the founders along with Guillaumin of the *Journal des économistes,* of which he became chief editor in 1846; he was one of the founders of the Société d'économie politique and was its perpetual secretary; and he was one of the founders of the 1848 liberal broadsheet *Jacques Bonhomme*. Garnier was acknowledged for his considerable achievements by being nominated to join the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1873 and to become a senator in 1876. He was author of numerous books and articles, among which include *Introduction à l'étude de l'Économie politique* (1843); *Richard Cobden, les ligueurs et la ligue* (1846); and *Congrès des amis de la paix universelle réunis à Paris en 1849* (1850). He edited Malthus's *Essai sur le principe de population* (1845); *Du principe de population* (1857); and *Traité d'économie politique sociale ou industrielle* (1863).

General Council on Agriculture, Industry, and Trade. Created by a decree of 1 February 1850, the Council resulted from the merger of three councils (respectively agriculture, industry, and commerce) that were separate up to then. It had 236 members, 96 for agriculture, 59 for industry, 73 for commerce, and 8 for Algeria and the colonies. Its role was to enlighten the government on economic matters. The first session took place from 7 April to 11 May 1850 in the Luxembourg Palace and was opened by the president of the Republic.

Genovesi, Antonio (1712-1769). Italian priest, philosopher, and economist (liberal).

Girondins. The Girondins were a group of liberal-minded and moderate republican deputies and their supporters within the Legislative Assembly (1791-92) and National Convention (1792-95), in the early phase of the French Revolution. They got their name from the fact that many of the deputies came from the Gironde region in southwest France, near the major port city of Bordeaux. An important meeting place for the Girondins, where they discussed their ideas and strategies, was the salon of Madam Roland (1754-93). Other members of the group included Jean Pierre Brissot, Pierre Victurnien Vegiaud, Charles Barabroux,

Thomas Paine, and the marquis de Condorcet. In their bitter rivalry with other groups within the Jacobin group (in particular Robespierre and the Mountain faction), they disputed the proper treatment and punishment of the deposed king, the war against Austria, and the other monarchical powers that threatened France with invasion, and how far the radical policies of the revolution needed to be pushed. Eventually they lost out to the radical Jacobins around Robespierre and many of them were imprisoned and executed during the Terror.

Guillaumin, Gilbert-Urbain (1801-64). Guillaumin was orphaned at the age of five and was brought up by his uncle. He came to Paris in 1819 and worked in a bookstore before eventually founding his own publishing firm in 1835. He became active in liberal politics during the 1830 revolution and made contact with the economists Adolphe Blanqui and Joseph Garnier. He became a publisher in 1835 in order to popularize and promote classical liberal economic ideas, and the firm of Guillaumin eventually became the major publishing house for liberal ideas in the mid nineteenth century. Guillaumin helped found the *Journal des économistes* in 1841 with Horace Say (Jean-Baptiste's son) and Joseph Garnier. The following year he helped found the Société d'économie politique. His firm published scores of books on economic issues, making its catalog a virtual who's who of the liberal movement in France and included works by Bastiat. Guillaumin also published the following key journals, collections, and encyclopedias: *Journal des économistes* (1842–1940), *L'Annuaire de l'économie politique* (1844–99), the multivolume *Collection des principaux économistes* (1840–48), *Bibliothèques des sciences morales et politiques* (1857–), *Dictionnaire d'économie politique* (1852) (coedited with Charles Coquelin), and *Dictionnaire universel théorique et practique du commerce et de la navigation* (1859-61).

Harcourt, François-Eugène, duc d' (1786-1865). Liberal politician, president of L'association pour la liberté des échanges in Brussells, in 1841, and ambassador to Rome. He wrote *Discours en faveur de la liberté du commerce* (1846).

Joseph Hume (1777-1855). Member of Parliament elected in 1812. Leader of the liberal reformists, he played a major role in the repeal of laws forbidding machinery export and emigration and in the emancipation of Catholics.

Huskisson, William (1770-1830). Huskisson was a British Member of Parliament who served from 1796 to 1830. He rose to the post of secretary to the treasury 1804-09 and later president of the Board of Trade (1823-27). Huskisson introduced a number of liberal reforms, including the reformation of the Navigation Act, a reduction in duties on manufactured goods, and the repeal some quarantineduties. As president of the Board of Trade he played an important role in persuading British merchants to support a policy of free trade.

Industry ("L'industrie," "l'industrielisme," "les industriels"). Bastiat got many of his ideas from reading a number of classical liberal theorists who were active during Napoleon's Empire and the Restoration, most notably the economist Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832), and the lawyers and journalists Charles Comte (1782-1837) and Charles Dunoyer (1786-1862). The latter developed an "industrialist theory" of history in which the class of "industriels" played an important role. According to this school of thought there were only two means of acquiring wealth, by productive activity and voluntary exchanges in the free market ("industrie"—which included agriculture, trade, factory production, services, etc.) or by coercive means (conquest, theft, taxation, subsidies, protection, transfer payments, slavery). Anybody who acquired wealth through voluntary exchange and productive activities belonged to a class of people collectively called "les industrieux"; in contrast to those individuals or groups who acquired their wealth by force, coercion, conquest, slavery, government privileges. The latter group were seen as a ruling class or as "parasites" who lived at the expense of "les industrieux." See Dunoyer's *L'Industrie et la morale considérées dans leurs rapports avec la liberté* (1825). See also the entries in for J. B. Say, Comte, and Dunoyer in the glossary of names. A parallel group of thinkers who shared many of these views developed around Henri Saint-Simon, who advocated rule by a technocratic elite rather than the operations of the free market as did Say, Comte, Dunoyer, and Bastiat.

Jacques Bonhomme. A short-lived biweekly paper that seems to have lasted for only four issues (June–July 1848). It was founded and largely written by Bastiat, Alcide Fonteyraud, Charles Coquelin, Joseph Garnier, and Gustave de Molinari in

1848. Its purpose was to counter socialist ideas during the 1848 revolution, and it was handed out in the streets of Paris. In a review of a collection of letters Bastiat wrote to the Cheuvreux family, which were not included in Paillotet's *Oeuvres Complètes*, Gustave de Molinari reminisced about his revolutionary activities with Bastiat in 1848. Bastiat was then forty-seven and Molinari twenty-nine. Molinari notes that the February revolution forced the young radical liberals to "replace our economic agitation with a politico-socialist agitation," which they did on 24 February, when Molinari and a young friend decided to start a new magazine to be called *La République*. The prime minister at the time, François Guizot, was forced to resign on 23 Febraury, and a provisional government was formed on 26 February (thus, Molinari and his friend tried to start their new journal the day after the revolution broke out). Molinari asked Bastiat if would join him as coeditor; Bastiat agreed to do so with the understanding that they abide by the censorship laws, which at the time called for approval by the government before publication took place. Molinari wryly noted that Bastiat told them that "we may be making a revolution but revolutions do not violate the laws!" So the three of them proceeded to the Hôtel-de-Ville in order to have their hastily written screed approved by the government, but the building was in complete turmoil with armed revolutionaries milling about. They wisely decided that the provisional government was "otherwise occupied" and Bastiat consented to publish the journal without prior approval. In Montmartre, on their way to the printer, they came across another would-be revolutionary hawking in the street a journal that had already taken the name *La République*, such was the competition at the time for catchy titles. The three decided on the spot to rename their journal *La République française* and had 5,000 copies printed and distributed. Like most periodicals at the time the *République française* lasted a very short while but it did include a number of "striking" articles penned by Bastiat directed at the working class who were pushing the revolution in an increasingly socialist direction. As Molinari notes, their journal "was decidely not at the peak of the events" which were swirling about them and it soon folded. Undaunted, Molinari and Bastiat decided to launch another journal, this time directed squarely at working people, to be called *Jacques Bonhomme*, which comes

from the nickname given to the average working Frenchman. They joined with Charles Coquelin, Alcide Fonteyraud, and Joseph Garnier to launch the new journal in June 1848, just before the June Days uprising (23-26 June) took place. On June 21 the government decided to close the so-called National Workshops, which were a government program to provide state subsidised employment to unemployed workers, because of out of control expences. This was promptly followed by a mass uprising in Paris to protest the decision and troops were called in to suppress the protesters causing considerable loss of life. While this was happening Bastiat sent Molinari and the editorial committee an article he had writen entitled "Dissolve the Natonal Workshops!" which appeared on the front page of the very last issue of *Jacques Bonhomme*. This is the political context in which Bastiat wrote the first draft of his best-known pamphlet, *The State*, which appeared three months later in the 25 September issue of *Le Journal des débats*.

Le Journal des débats. A journal founded in 1789 by the Bertin family and managed for almost forty years by Louis-François Bertin. The journal went through several title changes and after 1814 became the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*. The journal likewise underwent several changes of political positions: it was against Napoleon during the First Empire; under the second restoration it became conservative rather than reactionary; and under Charles X it was in support of the liberal stance espoused by the doctrinaires. It ceased publication in 1944.

Le Journal des économistes. The *Journal des économistes: revue mensuelle de l'économie politique, des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales* was the journal of the Société d'économie politique and appeared from December 1841 until the fall of France, in 1940. It was published by the firm of Guillaumin, which also published the writings of most of the liberals of the period. The *Journal des économistes* was the leading journal of the free-market economists (known as "les économistes") in France in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was edited by Adolphe Blanqui (1841-42), Hippolyte Dussard (1843-45), Joseph Garnier (1845-55), Henri Baudrillart (1855-65), Joseph Garnier (1865-81), Gustave de Molinari (1881-1909), and Yves Guyot (1910-). Bastiat published many articles in

the journal, many of which were later published as pamphlets and books, and his works were all reviewed there. There are fifty-eight entries under Bastiat's name in the table of contents of the journal for the period 1841 to 1865.

Lafarelle, Félix de (1800-1872). Lawyer and economist. He was deputy of La Garde de 1842 in the revolution of 1848 and correspondent of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1846. He was author of *Du progrès social au profit des classes populaires nonindigentes* (1847).

Laffite, Jacques (1767-1844). Banker and entrepreneur, born in Bayonne. He was elected deputy in 1816 and was prime minister from 1831 until March 1832. Friend of the Bastiat family.

"Laissez-faire." In English the phrase "laissez-faire" has come to mean the economic system in which there is no regulation of economic activity by the state. Other terms have also been used to mean the same thing, such as the "Manchester School" or "Cobdenism," thus linking this policy prescription to the ideas of Richard Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League. The origins of the term "laissez-faire" are not clear. One account attributes the origin to the merchant and Physiocrat Vincent de Gournay (1712-59), who used a slightly longer version of the phrase, "laissez faire, laissez passer" (let us do as we wish, let us pass unrestricted), to describe his preferrred government economic policy. Another Physiocrat, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727-81), attributes the phrase "laissez-nous faire" (let us do as we wish), to the seventeenth-century merchant Legendre, who used the phrase in an argument with the French minister of finance Colbert about the proper role of government in the economy. Yet a third Physiocrat, François Quesnay (1694-1774), combined the term with another phrase: "Laissez-nous faire. Ne pas trop gouverner" (Let us do as we wish. Do not govern us too much) to make the same point. A contemporary of Bastiat, Joseph Garnier (1813-81), in the entry for "laissez faire, laissez passer" in the *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1853) explained "laissez-faire" to mean "laissez travailler" (leave us free to work as we wish) and "laissez passer" to mean "laissez échanger" (leave us free to trade as we wish).

***Le Libre échange*.** The weekly journal of the Association pour la liberté des échanges. It began in 1846 as *Le Libre-échange: journal du travail agricole, industriel et commercial* but changed its name to the simpler *Libre échange* at the start of its second year of publication. It closed in 1848 as a result of the revolution. The first fifty-two issues were published as a book by the Guillaumin publishing firm under the title *Le Libre-échange, journal de l'asociation pour la liberté des échanges* (1847). The first sixty-four issues were published by Bastiat, the editor in chief, and Joseph Garnier; the last eight issues were published by Charles Coquelin. The journal's editorial board included Anisson-Dupéron (pair de France), Bastiat, Blanqui, Gustave Brunet (assistant to the mayor of Bordeaux), Campan (secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Bordeaux), Michel Chevalier, Coquelin, Dunoyer, Faucher, Fonteyraud, Garnier, Louis Leclerc, Molinari, Paillotet, Horace Say, and Wolowski.

McCulloch, John Ramsay (1789-1864). McCulloch was the leader of the Ricardian school following the death of Ricardo. He was a pioneer in the collection of economic statistics and was the first professor of political economy at the University of London in 1828. He wrote *The Principles of Political Economy: With a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science* (Edinburgh, W. and C. Tait, 1825).

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1858). Malthus is best known for his writings on population, in which he asserted that population growth (increasing at a geometric rate) would outstrip the growth in food production (growing at a slower arithmetic rate). Malthus studied at Jesus College, Cambridge, before becoming a professor of political economy at the East India Company College (Haileybury). His ideas were very influential among nineteenth-century political economists. His principal works were *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1st ed., 1798; rev. 3rd ed., 1826).

Melun, Armand, vicomte de (1807-77). Melun was a politician, philanthropist, and Catholic social reformer. He was elected deputy in 1843 and took up the cause of improving the social condition of workers by founding the Société d'économie charitable and the journal *Les Annales de la charité* (1847). Although he was instrumental in establishing private charities to achieve this end,

he also was an active proponent of state intervention, because only the state, in his view, "was in a position to reach all miseries."

Mignet, François-Auguste-Alexis (1796-1884). Mignet was a liberal lawyer, journalist, and historian who was an editor of the *Courrier français* and the *National* (edited by Mignet, Thiers, Carrel, and Passy). In 1830 he joined other journalists in protesting the restrictive press laws. He secured a job as the director of the Archives of the Foreign Ministry, from which post he was able to publish many historical works. He lost his job as a result of the 1848 revolution and took early retirement to continue writing works of history. He became a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1832, becoming its permanent secretary in 1837, and a member of the Académie française in 1836. His main works were *Histoire de la Révolution française* (1824), *Histoire de Marie Stuart* (1852), and *Notices et Mémoires historiques* (1843), which contains many eulogies of important political economists and historians.

Mill, John Stuart (1806-73). Mill was an English philosopher, political theorist, and economist who became of the most influential thinkers of the nineteenth century. He worked for the East India Company before becoming a member of the British Parliament (1865-68), where he introduced many pieces of reform legislation, such as women's suffrage. Mill went to France in 1820 and met many of the leading liberal figures of the day, such as Jean-Baptiste Say. He had a great interest in French politics and history and wrote many essays and reviews on these topics. His best-known books include *System of Deductive and Inductive Logic* (1843), *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859), *Utilitarianism* (1861), and *The Subjection of Women* (1869).

Mirabeau, Gabriel Honoré Riqueti, comte de (1749-91). Honoré was the eldest son of the economist Victor Riqueti. He was a soldier as well as a diplomat, journalist, and author who spent time in prison or in exile. During the French Revolution he became a noted orator and was elected to the estates-general in 1789 representing Aix and Marseilles. In his political views he was an advocate

of constitutional monarchy along the lines of Great Britain. He is noted for his *Essai sur le despotisme* (1776) and several works on banking and foreign exchange.

Mimerel de Roubaix, Pierre (1786-1872). Mimerel was a textile manufacturer and politician who was a vigorous advocate of protectionism. He was elected deputy in 1849; appointed by Napoleon III to the Advisory Council and to the General Council of Manufacturing, Agriculture and Commerce; and named Senator in 1852. He founded the protariff Committee for the Defense of Domestic Industry, whose journal was *Le Moniteur industriel*. He also headed a businessmen's association called the "Mimerel Committee," which was a focus for Bastiat's criticims of protectionism. It was the Mimerel Committee that called for the firing of free-market professors of political economy and for their chairs to be abolished. The committee later moderated its demands and called for the equal teaching of protectionist and free-trade views.

Molinari, Gustave de (1819-1912). Molinari was born in Belgium but spent most of his working life in Paris, becoming the leading representative of the laissez-faire school of classical liberalism in France in the second half of the nineteenth century. His liberalism was based upon the theory of natural rights (especially the right to property and individual liberty), and he advocated complete laissez-faire in economic policy and the ultraminimal state in politics. During the 1840s he joined the Société d'économie politique and was active in the Association pour la liberté des échanges. During the 1848 revolution he vigorously opposed the rise of socialism and published shortly thereafter two rigorous defenses of individual liberty in which he pushed to its ultimate limits his opposition to all state intervention in the economy, including the state's monopoly of security. During the 1850s he contributed a number of significant articles on free trade, peace, colonization, and slavery to the *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1852-53) before going into exile in his native Belgium to escape the authoritarian regime of Napoleon III. He became a professor of political economy at the Musée royale de l'industrie belge and published a significant treatise on political economy (*Cours d'économie politique*, 1855) and a number of articles opposing state education. In the

1860s Molinari returned to Paris to work on the *Journal des debats*, becoming editor from 1871 to 1876. Toward the end of his long life Molinari was appointed editor of the leading journal of political economy in France, the *Journal des économistes* (1881-1909). Some of Molinari's more important works include *Les Soirées de la rue Saint-Lazare* (1849), *L'Évolution économique du dix-neuvième siècle: Théorie du progrès* (1880), and *L'Évolution politique et la révolution* (1884).

Monjean, Maurice (1818-?). A member of the editorial board of the *Journal des économistes* from 1841 to 1845. He also edited Malthus's *Principles of Population* and *Definitions of Political Economy* in the series *Collection des principaux economists* (1846).

Montalembert, Charles Forbes, comte de (1810-70). Montalembert was born and educated in England before moving to France. In 1830 he joined forces with Lamennais to write for the journal *L'Avenir* and to promote liberal Catholicism, but he split with Lamennais after 1834, when the pope condemned liberal catholicism, Montalembert choosing to submit to the will of the pope on this issue. He supported a free, Catholic alternative to the state monopoly of eduction and was arrested and fined for his activities. During the 1848 revolution he was elected to the Constituent Assembly as a moderate republican. He is known for his work *Des devoirs des Catholiques sur la question de la liberté de l'enseignement* (1843).

Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de (1689-1755). Montesquieu was one of the most influential legal theorists and political philosophers of the eighteenth century. He trained as a lawyer and practiced in Bordeaux before going to Paris, where he attended an important enlightened salon. His ideas about the separation of powers and checks on the power of the executive had a profound impact on the architects of the American constitution. His most influential works are *L'Ésprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Laws) (1748), *Les Lettres persanes* (Persian Letters) (1721), and *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et leur décadence* (Considerations of the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decline) (1732).

Morin, Étienne-François-Théodore (1814-?). Morin was a textile manufacturer and the elected representative for the *département* of La Drôme in the Constituent Assembly in 1848 and then in the Legislative Assembly in 1849. He published many works on jurisprudence and political economy, being best known for his *Essai sur l'organisation du travail et l'avenir des classes laborieuses* (1845). Morin was a staunch defender of freedom of association for both manufacturers as well as for the workers in order to promote their interests, provided that no one used any coercion or violence.

Navigation Act. The act prevented merchandise from being imported into Britain if it was not transported by British ships or ships from the producer countries. The first act, adopted in 1651, applied to commerce within Europe and generated a war with Holland (1652-54). Extended to colonies in 1660 and 1663, it generated a second war with Holland (1665-67). It was repealed in 1849.

Necker, Jacques (1732-1804). Necker was a Swiss-born banker and politician who served as the minister of finiance under Louis XVI just before the French Revolution broke out. His private financial activities were intertwined with the French state when he served as a director of the monopolistic French East India Company and made loans to the French state. In 1775 he wrote a critique of Turgot's free-trade policies in *L'Essai sur la législation et le commerce des grain*. In 1776 he was appointed director general of French finances unitl his dismissal in 1781. He served again in this position from 1788 to 1790. As minister of finance he tried to reform the French taxation system by broadening its base and removing some of its worst inequalities. Needless to say, in this he largley failed. His daughter, Germaine Necker (de Staël), became a famous novelist and historian of the French Revolution.

Odier, Antoine (1766-1853). Odier was Swiss by birth but came to Paris to play a part in the French Revolution, siding with the liberal Girondin group. He was a banker and textile manufacturer, president of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris, a deputy (1827-34), and eventually a peer of France (1837). Bastiat crossed swords with him because of his membership in the protectionist Association for the

Defense of National Work, also known as the Assocaition for the Defense of Domestic Industry.

Paillottet, Prosper (1804-78). Paillotet is best known for his friendship with Bastiat, joining Bastait's Free Trade Association in its earliest days and then caring for Bastiat when he was very ill in Italy, being with him during his last few days. Paillottet was vice-president of the Labor Tribunal (Conseil des Prud'hommes) and a member of the Commission for the Encouragement of Workers' Associaitons and of the Society of Political Economy. Paillottet was a successful businessman, making his money in the jewellry business and then devoting most of his energies to philanthropic causes. He became active in the Free Trade Association, even learning English in order to help Bastiat translate material on or by the Anti-Corn Law League. As Bastiat's health worsened Paillottet became his virtual secretary, editor, and research assistant. Paillottet wrote several articles and book reviews that appeared in *Le Journal des économistes,* two articles of which were published seaprately in book form. See the biblography for a listing of works by Paillottet. Paillottet was best known for editing the collected works of Bastiat, *Les Oeuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat*, which is the basis for this collection. Some of the material for this entry was drawn from Passy, "Nécrologie. Prosper Paillottet."

Passy, Frédéric (1822-1912). Nephew of Hippolyte Passy. He was a supporter of free trade and the ideas of Richard Cobden and Bastiat. Passy was a cabinet minister and then professor of political economy at Montpellier. He wrote an introduction to one of the Guillaumin editions of the works of Bastiat. He was active in the French peace movement and helped found the Ligue internationale et permanente de la paix. For his efforts he received the first Nobel Peace Prize (1901, with Henri Dunant, one of the founders of the Red Cross). He wrote many books on economics and peace, including *Notice biographique sur Frédéric Bastiat* (1857) and *Pour la paix: notes et documents* (1909).

Passy, Hippolyte (1793-1880). Passy was a cavalry officer in Napoleon's army and after the restoration of the monarchy took a trip to the United States, during which he discovered the works of Adam Smith. After his return to France

he wrote for several opposition papers, such as the liberal *National* (with Thiers and Mignet), and published a book, *De l'aristocracie considérée dans ses rapports avec les progrès de la civilization* (1826). Passy was elected as a deputy from 1830, serving as minister of finance in 1834, 1839-40, and 1848-49. In 1838 he became a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, in which he served for some forty years and was particularly active in developing political economy. He criticized the colonization of Algeria and was an advocate of free trade. He was cofounder of the Société d'économie politique (1842) and wrote numerous articles in the *Journal des économistes* and several books, among which included *Des systèmes de culture et de leur influence sur l'économie sociale* (1848) and *Des causes de l'inégalité des richesses* (1848).

Peel, Sir Robert (1788-1850). Leader of the Tories, former minister of Wellington, he became prime minister in 1841. He took measures aimed at alleviating the most severe poverty, thus giving some satisfaction to the free traders, while trying to broaden the outlook of the aristocracy. In order to repeal the corn laws, which was done on 26 May 1846, he managed to obtain a composite majority. The Tory Party, however, was irreparably divided, and on that same evening, he lost a vote of confidence on his Irish policy and had to resign.

Petitti, Carlo Ilarione, conte di Roreto (1790-1850). Petitti was an Italian economist, academic, councilor of state, and senator. He wrote numerous works, including *Saggio sul buon governo della mendicità, degli istituti di beneficenza e delle carceri* (1837), *Delle strade ferrate italiane e del miglior ordinamento di esse. Cinque discorsi* Capolago (1845), and *Considerazioni sopra la necessità di una riforma de' tributi con alcuni cenni su certe spese dello Stato* (1850).

Physiocrats. The Physiocrats were a group of French economists, bureaucrats, and legislators who came to prominence in the 1760s and included such figures as François Quesnay (1694-1774), Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727-17811), Mercier de la Rivière (1720-1794), Vincent de Gournay (1712-1759), the Marquis de Mirabeau (1715-1789), and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours (1739-1817). They are best known for coining the expression "laissez-faire" as a summary statement of their policy prescriptions. [See netry for Laissez-Faire]. As

the name Physiocracy suggests ("the rule of nature or natural law"), they believed that natural laws governed the operation of economic events and that rulers should acknowledge this fact in their legislation. They believed that agricultural production was the source of wealth and that all barriers to its expansion and improvement (such as internal tariffs, government regulation, and high taxes) should be removed. The strategy of the Physiocrats was to educate others through their scholarly and journalistic writings as well as to influence monarchs to adopt ration economic policies via a process of so-called "enlightened despotism". This strategy met with very mixed results, as Turgot's failed effort to deregulate the French grain trade in the 1770s attests.

Plunder (la spoliation). Bastiat uses the French word "la spoliation" many times in his writings. It is even used in the title of one his pamphlets "Property and Spoliation" which was published in July 1848 in the *Journal des Débats*. The OED (Oxford English Dictionary) defines the English word "spoliation" as "the action of ruining or destroying something" and "the action of taking goods or property from somewhere by illegal or unethical means" – from the Latin verb *spoliare 'strip, deprive'*. The point that Bastiat is trying to make in using this term is that there is a distinction between two ways in which wealth can be acquired, either through peaceful and voluntary exchange (i.e. the free market), or by theft, conquest, and coercion (i.e. using the power of the State to tax, repossess, or grant special privileges). Some older translations of Basiat use the older English word "spoliation"; the word "plunder" is also used on occasion. We have continued this practice, selecting either "spoliation" or "plunder" depending on the context and how the English version sounds. Another option is to use the word "exploitation" which carries much the same meaning but has the unfortunate association with Marxist theories of "capitalist exploitation". (See also the entry for "Industry.")

Prince-Smith, John (1809-74). Liberal economist, born in London, where he worked as a parliamentary reporter before moving to Hamburg in 1828 to write for an English-language newspaper there. He was an ardent supporter of Bastiat. In 1831 he was employed as an English teacher at a local gymnasium. While in

Hamburg Prince-Smith discovered economics and began writing about British economic developments for his German readers. In 1846 he settled in Berlin, where he published a small book on tariff reform in Britain and its likely impact on Europe after having become interested in Cobden, Bastiat, and the Anti-Corn-Law League. He also published works on banking and currency issues. In 1846 he founded a German free-trade association and was elected deputy representing Stettin in the Prussian parliament. Between 1870 and 1874 he was head of the Congress of German Economists. His writings include *John Prince-Smith über die englische Tarifreform und ihre materiellen, sozialen und politischen Folgen für Europa* (1846). His collected works, published shortly after his death, were titled *John Prince-Smith's Gesammelte Schriften* (1877-80).

Quesnay, François (1694-1774). Quesnay was both a surgeon and an economist. He taught at the Paris School of Surgery and was the personal doctor to Madame Pompadour. As an economist he is best known as one of the founders of the physiocratic school, writing the articles on "Fermiers" and "Grains" for Diderot's *Encylopédie* (1756) and also *Le Tableau économique* (1762) and *Physiocratie, ou constitution naturelle de gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain* (1768).

Quijano, Garcia. Member of the Société d' économie politique and occasional contributor to the *Journal des économistes.*

Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas-François, abbé (1713-96). Raynal was an enlightened historian who wrote on the Dutch Stadholderate and the English Parliament. His most famous work was the eight-volume *Histoire philosophique et politique, des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes* (1770), which went through some thirty editions by 1789, was put on the Index in 1774, and publicly burned. The book was found objectionable because of its treatment of religion and colonialism and its advocacy of the popular right to consent to taxation and to revolt, among other things. Its sometimes incendiary treatment of the slave trade became canonical in the debate over abolition of slavery, of which it did much to spur.

Renouard, Augustin-Charles (1794-1878). Renouard was a lawyer with an interest in elementary school education. He was secretary general of the minister of justice and an elected deputy. He also was vice-president of the Société d'économie politique and wrote or edited a number of works on economic and educational matters, including *Mélanges de morale, d'économie et de politique extraits des ourvrages de Franklin, et prcédés d'une notice sur sa vie* (1824), and "L'éducation doit-elle être libre?" in *Revue encyclopédique* (1828).

La *Revue Britannique*. A monthly review that was founded in 1825 by Sébastien-Lous Saulnier (1790-1835). Its full title read *Revue Britannique. Receuil international. Choix d'articles extraits des meilleurs écrits périodiques da la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Amérique, complété sur des articles originaux*. It contained many articles on economic matters, such as the article in the 6th series, vol. 1, published in 1846, which was an unattributed piece on "La ligue anglaise" (Anti-Corn-Law League), which might have been by Bastiat. It ceased publication in 1901.

Reybaud, Louis (1798-1879). Reybaud was a businessman, journalist, novelist, fervent antisocialist, politician, and writer on economic and social issues. In 1846 he was elected deputy representing Marseilles but his strong opposition to Napoleon III and the empire forced him to retire to devote himself to political economy. He became a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1850. His writings include the prize-winning critique of socialists, *Études sur les réformateurs et socialistes modernes: Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen* (1840), the satirical novel *Jérôme Paturot à la recherché d'une position sociale* (1843), and *Économistes contemporains* (1861). Reybaud also wrote many articles for the *Journal des économistes* and the *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1852).

Ricardo, David (1772-1823). Ricardo was born in London of Dutch-Jewish parents. He joined his father's stockbroking business and made a considerable fortune on the London Stock Exchange. In 1799 he read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and developed an interest in economic theory. He met James Mill and the Philosophic Radicals in 1807, was elected to Parliament in 1819, and was active politically in trying to widen the franchise and to abolish the restrictive corn

laws. He wrote a number of works, including *The High Price of Bullion* (1810), on the bullion controvery, and his treatise *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817). Liberty Fund has reprinted his collected works, *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo* (2004).

The Right to Work. The "right to work" (le droit au travail) had been a catch phrase of the socialists throughout the 1840s. What they meant by this was that the state had the duty to provide work for all men who demanded it. In contrast to this, the classical-liberal economists called for the "right of working" (la liberté du travail), by which they meant the right of any individual to pursue an occupation or activity without any restraints imposed upon him by the state. The latter point of view was articulated by Charles Dunoyer in *De la liberté du travail* (1845) and by Bastiat in many of his writings. The socialist perspective was provided by Louis Blanc in *Organisation du travail* (1839) and in *Le Socialisme, droit au travail* (1848), and by Victor Considérant in *Théorie du droit de propriété et du droit au travail* (1848). Matters came to a head in May 1848, when a committee of the Constituent Assembly was formed to discuss "the right to work" at a time when the state-run National Workshops were employing tens of thousands of unemployed Parisian workers. The nearly bankrupt National Workshops were forced to close in June, prompting widespread revolts throughout Paris, which resulted in their brutal suppression by the army. In a veritable "who's who" of the socialist and liberal movements of the day, a debate took place in the Assembly and was duly published by the classical-liberal publishing firm of Guillaumin later in the year along with suitable commentary by such liberals as Bastiat: "Le droit au travail à l'Assemblée nationale. Recueil complet de tous les discours prononcés dans cette mémorable discussion par MM. Fresneau, Hubert Delisle, Cazalès, Gaulthier de Rumiily, Pelletier, A. de Tocqueville, Ledru-Rolin, Duvergier de Hauranne, Crémieux, M. Barthe, Gaslonde, de Luppé, Arnaud (de l'Ariège), Thiers, Considerant, Bouhier de l'Ecluse, Martin-Bernard, Billault, Dufaure, Goudchaux, et Lagrange (texts revue par les orateurs), suivis de l'opinion de MM. Marrast, Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Ed. Laboulaye et Cormenin; avec des observations inédites par MM. Léon Faucher, Wolowski, Fréd. Bastiat, de Parieu, et une introduction et des notes par M. Joseph

Garnier (Paris : Guillaumin, 1848). See also the entry on "Droit au travail" byLéon Faucher in *the Dictionnaire de l'Économie politique,* (1852–53), vol. 1. pp. 605-19.

Rossi, Pellegrino (1787-1848). Rossi was born in Italy and lived in Geneva, Paris, and Rome. He was a professor of law and political economy, wrote poetry, and ended his days as a diplomat for the French government. He moved to Switzerland after the defeat of Napoleon, where he met Germaine de Staël and the duc de Broglie. He founded with Sismondi and Etienne Dumont the *Annales de législation et des jurisprudences*. After the death of Jean-Baptiste Say, Rossi was appointed professor of political economy at the Collège de France in 1833, and in 1836 he became a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques. In 1847 he was appointed ambassador of France to the Vatican but was assassinated in 1848 in Rome. He wrote *Cours d'économie politique* (1840) and numerous articles in the *Journal des économistes*.

Saint-Cricq, Pierre Laurent Barthélemy, comte de (1772-1854). Saint-Cricq was a protectionist who was made director general of customs in 1815, president of the Trade Council, and then minister of trade and colonies in 1828.

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825). Saint-Simon came from a distinguished aristocratic family and initially planned a career in the military, and he served under George Washington during the American Revolution. During the 1780s he gave up his military career to become a writer and social reformer. When the French Revolution broke out, in 1789, he renounced his noble status and took the simple name of Henri Saint-Simon. Between 1817 and 1822 Saint-Simon wrote a number of books that laid the foundation for his theory of "industry" (see entry on Industry and "Note on the Translation"), by which he meant that the old regime of war, privilege, and monopoly would gradually be replaced by peace and a new elite of creators, producers, and industrialists. His disciples, such as Auguste Comte and Olinde Rodrigues, carried on his work with the Saint-Simonian school of thought. Saint-Simon's views developed in parallel to the more-liberal ideas about "industry" espoused by Augustin Thierry, Charles Comte, and Charles Dunoyer during the same period

(see entries for Charles Comte and Charles Dunoyer). What distuinguished the two schools of thought was that Saint-Simonians advocated rule by a technocratic elite and state-supported "industry," which verged on being a form of socialism, while the liberal school around Comte and Dunoyer advocated a completely free market without any state intervention whatsoever, which would thus allow the entrepreneurial and "industrial" classes to rise to a predominant position without coercion. Saint-Simon's best-known works include *Réorganisation de la société européenne* (1814), *L'Industrie* (1817), *L'Organisateur* (1819); and *Du système industriel* (1821).

Say, Horace Émile (1794-1860). Son of Jean-Baptiste Say. Married Anne Cheuvreux, sister of Casimir Cheuvreux, whose family were friends of Bastiat. Say was a businessman and traveled in 1813 to the United States and Brazil. A result of his trip was *Historie des relations commerciales entre la France et le Brésil* (1839). He became president of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris in 1834, became a councillor of state (1849-51), and headed an important inquiry into the state of industry in the Paris region (1848-51). Say was also very active in liberal circles, participating in the foundation of the Société d'économie politique, the Guillaumin publishing firm, the *Journal des économistes*, the *Journal du commerce*; and was an important collaborator in the creation of the *Dictionnaire de l'économe politique* and the *Dictionaire du commerce et des marchandises*. In 1857 he was nominated to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques but died before he could join it formally.

Say, Jean-Baptiste (1767-1832). Say was the leading French political economist in the first third of the nineteenth century. Before becoming an academic political economist quite late in life, Say apprenticed in a commercial office, working for a life insurance company; he also worked as a journalist, soldier, politician, cotton manufacturer, and writer. During the revolution he worked on the journal of the idéologues, *La Décade philosophique, littéraire, et politique,* for which he wrote articles on political economy from 1794 to 1799. In 1814 he was asked by the government to travel to England on a fact-finding mission to discover the secret of English economic growth and to report on the impact of the revolutionary wars on the British economy. His book *De l'Angleterre et des Anglais* (1815) was the result. After

the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, Say was appointed to teach economics in Paris, first at the Athénée, then as a chair in "industrial economics" at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, and finally the first chair in political economy at the Collège de France. Say is best known for his *Traité d'économie politique* (1803), which went through many editions (and revisions) during his lifetime. One of his last major works, the *Cours complet d'économie politique pratique* (1828-33), was an attempt to broaden the scope of political economy, away from the preoccupation with the production of wealth, by examining the moral, political, and sociological requirements of a free society and how they interrelated with the study of political economy.

Say, Léon (1826-96). Léon was a son of Horace Say and had a career as a banker and administrator of the Chemin de fer du nord. Say wrote a number of articles for the *Jouural des débats* and was a prominent popularizer of free trade and other economic issues. After 1871 he had a distinguished political career as a deputy for La Seine and then as minister of finance in the Third Republic, where he pursued policies of reducing taxation, deregulating internal trade, and opposing the Méline Tariff. In 1880 he was appointed ambassador to England. Say was elected to the Académie des sciences morales et politiques and also to the Académie française. He was a key editor of and contributor to the *Nouveau dictionnaire d'économie politique* (1891–92). Many of his writings on finance can be found in *Les Finances de la France sous la troisième république* (1898-1901).

Scialoja, Antonio (1817–77). Italian economist and professor of political economy at the University of Turin. He was imprisoned and exiled during the 1848 Revolution. His major economic works were *I principi della economia sociale esposti in ordine ideologico* (1840); *Trattato elementare di economia sociale* (1848); and *Lezioni di economia politica* (1846-54). He also wrote many works on law. The former book was translated into French as *Les Principes de l'économie exposé selon des idées* (1844).

Scrope, George Poulett (1797-1876). Scrope was an economist, Member of Parliament, and fellow of the Royal Society. He was an opponent of the Malthusian theory of population, believing that agricultural production, if

unhindered, would always outpace population growth; an advocate of free trade and of parliamentary reform; and an advocate of freer banking using paper currency but following the principles of the Scottish free-banking school. His major theoretical work was *Principles of Political Economy* (1833).

Senior, Nassau William (1790–1864). British economist who became a professor of political economy at Oxford University in 1826. In 1832 he was asked to investigate the condition of the poor and, with Edwin Chadwick, wrote the *Poor Law Commissioners' Report* of 1834. In 1843 he was appointed a correspondent of the Institut de France, In 1847 he returned to Oxford University. During his life he wrote many articles for the review journals, such as the *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *London Review*. His books include *Lectures on Political Economy* (1826) and *Outline of the Science of Political Economy* (1834).

Slavery (slave trade, right of inspection). Slavery did not have a strong presence within France, but it played a major role in the French Caribbean colonies, such as Saint-Dominque (Haiti). Under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution, slavery was abolished in 1794 and a number of freed blacks were elected to various French legislative bodies. Napoléon reintroduced slavery in 1802 and fought a bloody but unsuccessful war in order to prevent a free black republic from emerging in Haiti. In 1807, under pressure from such abolitionists as William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, Britain passed an act that abolished the slave trade, much of which was carried in British vessels. The United States followed suit in 1808 with a similar ban. This had significant implications for the southern states of the United States and the French Caribbean, where slavery remained firmly in place. The British Navy patroled the oceans, insisting upon a "right of inspection" to look for slaves being carried from Africa to the Caribbean and to punish those involved in the trade as pirates. This policy was a serious bone of contention between Britain and France, as the latter viewed the British policy as interference in their sovereign right to engage in trade and shipping. Slavery was abolished in the British Caribbean in 1833, again in the French colonies during the 1848 revolution, and in the United States in 1865 (the 13th Amendment).

Smith, Adam (1723-90). Smith was a leading figure in the Scottish enlightenment and one of the founders of modern economic thought with his work *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). He studied at the University of Glasgow and had as one of his teachers the philosopher Francis Hutcheson. In the late 1740s Smith lectured at the University of Edinburgh on rhetoric, belles-lettres, and jurisprudence which are available to us because of detailed notes taken by one of his students. In 1751 he moved to Glasgow, where he was a professor of logic and then moral philosophy. His *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759, translated into French in 1774) was a product of this period of his life. Between 1764 and 1766 he traveled to France as the tutor to the duke of Buccleuch. While in France Smith met many of the physiocrats and visited Voltaire in Geneva. As a result of a generous pension from the duke, Smith was able to retire to Kirkaldy to work on his magnum opus, *The Wealth of Nations*, which appeared in 1776 (French edition in 1788). Smith was appointed in 1778 as commissioner of customs and was based in Edinburgh, where he spent the remainder of his life. An important French edition of the *Wealth of Nations* was published by Guillaumin with notes and commentary by leading French economists such as Blanqui, Garnier, Sismondi, and Say and appeared in 1843. The most complete edition of Smith's works is the *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, originally published by Oxford University Press (1960) and later by published by Liberty Fund in paperback (1982–87).

Société d'économie politique (Society of Political Economy) was founded in 1842, with the name "Réunion des economistes" and began meeting regularly in October 1842. Summaries of the meetings were published by Joseph Garnier, the permanent secretary and vice president of the society, in the *Journal des économistes.* The articles "Adresse au président de la ligue anglaise son adhésion sympathique aux principes de cette association" 13 (December-March 1846): 19; "Réponse de M. Cobden au nom de la Ligue" 14 (April-July 1846): 60; and "Banquet offert à M. Cobden" 15 (August-November 1846): 89 show the very great interest the society had in Cobden's activities in England.

Storch, Henri-Frédéric (1766-1835). Storch was a Russian economist who was influenced by the writings of Adam Smith and J.B. Say. He was noted for his work on the economics of unfree labor (particularly that of serfdom), the importance of moral (human) capital to national wealth, comparative banking, and the greater wealth-producing capacity of industry and commerce compared with agriculture. Storch studied at the universities of Jena and Heidelberg before returning to Russia, where he taught, worked in various positions in education and government administration, and became a corresponding member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. He was chosen to teach various members of the Russian royal family (tutor to the daughters of Tsar Paul I and then appointed by Alexamnder I to teach political economy to the grand dukes Nicholas and Michael). He bcame a state councillor in 1804 and head of the Academy's statistical section. In 1828 he was promoted to the rank of private councillor and appointed vice president of the Academy of Sciences, offices that he held until his death. His major theoretical work was his six-volume *Cours d'économie politique, ou exposition des principes qui d éterminent la prospérité des nations* (1815), which was based upon the lectures he gave to the grand dukes.

Sudre, Alfred (1820-?). Economist and political writer. He was author of *Histoire du communisme ou Réfutation historique des utopies socialistes* (1850).

Thiers, Adolphe (1797-1877). Thiers was a lawyer, historian, politician, and journalist. While he was a lawyer he contributed articles to the liberal journal *Le Constitutionel* and published one of his most famous works, the ten-volume *Histoire de la révolution française* (1823-27). He was instrumental in supporting Louis-Philippe in July 1830 and was the main opponent of Guizot. Thiers defended the idea of a constitutional monarchy in such journals as *Le National*. After 1813 he became successively a deputy, undersecretary of state, minister of agriculture, and minister of the interior. He was briefly prime minister and minster of foreign affairs in 1836 and 1840, when he resisted democratization and promoted some restrictions on the freedom of the press. During the 1840s he worked on the twenty-volume *Histoire de consulat et de l'empire,* which appeared between 1845 and 1862. After the 1848

revolution and the creation of the Second Empire he was elected deputy representing Rouen in the Constituent Assembly. Thiers was a strong opponent of Napoleon III's foreign policies and after his defeat was appointed head of the provisional government by the National Assembly and then became president of the Third Republic until 1873. Thiers wrote some essays on economic matters for the *Journal des économistes,* but his protectionist sympathies did not endear him to the economists.

Thompson, Thomas Perronet (1783-1869). Owner of the *Westminster Review,* he was an active member of the Anti-Corn-Law League. In 1811 he became governor of Sierra Leone, where he fought slavery.

Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, baron de Laulne (1727-81). Turgot was an economist of the physiocratic school, a politician, a reformist bureaucrat, and a writer. During the mid 1750s Turgot came into contact with the physiocrats, such as Quesnay, Dupont de Nemours, and Vincent de Gournay (who was the free-market intendant for commerce). Turgot had two opportunities to put free-market reforms into practice: when he was appointed Intendant of Limoges in 1761-74; and when Louis XVI made him minister of finance between 1774 and 1776, at which time Turgot issued his six edicts to reduce regulations and taxation. His works include *Eloge de Gournay* (1759), *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (1766), and *Lettres sur la liberté du commerce des grains* (1770).

Utopias. An important part of the classical liberal critique of socialism was its analysis of the utopian vision many socialists had of a future community where their ideals of common ownership of property, the equality of economic conditions, state-planned and state-funded education, and strictly regulated economic activity for the "common good" were practiced. Bastiat makes many references in his writings to the ideas and proposed communities of people like Fénelon, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen. In an article titled "Utopie," by Hippolyte Passy, in the *Dictionnaire de L'Économie Politique* (vol. 2, pp. 798-803), which summed up the thinking of the liberal political economists on this topic just two years after Bastiat's death, Passy stated that Bastiat had provided the key insight

into the differences between the socialists' and the economists' vision of the future of society: the socialist vision was a "factice," or artificial one, with an order imposed by a ruling elite, party, or priesthood; while the liberal vision was a "natural," or spontaneous, one that flowed "harmoniously" from the voluntary actions of individuals in the marketplace. Given the harshness of the economists' rejection of socialist utopian schemes, it is rather ironic that the classical liberals also had their utopian moments. One could mention Condorcet's idea of the "Tenth Epoch" (1795), Charles Comte's and Charles Dunoyer's idea of the "industrial stage" of economic development (1820s), and Gustave de Molinari's vision of a fully privatized society where there was no role left for the state (1849). See also Reybaud's *Études sur les réformateurs contemporains* (1849).

Villermé, Louis René (1782-1863). Military surgeon, then civilian doctor. He was also a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques. He wrote on public-health issues such as prisons, mortality rates, population growth, and the condition of workers. On the latter he wrote *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine, et de soie* (1840), which became a basis for labor regulations.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) (1694–1778). Voltaire was one of the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. He first made a name for himself as a poet and playwright before turning to political philosophy, history, religious criticism, and other literary activities. He became notorious for his outspoken campaign against abuses by the Catholic Church and the use of state torture in the Calas Affair, in the 1760s. Voltaire wrote a number of popular works, including *Lettres philosophique* (1734), in which he admired the economic and religious liberties of the English; his philosophic tale *Candide* (1759); his pathbreaking work of social history *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751); his *Traité sur la tolerance* (1763); and the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), which contained his criticisms of religion and superstition.

Whately, Richard (1787-1863). Whately was archbishop of Dublin and professor of political economy at the University of Oxford, where he was an

important member of Nassau Senior's group. Whately wrote many works of theology before turning to political economy. He was an opponent of the Ricardian school and is considered to be an early adherent to the subjective theory of value. He published his Oxford lectures delivered in Easter Term 1831 as *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy (*1832). He also wrote a popular work designed to introduce young readers to ideas about money: *Easy Lessons on Monetary Matters* (1849).

Whig and Tory. Before the estblishment of modern, organized, ideologically based political parties in the nineteenth century, there were less-formal groups or alliances that associated for short-term political benefit. In the late seventeenth, eithteenth, and early nineteenth centuries there emerged in Britain groupings called the "Whigs" and the "Tories". The Whigs emerged in the late seventeenth century during the struggle of the Protestants, constitutional monarchists, and landed interests to prevent a newly invigorated Catholic Stuart monarchy from gaining power in 1678-81. This group was led by the Earl of Shaftesbury. By the 1830s and 1840s the Whigs had adopted the policies of free trade, the abolition of slavery, and Catholic emancipation. The origin of the name is probably from a term of abuse and criticism coined by their opponents—a "whiggamor" is a Scottish Gaelic word for cattle drover. The Tories originally supported the Catholic Scottish claimant to the English throne in 1680 but later became staunch defenders of the established Anglican Church and the interests of the court. They opposed all forms of religious dissent and extension of the suffrage. Their name too probably came from their opponents—"tóraidhe" is an Irish word that means "outlaw."

Wilson, George (1808-70). Wilson was a businessman whose main business interests were the management of railways and telegraphs. He had a long involvement in the liberal politics of Manchester and later became chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

Wilson, James (1805-60). Born in Scotland, he founded *The Economist* in 1839 and was elected a member of parliament in 1847. His books include *Influence of the Corn Laws* (1839) and *Capital, Currency, and Banking* (1847), which was a collection of his article from *The Economist.*

Wine and Spirits Tax. Eliminated by the revolutionary parliament of 1789, the tax on wine and spirits was progressively reinstated during the empire. It comprised four components: (1) a consumption tax (10 percent of the sale price); (2) a license fee paid by the vendor, depending on the number of inhabitants; (3) a tax on circulation, which depended on the *département;* and (4) an entry duty for the towns of more than four hundred inhabitants, depending on the sale price and the number of inhabitants. Being from a wine-producing region, Bastiat had always been preoccupied by a law that was very hard on the local farmers.

Wolowski, Louis (1810-76). Wolowski was a lawyer, politician, and economist of Polish origin. His interests lay in industrial and labor economics, free trade, and bimetallism. He was a professor of industrial law at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques from 1855, serving as its president in 1866-67, and member and president of the Société d'économie politique. His political career started in 1848, when he represented La Seine in the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. During the 1848 revolution he was an ardent opponent of the socialist Louis Blanc and his plans for labor organization. Wolowski continued his career as a politician in the Third Republic, where he served as a member of the Assembly and took an interest in budgetary matters. He edited the *Revue de droit français et etranger* and wrote articles for the *Journal des économistes*. Among his books are *Cours de législation industrielle. De l'organisation du travail* (1844) and *Études d'économie politique et de statistique* (1848), *La question des banques* (1864), *La Banque d'Angleterre et les banques d'Ecosse* (1867), *La liberté commerciale et les résultats du traité de commerce de 1860* (1869), and *L'or et l'argent* (1870).

Zollverein. The Zollverein was a German customs union that emerged in 1834 when the southwestern German states of Baden and Württemberg joined the Prussian customs union. The Prussian state and its territories had created an internal customs union in 1818 following the economic turmoil of the Napoleonic wars and the increaase in size of Prussian-controlled territory. It was based upon the relatively low Prussian customs rate, which meant that the expanded German

customs union created a significant trading zone within the German-speaking part of Europe with a relatively low external tariff rate and the hope of increasing deregulation of trade within the trading zone.